

**Social impact management through planning and development:
Hedonic Psychology and a new approach to tourism in
Zanzibar**

by

A. Tell Metzger

BA Psychology
BA History
Brown University, 1996

SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF URBAN STUDIES AND PLANNING IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER IN CITY PLANNING
AT THE
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

JUNE 2004

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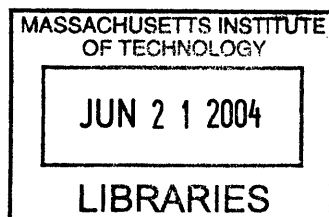
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ABSTRACT

This study proposes a new approach to tourism planning and development based on three threads in the literature on social impact management: (1) the current approach to tourism studies; (2) the writings and activities of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture; and, (3) the emerging field of Hedonic Psychology. Combining the best efforts of each of these fields -- respectively, understanding the tensions that arise in tourist areas, developing real-world projects, and understanding the psychological drivers of wellbeing -- creates this new approach, which I call the "Hedonic Psychology Approach." To illustrate the application of this approach and to expose the process of planning and development according to this approach, salient features of the Stone Town of Zanzibar are presented, including brief descriptions of the spatial, social, political, and economic conditions of the historic area. Several recommendations are proposed, from improving open space design to maximize interactions among people, to increasing the coordination of new development to institutionalize the potential benefits of the new approach.

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FORWARD

This research started as an effort to articulate the values at the core of my own efforts as a planner. To do this, I hoped to define the framework through which real-world interventions should be considered. At the center of my own values is therefore a strong normative stance that policy and physical interventions should maximize the wellbeing of the people that use a space. I believe that the space we inhabit -- from the physical space to the legal space to the social space -- has the potential to influence our lives for better or for worse, and as a planner I believe it is a responsibility to develop and maintain those spaces for the benefit of the many users who occupy the space.

The desire to create and maintain these spaces boasts a prominent role in the history and literature of the planning field. William Whyte, for example, documented peoples' use of parks throughout New York City to show how designs, amenities, policies, and practices bestowed less or more observable satisfaction from park users.¹ Jane Jacobs wrote of the vibrancy, joy, and safety that emerge naturally from densely populated environments which people are allowed and encouraged to use -- as opposed to the socially damaging physical environment she saw emergent in suburbs and in urban environments sanitized by the efforts of restrictive policies and skittish residents.²

Both Whyte and Jacobs focused on spaces that generated liveliness and activity, not on profound cultural shifts that occur as individuals' core values are challenged by changing environments. The study of tourism provides a lens through which to understand individuals' experience of change: tourism represents an industry where culture, social norms, economic patterns, behaviors, and attitudes are continuously challenged -- sometimes leading to improvements in individuals' lives; sometimes to deterioration. The ability to discern the difference is central to the effort to implement change, yet a survey of the literature shows that the assignment of change as 'good' or 'bad' often arises more from the personal or cultural convictions of the observer than from the experience of those affected.

This is called "An approach to tourism planning and development" because it is an attempt to develop a framework for understanding the experience of change, not an attempt to understand the change itself.

¹ The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces, William H. Whyte (1980).

² The Death and Life of Great American Cities, Jane Jacobs (1961).

Moreover, because the field of Hedonic Psychology is still immature, I am applying a set of ideas that are not fully developed. Even the academic name has not gained widespread popularity and debate still rages over how to best characterize the endeavor. Nonetheless, emphasizing the primacy of the psychological experience is an important guideline for planners and developers which I believe will withstand the evolution of the field.

This research is based on perception, interviews, and secondary research. Where possible, I have tried to support or refute interviewees' perceptually-based comments. In other areas, I believe the perception itself is as important as the fact. For instance, I would argue that a resident's perception that tourism caused a change in local patterns of dress or the local retail environment is highly relevant to that resident's response to tourism -- perhaps more so than the facts of what actually drove the change. As some comments from interviewees expressed criticism of existing policies or events, I have chosen to maintain the anonymity of my sources. And while only a few comments could be taken as indictments of people or practices, it would be unfair to those respondents to leave identities open to triangulation through erratic attribution. For the sake of consistency I report all interviewees anonymously.

My travels to the Stone Town of Zanzibar primarily involved exploratory field research. I had never been there before. On the one hand, I came to the situation with no preconceived ideas of the area. On the other, I was unable to explore some findings that arose during research. For instance, I discovered the *sheha*, the 'neighborhood chiefs,' while there, and could not research their role. Other factors were more specific to the details of my research. The trip occurred in January - February 2004, which is the lower of the tourist seasons. This makes some inference difficult because I was unable to observe the city's operations during the high season.

Finally, I do not believe in placing the rights of one group above another. The dilemma of creating a space for tourists versus creating space for locals is therefore moot: planning for tourism should support the wellbeing of all people without prejudice. However, the fact that by definition tourists have mobility-enabling resources while locals fall along a broad spectrum of wealth and do not necessarily have the means to travel themselves increases planners' and developers' responsibility to populations which are for any number of reasons stuck.

Even with these problems, this is an important area of research that will hopefully help people consider the components and results of interventions in tourist areas. Providing a framework for discussing social impact of -- the impact of an event or phenomenon that affects individual or group wellbeing -- allows it to be defined and discussed. This should, in turn, create projects and interventions that generate greater wellbeing for users of a space. As one interviewee put it, “the behavioral side of almost any venture is avoided because people don’t know how to pin it down. But it is fundamentally important.” (Interview)

INTRODUCTION

While centuries of European intervention helped create the social, political, and economic conditions of mid-Twentieth Century Africa, the thirteen years between 1937 and 1950 witnessed the emergence of all the struggles of contemporary tourism in Zanzibar. In 1937, a Western advertising agent approached several governments in East Africa -- including Tanganyika, which would eventually become the mainland portion of Tanzania -- with offers to place advertisements and positive editorial pieces in "Major United States" newspapers.³ In 1939, this offer was rejected for lack of money and, presumably, because advertising and attracting public interest was not a priority for Tanganyika.⁴ Later in 1939, "The Guide to Zanzibar" was published -- and no new guides were printed for another 10 years.⁵ Indeed, when a publisher approached the provincial commissioner about issuing a guide in 1945, he was told that "maybe the guide should be published in a year or so when a hotel is on the island."⁶ But the pace of tourism was quickening, and two years later notices were placed on historically significant buildings to demarcate their importance;⁷ by 1949, the relatively immodest dress of western women raised concern for local officials, who considered distributing a flyer at the port asking female visitors to dress respectfully: it read, "The townspeople are conservative in matters of dress and do not think it seemly for ladies to wander through the bazaars dressed for the beach."⁸ The notice was approved for distribution in January of 1950.⁹ By the end of that same year, the Travel Editor of the US-based Esquire Magazine suggested that Zanzibar only try to attract the high-end tourist, for it costs "too darn [sic] much to get here, anyway."¹⁰ All of these events point to a set of issues that persist in Zanzibar to today: a dream of developing high-end tourism, foreign prospecting and development, government disorganization and local impoverishment, and social tensions between visitors and locals.

This development was interrupted in 1964 when Tanganyika and Zanzibar united to form the United Republic of Tanzania -- and underwent 30 subsequent years of socialist economic stagnation where

³ National Archives file: AB 11, document #9 (1937).

⁴ National Archives file: AB 11, document #9118? [page is ripped, number not easily legible] (1938).

⁵ National Archives file: AB 11, document #175 (1947).

⁶ National Archives file: AB 11, document #139 (1945).

⁷ National Archives file: AB 11, document #183 (1947).

⁸ National Archives file: AB 11, document #252viiiA (undated, from the Tourist Traffic Committee, filed between two entries from 1949).

⁹ National Archives file: AB 11, document #252xii (1950).

¹⁰ National Archives file: AB 11, document #298A (1950, from collection of quotes on Zanzibar tourism).

everything was government-owned and -operated, from major export industries such as clove and spice production to local retail. Then, in the mid-1980s, clove prices tumbled as Indonesia entered the world market, and the Tanzanian government sought economic growth by developing other industries. In 1986 economic liberalization became national policy, and tourism's foothold on the island grew with the development of several new international-class hotels. Since then, tourism in Zanzibar has grown to nearly 100,000 visitors per year -- an inflow spatially concentrated in a few areas on the island. It generated \$4.5M of foreign earnings in 2002.¹¹ This, combined with income from trade, represents over 25% of Zanzibar's GDP.¹² In other words, tourism is a constant presence in residents' lives. At the heart of this study is the need to understand the ways tourism affects local peoples' experience.

This dynamic especially deserves investigation as tourism is a growing global phenomenon. According to the World Tourism Organization (WTO), tourism is the world's largest industry. In 2000, the WTO reported more than 700 million "tourist arrivals"¹³ -- and predicted over 1.5 billion tourist arrivals by 2020. The World Travel and Tourism Council estimates that in 1999, tourism resulted in 192 million jobs and \$3.6 trillion in Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In other words, tourism generates 12% of the world's total GDP. But this flow of people and capital is concentrated; most international tourism occurs in the world's developed countries. The WTO reports that of the 15 countries earning the most revenue from tourism, 12 of them are in North America or Western Europe. In these areas with developed tourism industries, marginal tourism growth has little impact; the addition of one more hotel in New York City will not change the character of the city. However, in less developed countries with underdeveloped tourism industries, where tourists arrive with clear cultural and income differences, the affects of tourism can be more subtle and more insidious as tourists' arrivals bring changes in social norms.

The nature of this research is broad; tourism affects residents' lives in many ways. The built environment becomes modified to accommodate short-term guests. Traditional crafts become commoditized to capture tourist money; once in circulation, that money can profoundly change social structures and traditional values. Infrastructure improvements are often prioritized to serve high-yield tourist establishments instead of impoverished communities. Where visitors and residents enjoy different lifestyles, each may attempt to

¹¹ "Zanzibar Tourism Policy Statement," Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar, Ministry of Trade, Industry, and Tourism, January (2004).

¹² United Nations Human Settlements Program, retrieved from:
<http://www.unhabitat.org/programmes/SustainableCities/zanzibar.asp> on March 16, 2004

¹³ A "tourist arrival" is here defined as the entrance into a country of a visitor of more than 24 hours and less than 6 months.

assimilate attractive characteristics of the others' lifestyles. The diversity of ways that tourism imposes itself on a local social context requires comprehensive research to develop social impact solutions.

Today, existing templates for interventions in tourist areas lack guidelines for action: for instance, it may be as morally bankrupt to impose 'cultural preservation' interventions that smother change as it is to impose externally developed models of 'economic development' on an existing culture. Of course, few would argue that either of these efforts is done without an eye to the other, but the fact remains that there is currently no objective way to prioritize or assess efforts to better a society, from the perspective of the wellbeing of people.

This study therefore looks at how the policies and developments that support tourism can best serve populations of people that serve the space. This is done through an investigation of various approaches to social impact, through a case study of Zanzibar, and through an application of the findings of the research to Zanzibar and an organization deeply involved in developments on the island.

Background

Tourism is an important lens through which to examine change because tourism represents an industry where culture, social norms, economic patterns, behaviors, and attitudes are continuously challenged; because tourism has the power to expose the strengths and weaknesses of traditional societies and modern societies alike; and because tourism shows participants that different ways of life are possible. If the social impact of tourism can be understood, then the dynamics of social change arising from a broad range of factors can be better managed.

In the planning literature and in academia, 'social impact' is frequently framed in terms of economics or culture. When the subject is economics, researchers are usually concerned with improving economic vitality or increasing the distribution of wealth; when the subject is culture, researchers are often concerned with preserving traditional cultures, lifestyles, behaviors, or even languages. More specific interventions focus on acute problems like the deterioration of historic buildings, the natural environment, or simple quality of life concerns such as mitigating traffic and congestion. From a 'social impact' point of view, these goals represent attempts to improve wellbeing for individuals within a given space. Yet the efforts leave unanswered questions: if we are to preserve traditional culture, what is it exactly that we are trying to preserve? What are the elements that we think -- or should think -- are worthy of respect? Given

the broad range of possibilities -- respect for elders, traditional crafts, strong families, and an intuitive grasp of natural systems all come to mind -- it is clear we require a value-neutral framework to assess the relative merits or problems inherent in different societies and interventions.¹⁴ In other words, there is no common vocabulary for assessing existing wellbeing -- or for assessing the wellbeing that results from specific efforts. If there were a way to frame the conversation around wellbeing, we could objectively consider how different interventions serve the individual and group needs of users of a space.¹⁵ Moreover, we would have a clear direction for which interventions should be pursued.

Current planning and development literature does not provide that kind of framework. Instead, it often focuses -- through both unscientific observation and statistical methodology -- on issues the author subjectively considers important. When research posits general claims that a certain event or process is either bad or good for a user group, there is often no way of assessing whether or not the author is right: for instance, will the preservation of a building actually result in a betterment of peoples' lives? How much betterment? Should other projects have been considered? These claims generally are not supported by any statistical method; they are presupposed as fact or ignored as impossible to ascertain.

When research focuses on measuring the impact of an event or process, a similar tendency to merely reflect a given author's bias often emerges: perhaps, for instance, we can measure the decrease in usage of a local language, but we again have no framework to consider if that decrease has truly negatively affected people. Sometimes, researchers use proxies to assess wellbeing: land-value is often used as a proxy for user groups' valuation of amenities like open space. And while other typical concerns of progressive planners -- a focus on social justice, community participation, or infrastructure provision, for instance -- undoubtedly improve wellbeing, wellbeing is not the indicator that is judged in the end. In all these cases, the planner is only approaching the issue of wellbeing through related indicators. I do not suggest that these goals be abandoned, only that we develop a framework that addresses how well our efforts as planners serve the intended beneficiaries. Without a language to discuss wellbeing, there is no common medium to read, measure, change, or rate wellbeing.

¹⁴ The notion of value-neutrality is instantly problematic. For those who view the scientific approach as valid, it is an unassailable position. For those who reject a scientific worldview, it is clearly untenable.

¹⁵ I do not wish to confine a discussion of wellbeing to 'residents,' 'tourists,' or another subgroup which occupies a given space. Instead, I refer to all the individuals and groups within that space as 'users.'

These same problems -- defining a problem without a language to assess whether or how much it is a problem -- occur in the tourism planning literature.

However, attempts to describe contextual factors as beneficial or detrimental are often so specific that they cannot discern the fundamental component of a *thing* -- whether a relationship, a space, an activity, or other phenomenon or object -- that promotes wellbeing in a user. Some attempts, like questioning whether people are satisfied with new open space, suffer from a scope necessarily limited to findings which are related to open space. The same understandable limitation infects, for instance, attempts to define the affect generated by such things as the political context, the building typology, or the social network in which people live. While this type of phenomenon- or object-focused research has the enviable benefit of suggesting a clear course of action, none take into account the multitude of factors that create overall wellbeing: an individual may report satisfaction about a new park, but the effect of that park on overall wellbeing is typically difficult to discern.

Fortunately a field I call 'hedonic psychology'¹⁶ may suggest a resolution. It has applied the tenets of statistical research to the conundrum of human wellbeing. Wellbeing is an individual's overall life satisfaction. Consider that there are several interrelated factors that might conspire to define an individual's wellbeing at any given time. These might include such variables as personality, culture, financial status, physical environment, or contextual factors like the degree of connection with friends. Of course, not all of these are possible to alter as planners or developers. Others, like the physical environment and contextual factors, may be malleable.

Studies have charted national wellbeing over decades to detangle the activities, behaviors, and attitudes that lead to wellbeing; statistical procedures were used to correlate those factors with reported affective states.¹⁷ Other studies have examined the same phenomena across cultures to identify what, exactly, generates higher life-satisfaction and quality-of-life ratings; Diener and Diener sampled college students from 31 countries.¹⁸ While this field is constantly evolving to accommodate new ideas and definitions,

¹⁶ I borrow this phrase from the title of Princeton professor Daniel Kahneman's book, Well-Being: The Foundation of Hedonic Psychology, Daniel Kahneman, Ed Diener and Norbert Schwarz (eds.), Russell Sage Foundation (1999).

¹⁷ "Correlates of Happiness: 7838 findings from 603 studies in 69 nations, 1911-1994," (3 volumes), R Veenhoven, RISBO, Series Studies in Social and Cultural, (1994a)

¹⁸ "Cross-cultural correlates of life satisfaction and self-esteem," E Diener and M Diener, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 68:653-63 (1995).

one particularly compelling argument due to its reliability and seeming validity¹⁹ is that the primary drivers of wellbeing' ("drivers") are three factors: (1) relatedness, (2) autonomy²⁰ and (3) competence.²¹ Each of these words encapsulates many levels of meaning, but it is possible to speak about them generally. Relatedness refers to the degree to which one is connected to others, autonomy to the sense that one is capable of acting independently, and competence that one is good at something. Based on a view that the wellbeing of users should be a central concern for planners, this study proposes that these drivers should be used as a framework for social impact assessment and the development of new tourism projects. Of course, these are abstract notions and don't lend themselves as easily to implementation considerations as research defining the affective result of public amenity provision. But the fact of the drivers' scientific validity as drivers of wellbeing and of their (generally) universal applicability should encourage planners and developers alike to appreciate their value.

The definitions of the drivers come with several caveats. In particular, variables like personality and culture greatly affect how these drivers of wellbeing affect reported wellbeing. For example, people experience other people differently; extroverts are more likely to be positively affected by relationships with others than neurotic individuals.²² Culturally, people who live in collectivist societies tend to be less affected by the degree of 'relatedness' they report in their lives than people in individualistic societies.²³ And putting different personalities into different social contexts can result in different self-assessment of wellbeing: extroverts tend to report a more negative reaction to incarceration than neurotic individuals.²⁴ Nonetheless, studies show that while the strength of the relationship between the drivers of wellbeing and reported wellbeing may vary, these factors' persistent standing at or near the top of regression analyses of wellbeing is currently widely accepted.

¹⁹ Reliability and validity are important concepts in the social sciences. Reliability refers to replicability: if this experiment is repeated, will the same results be found? Validity refers to objectivity: does this research study what it intends to study -- for instance has a study on 'relatedness' really studied relatedness, or has it inadvertently measured another factor?

²⁰ "Autonomy," the ability to act freely, is sometimes referred to as 'opportunity.' Each indicates a general freedom to do something.

²¹ "Daily well-being: the role of autonomy, competence, and relatedness," Reis et al., *Personal and Social Psychology Bulletin* v. 26 no. 4 (2000).

²² "The happy personality: a meta-analysis of 137 personality traits and subjective well-being," K DeNeve and H Cooper, *Psychology Bulletin*. 124:197-229 (1998).

²³ "The shifting basis of life satisfaction judgements across cultures: emotions versus norms," E Suh, E Diener, S Oishi, and H Triandis, *Journal of Personal and Social Psychology* 74:482-93 (1998).

²⁴ "Haft: Eine Socialpsychologische Analyse (Prison: A Social Psychological Analysis), G Kette, (1991). Quoted in "Personality, culture, and subjective well-being: Emotional and Cognitive Evaluations of Life," E Diener, S Oishi, and R Lucas, *Annual Review of Psychology* 54:403-25 (2003).

Of course, methodological issues confound analysis. Some proponents of the field argue that wellbeing is constructed as an aggregate of individual moments (the 'hedonists') while others argue that wellbeing is a subjective state independent of moments (the 'eudaimonists'). Second, the issue of subjective versus objective wellbeing -- is wellbeing perceived or actual -- is more philosophical, but it does warrant consideration as attempts are made to reify the concept of wellbeing. Finally, the conceptualization of drivers of wellbeing may also change in time as new concepts and ideas enter the research. This is especially true as psychological research is understandably concerned with questions of validity, which is the question of whether or not a given assay is measuring what it presumes to measure. However, the fact that psychology endeavors to find a valid definition of wellbeing is an argument to incorporate its findings, and not an argument to dismiss them for other ideas that lack a methodological approach to identifying and answering the question: what provides wellbeing in individuals' lives?

Self-reporting problems also confound analysis, and indicate a requirement for statistical surveys of individuals' behaviors, not a self-report of the conditions that might lead to wellbeing. Studies have shown that people are sometimes unable to identify the components in their lives that correlate with higher ratings of life satisfaction. For instance, many people identify "more money" as an element in their lives that would bring them more wellbeing. Ignoring important variables like national wealth, this sentiment is generally untrue. In statistically significant studies, money correlates very little with overall wellbeing.

Even with uncertainty around whether relatedness, autonomy, and competence are the true drivers of wellbeing, they represent a unique proposition as a way to approach policy and spatial interventions. Of course, merely knowing that methodological problems and cross-cultural variability exist is no substitute for performing actual research on a population to uncover locally valid drivers, but in the absence of another alternative it may be instructive to think of how policies and developments can deliver upon these abstract concepts. Any encouragement to promote 'relatedness' in another culture is laden with stipulations -- there is no way for an outsider to know how the culture defines relatedness, what levels of intimacy are important or desired, or even how much relatedness drives wellbeing -- but, I would argue, it is better to have some frameworks for considering the problem than none. The social sciences focus on moving targets, but that doesn't grant us the right to ignore their findings. Of course, while this framework gives us a language to talk about social goals, it is still evolving.

Since the implementation of such abstract comments appears difficult, a brief example of how using the drivers of wellbeing might influence a new approach to tourism planning may help explain its utility. 'Cultural preservation' is currently a catch phrase -- and sometimes an unquestioned goal -- for tourism planners, especially in relation to both the tension and the syncretism that arises from tourist arrivals. Given psychology's findings, we can at least speculate about the aspects of a society worth preserving -- and about those that may be less important. Without any analysis and based purely on stereotypes of traditional societies, it may be possible to assume that a traditional society rates highly on its ability to manifest relatedness, but very lowly on its ability to create opportunities for its members. Of course, this is a shortcut from doing a statistically accurate longitudinal study, but it is a recognition that the social sciences provides us with clues about how to approach tourism planning. This clue tells us where to start our interventions -- and which elements are truly important to celebrate.

Finally, development based on the drivers of wellbeing has never, to my knowledge, occurred. This paper is a suggestion for an approach, not a post-occupancy review. I could foresee a situation where following these ideas too closely would result in physical development patterns resembling Soviet-style concrete-block housing. The developer of such an area could have, after all, considered the psychological needs for relatedness, autonomy, and competence with strategic placement of particular amenities. But this leaves no room for aesthetic enjoyment of the environment. Fortunately, while most psychology has ignored the individual's reaction to his spatial environment, the sub-field of environmental psychology has considered just this phenomenon; but they have not yet done so from the perspective of wellbeing. Perhaps future research will address this deficiency. Nonetheless, perhaps a society that values aesthetic architecture or even preservation is one that provides autonomy for people to relate and act competently around common interests; perhaps the psychological benefits of these goals accrue to the conscientious actor as well as the subject of the intervention.

Description of study

I propose that an application of the findings of psychology, from a family of research called 'Hedonic Psychology,' indicates that planners should endeavor to create an environment conducive to relatedness, competence, and autonomy. Additionally, psychological findings suggest that the spatial environment should be appealing to a diverse set of psychological needs.

I apply these findings to tourism for very specific reasons. Tourism provides a lens through which to understand individuals' experience of change: tourism represents an industry where culture, social norms, economic patterns, behaviors, and attitudes are continuously challenged -- sometimes leading to improvements in individuals' lives; sometimes to deterioration. The ability to discern the difference is central to the effort to implement change. Therefore, the central question of this study is:

How can the application of Hedonic Psychology to the current approach to tourism studies, the operational and philosophical position of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, and the tourism industry of Zanzibar suggest a new direction for tourism planning and development?

This study uses Zanzibar as a case study to investigate the dynamics at work within a tourist environment -- and posits ways that Hedonic Psychology can inform future tourist development. Of course, any tourist environment could have served I call this framework for thinking about tourism development the "Hedonic Psychology Approach." To develop this idea, this research was undertaken through a combination of interviews, observation, and secondary research.

The first chapter describes the pros and cons of different approaches to tourism study and management; it lays the groundwork for a new approach to tourism that combines the findings of three intellectual threads on social impact management. These threads are (1) the current approach to tourism studies, (2) the writings and activities of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, and (3) Hedonic Psychology.

In the second chapter, Zanzibar is described. This is a chance to understand the complex spatial, social, political, and economic dynamics that a development company must deal with. This interpretation allows us to understand the real world environment within which an organization, especially one sensitive to the local context, must coordinate development. Through "the writings and activities of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture," it is clear that the AKTC is just such an organization. Its challenges and opportunities become clear through an in-depth study of the existing conditions within Zanzibar.

The third chapter examines the characteristics of tourism in Zanzibar. This exercise represents an example of the "current approach to tourism studies." It highlights the tensions and benefits that arise in a developing economy's embrace of a tourism industry.

In the fourth chapter, I make recommendations for government institutions, the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC), and other developers dedicated to tourism in developing countries. While the recommendations are based on the research within the preceding chapters, it is ultimately an application of the key principles of “Hedonic Psychology.” While the AKTC tried to manage the social impact of new developments -- and is therefore the basis for placing that organization and Zanzibar at the heart of this study -- it never claimed to use the guidelines implicit in the Hedonic Psychology Approach. This supposes that the organization itself is interested in the findings of this research; it does not indicate any presumption on the part of the AKTC to incorporate these findings. Indeed, the organizational recommendations are outputs of this research; they are not based on investigative inputs. Nonetheless, because the organization occupies a unique position in Zanzibar by spanning planning and development activities across several scales -- it is specifically suited to deliver on the possibilities implicit to the approach.

THREADS IN THE SOCIAL IMPACT MANAGEMENT LITERATURE

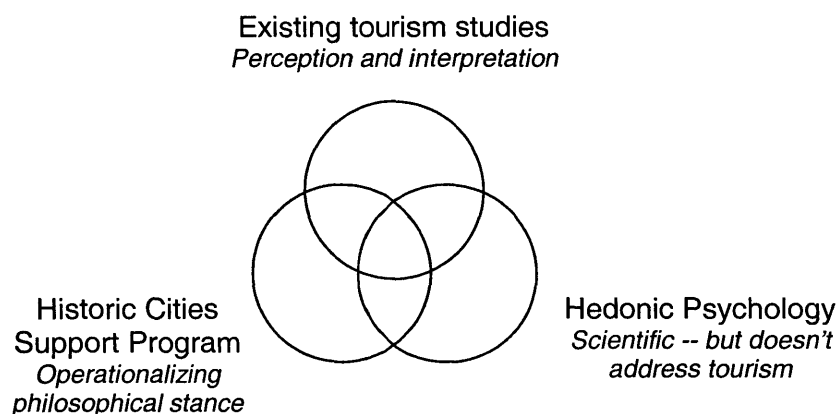
Economists' rationale for planning and managing growth is often based on the idea of maximizing utility across many people. While their models create a foundation for planners' efforts, their abstractions oversimplify real-world conditions: simple economic models can, for instance, ignore important spatial patterns. More importantly, they ignore individual and social psychological needs. To address this, I propose examining three intellectual threads on the social impact of tourism in relation to one another and to tourism in Zanzibar. The results of this juxtaposition define both acute directions for development by a specific organization -- the Aga Khan Trust for Culture -- and global issues relevant to planners and developers in the tourism field.

The first thread, the 'current approach to tourism studies,' manifests in a literature focused primarily on the challenges, opportunities, tensions, and benefits of tourism. But authors in the field frequently expose their social biases or study conditions that may or may not have an impact on wellbeing than propose a sound, scientifically informed direction for social impact and wellbeing management. In other words, these writers more often make broad claims based on their personal convictions than on the scientific method; when statistical research is part of their process, fundamental questions of wellbeing are rarely addressed. Nonetheless, the approach, which is frequently anthropological in its reliance on observation and interpretation, does often highlight the areas of immediate concern in tourist areas. Broadly speaking, this research forms a foundation for future research into the subtle effects of tourism.

The second thread, 'writings and activities of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture' represent an attempt to bring together operational and philosophical concerns to manage the cultural, economic, and social impact of tourism. It too lacks a sound scientific backing, although the fact that this approach is oriented towards actual development -- and not just theoretical abstractions -- implies a continuous attention to real-world factors. As it is conceived from the tension between theory and practice, the organization focuses on detailed understanding of a situation, then proceeds with physical rehabilitation as a means for economic, cultural, and built-environment strengthening -- but it as yet has no concrete guidelines for addressing the psychological needs of local residents.

The third thread, the field of ‘Hedonic Psychology’ -- an emerging sub-field of psychology that claims to have defined, through statistical techniques, the values and behaviors that are fundamental drivers of human wellbeing -- has approached the drivers of satisfaction with scientific and statistical rigor and thus defines a value-neutral direction for future interventions in tourist areas. The field of environmental psychology has also made suggestions regarding the affective and cognitive response to different built environments, and I subsume some of those considerations into my definition of Hedonic Psychology. A proper understanding of these threads exposes limitations and opportunities for each; an application of this understanding to the Aga Khan Trust for Culture and its efforts in Zanzibar illuminates new directions for the organization and new opportunities for developers. Each of these three threads can inform the others. [See Graphic 1]

Graphic 1: Diagram of three intellectual threads on social impact



Thread one: Current approach to tourism studies

The current approach to tourism studies is often based on a view that tourism must be managed for the good of locals and tourists alike. While some common characteristics of tourist areas have been uncovered, and while many challenges and opportunities have been defined, little has been done to precisely describe the long-term affective response of residents to tourism.

Tourism is an industry. It relies on natural resources like beautiful beaches and stunning views; producers manufacture a ‘tourist product’ through marketing and the development of amenities and hotels; products are consumed by a final user. Like any industry, this process can be hindered and even abruptly halted if the natural resource is over-exploited.

Since tourism often relies on ‘public goods’ -- like beaches, sunsets, or mountain views -- the concept of the “Tragedy of the Commons” can usefully articulate the problems of overdevelopment in tourist areas.²⁵ The “Tragedy of the Commons” is an economist’s model for how public goods can be overused. Public goods are both ‘non-excludable’ and ‘non-rival;’ non-excludable means that one person can’t prevent another from using the good, non-rival that one person’s use of the good doesn’t infringe on another’s. The “Tragedy of the Commons” predicts resource over-use as producers increase production for individual gain. And since non-producers may not receive benefit from staying out of production, they initiate production. This may increase a given producer’s overall return, but it decreases per-unit marginal return. More importantly, it can decrease every producer’s returns.²⁶

A concrete example may help. Picture a secluded beach with one hotel. The hotel is so elite, it attracts only high-end customers. It has 100 rooms and people pay \$1,000 to stay there. In total, it makes \$100,000 per night. Come back 20 years later, and there are ten hotels total and 1,000 rooms total on the beach. The beach is crowded, overrun with trinkets and filth, and college students on spring break pay \$50 a night for a room. The total return for the beach is now \$50,000 per night, and for each hotel of 100 rooms it is only \$5,000. Somewhere in between these two extremes, perhaps with five hotels with 500 rooms at \$500 a night, the overall return for the beach would be \$250,000, even though each hotel of 100 rooms would only make \$50,000 per night. In theory, at the level of optimal development, existing producers would pay new producers to not develop additional rooms. While this transfer rarely occurs in reality, planners and policy makers still use the model as a rationale for planning and limiting new development. [See Table 1]

Table 1: Fictional example illustrating “The Tragedy of the Commons”

	One hotel	Ten hotels	Five hotels
Rooms per hotel	100	100	100
Total rooms on beach	100	1000	500
Price per room	\$1,000	\$20	\$500
Gross revenue per hotel per night	\$100,000	\$2,000	\$50,000
Gross revenue of beach per night	\$100,000	\$20,000	\$250,000

²⁵ “Design and development of future beach destinations: Lessons learned from Acapulco, Aruba, Cancun, and Costa Smeralda,” Fausto M. Barba Damm, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Masters Thesis, (1997).

²⁶ “The Tragedy of the Commons,” G Hardin, Science, 162:1243-1248 (1968).

One problem with this model is that it operates only on simple economic rules. It does not consider spatial patterns of development, which occur differently from numeric, space-independent models. For instance, Russo modeled new development occurring near a tourist city and showed that a segment he called “false excursionists” -- those who want to visit a ‘hot’ tourist destination but can not afford hotel and amenity prices near the center -- tend to stay in cheaper hotels at the periphery. Russo thus argues that overdevelopment of the theoretical ‘center’ in a tourist city is an oversimplified concern. Diverging from the theorists who only consider spatial patterns in passing, he posits that the costs of tourism (congestion, noise) are borne at the center, while the benefits (taxes collected, new jobs) are accrued at the periphery.²⁷

However, this model may apply differently to some of the world’s more inaccessible cities; Russo concedes that “when access to the city grows problematic, the interest in its cultural supply decreases, as does the willingness to pay for it.”²⁸ He is writing about getting from the periphery to the center of a single city, but this lesson can be understood globally as well. Getting to the center (the tourist destination) from the periphery (the tourist’s home) presents important issues of access. Distant cities with nascent tourism economies, like Zanzibar, which can require over 10 hours of travel time from the developed world, start off inaccessible. Visitors’ willingness to pay should therefore start off low rather than decline as observed in Russo’s congestions models. And the accrual of benefits at the tourist destination should occur more slowly.

Indeed, the issue of access -- whether physical, psychological, financial, or political -- has been credited with preserving the social, built, and environmental context of other tourist areas, such as St. Vincent in the Caribbean. In the early-1970s a visionary tourist planner named James “Son” Mitchell, who was also briefly Prime Minister, tried to implement policies to increase opportunity for locals, limit tourism’s effect on agricultural land, and prevent exploitation by restricting the development of large-scale hotels. Unfortunately, the international development community disparaged his efforts, and even locals were upset by the idea of limited growth. He was voted out of office, but in the end, some researchers considered his vision realized -- not for policy reasons, but because the island was inaccessible and politically unstable; it could not, for instance, develop a jet runway. This required visitors to make

²⁷ “The ‘Vicious Circle’ of Tourism Development in Heritage Cities,” A Russo, *Annals of Tourism Research*, v. 29, no. 1, 165-182 (2002).

²⁸ “The ‘Vicious Circle’ of Tourism Development in Heritage Cities,” A Russo, *Annals of Tourism Research*, v. 29, no. 1, 165-182 (2002) pp.175.

multiple layovers to get to the island; meanwhile, the unstable financial and political climate frightened off many would-be investors.²⁹ In the end, it was not the vision of planners that for better or worse prevented tourist development, but the characteristics of the island.

The other, much more problematic, failing of the economists' space-independent approach is that it doesn't necessarily consider how local people are affected by tourism. Some tourism planners have taken a straightforward approach to understanding the easily quantified issues arising from tourism. For example, Runyan and Wu conducted a meta-study of tourism's negative effects and developed a fairly comprehensive list of observable consequences.³⁰ [See Table 2]

In a similar vein, some studies have asked which tourism impacts are beneficial -- and which harm the local context. In a comparative study of three localities, two in central Turkey and one in Central Florida, Tosun finds only a few tourism impacts on which all three geographies agree on whether the impact of tourism is positive or negative. In all three regions respondents reported a positive impact on employment and tax revenue; no impact on politeness and manners; and a negative impact on drug addiction, individual crime, and organized crime. On 10 of the total 16 other factors -- grouped into 'Legal factors' like morality and alcoholism; 'Social factors' like attitude toward working and honesty; and 'Economic factors' like traffic conditions and quality of life -- there was no discernable pattern of similarity.³¹ In other words, communities are differently affected by tourism -- and perceive the local impact differently: "Tourism impacts are not universal. Naturally, host communities that differ in development experiences, development level, carrying capacity, and socio-cultural, political, and economic problems, should have different perceptions of tourism."³² In this context, residents' perceptions of impacts appear to be "affected by a welfare gap between hosts and guests; the distribution of the benefits of tourism among locals and between locals and non-locals; socio-cultural similarities or differences between residents and tourists; type, phase, and scale of development; level of local community participation in the process of

²⁹ "Making Tourism More Supportive of Small State Development: The case of St. Vincent," R Britton, *Annals of Tourism Research* May/Sept 268-278 (1977).

³⁰ "Assessing Tourism's More Complex Consequences," D Runyan and C Wu, *Annals of Tourism Research* Oct/Dec (1979).

³¹ "Host Perceptions of Impacts: A comparative tourism study," C Tosun, *Annals of Tourism Research* v. 29, no. 1. 231-253 (2002) pp. 239.

³² "Host Perceptions of Impacts: A comparative tourism study," C Tosun, *Annals of Tourism Research* v. 29, no. 1. 231-253 (2002) pp. 250.

TABLE 1: SOCIAL IMPACT OF TOURIST DEVELOPMENTS (Runyan and Wu, from multiple authors, 1979)

Economic development	Alterations of existing economic activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Number and other characteristics of positions ▪ Skills and experience required of new employees ▪ Relative status in economy of newly created occupations ▪ New production and service demands
	Emergence of a dependent economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Diversity within local economy ▪ Control exerted by multinational and other organizations (e.g. airlines and hotels)
	New national economic order	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Distribution of new economic benefits: rise of a new moneyed class ▪ Distribution of tourism related costs: inflation, increased dependence on imports, declining agricultural output or other factors
Recreation resources	Use of and conflict over existing recreation resources (including resources not currently used for recreation by residents)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Compatibility of tourist use with existing resident use ▪ Restriction/exclusion of use by resident population ▪ Increased usage to levels defined as congested by residents
	Resident use of new tourism-related recreation resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Alcoholism; drunkenness ▪ Decline of existing recreation forms: Individual recreation replacing group recreation
Family, community, & culture	Significant changes in the character (atmosphere; identity) of the community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Type and level of crime ▪ Use of imported and other manufactured goods ▪ Altered forms of social interaction
	Changes in family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Roles of women; distribution of authority within family ▪ Marital stability
	Loss of traditional skills and means of livelihood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Due to restricted use of resource areas by residents
	Significant personal attitude changes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Of self ▪ Towards strangers (hospitality)
	Significant attitude changes towards and participation in traditional ceremonial festivals, dances, and art forms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Loss of traditional meaning; changes in motivation for participation ▪ Development of “phony” folk culture: decline in quality of arts and crafts

development; and leisure policies of local and central governments.”³³ Due to all of these variables, it is difficult to predict how communities will respond to tourism, and therefore how to prepare for mitigation strategies; without an ability to correlate these factors with the experience of tourism, it is nearly impossible to know where to begin mitigation. Moreover, as we have seen, individuals’ self-assessments of what creates wellbeing in their lives can be wrong. There is no reason provided in Tosun’s study as to why we should believe his respondents that some effects were beneficial and others harmful.

The spatial distribution of local perception is highlighted in a study on tourism’s affect on language. In their study on the affect of tourism on local language, Brougham and Butler report that those who live in areas where there are not many tourist attractions and therefore few tourists -- areas they call “low tourist pressure areas” -- but who have a large degree of contact with tourists are the ones who report the greatest effect of tourism on language.³⁴ In areas where there is a large degree of ‘tourist pressure’ respondents reported a smaller effect. While the authors believe that this may be because language changes may have already occurred, it is also possible that those areas subject to continuous tourist pressure have historically been in a state of flux or those changes were expected when respondents moved into the area. Moreover, Brougham and Butler’s findings imply that the degree of change is not what matters to people, it is the perception of change -- and the perceptual assignment of that change as either bad or good. How these changes translate to wellbeing is debatable.

Beyond the clear problem of regional and individual differences in responses to tourism growth, the major problem with these approaches is that they simplify local peoples’ experience of tourists. Indeed, rather than framing the issue of tourist impact in terms of quantifiable or economic impacts like job creation, researchers should consider tourism’s more subtle effects. Broad statements have been made regarding everything from the internalization of lifestyles and attitudes to the inter-religion tensions that are imposed from the external forces of tourism, but, again, these are not necessarily correlated with actual levels of wellbeing.

One common response to observations of change is a call for the preservation of the local context. However, humans can adapt to new ideas rapidly, sometimes with joy and sometimes with anxiety; humans are dynamic creatures with many responses to contextual change. Therefore, the idea that human

³³ “Host Perceptions of Impacts: A comparative tourism study,” C Tosun, *Annals of Tourism Research* v. 29, no. 1. 231-253 (2002) pp. 250-251.

³⁴ “A Segmentation Analysis of Resident Attitudes to the Social Impact of Tourism,” J Brougham and R Butler, *Annals of Tourism Research* VIII(4) 569-590 (1981) pp. 580.

interactions, lifestyles, and patterns should be preserved is not necessarily true; if humans can adapt to change, one must ask why preservation of existing patterns is important. Perhaps some lifestyle choices are objectively better. Maybe not for every individual in a group, but statistically speaking that lifestyle may maximize utility across a group -- or even for individuals within the group who couldn't predict the improvement. In some cases, change can greatly improve people's lives. Cowen, for instance, documents moments of incredible cultural fertility when cultures interact -- even though the same dynamic can ultimately ravage the unique attributes of a culture. He writes that "Cross-cultural contact often mobilizes the creative fruits of an ethos ... however, the larger or wealthier culture upsets the balance of forces that ruled in the smaller or poorer culture."³⁵ The increasing availability of international foods in locales around the world is just one testament to the benefits of globalization. This is especially true when individuals welcome new ideas and lifestyles without resentment, tension, or gaps in financial or demographic vitality.

However, Cowen is writing of the benefits and drawbacks to the creative and philosophical arts; he does not begin to address the issues of whether people are actually -- or even simply perceive themselves to be -- better off; this despite the fact that Cowen is ostensibly writing of the effects of globalization on culture. Other authors are more finely attuned to the subtle affects of intercultural relationships. Consider the writing of Britton who notes that tourism's "negative impacts are not only economic, but social, cultural, and environmental."³⁶ From an economic, environment, and infrastructure perspective he notes that tourism imposes a mixed bag of costs and benefits on local populations:

Although a high-rise hotel is a much-desired symbol of Westernization, it is hardly a suitable design for energy- and resource-poor states... The competition for land and manpower between tourism and agriculture inflates rents and pressures small farmers off their land... Infrastructure expenditures for airports, harbors, roads, electricity, sewage, and water are generally borne by island governments. Although many of these are also used by residents, there is ample evidence that the tourist is not paying his/her way...³⁷

Britton's real contribution, however, is his observation that the social and psychological effects of tourism can be deleterious:

³⁵ Creative Destruction: How Globalization Is Changing the World's Cultures, Tyler Cowen, (2002) pp. 55-56.

³⁶ "Making Tourism More Supportive of Small State Development: The case of St. Vincent," R Britton, *Annals of Tourism Research* May/Sept 268-278 (1977) pp. 271.

³⁷ "Making Tourism More Supportive of Small State Development: The case of St. Vincent," R Britton, *Annals of Tourism Research* May/Sept 268-278 (1977) pp. 271.

Original stereotypes are perpetuated in the minds both of locals and of visitors. The zoo-like ecological separation of enclave tourism fuels resentment. The demonstration effect -- locals' adoption of tourists' consumption preferences -- has a sizable impact on culture and the economy; lifestyles whiten, local goods become the object of derision, and already strained balance of payments accounts are further burdened. Commercialization of island life affects people and culture. Selflessness and goodwill disappear in a wage society. Cultural expressions are bastardized in order to be more comprehensible and therefore salable to mass tourism. As folk art is diluted, local interest in it declines.³⁸

The coming together of Christians and Muslims at tourist destinations, a union which holds the promise of increased understanding, may also lead to unnecessary tensions. These tensions are largely a result of:

poor relations between Islamic and Western nations. Islam has been associated with conservatism, oppression, terrorism, and anti-Western sentiment while the west is criticized as an imperialist aggressor pursuing economic, social, and political domination whose people are infidels of lax morals. Attitudes of tourists and their hosts are likely to be coloured by such conceptions, and cultures in which religion plays a fundamentally different role may clash at destinations. The arrival of non-Muslim inbound tourists is perhaps more disruptive for local Muslim communities than the situation reversed due to the religious codes which inform and are manifest in their daily lives which may be violated by tourists knowingly or accidentally.³⁹

In all of these examples, we see how tourism planners frame issues -- sometimes scientifically, but almost always based on preconceived notions -- merely assumed to relate to wellbeing. And while these authors never explicitly claim to address issues of wellbeing, it seems that their goal of 'betterment' in a given locale is unquestionable. Unfortunately, they lack a language to discuss whether wellbeing has actually been considered, addressed, or improved. What the studies do provide, however, is direction for researchers intent on uncovering what it is about residents' experience of tourism that drives wellbeing. Each and all of the tourism researchers makes potentially valid points about the disruptive or beneficial affects of tourism; statistical research should uncover which factors truly increase or decrease wellbeing.

³⁸ "Making Tourism More Supportive of Small State Development: The case of St. Vincent," R Britton, *Annals of Tourism Research* May/Sept 268-278 (1977) pp. 271-272.

³⁹ "Managing Tourism and Islam in Peninsular Malaysia," J Henderson, *Tourism Management* 24 447-456 (2003) pp. 449.

And if the theory that wellbeing is an aggregate of discrete moments -- rather than a persistent state separate from those moments -- than tourism researchers' focus on tensions and benefits could turn out to be appropriately directed.

Thread two: Writings and activities of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture

The Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN) is an organization headed by the Aga Khan, Imam of the Shia Imami Ismaili Muslims. [See Graphic 2] Through eight agencies in three arms -- economic development, social development, and culture -- the AKDN provides:

[H]ealth, education, culture, rural development, institution-building and the promotion of economic development. It is dedicated to improving living conditions and opportunities for the poor, without regard to their faith, origin or gender.⁴⁰

In 1991, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Professor John de Monchaux and his wife Suzanne de Monchaux helped the non-profit arm of the AKDN, the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC), develop the Historic Cities Support Programme (HCSP). Mr. and Ms. De Monchaux wrote a report detailing the steps necessary to formalize an existing assortment of interventions into one coordinated effort, which would eventually be called the HCSP. This organization has made unique attempts to create positive social outcomes through tourist developments by promoting "the conservation and re-use of buildings and public spaces in historic cities in the Muslim World."⁴¹ HCSP projects, seven total in six countries, were developed with a continuous commitment to mitigating social impact; they represent a rare instance where local values, needs, activities, and attitudes were given consideration throughout the development process.

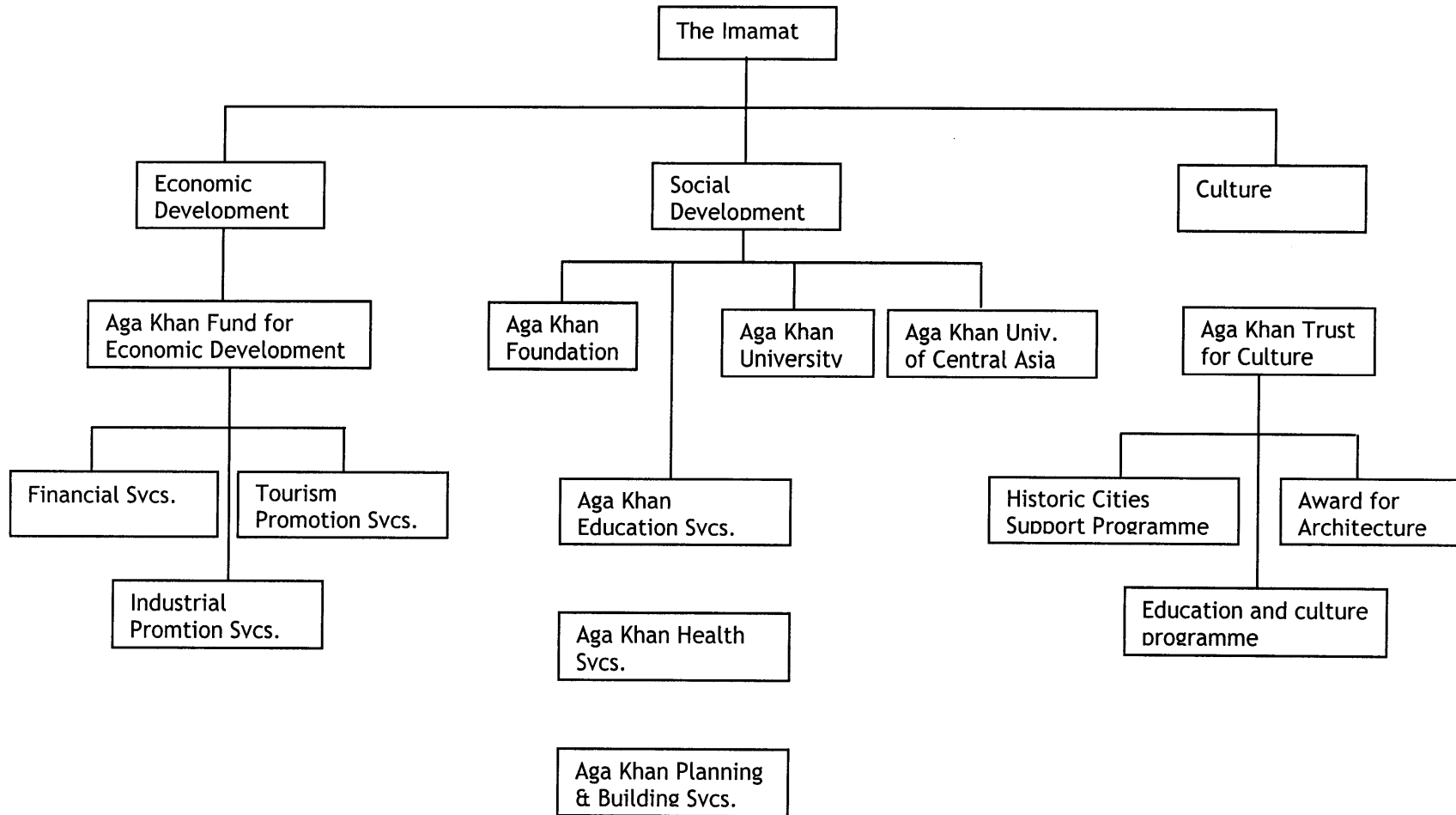
The Aga Khan Trust for Culture is the non-profit arm of this organization. It has several main functions, choosing to focus on the built environment as a focal and starting point for economic, social, and cultural development.

The Trust focuses on the physical, social, cultural and economic revitalisation of communities in the Muslim world. It includes the Aga Khan Award for Architecture, the Historic Cities Support Programme, the Music Initiative in Central Asia, the Humanities

⁴⁰ Retrieved from <http://www.akdn.org/about.html> on December 8, 2003

⁴¹ Retrieved from http://www.akdn.org/agency/aktc_hcsp.html#projects on November 11, 2003

Graphic 2: Organization chart of the Aga Khan Development Network



Project, the on-line resource ArchNet, and the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.⁴²

The chance to focus efforts on the built environment is at once a recognition that interventions must start somewhere, that the intervention not threaten local governments, and that the AKTC has specific institutional expertise in that area.

In the documentation that set up the Historic Cities Support Program, the AKTC articulated its ongoing belief in the importance of operationalizing a philosophical stance. This required commitment to cultural sensitivity and knowledge that serving social goals often means balancing conflicting interests:

Tourism, as a probable accompaniment to, and even consequence of, the program's activities was seen to have operational and philosophical implications to which the program will need to respond. Operationally the program will need to be concerned with the feasibility of meeting tourist demand stimulated, at least in part, by its activities. Philosophically the HCP will need to attend to the potentially negative impacts of tourism on the cultural and environmental attributes of the setting that the program is celebrating or reinforcing.⁴³

Any effort to manage these forces, according to early documentation from the AKTC, must arise from a thorough understanding of a structure: "restoration did not simply involve getting a building back into good physical shape, it involved the intellectual tasks of understanding what the building had been, in what context, and of developing criteria for its use which respected that past as well as the intentions of the program."⁴⁴ This requirement to understand a building as a basis for redevelopment, meant that extensive background research should accompany any intervention -- even when the benefit of that research was unclear or intangible. Early documentation envisages that the "formal development of cultural profiles and ethnographical material should be a vital part of program activities from the outset

⁴² Retrieved from <http://www.akdn.org/agency/aktc.html> on April 20, 2004

⁴³ Report to the Aga Khan Trust for Culture on the Historic Cities Program, J de Monchaux and S de Monchaux, Planning Urban Design & Research Consultants (1990) pp. 6.

⁴⁴ Report to the Aga Khan Trust for Culture on the Historic Cities Program, J de Monchaux and S de Monchaux, Planning Urban Design & Research Consultants (1990) pp. 21.

and if possible precede decisions on building or environmental intervention.”⁴⁵ Operationalizing a philosophical stance meant respecting both abstract research and real world requirements for feasibility: projects must be profitable, they must receive support from local government institutions, and they must be supported by local communities. It seems that the HCSP believes the intangible benefits of contextual understanding would lead to a higher likelihood of long-term success.

This understanding did not imply a conviction to resolve historical, existing, or future tensions -- only a sense that to approach them with full awareness is preferable to contextually blind development. This could create awareness, for instance, that there is no way to reconcile some conflicting goals: “Without significant training efforts ... it was reported that it would be near impossible to ensure an adequate labour force for the efforts being planned in Zanzibar. And ... it was probable that the only way that the task could be accomplished would be by bringing skilled labourers from Kenya -- thereby defeating the economic goal in order to meet the restoration goal of high quality, timely, workmanship.”⁴⁶ The AKTC did not presume to resolve this, only to develop an approach out of awareness of this conflict. In any case, highlighting dilemmas early means future researchers could engage problems from a position of awareness rather than ignorance.

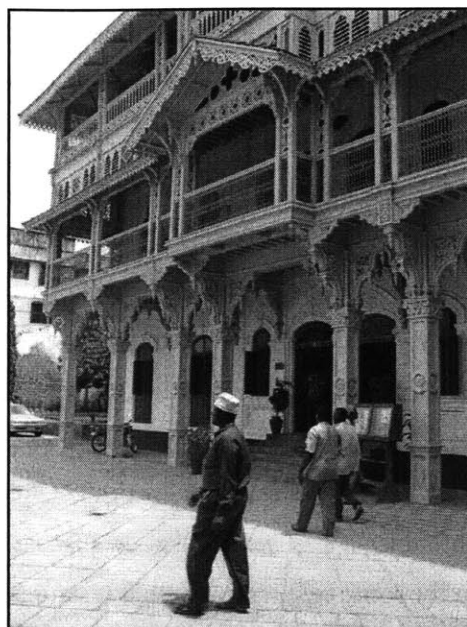
Aga Khan Trust for Culture activities in Zanzibar

In Zanzibar the AKTC is represented by Aga Khan Cultural Services, Zanzibar (AKCSZ), a non-profit organization set up by, but financially separate from, the AKTC; AKCSZ must apply for funding from the head offices of the AKTC in Geneva. The on-site presence allows the organization to oversee both the Stone Town Cultural Center and to assist with the Community-Based Rehabilitation (CBR) program, a multi-level social, cultural, and vocational intervention co-funded by the AKTC, the Swedish organization SIDA, and the Ford Foundation.

The AKTC is committed to driving economic and social growth through interventions in the built environment. It is explicitly engaged in restoring buildings, institution building, and seeding local economic growth. It appears that the Zanzibari government allows this level of intervention because it is

⁴⁵ Report to the Aga Khan Trust for Culture on the Historic Cities Program, J de Monchaux and S de Monchaux, Planning Urban Design & Research Consultants (1990) pp. 31.

⁴⁶ Report to the Aga Khan Trust for Culture on the Historic Cities Program, J de Monchaux and S de Monchaux, Planning Urban Design & Research Consultants (1990) pp. 32.



Picture 1: Serena Inn, Zanzibar (top), and the Old Dispensary (right).

so impoverished: The Zanzibari housing authority has an annual budget of \$35,000, while 10 residential buildings rehabilitated by the AKTC cost around \$40,000 each. Yet, for every intervention the AKTC engages in, it seems to find more it needs to do -- and, at several points in Zanzibar it has expanded its mandate to do so. For the AKTC to move up to larger scales of responsibility appears to be a tacit understand that it is organizationally equipped to do so.

The efforts of the AKTC and the AKCSZ have become increasingly complex and nuanced over the years. Originally, the AKTC was involved in the redevelopment of the Old Dispensary and the Extelcom Building, which would become the Serena Inn, Zanzibar. [See Picture 1] These two projects proceeded on very different paths. The Old Dispensary was rehabilitated and subsequently managed entirely by the AKTC organization and its subsidiary the AKCSZ, while the Serena was developed by a for-profit arm of the AKDN called Tourism Promotion Services (TPS). The AKTC involvement in that project was primarily in pre-development: it provided a loan to TPS that implied oversight and helped assure other investors; the AKTC also facilitated design and planning activities by developing the cultural and design guidelines for the Serena.

At the same time, the AKTC intervened in Zanzibar policy. The organization helped the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA) conduct and write a preservation plan. This plan involved a comprehensive survey of existing and planned development.

In the following years, the AKTC expanded into other activities. Perhaps this was in recognition that broader implications of existing efforts warranted management; perhaps the AKTC decided that it could have a greater positive impact by expanding its role. Regardless of the reason, the resulting program, the Community-Based Rehabilitation program, evolved into a multilevel intervention including capacity building, capital infusion, education, policy review, and housing rehabilitation.

Finally, the AKTC has several new projects planned. While the AKTC claims that the Old Dispensary has been profitable, it has never been as successful as hoped. Clearly, something about the space makes it unviable for some businesses; both a restaurant and several offices have closed in the building due to lack of business. Moreover, the Old Dispensary never generated the anticipated level of human activity. To remedy this, a plan is in place to redevelop the building into a Maritime Museum. By also redeveloping the adjacent port space, the Old Dispensary will hopefully soon welcome ferry visitors to a center of learning, culture, and above all, bustling activity. This plan appears to be further along than two other redevelopment plans -- one for the dilapidated waterfront, the other for the deteriorating yet only open space in the Stone Town, Forodhani Park.

The AKTC hasn't accomplished all this without some popular complaint. Some Zanzibari residents believe that the AKTC is too involved in playing the political game, that they are more interested in accomplishing high-profile projects than necessary amenities. This is a common complaint about aid organizations, but AKTC documentation explicitly recognizes that results matter above protracted philosophical argumentation: authors claim a "need to conceive of projects in a way that brings early and evident benefits to local people as the constituents of government."⁴⁷ Without getting projects done, government will not sustain support for the interventions. So in some cases the organization must simply deliver -- and not necessarily deliver the most desired outcomes. A second related complaint is that "their projects are not for the people." (Interview) As evidence of this, one interviewee points to the relatively vacant Old Dispensary as an example of a failed community center. The interviewee, despite detailed

⁴⁷ Report to the Aga Khan Trust for Culture on the Historic Cities Program, J de Monchaux and S de Monchaux, Planning Urban Design & Research Consultants (1990) pp. 6.

familiarity with Zanzibar, was unaware that the AKTC planned to reprogram the building as a museum to encourage local use.

Development based on an understanding and appreciation of the local context clearly does not guarantee successful projects, nor does it guarantee development of the exact right project for an area. However, it does allow a framework for discussing, planning, and evaluating the project on terms beyond simple profitability. Where locally-driven development is required but where existing economic or political conditions make it unlikely to occur, foreign development may be unavoidable. And if that development is based on local conditions, it will hopefully be less of an imposition. Moreover, when development occurs in ways that maximize the psychological experience of users, than it will truly support wellbeing; the benefits of development based on understanding the local psychological context may exceed the benefits of development based on understanding the local cultural context.

Thread three: Hedonic Psychology

The psychological literature may help direct tourism planners and developers to observe more nuanced affects of tourism by applying scientific and statistical rigor to the drivers of human wellbeing; because this literature provides a framework for approaching social impact, it may suggest a way to support local needs without costly and time-dependent participatory processes. While some development experts have tried to create guidelines for development -- in 1971, for example Goulet proposed “three core values of development”: life sustenance (provision of basic needs), self esteem (self-respect), and freedom (from want, ignorance, and squalor)⁴⁸ -- those were imposed values, syntheses of existing goals, and reflections of personal belief; they were not conclusions from statistical research on the drivers of human wellbeing. However, a relatively recent trend in the psychological literature has attempted to define these drivers of wellbeing, and resulted in the field of Hedonic Psychology.

In this literature, four major points are applicable to the present research. First, current research suggests the potential primacy of competence, autonomy, and relatedness as drivers of wellbeing. This research is still in flux, but for now there is little reason to believe that these are invalid drivers of wellbeing. Second, a danger lies in assuming that these drivers are similarly predictive of wellbeing across cultures, however, core cultural values differently impact personal and social wellbeing. Third, the increased wellbeing that correlates with wealth is a story of diminishing returns -- and a story of numerous confounding variables.

⁴⁸ The Cruel Choice: A new concept on the theory of development, D Goulet (1971).

Fourth, the individual's reaction to an environment is a mixture of cognitive (evaluative) and affective (arousal) features; responses fall on each of two dichotomous poles: environments are experienced as pleasant-unpleasant and as active-inactive. While my definition of Hedonic Psychology could include many more theoretical approaches, I believe current research identifies these factors as sufficient to posit a new framework for approaching tourism planning and development.

At its simplest, Hedonic Psychology can be seen as an effort to reverse a trend where, "for much of the last century, psychology's focus on the amelioration of psychopathology overshadowed the promotion of well-being and personal growth."⁴⁹ Kahneman explores the concept of objective happiness as the average of utility over a period of time,⁵⁰ but it is Diener and Lucas (2000) who most succinctly report the importance of approaching wellbeing from a scientific standpoint:

Researchers who study subjective social indicators take the utilitarian view that the good society is one that provides for the greatest happiness for the largest number of its citizens. Although we recognize that other criteria must be considered when evaluating quality of life (Diener et al., in press), we argue that other things being equal, the society with high subjective well-being is the preferable one.⁵¹

In his compilation of writings on the field of Hedonic Psychology, Kahneman defines "hedonic psychology ... [as] the study of what makes experiences and life pleasant or unpleasant. Hedonic psychology therefore covers pleasure and pain, interest and boredom, joy and sorrow, satisfaction and dissatisfaction."⁵² Yet, it is not a well-defined field, and confusion over the proper name for the field is reflected in the many theoretical frameworks currently competing for widespread acceptance: Most of these frameworks, according to Ryan and Deci (2001) can be seen as either representing an 'hedonic approach' or a 'eudaimonic approach.'⁵³ Because of this confusion, for the purposes of this study I feel

⁴⁹ "On happiness and human potentials: A Review of Research on Hedonic and Eudaimonic Well-Being," R Ryan and E Deci, *Annual Review of Psychology* 52:141-66 (2001) pp. 142.

⁵⁰ Well-Being: The Foundation of Hedonic Psychology, D Kahneman, E Diener and N Schwarz (eds.), Russell Sage Foundation (1999) pp. 247.

⁵¹ "Explaining differences in societal levels of happiness: relative standards, need fulfillment, culture, and evaluation theory," E Diener and R Lucas, *Journal of Happiness Studies* 1: 41-78 (2000) pp. 41.

⁵² Well-Being: The Foundation of Hedonic Psychology, D Kahneman, E Diener and N Schwarz (eds.), Russell Sage Foundation (1999) pp. ix.

⁵³ "On happiness and human potentials: A Review of Research on Hedonic and Eudaimonic Well-Being," R Ryan and E Deci, *Annual Review of Psychology* 52:141-66 (2001).

free to draw a broad line around these approaches, as well as from the findings of environmental psychology and cross-cultural research, to speak of them together as the field of Hedonic Psychology. I do not intend to provide here a comprehensive report on psychological studies of wellbeing; thousands of studies have addressed the condition. Here, I outline a few seminal works in broad strokes.

Each approach addresses wellbeing differently. Environmental psychology focuses on man's interaction with his environment, while the existing field of Hedonic Psychology -- otherwise known as the "two traditions in the study of well-being" -- has an implicit unresolved tension in its area of study.

[T]he field has witnessed the formation of two relatively distinct, yet overlapping, perspectives and paradigms for empirical inquiry into well-being that revolve around two distinct philosophies. The first of these can be broadly labeled hedonism (Kahneman et al 1999) and reflects the view that wellbeing consists of pleasure or happiness. The second view ... is that well-being ... lies instead in the actualization of human potentials... The view has been called eudaimonism.⁵⁴

For this study, I shall not try to resolve this tension, only to recognize that researchers are approaching the study of well-being at multiple levels of analysis.

The methodology for this approach generally involves large-scale sampling over time or across different groups. Regression analysis is then used to correlate behaviors, attitudes, or activities with different affective states, such as wellbeing and life satisfaction.⁵⁵

Any approach that provides clues for maximizing wellbeing in the planning and development process is worth exploration. A brief description of several sub-fields -- subjective wellbeing, psychological wellbeing, and self-determination theory -- illuminates the range of existing approaches. Again, none of these have been conclusively proven to be the true drivers of wellbeing. All they indicate to planners is that sensitivity to psychological states can guide development decisions. And the fact that they are

⁵⁴ "On happiness and human potentials: A Review of Research on Hedonic and Eudaimonic Well-Being," R Ryan and E Deci, *Annual Review of Psychology* 52:141-66 (2001) pp. 142-143.

⁵⁵ "Correlates of Happiness: 7838 findings from 603 studies in 69 nations, 1911-1994," (3 volumes), R Veenhoven, RISBO, Series Studies in Social and Cultural (also available electronically at <http://www.eur.nl/fsw/soc/happiness.html>). (1994a)

specifically engaged in a process to uncover the drivers of wellbeing merits the attention of planners and developers alike: no other field has claimed to attempt to detangle this complex relationship.

The relatively straightforward idea of “subjective well-being (SWB) (Diener & Lucas 1999) ... consists of three components: life satisfaction, the presence of positive mood, and the absence of negative mood, together often summarized as happiness.”⁵⁶ This framework provides some guidance as we consider the specific interventions a planner might make -- including provision of events, amenities, and appealing aesthetics. Ryff and Keyes however, wrote of “psychological well-being (PWB) as distinct from SWB and presented a multidimensional approach to the measurement of PWB that taps six distinct aspects of human actualization: autonomy, personal growth, self-acceptance, life purpose, mastery, and positive relatedness.”⁵⁷ However, Ryan and Deci feel that PWB is too broad.⁵⁸ They suggest that an abbreviated list fully captures the range of psychological needs that define wellbeing: “Self-determination theory (SDT) is another perspective that has both embraced the concept of eudaimonia, or self-realization, as a central definitional aspect of well-being and attempted to specify both what it means to actualize the self and how that can be accomplished. Specifically, SDT posits three basic psychological needs -- autonomy, competence, and relatedness -- and theorizes that fulfillment of these needs is essential for psychological growth.”⁵⁹ Regardless of whether one applies the short or the long list of drivers of wellbeing, these ideas can help guide development decisions by encouraging projects that deliver on these needs.

Hedonic Psychology does not prescribe a specific set of drivers of wellbeing that is universally valued across all situations, individuals, and cultures. It primarily recognizes that those drivers exist, but it also recognizes differences across individuals and groups. First, interpersonal differences are an obvious parameter for individuals’ different states of wellbeing: “higher-order needs such as the need for social contact can vary greatly across individuals; some people need much social contact, others need very little.”⁶⁰ Second, recognition of cultural and situational differences is necessary to understand different

⁵⁶ “Personality and subjective well-being,” E Diener and R Lucas, In Kahneman et al (1999), 213–29 (1999) pp. 144.

⁵⁷ “The structure of psychological well-being revisited,” C Ryff, C Keyes, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 69:719–27 (1995) pp. 146.

⁵⁸ “Self-determination theory and the facilitation of intrinsic motivation, social development, and well-being,” R Ryan, E Deci, *American Psychology* 55:68–78 (2000).

⁵⁹ “On happiness and human potentials: A Review of Research on Hedonic and Eudaimonic Well-Being,” R Ryan and E Deci, *Annual Review of Psychology* 52:141–66 (2001) pp. 146.

⁶⁰ “Explaining differences in societal levels of happiness: relative standards, need fulfillment, culture, and evaluation theory,” E Diener and R Lucas, *Journal of Happiness Studies* 1: 41–78 (2000) pp. 46.

states of wellbeing: “contextual and cultural, as well as developmental, factors continually influence the modes of expression, the means of satisfaction, and the ambient supports for these needs.”⁶¹ This is especially important in cross-cultural comparisons. Several examples suffice:

1. Oishi et al (1999) found that wealth predicted wellbeing better in poor nations than wealthy nations, but that satisfaction with home life predicted wellbeing better in wealthier nations.⁶² Meanwhile, “cultural variables explain differences in mean levels of SWB and appear to be due to objective factors such as wealth, to norms dictating appropriate feelings and how important SWB is considered to be, and to the relative approach versus avoidance tendencies of societies.”⁶³
2. Suh et al. (1998) found that in cultures characterized by collectivist tendencies, emotions played a lower role in individual’s assessment of life satisfaction than in cultures characterized by individualist tendencies. In cultures with high collectivist tendencies, the ability to act according to group norms was a stronger predictor of life satisfaction.⁶⁴
3. Diener & Diener (1995) found that the strength of SWB correlated differently to satisfaction with wealth, friends, and family varied by nation.⁶⁵

Indeed, the function of wealth in wellbeing shows that economic development in poorer countries can help increase the overall level of wellbeing, but the observed pattern of decreasing marginal utility for increasing wealth in wealthier nations indicates that this endeavor is only sometimes an objective social benefit -- but not always.

1. There are large correlations between the wealth of nations and the mean reports of SWB in them, 2. There are mostly small correlations between income and SWB within nations, although these correlations appear to be larger in poor nations, and the risk of

⁶¹ “On happiness and human potentials: A Review of Research on Hedonic and Eudaimonic Well-Being,” R Ryan and E Deci, *Annual Review of Psychology* 52:141–66 (2001) pp. 147.

⁶² “Cross-cultural variations in predictors of life satisfaction: perspectives from needs and values,” S Oishi, E Diener, R Lucas, E Suh, *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 25:980–90 (1999).

⁶³ “Personality, culture, and subjective well-being: Emotional and Cognitive Evaluations of Life,” E Diener, S Oishi, and R Lucas, *Annual Review of Psychology* 54:403–25 (2003) pp. 403.

⁶⁴ “The shifting basis of life satisfaction judgments across cultures: emotions versus norms,” E Suh, E Diener, S Oishi, H Triandis, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 74:482–93 (1998).

⁶⁵ “Cross-cultural variations in predictors of life satisfaction: perspectives from needs and values,” S Oishi, E Diener, R Lucas, E Suh, *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 25:980–90 (1999).

unhappiness is much higher for poor people, 3. Economic growth in the last decades in most economically developed societies has been accompanied by little rise in SWB, and increases in individual income lead to variable outcomes, and 4. People who prize material goals more than other values tend to be substantially less happy, unless they are rich.⁶⁶

One theory why wealth is a greater predictor of wellbeing in poor countries than in rich countries has to do with the ability of the individual to realize personal wellbeing:

A poor infrastructure within a nation constrains opportunities for stable relationships, personal expressiveness, and productivity. Thus, not only can national poverty interfere with satisfaction of physical needs, such as food and shelter, but it can also block access to exercising competencies, pursuing interests, and maintaining relationships, which would provide psychological need satisfaction. Thus, within poorer nations, the value of money for satisfying needs may be more critical than it is within a nation where most citizens have access to some basic resources for pursuing their goals.⁶⁷

The ability of a place, however, to serve the psychological needs of residents is less well understood from the perspective of psychological wellbeing. Careful attention to the psychological impact of the physical environment may provide some clues, but these considerations suffer from the same lack of scientific rigor as much of the tourism planning literature. Environmental psychology has generated an important framework for approaching the built environment of all areas. "Russell and his collaborators (Russell & Pratt, 1980; Russell et al., 1981; Ward & Russell, 1981; Russell & Snodgrass, 1987; Russell, 1988)⁶⁸ constantly found two dimensions of arousal and pleasure as the primary dimensions underlying

⁶⁶ "Will money increase subjective well-being? A Literature Review and Guide to Needed Research," E Diener and R Biswas-Diener, *Social Indicators Research* 57: 119-169 (2002) pp. 119.

⁶⁷ "On happiness and human potentials: A Review of Research on Hedonic and Eudaimonic Well-Being," R Ryan and E Deci, *Annual Review of Psychology* 52:141-66 (2001) pp. 153.

⁶⁸ "Affective appraisals of environments," J Russell, In J. L. Nasar, (Ed.), Environmental Aesthetics: Theorem Research and Applications 120-129 (1988).

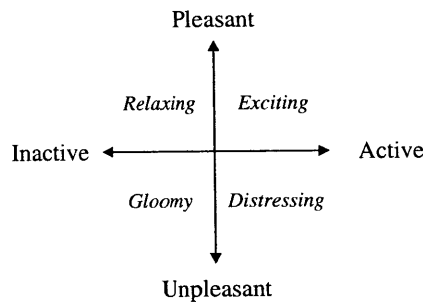
"A description of the affective quality attributed to environment," J Russell & G Pratt, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 38, 313-322 (1980).

"Emotion and environment," J Russell & J Snodgrass, In D Stokols & I Altman, (Eds), Handbook of Environmental Psychology 245-280 (1987).

"Affective quality attributed to environments: a factor analysis study," Russell, J, Ward, L & Pratt, G, *Environment and Behavior* 13, 259-288 (1981).

emotional/affective appraisals of places. In theory, the combination of the two primary dimensions provides four more affective appraisal states: exciting, relaxing, gloomy, and distressing.”⁶⁹ [See Graphic 3] Since wellbeing is not specifically tied to issue of happiness, the call for diverse environments may be a more fundamental lesson from these findings than for constantly pleasant environments. Unfortunately, Hedonic Psychology has not yet addressed the myriad ways the built environment generates or detracts from wellbeing. As a framework for analysis it may be most useful when the planner is unfamiliar with an environment and must make an assessment based on incomplete information, as we will see in *Adopting the Guidelines implicit in the Hedonic Psychology Approach*.

Graphic 3: Cognitive/affective response to space



The benefits of the Hedonic Psychology Approach arise from its scientific foundation. While it remains an evolving set of parameters, that does not justify ignoring its findings. Indeed, the assessment of wellbeing should be central to individuals making interventions of any kind in the lives of others. And while Hedonic Psychology provides a framework, it does not automatically answer questions arising from resource limitations or conflicts of interest. For instance,

[A]ir conditioning is often criticized as a frivolous waste of energy by environmentalists, and yet thermoregulation is undoubtedly a universal human need. If the fulfillment of needs is necessary for subjective well-being, it might be that adequate air conditioning is a prerequisite for the happiness of societies located in hot climates... If needs theory is

⁶⁹ “Visual properties and affective appraisals in residential areas in daylight,” K Hanyu, *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 20, 273-284 (2000) pp. 273.

true to some degree, the task is to map goods and services, as well as various types of societal structures, onto need fulfillment.⁷⁰

Of course, this approach has its limitations. Most importantly for this study, it does not address the tourist environment; it says nothing about the tensions and opportunities that arise from local contact with visitors. Nor has it yet provided any hints about how to operationalize its findings.

Tying the three threads together

An approach to tourism planning that incorporates drivers of wellbeing would reflect a proper understanding of the nuances inherent to human experience. I call this approach the ‘Hedonic Psychology Approach,’ and presume that it would endeavor to create environments that, where feasible, provide autonomy, competence, and relatedness to users. The approach would consider the affective and cognitive experience of the built environment; it would incorporate additional research into the impacts of tourism that are actually related to wellbeing. And it would deliver on the operational promise of the AKTC by providing workable solutions.

In other words, the three threads in the social impact management literature all support one another. The “current approach to tourism studies” indicates potential areas of tension; “Hedonic Psychology” provides statistical and objective rigor to the analysis; and the AKTC shows how these findings might reify into actual developments.

In admittedly general terms, the three threads focus on different but related areas. AKTC programs and the Hedonic Psychology approach look at social wellbeing, but only the second can lay claim on resting on a scientific foundation for increasing that wellbeing. Both the current approach to tourism studies and the writings and activities of the AKTC are interested in cultural vitality, but the existing approach has little operational experience beyond a few examples of ‘how-to’ development ideas. Only the AKTC combine social goals with implementation expertise. Clearly, the tourism literature and the AKTC have begun to address the subtle effects of tourism; but without a language to describe or assess those impacts, efforts at and proposals for management are bound to miss the mark of wellbeing -- even if only narrowly.

⁷⁰ “Explaining differences in societal levels of happiness: relative standards, need fulfillment, culture, and evaluation theory,” E Diener and R Lucas, *Journal of Happiness Studies* 1: 41–78 (2000) pp. 47.

A consideration of a psychologically-based approach to planning implies that a justification for planners' efforts exists that could build on, but would go beyond, the economists' "Tragedy of the Commons." In the new approach, the job of the planner, whether involved in tourism or not, is to understand the local context as well as the psychological context and to explicitly increase the wellbeing of all the individuals who use the space. For some goals, like providing food or access to clean water, psychological analysis may be too subtle. However, once basic needs are accommodated, a social approach reflecting the application of the Hedonic Psychologist's methods would, at the very least, not be harmful. At best, it would allow a language to describe the benefits that arise from such efforts as cultural and architectural preservation, traffic mitigation, and quality of life proposals. And while proper application of the approach in the tourist context -- with a longitudinal, statistically significant sample of existing populations -- would likely be too resource intense and too time dependent, it may be the only way to properly apply it. In the meantime, an understanding of the drivers of wellbeing can provide a framework for planning and development.

The greatest challenge, however, is in applying a nascent field to the real world. As Kahneman writes, "we recognize, with a large degree of humility, that scientific understanding in this field is currently woefully inadequate to provide a strong underpinning for national politics. We believe, however, that in the decades to come there will be much greater success in understanding hedonics, and that principles will emerge that can be used by policy makers."⁷¹

The uncertainty around the application of the Hedonic Psychology Approach is an invitation for research, not a disincentive.

⁷¹ Well-Being: The Foundation of Hedonic Psychology, D Kahneman, E Diener and N Schwarz (eds.), Russell Sage Foundation (1999) pp. xi.

ZANZIBAR: EXISTING CONDITIONS

When organizations attempt contextually-sensitive development, clearly they must first attempt a characterization of the place. This chapter analyses Zanzibar from the perspective of such an organization; it is a description of several of the many dimensions that define life in Zanzibar, and it is a recreation of the process that presumably occurs as part of the ‘writings and activities of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture.’” It is an attempt to understand the local context to inform future development.

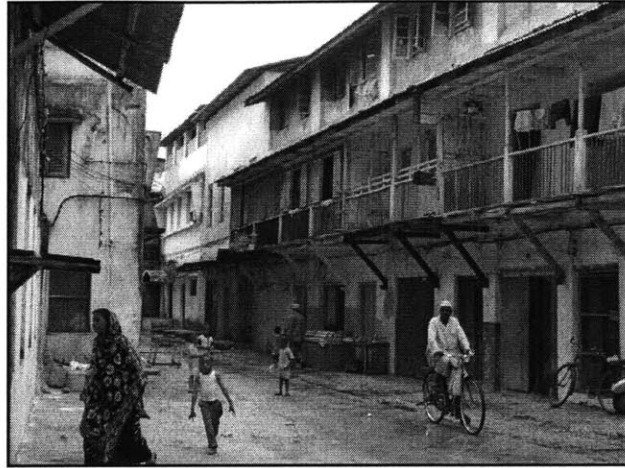
The features of many African states -- such as corruption, lack of development, and institutional disorganization -- manifest equally in Zanzibar; with a per capita GDP of USD 600, Tanzania is tied as the second poorest country in the world (as measured by per capita GDP).⁷² And while every visitor may experience his first steps in Zanzibar differently -- some people travel straight from a plane to a resort, others travel to the more vibrant urban center -- the visceral responses upon arrival in Zanzibar are striking.

Most immediately obvious are the harsh environmental conditions. These can not be overstated for one unfamiliar with Zanzibar: from December through March it is stultifyingly hot; from June to September is reportedly cooler due to sea breezes; and monsoon rains pour down periodically throughout the rest of the year.⁷³

Second, the poverty of the island is on display everywhere. In the markets, residents’ clothes are frequently ripped and dirty; shoes are ragged. White visitors -- who especially stand out -- are told intricate tales of family and medical emergencies in pleas for money; hawkers continually and persistently attempt sales. The high-pressure tactics are understandable since most visitors to the Stone Town stay for only a few days and merchants have only a brief window to make a sale; visitors with a negative impression usually move on shortly. Institutional poverty is also visible in the buildings, for structural

⁷² Retrieved on May 3, 2004 from: <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/rankorder/2004rank.html>

⁷³ Zanzibar has a yearly average temperature of 81 degrees, and the hottest month averages 84 degrees. Average precipitation in the rainiest month of April is nearly 13 inches. By way of comparison, Boston has an average yearly temperature of 54, and July temperatures average 74 degrees; in no single month does Boston’s average precipitation rise above 4.2 inches. Air conditioning is virtually absent from Zanzibar. (Retrieved from <http://www.weatherbase.com/> on March 17, 2004)



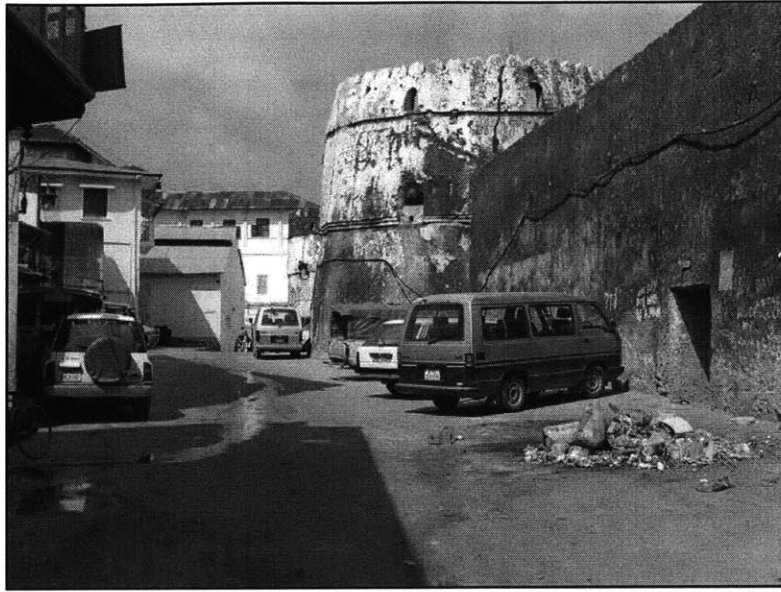
Picture 2: The streets of the Stone Town

deterioration and deferred maintenance is a common problem. Much of the city looks run down. [See Picture 2]

Finally, the Stone Town is remarkably dirty. Unofficial estimates say that only 30%-35% of solid waste in the city is picked up by the city. The rest piles up and is burned, picked through, or eventually washes away. [See Picture 3] Regardless of removal, collection is lacking and garbage bins are almost non-existent. Visitors to Forodhani Park, the main open space in the Stone Town, leave their waste lying on the ground and it is the responsibility of food vendors to clean up their area at the end of an evening.⁷⁴ Many people point to the dirt and filth as an embarrassment. This has been such a persistent issue that the Zanzibar-focused community service television program “Baraza” ran a short episode to educate residents about the challenge to tourism that excessive litter causes. The program pointed out that tour guides are embarrassed by the amount of filth and the show encouraged people to be aware of the positive benefits of tourism and to therefore be considerate of their waste disposal habits.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Vendors pay a small fee to the city for garbage collection. One interviewee tells me that part of the plans for park renovations call for increasing services and infrastructure in the park -- and that vendors are concerned about rising costs.

⁷⁵ Baraza, Episode 5, 2001. Program created by the Aga Khan Trust for Culture and translated for me by staff at the Aga Khan Cultural Services, Zanzibar.



Picture 3: Trash in the Stone Town

Geography & History

Due to several historic and geographic factors, Zanzibar is uniquely positioned for tourism development. Its geographic proximity to the mainland increases the potential pool of tourists; architecturally fertile periods of wealth led to a striking built environment. Unfortunately, historical tensions were antecedents to current class, ethnic, economic, and political problems that linger today.

Zanzibar refers to an archipelago off the coast of Tanzania. Of two main islands, Unguja and Pemba, the first is often referred to as Zanzibar. To complicate matters, the capital of Zanzibar is a city called Zanzibar City and sometimes Zanzibar Town. Throughout my research, I will use the phrase “the municipality” or “the City” to denote the city, “Stone Town” to refer to the historic segment of the city, “Unguja” or “Zanzibar” for the main island, and “Islands of Zanzibar” or “the Islands” to refer to the archipelago.

The island of Unguja is about 80 km long and 38 km wide. Zanzibar City is the main city on the island, although resort developments are concentrated along the length of the coastline. It is about 35 km off the



Picture 4: Suburbs of the Stone Town

coast of Tanzania and a 2-4 hour boat ride to Dar es Salaam, the current capital of Tanzania.⁷⁶ The municipality extends inland for a total of 1,600 hectares. There were roughly 1 million people total on the archipelago in 2001. This population is concentrated in existing housing, as on average 5.3 people coexist in each household.⁷⁷ While the Stone Town is the major visitor area, the municipality extends into the city suburbs, where most residents live. [See Picture 4]

The East coast of Africa was originally settled by Arab traders in the 9th-12th centuries. The first written accounts of the Islands come from Vasco de Gama in 1499; by 1503 the Portuguese had all of East Africa littoral under control, but, a small chapel notwithstanding, imposed few physical changes onto Zanzibar. The Omanis asserted their dominance in 1698, and the Portuguese withdrew from the area. The Omanis built a fort in Zanzibar circa 1780, and after ascending the Omani throne in 1806, Sayyid Said decided to make Zanzibar his official residence. Trade blossomed in the following years, and the town grew commensurately: in 1846 half the main peninsula was covered by stone houses, 50 years later the entire peninsula was covered by the future Stone Town. In 1890, Zanzibar was proclaimed a British protectorate. New construction -- especially industrial age support systems such as roads and railways --

⁷⁶ Plans are in place to move administrative functions to Dodoma, closer to the center of Tanzania.

⁷⁷ <http://www.tanzania.go.tz/economicsurvey/part1/humanresources.htm>

occurred throughout the 20th century and in 1964 Zanzibar officially joined with mainland Tanganyika to form Tanzania.⁷⁸

The socialist revolution that accompanied this union resulted in a bloody revolution in which 125,000 Arabs and Indians were killed.⁷⁹ The forced evacuation of many of these immigrant populations systematically cleared non-Africans from the city. Urban settlements were repopulated with rural Africans who make up the greatest percentage of the city today; today 51% of Stone Town residents claim local island ancestry, although less than 1% claim the Stone Town as their ancestral home.⁸⁰ The revolution also resulted in 20 years of staunch socialist rule -- including complete centralization of the economy, police training from East Germany's *Stazi* secret police, and a massive landfill project that was built up with East German assistance into acres of Soviet-style concrete apartment blocks; Casper Weinberger famously called Zanzibar the "Cuba of the Indian Ocean." (Interview) In the mid-1980s, the economy liberalized, small enterprise grew, and tourism emerged as a major component of the local economy.

The City itself was originally a long peninsula that ran parallel to the coast, forming a small creek between the mainland and the peninsula. The Stone Town developed on the Peninsula, and the creek that originally separated the mainland from the peninsula was completely filled during the 1970s to increase housing supply in an area that became known as the Michenzani flats. [See Picture 5] This process resulted in a close adjacency between the dense, organically developed urban space in the Stone Town -- added to UNESCO's list of World Heritage sites in 2000 -- and regimented rows of multi-story concrete blocks on wide roadways.

Administratively, the Islands of Zanzibar are run as a quasi-independent state from Tanzania. The whole of Tanzania has a single national government, which controls international relations and sets national policy. However, a separate president is elected for administration within the Islands, and a set of Ministers operate independently from, but subordinate to, the national Tanzanian government. Additionally, within the capital city of Zanzibar, there are two separate administrative districts, the municipality and the Stone Town. The municipality is in charge of most administrative functions, while

⁷⁸ All information in this paragraph is from Zanzibar: A plan for the historic Stone Town, the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, (1996).

⁷⁹ Retrieved from <http://ismaili.net/timeline/1997/970510.html> on February 18, 2004

⁸⁰ Zanzibar: A plan for the historic Stone Town, the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, (1996).



Picture 5: Michenzani Flats

Stone Town-specific agencies focus more on the development issues facing a historic city, such as conservation and permitting.

Zanzibar's geographic position relative to the mainland greatly affected what happens on the island. It is both close to and far from mainland Africa; it is close enough that people on the island can access the resources of the mainland and it is close enough that tourists can easily get to the island. Yet it is far enough that tourists can visit the island to get away from the chaos of the mainland,⁸¹ or to rest after a trip to one of the mainland's tourist destinations.

Zanzibar's proximity to the mainland allows it to access resources both human and physical. The preeminent hotel on the island is the five-star, AKDN-developed Serena Inn Zanzibar, which still relies on Kenyans for key staff position: it has a Kenyan manager and a Kenyan head cook. On the island -- and reportedly within Tanzania -- there is little local knowledge of how to run a high-end hotel, so tourist-service educational facilities in Nairobi and Kenya's developed tourist industry are both resources Zanzibar can exploit: one interviewee tells me that "in the Stone Town, there is only one Zanzibari who is

⁸¹ In Dar es Salaam, taxi drivers lock the car doors when they pass through the center of town. It is for the security of the passengers and their belongings.

a manager of a hotel. All the others are from somewhere else.” (Interview) He must be speaking of the high-end hotels, for there are certainly guesthouses and smaller, locally owned hotels with Zanzibari management. But the proximity of Dar es Salaam also means that hotel and restaurant owners can relatively easily purchase foodstuffs and supplies from pens to water heaters. As one interviewee says, “products are available in Zanzibar, but not reliably.” (Interview) One restaurant owner travels regularly to Dar es Salaam to pick up items like celery; international guests at quality establishments are not sympathetic to incomplete Bloody Marys.

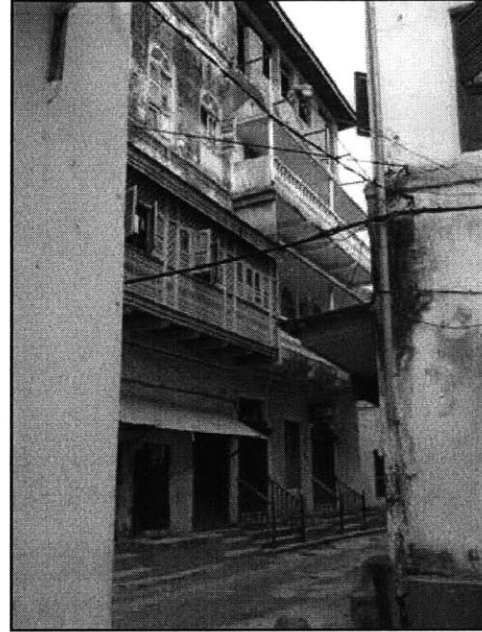
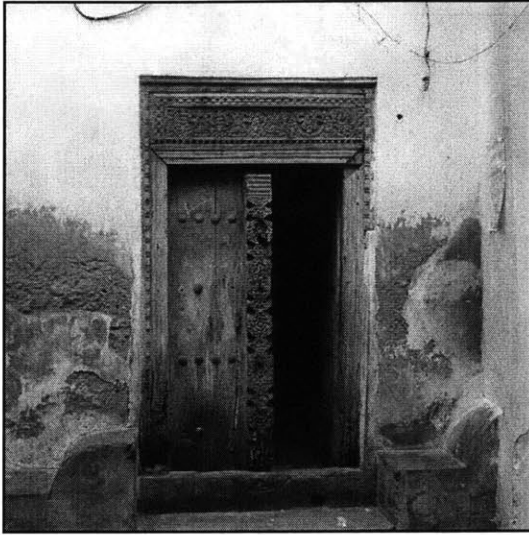
The psychological distance from the mainland also makes Zanzibar an attraction for visitors. Many tourists that come here attach a trip to Unguja onto an existing trip -- either to a coastal resort on the island or as part of a safari or Kilimanjaro trip on the mainland. Africa can feel poor, dirty, and chaotic to Western travelers, and a trip to the resorts -- and the relaxed island lifestyle -- of Zanzibar can provide a welcome diversion.

Finally, the Stone Town’s proximity to nearby resorts is vital to its success: “Stone Town doesn’t operate on its own.” (Interview) Since the physical distance to tourists’ homes makes attracting visitors an ongoing challenge, hotels in the Stone Town rely on clients at the coastal resorts; when beach visitors need a break from sunbathing, they go to the Stone Town for culture and history. The concern for getting people to the island comes up repeatedly in conversations with businesspeople, for it is critical to understand if and how people are going to arrive. One can’t just throw up a hotel and assume that people will come. The travel costs (both financially and in terms of time) are formidable; increased direct flights to the island and to nearby areas will hopefully increase tourist arrivals.⁸²

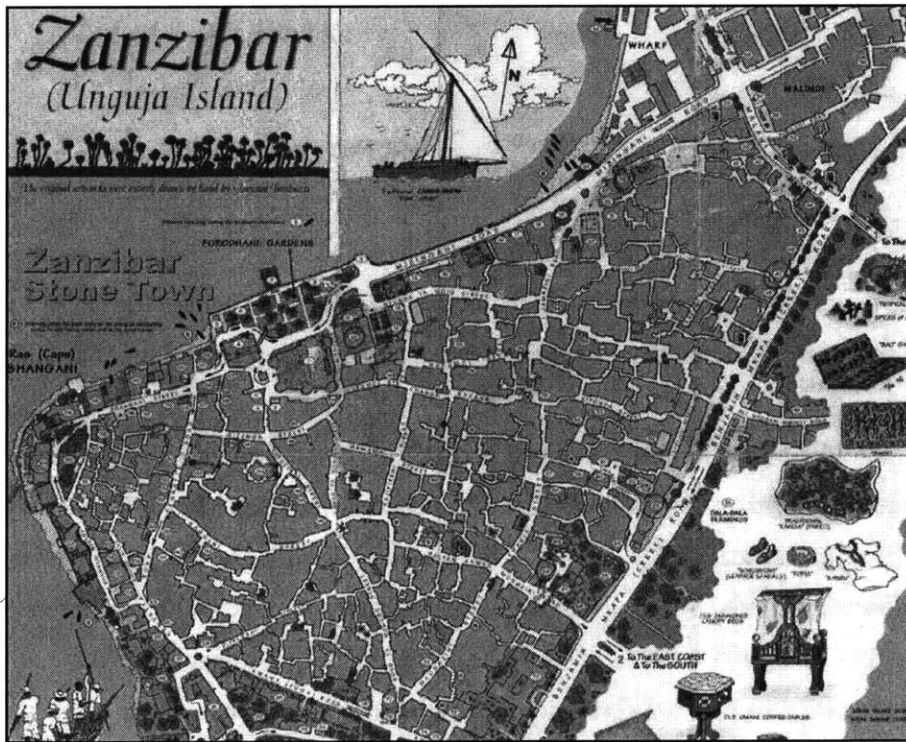
Living in the Stone Town

Daily life in the Stone Town is greatly affected by the unique spatial and social environment; a description of these features is necessary to understanding the Stone Town. The city’s dense, enclosed spatial environment is highly protective of a social context that is traditional, relaxed, inviting, and optimistic -- and also divided, parochial, bored, and sometimes conflicted about changing social norms.

⁸² Currently, there are about 7-8 major commercial landings a week (CM) Starting in June 2004 Air Emirates plans a direct flight from the US to the UAE.



Picture 6: Iconic doors of the Stone Town (above) and 2-3 story buildings (right)



Map 1: Dense street network in the Stone Town, (drawn by Giovanni Tombazzi and published by ANGI's Maps)



Picture 7: Lazy afternoons in the Stone Town

Spatial Overview

The Stone Town is a unique city. In 2000, UNESCO's placed it on its World Heritage list for several reasons; one being that it is a "physical manifestation of cultural fusion and harmonization." This may be true, but Zanzibar's immediate charm comes not from its historical associations, but from its distinctive physical features. The two most prominent physical features of the Stone Town are the dense networks of streets and the heavy 3-4 story plastered stone buildings that line the roads. [See Picture 6]

Broad enough for automobile traffic in only a few cases, the roads twist, turn, dead-end, double-back, and are, at times, only barely wider than a grown man's outstretched arms. [See Map 1] The heavy masonry buildings tightly enclose the space, and a few architectural details identify the buildings as uniquely Zanzibari: heavy, elaborately carved wood doors are iconic decorative elements, [See Picture 6] and the 'barazas' -- stone benches lining the walls used for rest and socializing throughout the day but especially in the hot afternoons [See Picture 7] -- are continuous enough that residents keep their feet dry during the rainy season by jumping from one to the next.

Four tiers of roads are discernable within the Stone Town:

- **Major automotive roads define the perimeter.** Roads encircling the Stone Town are large enough for automobile traffic, as are a few roads cutting through the south portion of Stone Town.
- **Minor automotive roads cut through town.** These are often commercial streets, such as Kenkata Road, which features hotels, more modern shops, and the local post office.
- **Tourist-serving roads.** Gizenga Street, which before the revolution and the restrictions on private enterprise was a major commercial street (Interview); today it and a few surrounding streets have given over so completely to curio vendors that locals disparagingly call it “Handicraft Street” (Interview). These streets are notable for the fact that they provide relatively direct access to the major tourist areas: visitors can turn directly onto them from major streets without fear of getting lost.
- **Residential alleyways.** These exist mostly in the north and east, are clearly distinct from the tourist areas. A few shops sell fruit, household items, and drinks; and while the streets are less crowded than the tourist streets, they are far from empty. People use the streets and courtyards -- the spots of public space -- comfortably and as an extension of private space. One theory on the origins of the baraza is that it was a place for Muslim men to entertain guests without bringing them into the house and the presence of family women.

These roads define, maintain, and protect the city and its inhabitants; goods and people have difficulty penetrating the dense network of roads. It is therefore interesting to notice where people and goods congregate in the city. To the West is the major arterial for people. It runs along the waterfront and past most major tourist attractions like the fort, museums, and Forodhani Park. (Interview) This, therefore, is the main pedestrian and automotive route in the city, so tourists and residents congregate in the Park and circulate along the main road. To the East, along Creek Road, is the main market. People from the city, suburbs, villages, and rural areas come here to buy and sell goods. This means that Stone Town residents and people from the suburbs and hinterland of Zanzibar congregate along the Creek Road to the East of the Stone Town. Metaphorically speaking, the road network in the Stone Town acts like a cheese cloth, and densities of people and goods agglomerate on the east and west of the City. It is left to locals and intrepid visitors to penetrate the interior. This implied separation of visitors and residents in the more interior, and in some ways more personal, areas of the city means that tourists mostly meet people



Picture 8: Crumbling building stock

involved in the tourism industry, not residents or people working in the outer markets. One interviewee believes that this structure is fundamental to the unique character of Zanzibar:

The center hasn't changed that much. Tourism does change things visually and socially. This arrangement [with attractions on the outside and residences on the inside] creates an *unchangedness* about the city. It is not an authenticity issue, but the outside is very much changed as a result of tourism. I think it is good for tourists because it gives them something a little more meaty to bite into when they get to the center. It is also good for the Zanzibaris because they don't find their whole environment completely obliterated... It is bad because it means money is not being invested; it is only going to the periphery.
(Interview)

Plans for new developments must carefully consider the long term accessibility of their space, for oftentimes a building is only easily reached from one route. Other roads are too narrow for cars, but scooters, motorbikes, and bicycles vie for space with many pedestrians. The ability of transporting construction materials and operating goods to a site is a matter of primary concern, for flexible and easy access to a site can not be assumed.

The buildings are the main concern of preservationists. Locally, the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA) (see *Political Overview*) oversees preservation efforts; these efforts are aided through the finances and expertise of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture and other international organizations. Because of this expertise-transfer and a professionalizing local preservation staff, recent buildings are regarded as doing a “better job of replicating traditional style.” (Interview) During the professionalization of the STCDA over the past 5 years, developers and locals have come to understand that the organization is not merely obstructionist, but that physical preservation is good for the local economy. In any case, the perennially impoverished local government can use all the help it can get: Due to extreme environmental conditions like rain, heat, and humidity and a persistent deferred maintenance problems, the buildings crumble at a rate of 5-6 a year, [See Picture 8] and imposing streetwalls are frequently broken by plots filled with the detritus of a crumbled house; local financial conditions drive some Stone Town residents to remove the historic doors for sale on the international art market; the local government’s budget is not nearly enough to cover the cost of renovations.

Social Overview

As with any description of a social environment, this description is especially susceptible to criticisms of methodology; this social overview is based very much on interview, observation, and interpretation. During a two-week stay, it is difficult to claim any level of comprehensiveness. However, the idiosyncrasies that arose from the tensions between laid-back optimistic island life and divisions of class, ethnicity, and religion on the other were easy to observe.

The residents of the Stone Town are outgoing, warm, and welcoming. At nearly every passing, residents greet one another with “*jambo*” (hello) and reassure each other with “*hakuna matata*” (no problem). Everyone is “*karibu*” (welcome) to stop, chat, or shop; residents habitually say it to welcome visitors to the island. One interviewee said: “We have a very friendly social climate. People in Zanzibar don’t even know they are doing their duty by saying ‘*karibu*.’ Just that ‘welcomingness’ takes care of 45% of the tourism here.” (Interview) Connections among residents are strong. [See Picture 9]

Another interviewee agrees -- and sees that language use is a complex revelation of the local psychology, whether it is place-based and reliant on living on the island or if it is instinctively felt.



Picture 9: Social connectivity and nighttime television

‘Hakuna matata’ is a nice feeling, but there is nothing underneath. People know that if they leave the country, they will work hard; the ‘no problem’ is only while they are on the island. ‘Karibu’, however, is not superficial. It is deeply part of the culture. If people don’t say it, you know there is something wrong. And the truth is you don’t find it so much in the resorts [outside of Stone Town]. (Interview)

Indeed, city officials tell me that social connectivity is one thing that they want to preserve; it is one reason that building new hotels and guesthouses within the Stone Town is prohibited. In 1996, 16,000 people lived within the Stone Town,⁸³ a small community in which people know each other. Social networks are presumably strong. And although there are many official warnings about safety and reports of individual crime, many local people will tell visitors that they are very safe in the Stone Town.⁸⁴ It is difficult to be a criminal in a community where people who see serious drug users on the street go to that individual’s parents to discuss how the problem can be addressed. (Interview) “The *Baraza* creates all this. If you sit on one, people will come up to talk to you. Then they go to another *baraza* and tell someone else: ‘I just had a great conversation with a *Muzungu* [a white person] about Manchester United.

⁸³ *Zanzibar: A plan for the historic Stone Town*, the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, (1996).

⁸⁴ Ideologically-driven tensions are another fear for tourists. Election day violence and clashes between traditional and modernizing elements in society unfortunately periodically arise.

Here's what he said...' The benches have created very fluid social networks. People share everything here.' (Interview)

Unfortunately, this interviewee tells me that while "'*karibu*' has not been diminished by tourism, we have nothing more to offer than charm. If we don't grow as a culture, people will only come for hotels, food, and entertainment. There are no standards for tourists to enjoy things; there are no conveniences." (Interview) This lack of activity is not just felt by tourists. Issues of boredom, depression, and ennui are very present in the Stone Town. There are no movie theaters, no magazine stores, and no bookstores for residents. There is no diversity of leisure activities; vocationally, there is little to do. Several factors compound to discourage entrepreneurial activity and personal initiative: The few existing job opportunities are poorly paid when obtained; oppressive heat stifles productivity; some locals lack operational experience to efficiently run businesses; and a social structure that encourages sharing food and income creates little incentive to work. Young men aspire to meet Western women as a quick pass out of town; even with the well-developed and highly-functioning social networks, the dream of leaving town is strong.

Despite the fact that many job opportunities are in tourism -- and that the tourists represent financial windfalls in an environment of low wages -- one interviewee gave me the abstruse comment that "there is no bitterness in Zanzibar about foreigners having a lot of money. But there is not the opposite of bitterness either." (Interview) Foreigners are welcomed, but as a matter of culture -- not necessarily as a matter of personal conviction. The Stone Town is a city; it has always and will always be a center for changing norms, attitudes, and social structures. Tourists are just one more force of change.

Tradition and the traditional lifestyle seem highly valued on the island, especially for the older generations. Older people complain that when youth get involved in the tourism business and sell tourist items like food and clothes and curios, their contact with tourists change their way of dressing. "Oldtimers don't want to see the disappearance of the old way of dressing. Women, who have less contact with tourists, are more careful to subscribe to traditional ways, so they dress traditionally." (Interview) Nearly every intercept survey I conducted indicated that changing norms of dress are one of the biggest negative impacts of tourism.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ However, the fact that the yearly festival of Seppuku involves a nearly complete relaxation of dress codes and social norms for women -- who appear on the street in Western dress and are allowed minimal, if discrete,

A common concern in tourism planning literature relates to negative affects that are imposed on local populations, but there are few people who can claim to be 'from' the Stone Town. "Before 1964, Zanzibar was a very cosmopolitan place; each street had its own character, its own community, and frequently its own type of retail such as shoes, watches, or hardware." (Interview) However, many Arabic and Indian residents were evicted and expatriated during the revolution, and ethnic Africans were brought in from the countryside. Some even claim that "everyone is a transplant in Stone Town." (Interview) After the revolution, most people in the city were newcomers. In the absence of deep historical roots, it is difficult to identify a truly native population. This complication of typical assertions of local rights emphasizes the importance of the hedonic psychology approach to planning -- the goal should be to maximize overall wellbeing, not to necessarily focus on historical connections to the land: These historical connections are tenuous in Zanzibar.

This tumultuous history is one manifestation of an ongoing social stratification on Unguja: Traditionally Arabs were at the top of the hierarchy, then Indians, then Africans. The Arabs were historically involved in the slave trade; the Arabs and Indians had connections with foreigners, so were well positioned for involvement in the international trade. So tourism may be exacerbating traditional class differences by introducing great income differentials: (Interview) a \$2 tip for a meal at a tourist restaurant is more than ½ a day's salary for many people in the country. This new class dynamic may be affecting local's vocational decisions.

Social stratification in Zanzibar cuts across many identities. Not just ethnic identities, but religious and class as well. These tensions are anecdotal by nature, but are widely accepted as existing on the island. Islam remains a strong component of islanders' self-identity. When the government recently tried to limit the number of people who can ride in a 'dala-dala' -- the ubiquitous privately supplied public transportation which are driven primarily by Muslims -- to decrease the risk of accidents, many local Muslim leaders said this was a Jihad against Muslims. There were protests in the street. (Interview) As part of this research I tried talking to local Indian through an African translator and came across resistance and disdain from the Indian. While I may have misinterpreted the interaction, the historical realities of class occupational differences are indisputable.

interaction with men -- indicates some acceptance of Western dress. Perhaps it indicates some level of disdain for the restrictions of traditional dress. I leave the interpretation to anthropologists, but hope to note only that the inversion of traditional dress on an important holiday reveals a sociological countercurrent to traditional practice.

Planning and Implementing Change in the Stone Town

In Zanzibar, the government has a high capacity for policy-making and agenda setting, but it is too under-resourced to promote an enforceable planning framework. It is therefore weak on implementation. The private sector must meanwhile act entrepreneurially for such things as training staff, providing utilities, and creating legal structures for innovative activities. However, the private sector lacks oversight and coordination from the government; it is therefore planning weak but implementation strong. So while the mechanisms of policy and development in more developed areas act to create, capture, and manage the benefits and problems of tourism, in Zanzibar these two sectors are more frequently dealing with crises or resource limitations than pursuing socially progressive activities; planners do not exert enough influence over development and developers find themselves in a context of institutional disorganization.

In Western development practice, there is increasingly cooperation between the public and private sectors to increase service provision or to improve the quality of the built environment. For instance, developers might contribute to job training funds or assist in the development of new open space. While the Serena redeveloped the adjoining Kelele Square -- an activity may have been suggested by TPS, the AKTC, local planners, or another group -- there is not enough new development for these improvements to dramatically improve the character of the city. And without effective coordination of development efforts, it is possible that new development will forever change the character of the city to a tourist area. That time may fortunately be in the future, but if the rapid development of the resorts on the coasts is any indication, that future may not be too far off.

Political Overview

The fact that the government is poor and is widely understood to be corrupt means it is both inefficient and a target for popular complaint. It also means that foreign investors and even aid agencies are reluctant to provide money to the islands.⁸⁶ Nonetheless, government is clearly learning from the past and it is professionalizing. Charges of corruption are reportedly lower in recent years, which may be due to increasing modernization. Hopefully, the island just needs more time to mature: "While Kenya developed 15 years ago, we've spent the last 15 years trying to catch up." (Interview)

⁸⁶ International aid was promised for the development of the House of Wonders Museum. Following the political demonstrations in 2001, the international community revoked the aid.



Picture 10: Popular support for the CUF

The political situation in Zanzibar has been characterized by tension, conflict, and even bloodshed. In addition to historic ethnic and class tension, the political divide between the mainland and the island is a constant source of antipathy. The national ruling party, the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM, the “Revolutionary Party”), a largely Christian party based on the mainland is perceived to not serve the best interest of the island. A separatist, home-rule, and largely Muslim party, the Civic United Front (CUF), is very popular on the island. [See Picture 10] This party’s policy manifesto asserts that “the state should only play a peripheral role in the management of individual's life” and continuously reasserts a belief in individual autonomy.⁸⁷ The extension of the port of Dar es Salaam, and the subsequent decline of the Zanzibari port, is seen by some as CCM retaliation for CUF separatist efforts. In 2001, national security forces responded to a series of protests over perceived election fraud with enough force to result in 35 deaths and over 600 wounded on the archipelago;⁸⁸ a vendor told me that, “the island is completely safe ... except on election day,” when the perennial separatist movement and conflicts with the mainland increase the threat of terrorist activity.

Government instability is a threat that looms over every potential business deal. In this environment of political uncertainty, capital investments in Zanzibar are at best uncommon and at worst recommended

⁸⁷ Retrieved from <http://www.cuftz.org/policy/utajirisho.html> on April 3, 2004

⁸⁸ “Tanzania. The Bullets Were Raining: The January 2001 Attack on Peaceful Demonstrations in Zanzibar” Human Rights Watch, Vol. 14, No. 3 (A) April (2002).

against; directly purchasing property is exceedingly difficult.⁸⁹ Because “of all the promises that were made at the time of the revolution, like free housing and free water,” (Interview) it would be difficult for the government to sell property to foreigners; leasing is the only way for foreigners to acquire property. Indeed, some store owners hope to cease business before the elections of 2005. They assume that regardless of the political outcomes, tensions will manifest that will lead to a decline in tourism.

Politicians, it is constantly complained, use their time in office to enrich themselves, not to help their constituency. Locals note that politicians make little money yet have huge mansions on the south coast; they believe officials don't want a free market system to take hold because bribes can be demanded in closely controlled industries. (Interview) Corruption is even evident on the street. In my 2-week stay I witnessed two incidents where police subtly and not-so-subtly asked for a \$10 bribe, in both cases for a local's supposed harassment of a tourist.⁹⁰

This is well understood in the context of persistent government and individual poverty. The budget of the local housing authority -- for everything from operations to maintenance -- is \$35,000. (Interview) Moreover, when people attain a certain level of power, it is popularly assumed that they will use that for self-enrichment -- not for the public interest. In Africa, the coaches of the various national teams are mostly white. One man explained that: “In Africa, we think everybody is only out to enrich themselves. We don't think a European will use his position to enrich his family, to stay in the nice hotels.” (Interview) There is plenty of distrust among people -- especially since the pathways from poverty are limited.

This government poverty means, for instance, that the airport -- one of two entry points for visitors, the other being the ferry terminal -- is dilapidated and poorly designed. Inadequate lighting means planes can't land at night; flights are listed on a blackboard -- but passengers are warned that a given flight may or may not occur. Nonetheless, locals remain hopeful: One rumor indicates that the Omani government gave money to extend the runway and make minor building improvements, while another rumor states that the World Bank has promised money and signed contractors, but that the money is not forthcoming. This creates many of the same access issues as in the case of St. Vincent's described in the *Introduction* --

⁸⁹ While the government owns all the land on the island, there is anecdotal evidence that some property purchases occur or have occurred in the past.

⁹⁰ In one case the local man and the tourist woman were a couple. In the other, a hotel employee was escorting a guest to a nearby bazaar.

possibly preserving the character of the island, and possibly limiting tourism and the expense of economic growth.

Despite increasing professionalization, the ability for caprice within government allows continuing charges of corruption. For instance, in the US we are used to the judiciary having authority over the legislature and the executive. Not so in Tanzania, where the Executive and Legislature are eminent. A permit from someone on a council is unassailable, so anyone with a governing person's ear can act without legislative or judicial oversight. (Interview) The result of this is a common complaint that "if you have the money, you can always get a hotel built." (Interview)

The public sector: roles and responsibilities

All of these challenges -- from impoverishment to turmoil to a lack of sophistication -- mean that the government is not capable of the kind of oversight present in developed economies. Despite numerous reports and plans, the government can do little to enforce compliance from local businesses.

While the Tanzanian government represents Zanzibar internationally, there is a 'national government' of Zanzibar with authority over the island. At the top is the Zanzibar Cabinet, which is:

Headed by the President and includes the Chief Minister, Ministers, Ministers of State, and Deputy Ministers... The current government has 12 ministries... [which] are the following:

- The President's Office (Revolutionary Council)
- Chief Minister's Office (Ministry of State).
- Ministry of State, President's Office, Constitutional Affairs and Good Governance.
- Ministry of State Office, President's Office, Regional Administration and Special Departments.
- Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs.
- Ministry of Agriculture, Natural Resources, Environment and Cooperatives.
- Ministry of Trade, Industry, Marketing and Tourism.
- Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sports.

- Ministry of Health and Social Welfare.
- Ministry of Water, Construction, Energy and Land.
- Ministry of Communication and Transport.
- Ministry of Youth, Employment, Women and Children Development⁹¹

Additionally, complex political structures connect the upper strata of politician to the populous. Each ward in a city is broken down into *shehias* which are led by a local *sheha*, who is in charge of implementing government laws, keeping the peace, and addressing family and social issues. This is an appointed role which “reports direct to the district commissioner while the councilors of each ward report to the Mayor.”⁹² These individuals have a great deal of interaction with residents and locals, but their role is not discussed in this paper, as, unfortunately, their existence was uncovered by this research and there was no opportunity to further explore their function.

Many ministries indirectly influence tourism, but several have direct control over tourism. These ministries typically set policy, and have specialized organizations within them to interface with the public. While each of these Ministries has some influence over the tourism industry in Zanzibar, a few are more directly involved than others. Organizations with whom I spoke are as follows, and are given a detailed explanation in the next section, *Direct Public Intervention*:

1. **Ministry of Water, Construction, Energy, and Land.** This ministry is responsible for utility provision, mining, and land management.
 - a. Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority. The STCDA is in charge of permitting and structural regulations within the Stone Town.
2. **Ministry of Trade, Industry, Marketing, and Tourism.** This is the organization which collects data on tourism, advocates for policy with the national government, and acts as a steering committee for tourism on Zanzibar. It implements policy through a public-facing organization.
 - a. The Commission for Tourism. This is the organization that markets and coordinates tourism on Zanzibar, provides public service messaging, and oversees tourist serving organizations like hotels and tour guides.

⁹¹ Retrieved from <http://www.kituoachakatiba.co.ug/zanzfeatures.htm> on December 15th, 2003

⁹² “Environmental Profile of Zanzibar Municipality,” Zanzibar Sustainable Programme (1998) pp. 72.

3. **Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs.** Overseeing all manner of financial matters -- from tax collection to budgeting -- this ministry typically coordinates and responds to the archipelago's financial situation.
 - a. The Zanzibar Investment Promotion Authority (ZIPA) proactively attracts investment: This is the organization that any investor in the island must work through. They have put together the package of incentives to bring money to the island.

These Ministries do not always coordinate perfectly. Besides the issue that the judiciary can't overrule executive orders, there are sometimes conflicts among authorities; in some extreme cases, two sets of contradictory laws exist. Conflicts exist between national and local policy, and among local agencies. (Interview)

Both sets of conflict arise out of overlapping jurisdictions and from the fact that many issues are slow to address in any country -- and Zanzibar has only had a short period for its tourism industry to mature. For instance, the *Tourism Promotion Act of 1996 (#9)* set levels of fines for illegal guides on the island. In this situation, when a guide is arrested, the fines are not less than \$350. However, these cases are brought before magistrates at the district level -- a lower-level court where fines are not allowed to exceed \$30. (Interview)

Different agencies at the local level can also come in conflict with one another. The municipality of Zanzibar has a mayor and a Zanzibar Municipal Council that run operational city functions like education and street cleaning. But it also includes the separate area of the Stone Town, which has different administrative bodies. The STCDA is one such organization -- it is empowered to regulate permitting and new construction, but since locals continue to address complaints about things like dirty streets to the STDCA, it is clear that the administrative distinction is not completely apparent to locals. Even at the administrative level, there is confusion over jurisdiction; there are regulations that don't match from the municipality to the Stone Town. Currently, the STDCA is supposed to define how large an advertising sign in the Stone Town may be, where it can go, and so forth. This is under review as some store owners want bigger signs. The municipal council, however, is permitting people to put signs on the side of the road. The ill-defined hierarchy of authority means resolutions are one-off and in some ways arbitrary: "Instead of fighting that decision, we are allowing a separate process where we levy a fee to the sign owner, and allow them to exist. This allows us some authority over regulation." (Interview)

While the political institutions apparently work better today than they did 20 years ago, there is still a long way to go. The very disorganization of the system seems to be one of the largest impediments for a rationalization of functions.

Forms of direct public intervention

This is a brief look at the act of conservation, the promotion of tourism, and the attraction of investment. At the global level, conservation efforts are often performed for a broadly defined public good. For instance, World Heritage sites are selected for their importance to human culture. Meanwhile, local efforts -- from conservation to investment attraction to housing provision -- often try to focus benefits more narrowly, for instance by encouraging new housing development. Conservation efforts are often performed with the resources -- financial and expertise -- of international organizations, so benefits of new projects may have a diversely defined set of constituents -- from residents to elite international preservation concerns.

Public intervention in Zanzibar exposes a theme of increasing professionalization. However, the motivations to increase sophistication did not necessarily arise from socially progressive ideals: “When tourism started going here, there was a real lack of experience. [Officials] just saw people were coming and thought it was good. Then the government realized that they were getting pennies from the investment occurring on the island. They increased regulation; they introduced ZIPA.” (Interview) Regardless of the inception of such efforts, the ability to manage the industry may enable a greater ability to balance myriad local needs.

Conservation policy

The idea of conservation has gained popularity as people have learned that economic benefits accompany more idealist goals of conservation as a cultural and social good. Of course there are detractors of the idea of conservation; people say it is an effort of the elite, or that it can limit the development of new land into housing or other needed facilities. This is especially true in Zanzibar where the old-style iconic buildings feature outdated footprints and inflexible floor plans. “Buildings were designed for families, not for a few people or a few families.” (Interview) That is why they do not easily convert to other uses. A central hindrance to modernizing the real estate supply is inflexible space that does not easily convert from use to

use. When these buildings are preserved out of historical significance, they are unfortunately difficult to reuse in a modern context.

Officials tell me there are around 1,700 structures in the Stone Town defined by the UN World Heritage list, (Interview) although other sources report 2,500 structures;⁹³ these buildings are categorized according to their cultural and architectural importance: (Interview) Nearly 10% of the structures in the Stone Town are considered to have a high historical importance.

1. There are 120 monuments or very historical buildings.
2. There are 500 with important architectural features, or are important or unique
3. There are 1,080 that are not considered part of the heritage. These are mostly residential.

Development in the Stone Town is restricted by existing regulations: “The current Master Plan prescribes a complete ban on new hotels and guesthouses, although it is possible to extend current hotels and guesthouses into ‘annexes’ [adjacent buildings]. It is easier to do this extension in areas where there is already a degree of tourist activity; in residential areas it is impossible to do this.” (Interview) The pressures on developing for tourists are very high -- many people throughout the Stone Town run private guesthouses -- and there are cases of buildings held empty as the owners wait for approvals and tourism growth. One office-based business wants to move its offices into a new building, but the current owners are hoping to convert it to a hotel. With sporadic demands like this, the truth is that there is little new construction. (Interview) [See Table 3]

Table 3: Permits in the Stone Town

	Total	Major renovation	Minor renovation	Extension of existing space	New construction
Malindi* (given)	541	120	396	24	1
Malindi % (given)	100%	22%	73%	4%	.2%
Stone Town (given)	3,000	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Stone Town (Inferred from Mal. %)	n.a.	660	2190	120	6

Malindi is the north section of town which includes the port and an active market area. See map.

⁹³ “Zanzibar Revisited,” Stephen Battle, MIMAR 41: Architecture in Development, (1991).

Considering that on average between 5-7 buildings fall down a year in the Stone Town, this construction is only just keeping up with deterioration.⁹⁴ Most new housing development happens in the suburbs, and it is unlikely that financing for replacement, low cost housing within the Stone Town would come from national sources. The STCDA itself is an indication of government change, for it is a relatively young institution that has been around since 1984. Before that, the Municipal council was in charge of permitting. Even today the challenge of promoting growth while preserving the built environment is subject to criticism: the “STCDA is too slow to conserve. They just give in to development. For instance, everyone now wants a rooftop tea room -- it involves putting an extra floor on. They only want it for the tourists, and the STCDA is allowing it to happen.” (Interview) Others are more supportive: “New buildings of last 4-5 years do a good job of replicating traditional style.” (Interview) In any case, the institutional capacity of the local government is improving. New development is increasingly subject to external review.

Years ago, when the notion of preservation was just emerging, the government had to deal with problems of public perception. People just didn’t know what it was about or why it was important. “Early on most people didn’t know that the Stone Town is a heritage site or even what that means”. (Interview) But even with the change, it is too early to claim that the STCDA provides comprehensive oversight: “Hotel owners *should* come to us. Not all do.” (Interview) Luckily, that perception is changing and people now understand that importance of the built environment to tourism, despite some misunderstandings of its agenda: “The STCDA is taking control of the old part of town on the principal that there should be no change. It is helping a lot.” (Intercept) A big part of that is the increase in the number of tourist arrivals and the increasing understanding that tourism is a driver of economic growth.

One example of the professionalizing culture is the cost of permits. Some assume construction costs to be about 1/10 of cost in the west (Interview), for a structure built to local standards. This is due to lax requirements and generally cheap materials. However, it is notable that these permitting costs are in line with those in the West: For instance, a building that is 35m² by 45m² costs \$52 for an all-in permit for every floor built. But even though the STCDA has the right to knock down a building if an owner doesn’t have proper permits, the process is very expensive. Even if fines that pay for the process are levied

⁹⁴ This imputed number is likely accurate. Malindi is the port area, which includes the bustling -- but not the most desirable tourist area -- surrounding streets.

against the owner, they are not always collected: “The cost of implementation can exceed the damages collected.” More money doesn’t necessarily mean costs are covered.

Beyond covering the specific costs, the growth in collected revenue does not nearly address persistent government poverty. “The housing administration has an annual budget of \$35,000. \$30,000 to 25,000 of this goes to administrative costs. The rest is the budget for rehabilitation.” (Interview) To bring a building up to modern standards -- not high-end rehabilitation, but with reliable utilities and stable construction -- costs around \$40,000 per building. Beyond housing, even many sites that should be attractive tourist destinations require a large degree of rehabilitation. (Interview)

But it is monitoring and implementation that create the most opportunities for individuals to work around the system. Even when the STCDA is effective against large changes in town, the real difficulty is over the small changes. And existing penalties seem far below the estimated \$200-\$800 cost of making a door, which is itself likely before the market price of a door. “If someone tears down a door, they have to pay for all of our expenses to get the door back up. Petrol for the car, staff to carry the door, storage of the door. We charge \$17 a day to store the door. Then they need to apply again for new permit for door (\$22) and permit for construction (\$17).” (Interview) In other words, the selling of doors is a common enough problem that there is an entire process in place to prevent it.

Even though these changes are small, in aggregate they can change the character of the city, especially since doors and windows are iconic Zanzibari features. (Interview) Increasingly, however, people are beginning to understand that the built environment is important for the city: they understand it is an economic driver, a point of cultural pride, and a place that people live. Following 1965, when the Arabs were removed and the more poor rural dwellers were moved into the city, the popular understanding is that the country people didn’t care for the city, and this disinterest led to deferred maintenance, which led to further disinterest. The change to greater pride in the built environment is therefore significant. (Interview)

Stone Town as UN World Heritage site

In addition to expertise and private funds like the AKTC or public assistance from government aid groups like DANIDA, the international community has taken a particular interest in the Stone Town through the

UN World Heritage program. This added layer of oversight, expertise, and financing is a rare example of coordination of development efforts within the Stone Town. Unfortunately, these efforts are narrowly-defined to affect the built environment, without consideration of users' subjective affective state.

The Stone Town is one of 754 properties listed on the United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage Sites. This means that the Stone Town has access to 1. UNESCO's dedicated World Heritage funds;⁹⁵ 2) UNESCO provided expertise;⁹⁶ and, 3) other sources of funds which look favorably on areas that have successfully passed through the World Heritage site selection process. In fact, while the Stone Town is currently under consideration again for UNESCO funds, it last year received money to raise the administrative skill of the department from the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, SIDA. (Interview)

UNESCO chose this site as a World Heritage site for 3 reasons:⁹⁷

1. *Criterion (ii)*: The Stone Town of Zanzibar is an outstanding material manifestation of cultural fusion and harmonization.
2. *Criterion (iii)*: For many centuries there was intense seaborne trading activity between Asia and Africa, and this is illustrated in an exceptional manner by the architecture and urban structure of the Stone Town.
3. *Criterion (vi)*: Zanzibar has great symbolic importance in the suppression of slavery, since it was one of the main slave-trading ports in East Africa and also the base from which its opponents such as David Livingstone conducted their campaign.

⁹⁵ These funds are outlined in Section 4, Article 15 of the UNESCO November 21, 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. They are administered by UNESCO and come from voluntary and compulsory grants from UNESCO member states. Retrieved from http://whc.unesco.org/world_he.htm#debut on February 19, 2004

⁹⁶ These activities are outlined in Section 5, Article 21 of the UNESCO November 21, 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. UNESCO coordinates the application procedure, which can be for anything from studies of conditions and interventions to provision of "experts, technicians, and skilled labor" to interest free loans to staff training. Retrieved from http://whc.unesco.org/world_he.htm#debut on February 19, 2004

⁹⁷ From the UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage World Heritage Committee, November 27 - December 2, 2000. Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/repcom00.htm#173> on February 19, 2004

Addressing the social impact that arises from UNESCO intervention is far beyond the scope of this paper. However, a review of UNESCO's inaugural documentation suggests that benefits are not necessarily for local users. This documentation says it hopes to preserve for the good of a group broadly defined as "future generations,"⁹⁸ while the goal of preservation is explicitly for preserving the "cultural heritage."⁹⁹ Specific and objective benefits for locals are never mentioned

Tourism policy

While the Ministry of Trade, Industry, Marketing, and Tourism oversees tourism policy, it is the Commission of Tourism that most directly interfaces with the public. The two connected organizations regulate tourism's impact on culture, the economy, job creation, and infrastructure capacity management. Implementation is by the Commission, which markets the island to investors and oversees the tourism industry. It is difficult to observe the effects of these organizations, especially during a two-week stay, but their reported efforts' at least indicate those areas which they believe are worth overseeing. From this perspective, the goals of monitoring and overseeing tourist-serving businesses, restricting spatial overdevelopment, and encouraging local support for tourism are all primary concerns. While these are certainly points of tension for locals, these issues do not necessarily address all the concerns of locals [See *Effects of tourism in Zanzibar*]. These goals' collective ability to deliver upon the drivers of wellbeing was not considered at their inception, and is not one of their functions today. Indeed, the degree to which the efforts of these organizations serve the needs of tourists exposes their priorities: they seem to first serve tourists, second to mitigate tourists' conflicts with locals, and only third serving local social or cultural needs.

The Commission of Tourism has two main responsibilities: interfacing between government and the public, and performing international marketing and promotions. It carries out government policy and it informs the government of trends in the tourism industry. In its supervisory role over the industry, it is involved in classifying hotels, licensing tourism establishments and guides, training activities, and advising and assisting local and international investors. (Interview)

⁹⁸ http://whc.unesco.org/world_he.htm#debut

⁹⁹ http://whc.unesco.org/world_he.htm#debut

As an advocate to policy makers it is concerned with planning, regulating, and policy-making. Its mandate is to develop amenities to attract high-end tourists. “We want tourism according to the environment -- don’t want Miami or Hawaii. A hotel, for instance, must be lower than palm trees, *especially* in beach areas. This results in village style hotels, not skyscrapers.” The second tenant of tourism development is that Zanzibar develop tourism businesses run by indigenous operators. “We want small hotels and guesthouses. This allows local people to be involved in the industry. We don’t want Zanzibaris to be a serving class for people.” Foreign investors are thereby encouraged to find local partners to develop hotels -- this is seen in the tax incentives given by ZIPA. Locals, in turn, must frequently turn to outside investors because investment money is hard to come by locally. Tourism policy also encourages hoteliers to buy locally produced products. (Interview)

One specific project of the Commission for Tourism is addressing the increasing concentration of curio vendors in Forodhani. This concentration leads to the trampling of tree roots, increased drug sales and prostitution, and the decrease in quality of the crafts. To overcome this, the Commission is trying to establish a tourist market for selling handicrafts. This would be one central area for handicrafts, hair braiding, and henna painting. It would be strictly for people from Zanzibar. “I don’t like the situation at Gizenga. It is very popular, and tourists go there, but that is the only place they have to learn about antiquities. Forodhani, meanwhile, is a park for being with family, for eating, biking... but with so many commodities for sale, the garden is getting destroyed. We need a place to put all the salesmen. That would reduce the tension in the place. Also, we could more easily provide security and cleaning. But there must be deliberate effort at the national level.” (Interview)

More intangibly, the Commission for Tourism tries to educate the Zanzibari population about tourism. This is a common problem for tour operators and hoteliers: “The community doesn’t know the problems faced by the industry -- and it is the largest economic engine on the island.” (Interview) Through seminars for rural people, the Commission for Tourism tries to teach people that tourism doesn’t necessarily spoil culture, or only give jobs to foreigners. The STCDA’s “authority is to advise the government. We have a tourism patrol to oversee what is happening in cooperation with the police. If we catch someone without a card or if someone is harassing tourists, they are fined.” (Interview)

The multiple layers of corruption -- from officials taking bribes to hucksters out to fleece tourists -- are a challenge for everyone in the industry. Nonetheless, many people complain that officials are for sale --

even those who are trying to limit the exploitation of tourists. Even this, however, can lead to complaints from the tourists. “Sometimes tourists complain if we have roadblocks of tourist vehicles, but it is for their own good. It is very easy to make crime against tourists here. We had a number of cases where tourists were taken in a car and were not driven until they gave more money.” (Interview) Zanzibar finds itself in an uncomfortable situation where the consequences of both regulation and no regulation are unpalatable to tourists.

Tourism Policy Statement, January, 2004¹⁰⁰

The Zanzibar Tourism Policy Statement of 2004 is a set of goals and objectives developed by the national Zanzibari government to guide policymakers in the development of written law; it is not law itself. The document is a fairly comprehensive set of goals for the development of a vital, local- and tourist-supportive destination. It proposes initiatives for the betterment of both tourists’ and residents’ experience -- and it lays the foundation for the mitigation of possible tensions. It does this by proposing better tourist facilities, improving economic conditions and skills training for locals, and supporting the local culture. It therefore intuitively subscribes to some of the guidelines in the Hedonic Psychology Approach, yet the hurdles for effective implementation due to poverty, inefficiency, political tension, institutional conflicts, and corruption are many. This makes the document an impressive coordination of activities -- but one with few observable effects in the real world.

The Policy Statement discussion of the development of tourist facilities and the provision of an environment conducive to tourism which belies a bias to serve the tourist primarily and the local only secondarily; those benefits which are for residents are nearly universally about financial benefits. In fact, while the document hopes to respect local culture, it doesn’t indicate how ‘culture’ is defined. It even talks about how to create conditions that respect local culture by stating: “tourism will be used to conserve the uniqueness of the Island’s heritage, its history, culture and way of life... for maintaining the cultural ethic of Zanzibar, the number of visitors must be controlled.” (pp. 13) But without a sense of what elements of local culture should be respected, there is no way to consider the importance of limiting the number of tourists. And without a definition of the important elements that shape the culture, it can not describe the conflicts it hopes to mitigate; the closest it comes is some general prescriptions to ensure

¹⁰⁰ All references in this section are from the “Zanzibar Tourism Policy Statement,” Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar, Ministry of Trade, Industry, and Tourism, January (2004).

access to beaches, to ensure residents are fairly compensated for displacement, to keep new tourist facilities low and away from villages, and to distribute training to businesses and individuals.

The direction it sets forth for legislation on tourism development is informative; the Policy Statement includes proclamations of benefits for locals, but it more frequently emphasizes tourist needs. The first item on a list of goals of is to “improve the quality of life of the population,” (pp. 5) but the remaining pages do little to answer to this proposition. While the promotion of “More income, “Human resources,” “Employment,” and “Education and training” all figure into the drivers of wellbeing by enhancing ‘autonomy’ and ‘competence,’ the wellbeing of the residents appears subordinate to that of tourists. Even ‘relatedness’ is important to the drafters of the document, who imply benefits of cross-cultural interaction by stating a goal to create “opportunities for contact with local people, their crafts, and their custom[s].” (pp. 20) Nonetheless there is no explicit recognition that phenomenon such as cultural change can result in positive benefits for locals. In any case, these headings generally precede lists of goals not always for local benefit.

For instance, under the heading “More Income” several policy strategies are listed. While the preamble to this section describes multiplier effects -- and the benefits that should accrue to locals -- the ultimate goal is clearly to increase income for the island, not for residents:

- “Diversifying the tourist attractions to achieve a balanced growth of the tourism industry and maximum benefit.
- Strengthening the cultural industries including museums, theaters, cultural values and community participation as a product diversification to harness tourism and preserve national heritage.
- Developing Zanzibar as an exclusive holiday destination by building up the product elements, in particular, cultural attractions and diversified marketing programs.
- Strengthening the tourism revenue collection.
- Approving the projects which are financial [sic] sound and environmental [sic] friendly.” (pp. 8)

The “Human Resources” section, however, focuses on the benefits that locals get from increasing skills, encouraging them to understand the importance of skills development, and minimizing the tensions that arise from changing cultural norms. (pp. 9) But most other sections, from “Infrastructure” to “Marketing and promotion,” are about maximizing the tourist experience.

A Tourism Zoning Plan has been on the books since at least 1993, and there has been official tourism policy since 1985.¹⁰¹ Unfortunately, I don't know how effective these have been, and it is unfair to dismiss a policy document as ineffective if major components have changed; the process of effectively implementing existing policy is not the focus of this paper. However, there are many popular complaints around such things as the lack of public involvement in planning for tourism or of public education about the benefits of tourism -- despite the fact that these efforts are promised in the 2004 Tourism Policy Statement. This suggests that while the listed goals accurately reflect public sentiment, they have not been meaningfully implemented. Above all, perhaps the island is still seeking investment, and is not yet capable of trying to direct it.

Investment policy

ZIPA, the Zanzibar Investment Promotion Agency, is intended to seek and facilitate investment. It may be the most accessible government agency in Zanzibar. With an up-to-date website including contact information and application forms, the goal of attracting investment is clearly a high priority for Zanzibar. Established by the Investment Protection Act of 1986 (IPA 1996)-- an act which ZIPA offices tell me is being reconsidered for some minor changes -- ZIPA centralizes foreign investment on the island by coordinating incentives and guidelines, indicating industries which are open to private investment, and explaining local legal conditions to investors.

This organization promises benefits and tax breaks to investors based on several factors. As the next section, *Economic Development*, will show, these incentives can be hard to capture due to institutional inefficiencies and bureaucratic hurdles; however, nearly 20 years after the creation of the Investment Protection Act of 1986 the organization can clearly point to the development of new tourist hotels and restaurants as a testament to its success. Of course, whether these establishments would have been created without the organization is uncertain, but the legal protections for local businesses are clear. For instance, The only areas in which foreigners are excluded from owning businesses are in the areas of small-scale

¹⁰¹ This was the same year the Zanzibar Tourist Corporation, the tour company run today by the Ministry of Trade, Industry, Marketing, and Tourism, was formed. Retrieved on May 4, 2004 from <http://www.valt.helsinki.fi/kmi/fad/fad-wp-2-98.htm>

commercial: foreigners may not: “sell anything whatsoever in any local market place... operat[e] taxi services... barbershops... bakeries... [or] small-scale fishing.”¹⁰²

Economic Overview

The economy of Zanzibar is unpredictable and weak. While it is growing, it seems that much of the value-creation in the tourism economy is from foreign nationals -- who are presumably equally involved in profit-making. Unfortunately, the difficulties of developing tourist facilities in this environment require persistence, entrepreneurialism, and sometimes detachment; there is little incentive to pursue more progressive social agendas into development.

Zanzibar is a poor island and the experience of traveling in a developing country unfolds predictably in Zanzibar. Taxi drivers constantly ask you where you are going now, this afternoon, tomorrow; curio vendors who speak to you before lunch wait for you outside a restaurant until you emerge. Since incomes are low on the island -- estimates for average monthly salaries range from \$20-\$50; a government architect makes \$70 a month -- the appeal of the tourism industry is magnified. But this kind of poverty has other implications for the local economy. It is a very simple economy. Agriculture is central to the Tanzanian economy, and Zanzibar is involved in agricultural businesses like copra and seaweed production. As products gain international markets, local prices rise significantly: Zanzibari lobsters are now for sale abroad, and local hoteliers note that a recently affordable local commodity is no longer so. (Interview) Concentrating wealth, which would facilitate local development of tourist amenities, is difficult due to social norms of sharing; borrowing money domestically is nearly impossible: there are no commercial banks on Zanzibar. While it has since declined, in 1995 the average lending rate from commercial banks was 28%.¹⁰³ Even getting cash as a tourist is a challenge, for the lone ATM on the island does not connect to the international networks. Tourists are constantly aware that cash withdrawals are difficult -- which should be a source of consternation for local vendors, although it is unclear how aware of this they are. The \$10 is the largest denomination the government prints, and many stores don't accept them because they lack change for such a large bill. However, the economy has been growing continuously over the last 15 years, and now it is difficult to untangle the similar effects of rapidly growing tourism from expanding capitalism.

¹⁰² “The Investment Protection Act of 1986 And Guidelines for Investors,” Zanzibar Government, (1986) pp. 10.

¹⁰³ President's Office, Planning and Privatization: <http://www.tanzania.go.tz/economicsurvey/part3/index.html>

Before 1985, there were few stores in town. Under socialist policy, there was no private enterprise, a condition which has changed over the last two decades. "In 1984, the new president said Zanzibar should go for free enterprise, with particular emphasis on tourism." (Interview) Officially, the economy started liberalizing in 1986,¹⁰⁴ and Zanzibar witnessed more stores and more investment. In the early 1990s, the mainland government considered making Zanzibar an 'off-shore' zone to attract banking and a 'tariff-free port' to attract shipping, but those never developed beyond the planning stages; Zanzibaris remain full of theories that the mainland government is trying buttress it's own economic position at the expense of the island. But by 1989 tourism was rising and between 1990-1992 three of the City's major private hotels opened: Emerson and Green, The Dhow Palace, and Tembo. In 1997 the AKDN opened the five-star Serena. Through this development, the once-premier government-owned Bwawani Hotel became less important. (Interview)

Nonetheless, the economy is slow. Casual observers say the "economy is stagnant. There is no return for working hard. Zanzibar has no proper industries." (Interview) Officially, unemployment was 10% in 2001; in Dar es Salaam it was 26%, so the bulk of employment is in the rural areas.¹⁰⁵ One observer tells me that "officially unemployment in Zanzibar is 30%. That is too low. It is more like 40-50%."¹⁰⁶ (Interview) There are few opportunities, for both the educated and the uneducated. People just don't know what to do. Moreover, the growth of the population is not equal to the growth of development.

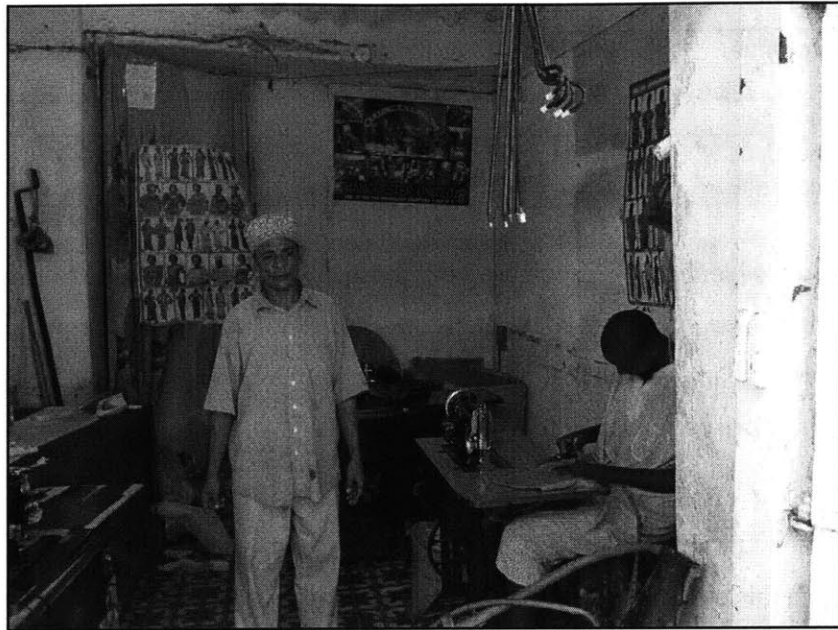
People play games all night and the soccer fields are full of people -- school aged and working aged -- all day. People aren't applying themselves. There must be incentives to change the culture. If you have one brother, cousin, etc. doing well, you can live comfortably. You must understand the culture. If you are hungry at Forodhani, and tell a vendor, he will feed you. (Interview)

All of this is a reflection of a reality that is even more challenging for planners: Zanzibar runs on an extremely simple economy. There is no diversity of shops. In the West we are accustomed to ideas like

¹⁰⁴ Tanzania Economic Survey (2002).

¹⁰⁵ "Integrated Labour Force Survey," President's Office (Tanzania) (2000/01).

¹⁰⁶ I was unable to corroborate this number.



Picture 11: Small-scale industry

yield management, commoditizing products, and mass production. [See Picture 11] This complexity can decrease the price of many products, a luxury not afforded to a simple economy based on selling agricultural products and catering to tourists.

Economic conditions affect developers in particular ways in Zanzibar. To overcome logistical and administrative chaos, many hotels make every effort to get tourists in by charter planes. A longtime resident of Zanzibar tells me he has seen planes unload tourists directly into buses -- without ever passing through customs. This extreme 'enclave' tourism prevents money from distributing among the residents of the island. These profit maximization strategies by developers can occur at great loss to the citizenry.

Because local conditions make loans highly inaccessible -- and, presumably because savings rates are low -- there is a very high rate of foreign ownership among larger hotels. In fact, 70% of the value of all hotel developments on Zanzibar is foreign-owned. (Interview) As for the foreign investors, they are limited to the larger projects because of high fixed costs such as transportation, legal protections, and insurance. (See Table 4)

Table 4: Hotel ownership

<i>(Source: Interview)</i>	At least partially locally owned	Fully Foreign owned
Percent of hotels	60%	40%
Percent of hotel development value	30%	70%

Perhaps the most intractable force in Zanzibar is the formidable influence of the tourism economy itself. Vocational choices to move into the tourism industry similarly affect real estate patterns: Landlords are eager to convert uses to tourist amenities, whether temporarily as guesthouses or permanently as hotels. This undoubtedly raises prices to a level inaccessible to locals.

The private sector: development & business

Running a business in this environment is a matter of overcoming and working around multiple obstacles. Businesses can often not rely on government to provide basic requirements -- from utilities to an educated workforce. During construction, building materials must often be imported; during operations foods and replacement components must often be purchased by an agent in Dar es Salaam. As one interviewee put it, "it's not that you can't buy a light bulb on Zanzibar. It's that the light bulb isn't necessarily on Zanzibar when you need it." (Interview) In this environment, businesses in Zanzibar must constantly worry about their efficacy; entrepreneurialism and implementation are required skills. Unfortunately, these activities occur in the absence of government oversight.

To frame the discussion on business conditions in Zanzibar, I have separated activities into the development phase -- before operations begin -- and the operations phase.

Development phase

Conversations with developers in Zanzibar uncovered several key ways that development within a foreign emerging economy differs from development in home first world nations. They indicated that the interrelated issues of perception, cost, time, and bureaucracy all contributed to development difficulties.

Getting local people to understand the agenda of the development firm creates problems of perception. While this goes away over time, people initially think developers are there to exploit the environment, the people, and the City -- an accusation leveled at even the non-profit AKTC. (Interview) But people learn

about good intentions. Even at the international level, communicating the viability of the project to other potential investors can be difficult, as the economics of risk add a premium to projects. To circumvent this, the AKTC provided a loan to Tourism Promotion Services (TPS) -- the for-profit unit of the AKDN that developed the Serena -- to cover design and early construction costs. The loan functioned as a construction loan does in domestic projects, for it distributed risk and gave a stamp of oversight to the project so that other lenders would be willing to participate. (Interview)

Interviewees continuously reminded me that cost does not decrease when developing in the seemingly low-cost environment of the third world. Why is this? The logistics of the project increase costs: Travel, consultants, raw materials, are all very expensive.

In some cases, there really were no materials at all. Today, I'm planning a museum. I have to bring in consultants. First task, I have to take possession of this barge. I need someone to do a condition report on it. Lab examinations on the wood, the varnish. Do I have anybody local to do that? No. So where am I going to go? I'm going to have to fly some guy from Europe. I'm going to have to pay him big bucks. I need someone to do the museographical design of the building. Do I have someone there? No. Do I have someone in Kenya? No. I have to bring someone from Europe or the US... You can't fly them in Economy, you have to fly them Business Class. A round trip to Zanzibar will cost me \$4,000. For a consultant to go down there and prepare a report on what needs to happen for restoration/conservation is going to cost me from \$10,000 to \$50,000. (Interview)

Even when those costs have been covered, there are high fixed-costs of development. The challenges of preparing legal and financial documents in place, architectural designs, permits, and dealing with government bureaucracy means that foreign investors are only interested in large-scale projects. Additionally, projects must often be funded outside of the local banking industry: "Ten years ago, rates on loans were 30% in Tanzania. Lenders in New York City were not willing to take on smaller loan projects. This meant larger projects were all that was left for foreigners to do." The high-end Emerson and Green hotel was funded privately; and the Serena was put together with internal AKTC financing. (Interview) While the government tries to mitigate these challenges, many tax incentives are available for construction, but the process is so difficult that some complain it is impossible.

Leading to increased costs, but also creating organizational headaches, is the enormous increase in time and effort to get projects started. The AKTC originally sent a representative to Zanzibar in 1988, with a goal to open the Serena in 1992. But the hotel didn't open until 1997. There were so many logistical hurdles -- there was no particulate to put in concrete; materials had to be imported; the legal system had no definition of a local non-profit so not only did the AKTC have to set up a non-profit, they had to set up the legal framework for non-profits. "Government officials didn't even know what a non-profit was. So I had to explain it. All this time is overhead that we are incurring." (Interview)

Finally, the challenge of dealing with different bureaucracies where lifestyles and work expectations are different can cause delays. There are differences in work habits and sense of urgency. "In Cairo the construction is dragging on because nobody on the ground is in a rush. Also, people didn't want responsibility of having their signature on a sheet; people are concerned that if they approve a project, they will be held responsible for its failure. Following communism, people didn't want to be accused of corruption." (Interview) One local hotel began development before the government was fully aware of the project; eventually the government approached the owners and offered to legalize the development.

In all these cases, the individual businessman is responsible for shouldering all the responsibilities of development. In this situation, businesses feel government is more obstructionist than facilitative.

Operation phase

Operations in a tourist outpost far from the global centers of commerce and service are continually challenging. With little internal industry, Zanzibar is at the mercy of global economic tides; the fact of business within a developing economy means unavailable goods and inefficient business; the political turbulence mentioned in the previous chapter requires increased entrepreneurialism -- and patience for bureaucratic processes. Of course, outsiders who develop on the island do so for many reasons: from Abercrombie and Kent who try to profit from a diversified tour operator portfolio to the owners of Emerson and Green who are clearly enamored with living in Zanzibar to the AKDN whose agenda is organizationally bifurcated into both profiteering and socially-conscious development. Regardless of the reasons for development, progressive agendas are difficult to insert into operations amidst the chaos of emerging economies; the challenge of running a business in this environment often exceeds the capacity for activities that don't directly result in profit. Political disorder meanwhile prevents efforts to manage and oversee development or to enforcing complex social remediation efforts.

Globally, the decline of the global economy in recent years is credited with having decayed the local tourism business. “At our height, 4-5 charters a week were landing in Zanzibar. Now that is down to one.” (Interview) This means fewer people employed in the tourism business, with less predictability about their jobs. “During the late 90s, we had large tour groups, now it is smaller groups. So we only maintain a core staff and employ people on short term contracts” (Interview)

The lack of business services means businesses either must look to far-off geographies for services, or they must bring them in-house. In addition to the difficulty of accessing goods, financial services are a challenge.

Today, it takes one month to get money from Visa from the time you first get the imprint. This is better than the two months it used to take. Barclays said it would be opening a branch here, and never did. That was three years ago. This is just another instance of unpredictability here on the island. (Interview)

In response, businesses charge up to 10% to take a card -- if they accept credit cards at all. Other difficulties involve the challenge of bringing training services into the organization: “people need not only training, but an incentive to alter their lifestyle to a commitment to work.” (Interview)

Cultural clashes for foreign run businesses result in other difficulties. Even when committed to work, people’s sense of organizational structure can clash with management trained in modern Western business tradition: “the sense of ownership in the organization is totally lacking; people don’t care about the organization. People refer to management as something completely different and higher-up, as if people in management are the only ones who benefit if the organization does well.” (Interview) This attitude towards management becomes an operational challenge when management is located in another country; Zanzibar is geographically but also psychologically an island: oversight of operations is a tremendous challenge.



Picture 12: Trucking in water at a tourist establishment

Because it is an island, because it is far away from management centers, it is difficult for international firms to have a firm grasp on what organizational arms are doing. [Meanwhile,] people really want to use positions to make money. Sometimes guides don't report taking people out, or report that they just dropped off the tourist. (Interview)

Even goods generally regarded as providing public utility are sometimes provided by the private individuals who foresee significant utility from the effort: "I had to put up my own lights from the hotel to the mosque. I put steel cages around them, I change the bulbs. That was three years ago and they are still there." (Interview) Businesses have a difficult time relying on government for basic services, like transportation, lighting, garbage collection, water. Sometimes these services are through the aid of foreign governments, other times through private initiative. "The Germans gave the Zanzibaris dump trucks, dumpster. Zanzibaris used them until they rusted through. They were never replaced. Roads rarely get replaced and brown- and blackouts are common. Government investment is required to make more money." (Interview) A few roads on a popular tourist map are listed as 'bad' or 'very bad.' Supply of infrastructure is unreliable: water service is particularly unpredictable due to an old pipe system: While the island provides an abundance of clean water -- the island was a regular stop for boats in the age of shipping -- the water system is over 100 years old. (Interview) Any establishment larger than the single

store-front variety that expects to reliably serve customers must truck in water every day. [See Picture 12] Government can not be expected to provide some basic services.

Additionally, government inefficiency unfairly burdens some businesses, and for others benefits are difficult to realize.

For many things we are double taxed. If we buy something in Dar es Salaam, taxes are 20%. If we bring it to Zanzibar there is a wharfage fee, an immigration fee, porters. And that is just to get it out of Dar es Salaam. We have to do it all over again in Zanzibar. This is on top of shipping. There is also a 20% Value Added Tax and a 20% corporate tax on income. (Interview)

Unverified complaints circulate that much of the taxes taken in are siphoned off by the mainland government. But even government efforts to assist the economy are difficult to realize.

ZIPA promises tax exemptions, but you never see them. There was such complicated paperwork. We tried to do something, but it required a bribe. It just wasn't worth it to try for it. If you are developing a project, there is supposed to be an exemption for development inputs like construction materials and marble. We tried to get one for a building system but it never happened. (Interview)

The biggest problems are political uncertainty and individual whim. National politics are so unpredictable that making budget projections is difficult for many businesses -- to say nothing of problems with the police and security. While security is better on Zanzibar than on the mainland, there is a concern that tourists' need for a truly safe environment is not adequately met.¹⁰⁷ Bribery for services is common, even when people are providing services that are ostensibly their jobs; "And the fact of police asking for bribes? That's classic. That's Africa." (Interview) This uncertainty provides a definite limit on the potential growth of the economy.

¹⁰⁷ Firearms are legal on the mainland and not on Zanzibar. Some credit this for contributing to a safer environment on the island.

There is a real reluctance to invest in fixed assets. Even if the government stays stable, the level of caprice at the government level means that new regulations could nationalize something, or that an agency might extend control. For instance, all wildlife in Tanzania is the property of the Wildlife Department. This makes it very difficult to operate businesses that rely on those animals. (Interview)

Unfortunately, this is a self-perpetuating system as individual relationships with government officials are critical to business, so businesses must operate based on the rules imposed regardless of the legal basis.

Historical issues also create specific conditions in which business must operate. Besides the spatial constraints mentioned in previous chapters -- that buildings in the Stone Town were constructed on now-outdated floor-plans out of materials that don't easily convert to new uses -- residents sometimes approach work from a different perspective than outside employers. Religious Muslims expect to pray five times a day, women's roles sometimes limit both the work they can do and the way customers interact with them. And locals have different expectations for providing high levels of service because, for instance, people who have visited high-service restaurants have different expectations for service than for those who haven't. At international-quality hotels, management knows that employees have probably not stayed in such establishments elsewhere, and therefore don't intuitively understand what guests expect. One interviewee even feels uncertain about address this because of the burdens of history: "I can't push my staff too hard; I don't want to look like I am bringing back a new colonialism." (Interview)

Despite businesses best efforts, the local context is a harsh business environment. And without high -- or even predictable -- levels of government service provision, businesses must spend excessive time dealing in a near-constant crisis mode. Government oversight to ensure compliance with existing regulations breaks down at many levels. In the end visitors and residents suffer as they struggle to deal with insufficient services and haphazard development.

ZANZIBAR: TOURISM

The “current approach to tourism studies” generally includes an assessment of the state and effects of tourism in a given locale. This chapter draws attention to the specific points of tension, benefit, and opportunity that arise from tourism in Zanzibar. It does not attempt to provide statistically significant reports on the effect of tourism; in fact, this chapter is subject to all of my criticism of the “current approach” provided in earlier chapters [See *Thread one: Current approach to tourism studies*]. Nonetheless, understanding what locals say about tourism and interpreting the outcomes of tourism growth are necessary preconditions to an understanding of what interventions are likely or even feasible.

Description of tourism in Zanzibar

Tourism in Zanzibar has grown rapidly since the Tanzanian government initiated economic liberalization efforts in the mid-80s. While the tourism industry in general is subject to global events and seasonal shifts it cannot control, Zanzibar itself is frequently subject to tourist concerns around personal safety. Given tourists’ low tolerance for danger on holiday and given the reality of actual danger on Zanzibar, fluctuations in tourist arrivals are understandable if sometimes capricious.¹⁰⁸ Nonetheless, the island continues to develop its tourism infrastructure with everything from increasing institutional capacity to increasing the number of hotel rooms. The Stone Town, however, with its moratorium on new hotel construction, is trying to limit the growth and development of the industry.

Currently there are 173 tourist accommodation establishments in the archipelago and 159 on Unguja; this results in 3,089 rooms and 6,139 beds. Additionally, there are 20 restaurants of ‘international standards,’ and 108 licensed ground tour operators. In 2002, US\$4,471,000 in foreign earnings accrued due to tourism.¹⁰⁹ This is in the neighborhood of 10% of GDP.¹¹⁰ Government oversight of the industry is intended to increase the total income from tourism by upgrading facilities to attract high-end tourists: The

¹⁰⁸ The US State Department issued a warning about travel in Zanzibar in 2002. A respondent tells me this is because an Italian doctor saw some Kuwaitis in a hotel and reported to his embassy that Al Qaida was using Zanzibar as a base; however, the Spring 2004 bombings by Muslim fundamentalists highlight the violence that can arise from the ongoing tension between traditional elements in society and advocates of Westernization.

¹⁰⁹ “Zanzibar Tourism Policy Statement,” Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar, Ministry of Trade, Industry, and Tourism, January (2004) pp. 1.

¹¹⁰ I computed this number. If Tanzanian per capita GDP is \$600 (earnings on the archipelago are likely lower), and the population of the archipelago in 2002 was 820,000, then GDP was \$492,000,000.

hotels “are just on the boundary of being acceptable to the charter inclusive tourists, who themselves are a step down from the top quality tourists.”¹¹¹ Efforts to oversee and regulate tour guides -- an attractive vocation for many on the island due to its relatively high salary it commands -- means that there are 300-400 registered guides on the island.¹¹²

Zanzibar tourists: Who they are

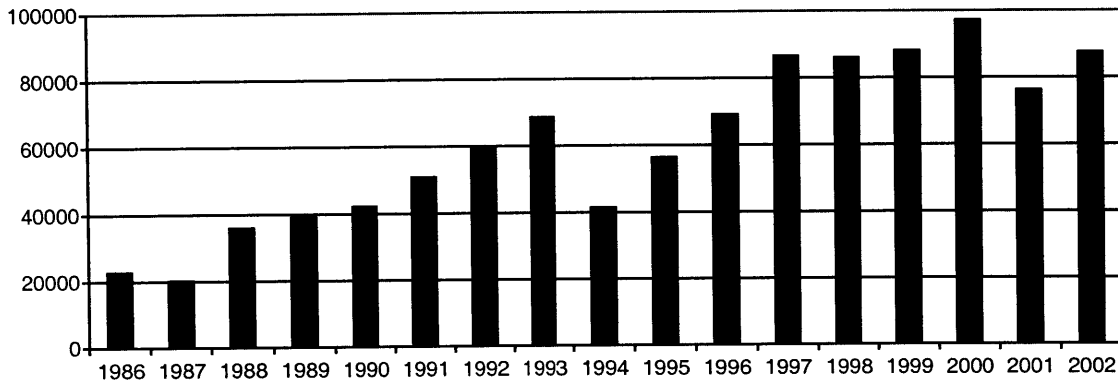
Observers of the Zanzibari tourism industry say that the ideal number of tourists in Zanzibar is between 100,000 to 150,000 visitors per year. (Interview) Unfortunately, Zanzibar has never attained this number, despite fairly steady tourism growth over the last fifteen years. The more precipitous decreases in visitors during individual years have occurred because of well-publicized local crisis -- such as the Ebola scares and various East African political upheavals in 1994. [See Chart 1] Indeed, due to post 9-11 terrorism fears, tourism in Zanzibar has decreased, and the spate of bombings on politicians and in tourist establishments in March 2004 will certainly draw negative publicity to the island, but these changes are not yet reported. In any case, according to official documents tourists who arrive are not yet the high-end visitors that planners have pursued for years.¹¹³ Tourists to Zanzibar are frequently package tourists who arrive only for the local resorts or backpackers looking for an adventure.

¹¹¹ “Zanzibar Tourism Policy Statement,” Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar, Ministry of Trade, Industry, and Tourism, January (2004) pp. 2.

¹¹² Officials declined to speculate on the number of unregistered guides during my interviews.

¹¹³ “Zanzibar Tourism Policy Statement,” Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar, Ministry of Trade, Industry, and Tourism, January (2004).

Chart 1: Tourism growth in Zanzibar



Compiled from Environmental Profile of Zanzibar Municipality, Zanzibar Sustainable Programme, December 1998, and the Zanzibar Commission for Tourism, and from http://home.globalfrontiers.com/zanzibar/2003_zanzibar_news.htm

Before the revolution of 1964, there were several places for visitors to stay; during the socialist years leading to the liberalization of the mid-80s, only the state-owned Bwawani Hotel served any meaningful number of tourists. (Interview) Since 1990, however, the number of tourist arrivals has nearly doubled. These visitors are mostly international; domestic tourism, due to “lack of tourism awareness, low income only to mention few [sic]”¹¹⁴ has not been an important part of Zanzibar tourism industry.

The success of tourism in Zanzibar City is reliant on amenities outside of the city. “Many visitors stay in the town for just one or two nights” (Interview) as they finish or begin a safari, a trip to Kilimanjaro, a trip to elsewhere on the mainland, or trips to resorts elsewhere on the island. Part of the reason the city can’t attract visitors for longer stays is that there is little to do in Zanzibar: short jaunts are mainly shopping trips or diversions from time on the beach. Because tourists are taking an excursion from another trip to East Africa, visitors are more likely to enjoy leisurely activities than to engage with residents or to explore the dense networks of streets in the heart of the city. Despite this, some people hope that the Stone Town can become more of an attraction in its own right: One interviewee told me that “we want [the tourists] who show up with books.” (Interview) And because visitors to the city spend time shopping, taking day trips, or appreciating cultural history, comments that “in the Stone Town most tourists come for culture; if people want relaxation they go to the beach” (Interview) ring vaguely hollow;

¹¹⁴ “Zanzibar Tourism Policy Statement,” Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar, Ministry of Trade, Industry, and Tourism, January (2004) pp. 18-19.

the cultural attractions can't sustain enough interest to attract tourist on their own merit. Except for academics, the buildings themselves are not enough of an attraction to drive a different kind or quality of tourist; except for events like the Festival of the Dhow Countries, a June-July music festival, there is really not much for tourists to do in the City. While a more in-depth segmentation of Zanzibar tourists would be necessary to truly understand who the visitors are, my suspicion is that visitors are using 'culture' as a break from other activities. Culture itself is not the central driver of visitors' destination choice.

Since the terrorist attacks of 9-11 the big spenders are gone; tourists' fear of travel has meant less income for businesspeople: "Two years ago I regularly sold \$2,000 items in the gift shop, now I don't sell anything for more than \$100. Six years ago I made on average \$400 a day in the gift shop, now I'm lucky to hit \$100. Before the last election, I was turning people away at my restaurant." (Interview) In 2002, following the State Department warning, hotels that were expecting 90% occupancy were operating at 35% occupancy (Interview). By January of 2004 occupancy rates were reportedly back to normal, although as of this writing it is unclear of the effects of bombings and threats in tourist areas.

One predictable population of visitors to Zanzibar is backpackers. They appear to be less affected by geopolitical fears. While some people feel that these populations don't bring in enough money, others feel that this group imposes a low impact on local culture:

It is not much money [for Zanzibaris], but backpackers expect simple living, simple accommodations, and they come to enjoy the culture. Tourists, locals, and government all say they don't want culture to change. There is a desire to carry on the old ways. In some ways, the poorer tourists encourage that. (Interview)

Despite this, there is a dream spoken of by many in the industry to attract the high-end tourist as well as the cultural tourist. The Zanzibar Tourism Policy Statement states a long-term goal of upgrading facilities and creating easier access to the island to attract the moneyed classes.¹¹⁵ Even the AKTC hopes to target these visitors because "they spend more money, need less infrastructure, and have less impact on the environment." (Interview) The conundrum is how to attract more high-end tourists to the Stone Town and

¹¹⁵ "Zanzibar Tourism Policy Statement," Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar, Ministry of Trade, Industry, and Tourism, January (2004).

not just the resorts, how to get them to stay for longer, and, mostly, how to do it in a way without an adverse impact on the local cultural landscape. This problem is compounded by the prevalence of package tourism, where interactions with tourists and most profits are handled by international service providers.

Factors limiting tourism growth

Zanzibar is an historic city which, for its history and beauty, could be a overrun tourist site. Yet the number of yearly visitors remains seemingly far below capacity. There are several factors that deter and even prevent tourists from arriving, “prevent[ing] Zanzibar from becoming another Venice.” (Interview) These factors can be seen as either limiting growth or protecting the island from an influx of tourists.¹¹⁶

- **Social.** Disorganization is a persistent feature of the island. When leaving the island, locals suggest leaving a day early so as not to miss flights leaving Dar es Salaam. One never knows when a plane will not leave the island airport for Dar es Salaam -- and seemingly one rarely knows why. Once at Dar es Salaam, the airport itself clearly lacks structure; individual decision seems to take precedence over codified regulations.
- **Spatial.** Getting to the island is difficult, but this is changing as the airport upgrades. The dense street networks, once there, impede circulation by confusing newcomers. In response, tourists generally stay on the outer roads that encircle the confusing and intimidating street networks of the Stone Town; even retail goods have difficulty penetrating the area. As more direct flights to Zanzibar from Europe occur, and as direct flights to the region increase, access will become easier.
- **Financial.** The distance to Zanzibar makes it an expensive destination. This is one reason visitors attach trips to Zanzibar onto other vacation destinations. The government wants to increase exit fees, but this just adds to an already expensive trip. As one interviewee points out, “officials keep trying to raise the price of visas. They say, ‘people won’t mind; they’ll keep coming. But it’s not true. People make choices and costs have an effect.” (Interview)
- **Economic.** It is difficult to transact once you are there. The one ATM on the island does not connect to any international networks, and only the most expensive hotels take credit cards.

¹¹⁶ While some of these issues are included elsewhere in this document, I include them as a compendium of all these issues.

- **Environmental.** The heat is a shock to western tourists; it is a subtropical environment; it is also, at times, humid, dirty, or unimaginably rainy. Regardless, the physical demands of the environment and the relative prevalence of diseases like malaria, food poisoning, yellow fever, and many others makes the area less attractive for visitors. (Interview)
- **Political.** Political instability is a valid fear of tourists. The decrease in tourists following several political crises in East Africa in 1994 is a testament to this.

Effects of tourism in Zanzibar

Today, the Stone Town is very different from when the government initiated economic liberalization in the mid-1980s. Buildings have been rehabilitated. There is more money circulating. Access to and around the city has improved. Employment patterns have changed. Prostitution has increased. Retail patterns have changed. (Interview) While these changes are difficult to detangle from the general affects of liberalizing the economy and from the fact that urban areas -- as the first point of contact with major external forces -- are often subject to change, the fact that there is today a tourist-serving infrastructure that geographically maps to the central historic district, the fact of the preeminence of tourism in the GDP calculations, and the fact of changing job choices among locals hoping to work in the tourism industry all indicate changing priorities for the society.

Like any force for change, tourism has brought benefits and challenges. The most widely-agreed upon benefits of tourism among Zanzibaris are the economic changes, the opportunities for learning new languages, and the ability of an impoverished native culture which would otherwise not interact with outsiders to experience people from other lands.

The challenges arising from tourism are also opportunities for developers and planners to assuage tensions. Sometimes these tensions expose rifts between traditional and modern elements in society; older generations fear the loss of traditional culture as young women signal a rejection of parents' values by discarding traditional dress. Sometimes, tensions are more general -- for instance as more people start using leisure facilities like Forodhani Park. In turn, this justifies attempts to manage that usage. Unfortunately Zanzibari government poverty means that:

Forodhani Park is not as well kept as it was. Now it is more of a place for guys to come take a nap in the afternoon under the trees. Time has no value here. Even for residents it is all about being social, having some recreation. But this lack of discipline means it is not as free here as it was before because people are a little more afraid of crime, and long-term prospects are minimal. Children are let loose because parents don't know what to do with them. (Interview)

The fact that this park is the primary space of interaction between tourists and locals makes it an especially important node in which to understand social dynamics.¹¹⁷ To some observers, the park is a microcosm of the social changes that have occurred following tourism's growth.

Spatial dynamics

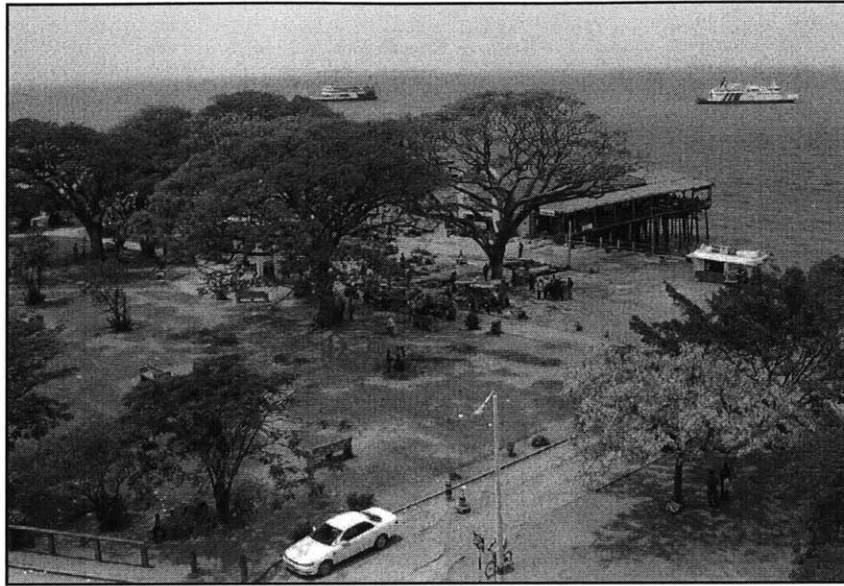
Because of the dense street networks in the Stone Town -- and its virtual impenetrability -- tourists mostly use public space on the periphery of the Stone Town. This directs investment towards those areas, resulting in exclusive tourist zones. However, the limited number of tourists in Zanzibar means that locals aren't completely excluded from tourist areas. Proper government oversight would prevent over-expansion of tourist-serving establishments and areas so that locals can maintain traditional use patterns.

Because tourist attractions are on the outside of the street network and because the central part of the Stone Town confuses tourists, visitors stay on the periphery. Drawing visitors into the center seems an obvious first step to increasing interactions among tourists and visitors, but some feel mixed about the effort: "it would hurt the interior, which would in turn hurt tourism by depleting the richness of the interpersonal culture. However, impenetrability leads to a lack investment, so money is not entering the core of the city where the people are." (Interview) I could not attain rent data for locations various shops, but one store owner mentioned that if a curio shop is not on a main drag, it stands no chance of success.

While the center is firmly held by locals, visitors' hold on the periphery is less firm. But certain activities indicate tourists are strengthening their grip. Establishments that clearly serve tourists, like the restaurants Blues and Mercury's and the Serena Inn, demarkate the areas targeted towards tourists: Economic activity seeks out those areas, for instance as curio vendors congregate outside of Blues.¹¹⁸ [See Picture 13] Indeed, "the area around Emerson & Green Hotel was never busy until a few years ago." (Interview) The presence of the hotel has seemingly changed local retail patterns. This class-delineated urban fabric is a challenge for planners hoping to increase interactions. Unfortunately those class lines are sometimes reinforced by economic concerns: the Serena Inn provides a dress code for visitors which while

¹¹⁷ Other spaces, like the curio street Gazenga, do not have the same opportunity for people to coexist on an even footing; those areas are either explicitly tourist-serving.

¹¹⁸ Before 1999 curio vendors occupied a different area of the park, closer to the roadway. Blues, however, created an important tourist node and focal point for businesses.



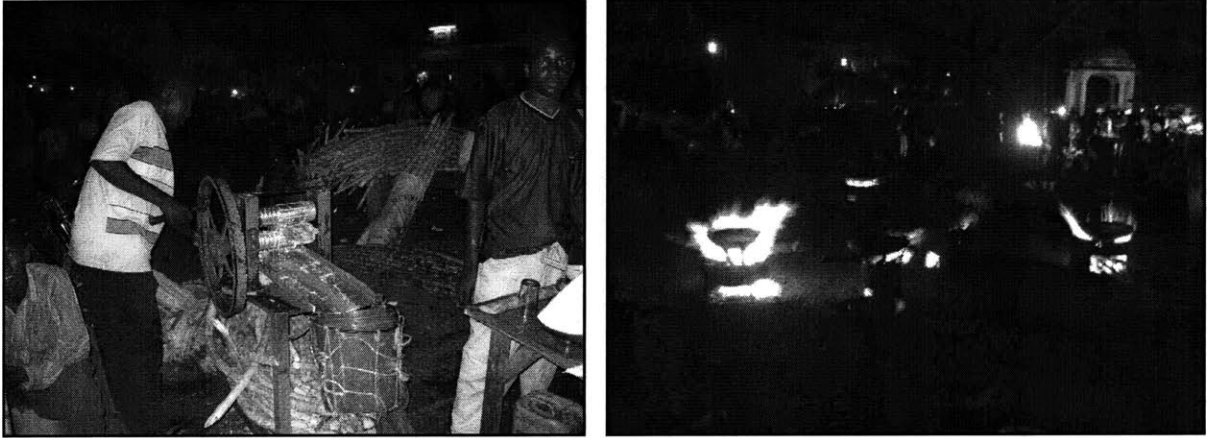
Picture 13: Forodhani Park -- Blues Restaurant on pier and vendors at entrance of restaurant

maintaining the dignity of a 5-star tourist hotel has the side effect of discouraging locals from entering. This is in contrast to the Old Dispensary, where people wander in continuously -- if only at a trickle.

As of yet, the tourists haven't purchased, closed off, or otherwise claimed all the optimal areas for leisure, so there is so far not a sense that the tourists are limiting the activities of locals. Nonetheless, Mercury's offers two seating areas -- one for residents and one for visitors -- with very different prices. [See *Economic Impact*] At this stage in Zanzibar's tourist development, or at least during the time of my visit, it is clear that tourists do not yet occupy the optimal parts of the city. This is not a reason for relaxing concern. Growth trends in tourist numbers indicate that this invasion may yet be coming.

Forodhani Park

One area where all the different groups have the opportunity to interact is in the City's major public space, Forodhani Park. The patterns of usage within the park highlight the tensions and attitudes of many of the people within the Stone Town. As the primary public space, it is a microcosm of the Zanzibari lifestyle. Women are working and men are relaxing. Tourists typically move quickly through the space, stopping mostly to shop or pick up a snack, but never relaxing on the grass with the locals. And the dynamics of political life in Zanzibar are on display as government plans are a constant topic of conversation, but misinformation is rampant -- due perhaps to historical government caprice, poor



Picture 14: Nighttime in Forodhani Park

communication of plans, or miscommunication among the population. Even with a high level of usage, it is clear that at least in the low season the park is still well-used by locals.

Sometimes called Forodhani Garden, Forodhani is the major public open space inside the Stone Town. It sits on the seafront, and children dive off the seawall at the Park's edge directly into the water. Food vendors set up grills along the water at night, and serve cheap snacks to visitors and residents alike. Curio vendors aggregate around the front door of Blue's Restaurant and aggressively peddle their goods to tourists. Women and children sit in circles eating dinner on the side of the park near the road while young children run giggling around and through the crowds of people. A bandstand sits in the middle of the park: once bands played there at night, but today it is a resting spot for young men. A few large trees stand in various states of virulence in the middle of the Park, the earth around their roots compacted from trampling. Arab and Indian families seem to sit mostly at the tables in front of one permanent food stand; the other is frequented by tourists and young male locals in the early evenings. Taxi drivers sit by the road asking visitors if they need a ride. During the day, curio vendors peddle their goods, but without the hectic pressure evident in the nighttime hustle. At night, the whole Park is shrouded in smoke from the grills. [See Picture 14] It is chaotic, but it is the only area where people can gather. It seems the entire Stone Town stops by the Park at least once a day.

They do so to socialize, to eat, and to talk. The amount of misinformation in Zanzibar and the degree to which rumors circulate among locals is highlighted by the rumors around Forodhani itself.¹¹⁹ Three different versions of the future of the park were related to me:

1. The Zanzibari government has decided that the Aga Khan will oversee a massive renovation project.
2. The Aga Khan wanted to do something to the park, but was rebuffed by the government. Instead, a German firm is fixing it up.
3. The Aga Khan is thinking of doing something to the park, but there have been no Zanzibari decisions to move ahead with either their plans or their assistance. (I am told by government officials that the final is the most accurate)

These rumors-- as well as stories, jokes, and ideas -- are told and retold in the Park all day. It is a public space used as a living room, a dining room, and a playroom.

But for all the families relaxing on the lawn, tourists seem uneasy in the park. When it is night, and crowded and smoky, they rarely sit down and constantly check their belongings; during the day they are more at ease. Sometimes they sit at the tables, but never on the grass. After some shopping and some snacks, many simply pass through to Blue's; that is why the vendors congregate so tightly near the entrance to the establishment. It is eminently clear that most tourists are not sure how to interact with this foreign environment.

This could be because there were so few tourists during my visit. Either because it was low season or because tourism arrivals were down, a comparison of tourists in the Park during different months but similar time periods in 2004 and 1998 shows that there were only a fraction as many tourists in the Park in 2004. This should come as a relief to some practitioners who warned me before my arrival in Zanzibar that the city was at an inflection point where it could soon be overrun by visitors: "we don't want to see Zanzibar become another Venice." (Interview) This was not the case during my visit, when tourists represented only 6% off all visitors to the park across periods. [See Table 5] This is far off the usage of public space in the center of Venice, which is "34% used by tourists (against 49.3% by residents, 12.6%

¹¹⁹ One reason for the reliance on rumor is the absence of news and magazine vendors. Word-of-mouth seems to be the primary news source.

by commuters, and 4.1% by students). This figure increases to 56.9% if only the most central areas are considered, and to 66.9% in the period July-October.”¹²⁰ The visitor population numbers in Venice are not far off those in the Zanzibar high season, however, so it is possible that the Park does feel overrun at other times of the year or during other years.

Table 5: People in Forodhani Park¹²¹

	Population	2004 (1/25 - 2/2)	1998 (7/31 - 8/3)
Sunday			
3:00 - 4:00 PM	Men	103	96
	Women	16	16
	Children	23	87
	Tourists	6	222
	Total	148	421
Sunday			
7:20 - 8:00 PM	Men	182	203
	Women	114	107
	Children	158	121
	Tourists	11	202
	Total	465	633
Monday			
10:00 - 11:00 AM	Men	68	71
	Women	4	24
	Children	68	46
	Tourists	1	61
	Total	141	202
Monday			
7:00 - 8:00 PM	Men	122	80
	Women	27	2
	Children	34	38
	Tourists	20	52
	Total	203	190
Friday			
7:30 - 8:00 PM	Men	168	145
	Women	40	62
	Children	70	102
	Tourists	26	163

¹²⁰ “Turisti, pendolari, residenti,” F. Indovina, COSES Informazioni 32-33:27-36 (1988), referenced in: The “Vicious Circle” of Tourism Development in Heritage Cities, A Russo, *Annals of Tourism Research*, v. 29, no. 1, 165-182 (2002) pp. 175.

¹²¹ 1998 data from “‘Forodhani Park: The People’s Gardens,’ Participatory Research in Zanzibar Town for Aga Khan Cultural Service,” Verena Knippel, (1998).

	Total	304	472
Saturday			
11:00 - 12:00 AM	Men	51	89
	Women	1	19
	Children	26	3
	Tourists	0	54
	Total	78	165
Saturday			
3:15 - 4:00 AM	Men	82	164
	Women	16	14
	Children	61	39
	Tourists	7	89
	Total	166	306
Saturday			
8:00 - 9:30 AM	Men	185	170
	Women	53	118
	Children	65	215
	Tourists	38	167
	Total	341	670
Percent across periods (percentages excluding tourists)			
	Men	52% (54%)	33% (50%)
	Women	15% (17%)	12% (18%)
	Children	27% (29%)	21% (32%)
	Tourists	6%	33%

Both of these user counts come with similar methodological caveats: They were performed by walking through the park counting people. While every effort was made to not double-count individuals, there is the possibility that this occurred. Additionally, ethnic assumptions are unfortunately not controlled for: white users of the park were invariably counted as tourists, despite the fact that some live in the city; non-white users of the park were invariably counted as residents.

Vendors are clearly reacting to these populations. The percentages of residents using the Park are fairly stable, as are the vendors that primarily serve them. Those businesses that serve visitors fluctuate greatly depending on the number of visitors to the Park. [See Chart 6] This indicates that residents make specific job choices based on economic opportunity: if the pattern observed in Forodhani were extended to the rest of the Zanzibar City community, it is possible that growth in the tourism economy would correlate with increased numbers of residents making job choices that don't serve the local community, but that do serve the tourist community. The fact that tourist development so clearly affects job choices implies that linkage fees by developers to promote job training in non-tourism fields could benefit local economic diversity.

Chart 6: Fluctuations in sellers' tables¹²²

	April 1998	July 1998	January 2004
Food stalls	43	46	46
Souvenir stalls	77	107	34
Total	120	153	80

Of course labor will follow opportunity, but the difference of the tourism-based economy versus, for instance, a service economy is that there is an income gap between the served and the server and that the final business does little to serve local needs; if it is a doctor or teacher choosing to serve tourists, the problems of failing services become particularly evident. And during periods when tourism recedes, excess capacity for tourist-serving establishments means that vendors are getting too little business. Businesses that serve locals, however, remain in constant supply.

Economic dynamics

Residents around the Stone Town agree that the best affect of tourism is increased economic vitality. As tourism generates somewhere between 10% and 25% of GDP, it is clear that tourism has had that effect.¹²³ However, the ability of policy to create conditions where wealth is well-distributed has not yet been proven in Zanzibar. While existing laws encourage local ownership of business ventures, purchasing local goods, and hiring local residents, widespread poverty is apparent by simple observation of the island. This could be for many reasons. For instance, perhaps political institutions are not yet sophisticated enough to create proper legal frameworks; perhaps distribution of wealth is a secondary priority to the challenges of attracting wealth in the first place. These distinctions are irrelevant to residents, however, who complain that money goes to foreign business owners, wealthy locals, and corrupt politicians “who manage to build mansions on the coasts on paltry government salaries.”¹²⁴ (Interview) Some see this viewpoint as arising from a lack of public education on the part of the government and think government should be more proactive in showing residents the positive aspects of tourism:

¹²² 1998 data from “‘Forodhani Park: The People’s Gardens,’ Participatory Research in Zanzibar Town for Aga Khan Cultural Service,” Verena Knippel, (1998).

¹²³ Agriculture accounts for about 40% of GDP

¹²⁴ I never traveled outside of the Stone Town so I can’t confirm the existence or ownership of these mansions, but the complaint was often repeated. In any case, the perception of officials acting out of self-interest is prevalent.

Government has allowed tourists to take over the economic structure of the country. It is the government that has benefited -- there are more investors in industry, so the government has more tax money and can employ more people and even provide services. But the government must educate people about tourism. The lack of education means people don't understand how they benefit. (Intercept)

The rise of tourism has led to a more complex economy in Zanzibar; knowledge of the city as an economic resource is growing among residents. (Interview) The AKDN hoped that its Old Dispensary and Serena projects would act as catalysts to attract investment and new projects which would in turn increase job opportunities and amenities for residents. In fact, since its completion in 1997, few major projects have occurred in the Stone Town, but the presence of the five-star Serena Inn has provided a high-end facility for wealthy tourists. More money circulating, and greater demands for higher-quality goods, have created demand for better and more restaurants, nightclubs, and retail establishments.

Ten years ago there were not so many shops on Forodhani; mostly you found things like fried cassava. Now you find a lot more things. We can have ice cream here in Zanzibar. In fact, today people take dinner in Forodhani instead of at home. It used to just be popcorn and cashews. (Interview)

The fact that capitalism and tourism started in Zanzibar at essentially the same time means it is hard to ascribe responsibility for certain changes. Historical trends indicate that tourism may just be how capitalism manifested in Zanzibar: "for a brief period when the port looked to be a tariff free zone, many of the people who had been hoping for jobs as tour guides or taxi drivers briefly changed industries [to shipping related jobs] and it was difficult for tourists to find guides." (Interview) This implies that while policy sought overall economic increases regardless of sector, tourism evolved into the growth sector it is today.

However, because some of the benefits are out of the financial reach of many Zanzibaris, there is a concern that increasing incomes in the tourism industry have worsened social stratification. These changes are differently imposed and differently felt. For instance, there is a dual pricing system: those for locals and those for *muzungu* (white people). Ferries to the mainland cost a fifth as much for locals as visitors, and some restaurants provide separate eating areas for tourists and locals -- where prices can vary

by a factor of 10.¹²⁵ This split implies that those in a position to capitalize on tourist needs, such as shop owners and service providers, are in the best position to derive the bulk of the economic benefits from tourists because they control prices. With tourists concentrated in the Stone Town, economic benefits have not visibly accrued in the suburbs. One vendor in Forodhani who lives in the suburbs told me that he is the primary bread-winner for his family -- and several neighbors.

Social dynamics

Zanzibar City has always been influenced by myriad international forces; as a historical shipping hub many cultures and peoples passed through the port. Today, tourism and the associated financial opportunities have prompted many changes in society: people are engaged in profit-seeking activities, social stratification has increased, traditional behaviors are changing, and religious traditions are challenged. These changes lead to tensions between different groups in society.

Profit seeking activities may be a natural reaction when there is a large income gap between visitors and residents. So while tourists can relatively easily impose imported lifestyles on the local context, the appeal of higher incomes makes Zanzibari businessmen eager to accommodate. While the amenities they create can be used by locals, they can also become reminders of class difference:

In the developed world, many people have done at least some travel. There is sophistication and acceptance of tourism. It is one thing for a Londoner to avoid the tourist areas of London, knowing that he can buy cheaper ice cream elsewhere. But it is another thing for a Zanzibari to have tourist prices foisted upon him in the tourist areas.

(Interview)

These changes can affect not only how people feel, but, some fear, how they act. "Now people are becoming more self-centered. If I get this car, I can take my brother to work. Now, if I decide to earn some money as a taxi driver, I can not take my brother to work. And if I take the tourist yesterday, what is to prevent me from charging my brother tomorrow?" (Interview)

¹²⁵ At Mercury's, the popular tourist restaurant, a juice costs 100 Tanzanian shillings in the local section and 1,200 Tanzanian shillings for the tourists.

Other interviewees remain optimistically philosophical about the changes brought about by tourism. One reminded me that “you can’t introduce tourism and not expect things to change. A lot of the money in Stone Town is from tourism.” (Interview) However, this money is changing the traditional laid-back island lifestyle -- which could for this discussion be characterized as lacking opportunity and therefore individual concern for profit -- which has been both a resource and a hindrance for tourism planners trying to increase opportunities for a population unaccustomed to hard work and businessmen trying to both run a business and capitalize on the local lifestyle as a tourist attraction. Tourists enjoy the friendly atmosphere, but employers require a hard-working staff: “There is employment, but not for locals. Zanzibaris don’t want to work. Zanzibaris want simple jobs. This means that maybe a boss in a hotel will not want to hire a Zanzibari. He will want someone from the mainland.” (Intercept) When I asked a developer what the ultimate goal of social protection should be in Zanzibar, he told me that Zanzibaris just want to be able to sit on the *Baraza* and chat and drink tea: “beaches are everywhere but the culture of Zanzibar is unique. That is why people should want to come.” (Interview) How more money will change these attitudes remains to be seen.

One early indication is not good. The income gap sometimes leads locals to engage in disagreeable behavior with tourists; conversely, the income gap facilitates tourists’ exploitation of locals. Sex tourism by Westerners is common enough that some locals were surprisingly willing to talk about it. While Western men are sometimes the culprits, the popular image is of a Western woman coming to Zanzibar to sleep with a ‘Beach Boy,’ a young local man who seeks out Western women. One 23 year-old man told me that he had been invited back to a hotel for three days with a woman -- and then gone with her to a resort for two weeks. “Sex tourism is very common here,” he told me, and one official openly told me that “We don’t want this to become like Amsterdam’s Red Light District. But what happens in the hotel rooms is out of our control.” (Interview) Beyond the psychological issues that may occur when people sell themselves as prostitutes, some see this as a challenge to traditional social structures.

Sometimes ladies are taken by European guys, or they are working in hotels. Parents are not happy that a daughter is working. Tradition is really against this behavior and these activities. (Intercept)

It is important to think of this as sex tourism, not explicitly prostitution. It is a blurry area between relationships and prostitution, where the local male is not explicitly paid, but he can rely on the Western

woman to pay his way for some period. The highest goal in these relationships, clear from interviews with many young men, is to get a visa out of the country. Western women represent opportunity not just for a quick romance and a brief experience of a higher-class lifestyle, but for individuals to seek opportunities for themselves outside Zanzibar.

When dramatic differences between occupational salaries are clear to residents, people's job decisions change dramatically. When a 15% gratuity for a meal at a tourist restaurant charging western prices is more than the average daily salary, the tourism industry clearly becomes disproportionately attractive. Indeed, many of the vendors I met in Forodhani Park told me they were ex-school teachers, psychologists, and professors. It is unclear what psychological parameters emerge from the dynamic of shifting from professional employment to vending, but from a social perspective it is a problem for a country when people choose not to pursue service jobs educating youth because they can sell woodcarvings for a much higher salary.

In some cases, locals are internalizing external values and attempting to duplicate the behaviors of tourists. This pattern has been well-documented as "the demonstration effect," and is considered a common feature of tourist areas worldwide.¹²⁶ Tourism is changing the physical manifestations of traditional society, which is neither objectively good nor bad;¹²⁷ however, the tensions that arise from these changes are easy to observe. Residents have a lot to say about this dynamic.

[Locals] adopt clothing from Europeans, who don't care what they wear. Europeans obviously don't tell locals what to wear, but they do it anyway. Locals think the Europeans look smart.¹²⁸ Even girls want to look smart. (Intercept)

Others believe that the tourists should not be held accountable for this behavior, and believe that proper public education could diffuse tension:

¹²⁶ The demonstration effect boasts a rich literature. An excellent reference is "The Tourism Demonstration Effect in the Caribbean," McElroy and de Albuquerque, *Journal of Travel Research*, (1986)..

¹²⁷ As discussed in the introduction, I take the position that cultural preservation is not an objective good. Instead, the absolute level of wellbeing in society determines the adequacy of its cultural resources.

¹²⁸ "Smart" is explained to me as not slang for well-dressed, but as actually more intelligent and more successful.

The Masai respect tourist dress and the tourists respect the Masai dress. Some people think that Zanzibaris will wear shorts because tourists do -- but everyone has their own culture. Zanzibar is a Muslim island, and yet the government has never taken steps to educate people of culture of tourists. In Egypt, no one is trying to act like tourists because the government is teaching people about cultural differences. (Intercept)

It is also possible, however, that tourists are taking the blame for very natural processes of adolescent rebellion.

Young people are imitating haircuts, vests, earrings, and then get home and parents blame them: "why are you doing this? It's not your culture!" Young people don't care. (Intercept)

These changes are particularly challenging in a traditional Muslim community where dress is an important embodiment of commitment to traditional values.

The tensions between traditional Muslim groups and modern elements in society -- Muslim or otherwise - - are an ongoing concern far beyond issues of dress. On the one hand, it is an operational issue for businesses to deal with:

If a guy has to pray 5 times a day, how is he going to lead tours? This is not a matter of me performing social services, for if a guide stops a bus to pray, a paying tourist will say: 'not on my trip!' From an academic point of view, it's nice to think you could do something good, but realistically you have to run a business. (Interview)

On the other hand, it is a matter of ongoing, widespread social tension. This is especially the case when changes of behavior are observable, as when Muslims bend traditional social conventions and religious rules: "There are prohibitions in Islam against manufacturing likenesses, so the original curio craftsmen were from the mainland. This led to early conflicts. Then, as the Muslims saw that people were making money, there was a shift and now more Muslims are selling goods." (Interview) The bombings in the Stone Town that have occurred between March and April of 2004 are a testament to how close to the surface many of these tensions simmer.

The benefits, beyond economic, that repeatedly arise involve learning languages and learning about other cultures. Because Zanzibaris are typically too poor to travel, visitors who come to the island bring news, experience, and information. As I traveled, people wanted to know everything from ‘How come Dutch people who come here all look the same, while the French look so different?’ (they didn’t know the size differences of the two countries,) to American politics, housing systems, and breakfasts. In a city with no magazine stores, limited television stations, and relatively expensive access to computers, information is a valued commodity. Tourists are access to the outside world.

These ongoing cultural changes are related closely to the fact that the Stone Town is a city: “It was going to change no matter what.” (Interview) Nonetheless, in my search for ‘social impact’ I felt that in some ways I was looking for something that doesn’t exist. The cultural changes are still too far off; even the selling off of prime waterfront real estate doesn’t register as a concern. One resident told me that nobody in Zanzibar cares that the best seats at Mercury’s go to tourists. “Look,” he said, pointing to the vacant waterfront, “there are plenty of other places to sit.” Moreover, the opportunities of increased economic growth are compelling to nearly all residents; it is difficult to find people who are against the growth of the tourism industry. But warnings from an earlier era of rapid growth do not always seem relevant today. In the early 1980s, the World Tourism Organization reportedly published a study that Zanzibar should strictly limit tourism development on the coasts; overdevelopment threatened many of the villages. The study was ignored, and yet today people in the Stone Town who heard that I was there studying social impact universally told me to go to the coasts, as that is where the impact of tourism is acutely and painfully felt. Perhaps the factors that limit tourism growth in Zanzibar will hold for a while, but it is unlikely that the City could withstand another doubling of yearly visitors without *de facto* displacement of residents from leisure areas, housing, traditional dress, and vocational patterns. Only a strong mandate for tourist policy could manage these changes.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT IN ZANZIBAR

Changing development practice towards the Hedonic Psychology Approach may not profoundly change the activities of planners and developers. Instead, it provides a framework to discuss and assess interventions. Instead of speaking broadly of ‘betterment’ of an area, or of harboring idealistic and possibly misplaced dreams of preserving local cultural patterns, the Approach provides a language to objectively consider goals. Over time, as the psychologists’ research methodology improves, and as more research is brought to bear on the question of wellbeing, the implications for planners and developers shall become clearer. For the present, I hope it is sufficient to consider current findings of and to encourage future attention to the field of Hedonic Psychology.

This research results in two major recommendations. First, there is a role for large scale multilevel aid organizations to complement the efforts of local government. The Aga Khan Trust for Culture is one such organization, and could raise its consultative and oversight role within the Aga Khan Development Network. Early writings of the Historic Cities Support Program suggest that this is a possible route for the AKTC; even a passing glance at the economic and political situation of Zanzibar illustrates that the local government cannot oversee development with the sophistication and resources of government in the developed world -- and it is likely that this story is repeated in many governments in many developing countries. The AKTC could provide proxy governmental oversight to other arms of the AKDN to ensure that appropriate economic, cultural, structural, and social programs are in place. This could apply to all the activities of the AKDN: tourism, business, education, and health care.¹²⁹ Of even greater logistical hardship would be the provision of oversight to other developers outright; the AKTC’s concentrated expertise, and in some cases local knowledge, would be invaluable to new developments. Second, I believe the time is right for a philosophical evolution and a shift of focus among organizations and governments involved in implementing change to the tenets of Hedonic Psychology. Again, the AKTC may be uniquely positioned to appropriate such a philosophy. Over the years, the organization has shown a tendency to address problems of increasing complexity; a consideration of the wellbeing of all the users of the Stone Town seems a natural next step for an organization that has changed from a focus on the physical environment, to a series of policy-based interventions, to the “Community-Based Rehabilitation”

¹²⁹ Perhaps these other AKDN organizations could also oversee one other. For instance, ‘Health Services’ could help the AKTC consider the public health impacts of its efforts. This suggestion, however, requires too much organizational perspective for this paper.

program that addresses everything from vocational training to institution building. Even non-AKTC actors -- tourism planners and developers worldwide -- could better serve the needs of constituents by focusing on the principles within the Hedonic Psychology Approach.

Instead of a general description of the benefits of this approach, for this paper I will show how the AKTC and local government could use the Approach to create a more nuanced set of goals and projects in Zanzibar. This is done with strong caveats that first the AKTC first has not asked for or had part in these findings, and second that the AKTC has a strong ongoing desire to only engage in activities supportive of local governments -- not to subvert in any way existing governmental activity.

Applying the Hedonic Psychology Approach

While the AKTC originally posited goals “of restoring and upgrading the built environment, cultural enhancement, and economic revitalization,”¹³⁰ it is clear that a certain degree of ‘mission creep’ occurred as the organization focused on an increasing number of problem areas. This in turn aroused recognition that ‘social goals’ were poorly understood. In fact, the original documentation creating the HCSP explicitly wonders how the HCSP should go about thinking about social impact. At the time, the major suggestion to address social impact was a process recommendation for more ‘participatory processes,’ but the documentation expresses uncertainty on how to do this in areas likely to be inexperienced in, as well as politically resistant to the democratic processes of consultation and participation.”¹³¹ Moreover, a dedication to participatory processes does not allow an objective assessment of interventions. Hedonic Psychology may allow a framework to discuss social impact before, during, and after various processes are undertaken, despite the fact that the framework does not provide definite answers and its tenets may well change in the future. However, it does clarify the goals of interventions by reminding us which abstract goals must be provided to users, and which goals can be ignored.

The AKTC has thoroughly developed its approach to cultural and economic support; yet while its approach to social impact remains a priority it has not yet developed a way to frame a discussion around social goals. This was certainly the case in 1991:

¹³⁰ Report to the Aga Khan Trust for Culture on the Historic Cities Program, J de Monchaux and S de Monchaux, Planning Urban Design & Research Consultants (1990) pp. 2.

¹³¹ “The Historic Cities Support Program,” Memorandum of the Meeting of the Steering Committee of the Aga Khan Award for Architecture held on April 16 1991 at Merimont, J de Monchaux and S de Monchaux, (1991) pp. 7.

I don't think anybody at the AKTC either could or did formulate a precise definition of social impact. What they could say is that there will be 'betterment' of the area; there was undoubtedly a generous view of improving the situation. (Interview)

The original documents of 1991 expose the difficulty AKTC had framing the discussion around social impact. They came across behaviorists' familiar frustration with developing valid indicators for social change, which are inherently multidimensional phenomena: "some areas of the network such as health and education lend themselves better to quantitative measures and, indeed, consider counting as part of their responsibilities. Though what they count is complex enough in terms of meaning, (such as scholastic achievement scores), it is still nowhere near the complexity of what might need to be counted to assess the success of the HCP, even if everything involved lent itself to being counted."¹³² This same confusion emerged as the organization tried to identify what its 'cultural' goals should be: "Nor is it clear what the goals of cultural enhancement and economic revitalization mean in an operation sense or how it can or will be known if they have been achieved... Furthermore, there are ways in which the goals could be seen to be in conflict. For example, one manifestation of economic revitalization might be the building and operation of tourist hotels."¹³³ Indeed, the authors of these documents believed that close attention to local heritage and traditions could mitigate this problem. Yet, those feelings remain infused with an incomplete sense of what creates wellbeing for local people: while authors warn that a shift to a tourism economy "could threaten local culture where the development and operation was not respectful of local environments or building idioms and labour recruitment took skilled artisans or crafts people out of their usual work environment,"¹³⁴ they nowhere make a statement that 'local culture' is intrinsically worth preserving, or that local artisans are better off in 'their usual work environment.' These sentiments come from an effort to respect the wellbeing of local people, but they lack a fundamental sense of where that wellbeing comes from.

The AKTC is also dealing with some of the more immediate tensions that arise from tourism, which must also be addressed as part of a comprehensive approach to tourism planning. They do this through deliberate, contextual interventions: the organization has learned well how to modernize existing

¹³² Report to the Aga Khan Trust for Culture on the Historic Cities Program, J de Monchaux and S de Monchaux, Planning Urban Design & Research Consultants (1990) pp. 29.

¹³³ Report to the Aga Khan Trust for Culture on the Historic Cities Program, J de Monchaux and S de Monchaux, Planning Urban Design & Research Consultants (1990) pp. 12.

¹³⁴ Report to the Aga Khan Trust for Culture on the Historic Cities Program, J de Monchaux and S de Monchaux, Planning Urban Design & Research Consultants (1990) pp. 12.

buildings. Other organizations working on the built environment, economic development, and cultural preservation often base efforts on one of two approaches: either a glorification of preservation or an imposition of modern values on an unprepared culture. The goal of modernizing a traditional culture is a more subtle approach that may lessen possible tensions; indeed, it is an approach the AKTC already takes to historic buildings. Moreover, this may seem an abstract challenge: Can the economy be improved while still celebrating the existing laid-back approach to life -- and is that economic improvement even fulfilling to residents? One interviewee reminds me that providing training to Zanzibari waiters on how to treat female guests could be accompanied by a certificate award program. The certificate would help justify and explain -- both internally and externally -- the modal and behavioral changes caused by the training. And by decreasing the cognitive dissonance of new behaviors, the waiter would certainly find the behavioral shift less threatening.

The findings of Hedonic Psychology may not provide concrete operational guidance, but they do frame the conversation. While this abstract philosophical approach may strike some international developers as too vague, the writings of the AKTC imply great comfort with a non-concrete basis for concrete implementation; the organization bases its activities on understanding the local context, in historical relevance, and in a knowledge that responsible development involves trade-offs between conflicting priorities. The AKTC does not presume to know all the answers, but through trial and experimentation based on close contextual understanding it hopes to get as close to abstract ideals as possible. An initial attachment to the values of autonomy, competence, and relatedness would be good starting points for efforts of social support. Of course, the culture of Zanzibar may reject some of these ideas as fundamental goals, but it remains a valid starting point until more research can be accomplished.

While the Hedonic Psychology Approach to tourism may only be still a framework, it is important to consider how implementation should occur. I therefore present several areas of consideration for planners, developers, and designers on how to consider new developments. And while many of the findings of Hedonic Psychology are applicable beyond tourism, they are all relevant here because tourist-serving services and developments often become part of the lives of locals as well.

The Hedonic Psychology Approach: Guidelines for policy and development

Let us suppose for a moment that the AKTC and governmental organizations in Zanzibar should decide that future development should follow the principles implicit in the Hedonic Psychology Approach. This raises the obvious question: how would this be best put into practice? Each of the drivers creates a different set of considerations, which are sometimes contradictory. And while I do not have the research to suggest how to resolve conflicts among goals in the framework it is informative to consider how sustainable development is popularly framed in development practice: sustainability requires a framework incorporating three areas, none of which are to take precedence over others: economy, environment, and equity. We shall here assume that all the drivers of wellbeing are equally valid, and that they should all be pursued with equal effort.

All of my recommendations in the area are subject to criticism of ill-definition: how can I purport to increase relatedness, for instance, without knowing what that means in a Zanzibari context? Realistically, I can't. But I can use each of the three drivers as a guideline for development.

The more difficult endeavor is making cultural criticism based on scientific inquiry: culture and society evolves for many reasons. Any efforts to celebrate or denigrate elements of society potentially lack proper understanding of the myriad causes and outcomes of society's many facets. However, improvements to peoples' lives are possible in any context, and science may provide the foundation to make objective criticisms. I present here several ways that the approach could be put into practice.

Policy considerations

Developing policy that can concretely support such abstract principles may be a long way into the future. Existing policy protecting small businesses from international ownership, encouraging international investors to find local partners, and reducing seasonality are all good starts. But operationalizing psychological principles with policy is a shaky endeavor, for without context-specific research, the risk of loose interpretation is especially high. In many ways, the "Tourism Policy Statement" already promotes relatedness, autonomy, and competence -- but its reflexive commitment to abstractions like "local culture" implies the authors' inability to truly reflect on what provides wellbeing to local communities.

Depending on the way wellbeing is considered -- if, for instance, it is indeed an average of discrete experiences -- than the provision of unique events and celebrations may provide a path to greater wellbeing for the population. The summer Dhow Countries Music Festival and the late winter *Sauti za Busara* Festival both create discrete instances for celebration and enjoyment; any policy that encourages such events would be especially well received. If wellbeing is instead a persistent state-of-being, then the transference of some lessons from the developed world provide a better starting point: encouraging linkage fees for job training or upgrades of local spatial environments; adopting a stronger regional planning approach to impose exactions on resort developers outside the Stone Town; or creating policy to overcome the *Factors limiting tourism growth* -- such that access to the city is facilitated, or that access to capital is easier once there -- would all improve the experience of both tourists and residents.

Knowing where to start is not easy. The AKTC has taken a long-term view by trying to seed local institutional health in the STCDA. This strategy created a short-term vacuum in preservation expertise, but it enabled a long-term situation where local experts are competent to oversee development; foregoing short-term benefits for long-term sustainable solutions may ultimately prove the most beneficial. Of course, people still require particular services: infrastructure investments remove daily hurdles from lives, and when people feel that their local government is responsive and competent, they feel secure that individual efforts will be rewarded fairly. Since R Veerhoven found that individuals in corrupt environments report less wellbeing than those surrounded by accountable institutions,¹³⁵ it is possible that the particular provisions may be less important than instilling a functional process.

AKTC Considerations

To fulfill the goals embedded within the Hedonic Psychology Approach, the AKTC must engage in multiple yet intuitive efforts to build institutions, implement participatory process, host community-based projects, raise the level of education, help professionalize the local government, and increase economic development. The benefit of the Hedonic Psychology Approach is that we can quantify the ways these effects benefit individuals.

¹³⁵ "Happy life-expectancy. A comprehensive measure of quality-of-life in nations," R Veerhoven, *Social Indicators Research* 39, pp. 1-58 (1996a).

Relatedness

Zanzibaris' high degree of interaction with one another seems the most important element of life on the island. This is at least true for males, who comfortably sit and chat in the evenings; it is clearly not true for females in public spaces. Is this good or bad for the notion of 'relatedness?' This raises potential problems with the idea of relatedness: it seems to arise often in places where there are problems that encourage interaction. During crises, for instance, people come together tightly; challenging conditions can bring people closer. So do specific affects of gender separation create close relationships within groups? It may be so, but I believe the benefits of interaction -- learning, understanding, and sharing -- are universally embedded in the notion of relatedness. Western psychological research supports the idea of increasing interactivity among people; presumably this is true both within and between the sexes. So, while it may create short-term cultural tensions, it is important to provide space and events that encourage interaction. Currently, cross-gender interactions occur mostly with tourists, who may be the seed of a quiet cultural shift. This provides a first central tenant of development according to the Hedonic Psychology Approach: the degree to which interactivity occurs is a key criterion for successful planning and development.

This holds true as well for semi-public space such as the hotel lobby at the Serena. It was reported to me that management at the Serena has been very generous with assisting local non-profits with conference space, yet regulations that create *de facto* barriers to public usage of hotel facilities prevent locals from feeling comfortable in the space. For instance, while dress code rules certainly help maintain the image of a five-star hotel, locals do not feel welcome in the hotel. This is likely a characteristic of high-quality hotels worldwide, yet the square in front of the hotel and the separation of the building itself from its surroundings makes the Serena seem particularly removed. Increased programming in Kelele Square -- the plaza in front of the hotel -- would make the space seem less foreboding. Indeed, Kelele Square is a large open space by Stone Town standards, yet it was nearly always empty during my stay. While food vendors might viably sell to tourists, my impression of the square is that it does not currently attract enough traffic to support such business. Instead, creative new programming should be actively sought for the square. The Serena could seek programming that supports its image and brand, such as high-quality art. The Inn could host a competition and display the art in front. This might also serve to encourage higher-quality crafts for sale citywide, which would in turn create incentives for people to focus on the curios as a craft, not just as a way to make money in the tourist trade. Perhaps this would even create more of the 'competence' written about by psychology researchers. As for relatedness, the promotion of

the event would initiate institution building through by creating a need for an organization to create the event -- thereby bringing people together around shared interests.

Other efforts could involve community-based activities. For instance, volunteer or partial-volunteer programs could be hosted. Locals could participate in Habitat for Humanity-like projects to build houses or to rehabilitate crumbling structures. Organizations like the AKTC could help subsidize such efforts at minimal cost by providing lunches or administrative space. Such community-building exercises could have the added benefit of training individuals to master various tasks. Tour groups are engaging in this kind of activity elsewhere, and should be actively pursued by the Zanzibari government.

Currently, tourism policy and AKTC documentation calls for solicitation of views and ideas from local residents, but some locals feel they are at the mercy of officials. In fact, in both the inaugural documentation from 1991 and in current conversations, people at the AKTC hope to solicit feedback from residents. The implementation of participatory planning processes would provide one forum for people to engage with one another, as well as to exert more control over their lives. These efforts should be pursued with dedication, and they should be pursued as public forums for feedback from groups of residents. This will encourage those with common interests in their community to form groups; it will encourage 'autonomy' as a sense of control over the environment; and the AKTC will have the feedback of local people. In fact, if tourists were also invited to these meetings, it would increase opportunities for different groups to learn from each others' experiences.

Autonomy

Another criticism difficult to make from a relativistic standpoint -- but one facilitated by Hedonic Psychology -- is to note that the culture of Zanzibar itself may hinder efforts at individual motivation. Interviewees noted a certain resignation among Zanzibaris; the lack of job opportunities meant people were not motivated to work, the unchanging environment prevented even non-business related efforts. The creation of opportunities should therefore be a central concern of planners, either through the creation of space for entrepreneurial activities, through microfinance that enables small business, or other business opportunities. Another more difficult and arguably more intrusive effort may include a reeducation campaign intended to show people the benefits of entrepreneurialism and the negative effects of a culture that discourages innovation: whether by actively maintaining gender roles or by passively encouraging

low levels of engagement with work.¹³⁶ This provides a second central tenant of development according to the Hedonic Psychology Approach: the degree to which opportunity is provided to local inhabitants is a key criterion for successful planning and development.

If the AKTC could help initiate organizations that demand and advocate for better government services, or that can organize themselves and work together. If successful, this will create greater individual sense of control over the environment. But this sense will only be possible when residents trust that the government has their best interests in mind. Zanzibar must take steps to make people feel more trustful of the local government so locals feel that efforts to make new investment and create new services will be rewarded.

Of course, a major factor preventing change is the lack of financial resources, and local residents must still wait for tourists to arrive for capital to come to the island. Any effort to lessen this reliance would create more opportunities for locals; unfortunately it seems that the current path to financial infusions is through foreign aid -- also a hindrance to self-sufficiency. Quite simply, the best effort the government can make is in economic development. Whether this should occur through focused efforts to create balanced or unbalanced growth, as industrial growth or service growth, or some other growth strategy is another research paper entirely. Here, it is important to note that I believe these policies should strengthen governmental institutions to decrease the perception of fraud, they should focus on diversifying the economy, and they should increase inflows of capital. To do this, some relatively simple steps -- like connecting the island's bank machine to international networks or facilitating credit card payments would have an immediate positive effect on tourist spending on the island. The AKTC can support this by continuing its efforts to both attract investment and to increase the capabilities of the local government.

Competence

The key to competence in Zanzibar seems to be better education. One interviewee complained that school children of all ages are outside throughout the day; there is little reward for hard work from youth through adulthood. For locals to be engaged in fulfilling activity means that locals should perform tasks rewarding for their difficulty; while some of the ennui on the island seems to come from a lack of activities, it also seems to arise from a lack of engagement. The question is, how can people be encouraged to take a more

¹³⁶ Several interviewees with locals indicated to me that innovation in Zanzibar is rare due to low rewards, inadequate support systems, and the conservative forces of traditional society. Of course, I could not scientifically verify this sense.

active interest in excellence? This provides a third central tenant of development according to the Hedonic Psychology Approach: the degree to which learning is provided to local inhabitants is a key criterion for successful planning and development.

First of all, exposure to new ideas and phenomenon should be a central concern for planners in Zanzibar. New events are already starting to emerge, such as the *Sauti za Busara* festival. But places for learning should be more prominent, whether bookstores or magazine stands or some other media distribution; these are services that even many tourists would appreciate. Alternatively, the goal of increasing competence could encourage some business-owners to pool funds to help pay for college tuition for islanders going overseas. Such a program could be publicized as part of the public service efforts of the business. Or new events could be initiated. An outside movie theaters in Kelele Square might bring much needed activity to the area -- and would provide visitors to the Serena with an 'authentic' island night of outdoor movies. The Hedonic Psychology Approach allows us to speak of the AKTC's upcoming Maritime Museum with even greater appreciation.

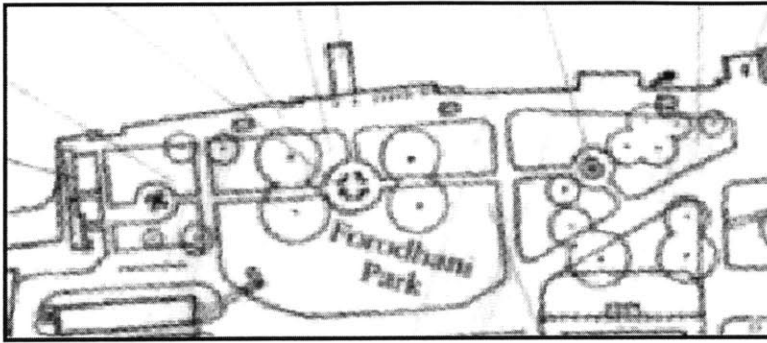
In fact, AKTC's current efforts are already well positioned to serve the psychological needs of competence. For instance, the Community-Based Rehabilitation's television programming on historical and contemporary issues of Zanzibar and their training services for craftsmen are both excellent ways to raise individual's sense of competence. But this type of training could be expanded to include training for businesspeople or for in-house training programs in the Serena for locals.

Design considerations

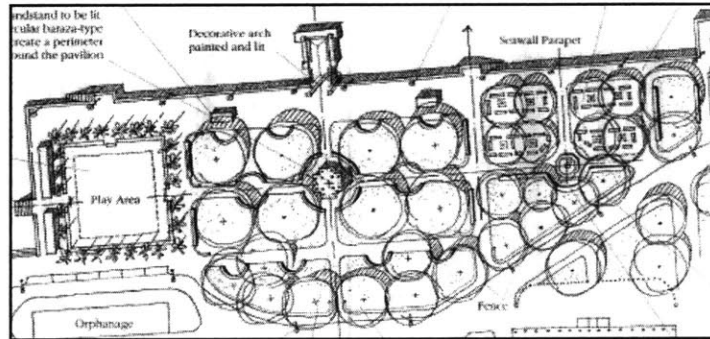
To help deliver the drivers of wellbeing, two new developments should be considered for Zanzibar: a redesign of Forodhani Park and a new games center.

Currently, there are several plans in place for Forodhani Park; the one proposed by Zanzibar: A Plan for the Historic Stone Town (1996) may be misdirected. The plan applies a western notion of order to an organic, chaotic park; the plans don't recognize the psychological needs of the users.

First, the park may be either a place of relaxation for local residents -- or an extension of the spatial arousal that the rest of the Stone Town elicits. Zanzibar's narrow winding streets, its spatial decay, and its constant activity elicits a strongly arousing affective response; it provides many of the characteristics



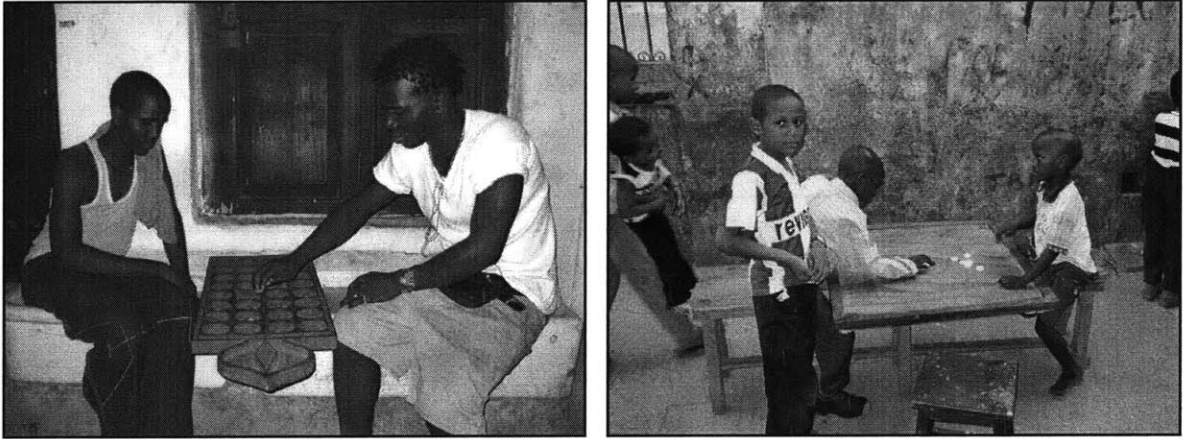
Graphic 4: Proposals for Forodhani Park: Existing park layout (top) and layout proposed in Zanzibar: A plan for the historic Stone Town, 1996 (top)



identified by Russell in the section *Threads in the social impact management literature*: it is incomprehensible, mysterious, and full of vibrancy. And while researchers don't necessarily define one affective response as good and another as bad, they do encourage diversity of a cityscape.¹³⁷ Looked at from the viewpoint of Hedonic Psychology, Forodhani is either an oasis of calm or an extension of the vibrancy of the city. If residents perceive the park as respite from the chaos of the city, the park should be redesigned as calming and pleasant. Alternatively, if the high level of activity in the park is part of the arousal-affective character of the city, that should be preserved. Either way, efforts to maintain the park as a pleasant place should receive a high-priority: fixing the seawall, treating dilapidated structures, and creating plant features that can withstand high traffic could all make the park more welcoming.

Second, the park is the center of interaction for the residents of the city. While the current design is formal, it is flexible enough to accommodate crowds, running children, tourists -- without restraining their activity. [See Graphic 4] The redesigned park calls for a separation of uses; instead of kids running around and through everyone, they will be cordoned off into a separate kids zone with a fence around them; instead of open areas to sit, people will be provided with more benches. [See Graphic 4]

¹³⁷ For instance, "exciting" environments aren't better or worse than "relaxing" ones.



Picture 15: Street games

In other words, the formalized landscaping of the 1996 plan would not serve the psychological needs of the local people. As the focal point for community interaction, the park must create space for relatedness above all else. Separating children from the community will reduce relatedness for visitors and residents alike, while more formalized design features will decrease the personal autonomy felt by residents -- especially if design makes them feel cordoned off from one another. Instead of the existing redesign, I would recommend opening up the play area so children can run freely, providing organic barriers to the street so that children can not run into the road, and providing more areas with tables and moveable chairs where residents and visitors alike would feel comfortable sitting. The fact that women typically sit on the lawn is a source of some confusion: would they be better off on seats, or would the formalization of the space feel displacing? Clearly, the outcome of participatory processes cannot be entirely supplanted by the Hedonic Psychology Approach.

An idea for which I am entirely indebted to Sébastien Cron of the University of Bordeaux is the creation of a simple new development that might greatly enhance the psychological experience of people in the Stone Town. Mr. Cron's concept is of a culture and street games center. This would provide an area where locals and visitors can interact; it would raise the relatedness on the island, it would provide

language opportunities for locals, and it would give locals and residents something to do -- an important amenity in a city without enough activities to sustain visitors more than a few days.

Since there are many board games played on Zanzibari streets in the evenings and at night, [See Picture 15] and since there are few activities and since tourists seem to crave activities within the city -- currently tourists of more than a few days spend a good deal of time taking tours outside of the city -- a plaza providing games and cultural information would create an ideal interacting place for all people in Zanzibar. Such a space would deliver on the development guidelines of Hedonic Psychology by increasing the level of relatedness between people, and by increasing ambient levels of competence and autonomy by enabling communication between people, enhancing language skills and the ability to find tourism-related jobs.

A 'how-to' guide: Steps to implementing the Hedonic Psychology Approach

To properly pursue the Hedonic Psychology Approach, it is necessary to undertake several discrete steps. Were an organization to decide to practice the Approach, I suggest that a slight rephrasing of the three drivers of wellbeing may help practitioners conceive of processes to implement the ideas. Development and planning should thus follow three central tenants by providing: interactivity (relatedness), opportunity (autonomy), and learning (competence). The following steps should be taken towards these ideals by an organization dedicated to wellbeing; they are here presented as if to the AKTC:

- **Step 1. Understand the framework of Hedonic Psychology, and pitch it internally.** Abstract ideas are difficult to accept and difficult to sell to organizations focused on existing practices. However, it should be easy to generate excitement about the notion that wellbeing should be a central goal of progressive development -- especially when it is already an implicit goal.
- **Step 2 Hire behavioral scientists.** Currently, the AKTC tries to uncover the complex interaction of history, culture, architecture, and society in intervention areas. They see this nuanced understanding as critical to the success of projects; a final iteration to understand the affect on wellbeing of their efforts would further refine their efforts. As well as spearheading projects, these individuals would stay current on developments within the field of psychology.
- **Step 3. Survey residents and tourists to uncover context-specific drivers of wellbeing.** This involves several steps. First, an understanding of the survey tools used by Hedonic Psychologists is required. These quality-of-life surveys should be based on the existing

research, and assume that relatedness, competence, and autonomy are fundamental drivers of wellbeing. The survey would be directed at understanding how these factors function in Zanzibar. Based on this survey, researchers would uncover what factors are missing or are in abundance in Zanzibar, and could recommend how to proceed with new developments. These should be repeated over several years to help understand causality.

- **Step 4. Report -- and promote -- findings to officials and others.** Widespread understanding of the findings is critical to implementation. If many people -- locals, residents, politicians, aid organizations, and developers -- are interested in the outcome of the project several outcomes will ensue. First, people will be more interested in the success of the project. Second, other projects will hopefully become interested in generating 'wellbeing' through development. Third, people will hopefully come to consider the role of wellbeing in their lives, and will try to make choices that more accurately lead to greater satisfaction.
- **Step 5. Decide what can be changed, and what is outside of development consequences.** Even though people may alter lifestyles through increased understanding, some factors would not be possible to address through development, such as personal convictions and cultural biases. However, in the spheres of the built environment, intercultural interactions, economic opportunity, social events, and possibly others, individuals' lives may change dramatically as a result of interventions.
- **Step 6. Explicitly state goals and outcomes.** A major benefit of shifting the framework within which development occurs is that the criteria for success accurately reflect the intentions of interventions. If the fundamental goal of the AKTC is to create 'betterment' in peoples' lives, than 'betterment,' in the form of wellbeing, is what should be ultimately measured.
- **Step 7. Implement projects that further the drivers of wellbeing.** Projects that can deliver on the drivers of wellbeing should be pursued. If a local survey is impossible, then the three developed in western research -- autonomy, competence, and relatedness -- should be the foundational goals. If a local survey has been completed, then development should be based on that research.
- **Step 8. Review efforts.** Where possible, changes should be made to existing projects. Otherwise, key findings from efforts should be used to inform future projects.

A new role for the Aga Khan Trust for Culture

In the US, developers often must work within constraints intentionally imposed by the government to generate 'social goods' -- affordable housing, linkage fees for jobs, and so on. But in Zanzibar, constraints are placed by the environment -- delivering construction materials to a site, dealing with failing infrastructure, or interfacing with a capricious government. There is therefore little time, incentive, or coordination for social benefits. However, because government oversight exists only nascently doesn't mean that it can't exist. The Aga Khan Trust for Culture, with its history of operationalizing philosophical positions and of acting in both oversight and development roles, could address this deficit.

The idea that the AKTC could take a stronger oversight role is briefly considered in the AKTC's inaugural documentation assessing the potential for a coordinated program to support historic cities -- the program that would become the Historic Cities Support Programme. These documents were written in 1990 and they are concerned with the initiation of the program, not a premature detailed organizational restructuring; the program did not yet formally exist. However, they do imply some oversight role -- but it is framed as a small effort to internally "explore the possibilities for strengthening the informal and formal links between the HC[S]P and other parts of the network, (e.g., joint meetings, shared preparation of position papers, electronic mail)"¹³⁸ and, externally, with a warning to "not find itself supplanting the role of government [in intervention areas]."¹³⁹ But examining operations in Zanzibar makes the importance of an effort to bring the abstract goal of contextual interventions clear: local government is simply not effective or sophisticated enough to oversee projects, and the for-profit arms of the AKTC may be able to develop more culturally-sensitive projects. In fact, by engaging in housing provision and infrastructure upgrades in Zanzibar, the AKTC is already providing some of the services of a government agency.

The inaugural HCSP documentation provides many examples supporting such cross-network efforts. In some instances, this is positioned as a function of skill sharing: "there was the potentially profitable sharing across the network of the lessons and finding of relevant experience and ... the joint application of complementary responsibilities and skills on the part of different parts of the network towards a single

¹³⁸ Report to the Aga Khan Trust for Culture on the Historic Cities Program, J de Monchaux and S de Monchaux, Planning Urban Design & Research Consultants (1990) pp. 4.

¹³⁹ Report to the Aga Khan Trust for Culture on the Historic Cities Program, J de Monchaux and S de Monchaux, Planning Urban Design & Research Consultants (1990) pp. 7.

project.”¹⁴⁰ In other instances, this is due to the realities of projects. Zanzibar is “identified as a specific project in which real benefits would accrue from the complementary involvement of different arms of the network.”¹⁴¹ Finally, the idea for more interaction across arms of the AKTC is a response to the reality that non-profit and for-profit activities are complementary: “Zanzibar, for example, with its complex social and cultural goals and its emerging processes, would need a thoughtful reconciliation of operating principles, particularly where profit and non-profit elements were associated.”¹⁴² In all cases, the authors recognize that any intervention will lead to complex and unforeseen outcomes -- and that multiple levels of solutions may be necessary.

However, as ‘mission creep’ -- the constant expansion of the organization’s mandate -- sets in at the AKTC, there is potentially a bottomless pit of resources and effort. “To some the expansion of the goals spelled the possibility of endless resource and budget demands since there is no obvious line to be drawn round the cultural or economic field, nor is there an obvious terminal point to the effort, as there is with simple building restoration.”¹⁴³ by functioning more as an oversight organization, the AKTC can address problems without becoming too involved in them.

The recommendation to increase oversight and interaction across arms of the AKTC also arises from a comparison of AKDN projects in Zanzibar. The Serena Inn Zanzibar seems to be well used, while the Old Dispensary is clearly underused. While I can not speak to the profitability of the Serena and while I believe re-introducing the Old Dispensary as a museum will be a truly successful endeavor, the process wherein each arm of the AKDN brought an element of specific expertise seems to have created a uniquely successful development in the Serena. The hotel feels like a well-run ship: staff everywhere is efficient and polite, management is observant and competent, and the goal of customer service results in a welcoming atmosphere. The Old Dispensary, meanwhile, feels vacant and lost at sea. It currently includes an NGO, an empty courtyard, and no programming to attract visitors. (There was a coffee shop and a restaurant, but they have closed.) Some even complain that the Old Dispensary is little more than a nice building -- but that it does not serve the local community. The AKTC clearly hopes to address that with

¹⁴⁰ Report to the Aga Khan Trust for Culture on the Historic Cities Program, J de Monchaux and S de Monchaux, Planning Urban Design & Research Consultants (1990) pp. 23.

¹⁴¹ Report to the Aga Khan Trust for Culture on the Historic Cities Program, J de Monchaux and S de Monchaux, Planning Urban Design & Research Consultants (1990) pp. 24.

¹⁴² Report to the Aga Khan Trust for Culture on the Historic Cities Program, J de Monchaux and S de Monchaux, Planning Urban Design & Research Consultants (1990) pp. 24.

¹⁴³ Report to the Aga Khan Trust for Culture on the Historic Cities Program, J de Monchaux and S de Monchaux, Planning Urban Design & Research Consultants (1990) pp. 12.

the new museum. The complementary goals of the for-profit and the non-profit arms of the AKDN on the Serena project resulted in what appears to be a more successful project than the Old Dispensary.

The real benefit of such an effort arises not from the fact that the AKTC may be able to engage in these activities, but that local government is not capable of successful oversight. In Zanzibar -- and, I suspect, in other developing countries -- the government is not professionalized enough to monitor development or demand exactions. It may be that only the AKTC could provide such a service in Zanzibar, at least when development is driven by other arms of the AKTC, as it has the sophistication to look at complex problems and development experience. And as the organization is committed to serving abstract goals through real-world development, it may be uniquely positioned to serve the subtle needs of local populations implicit in an Hedonic Psychology Approach.

The challenges of increased oversight are two-fold. First, organizational changes are difficult to implement. For instance, how can the AKTC coordinate with other arms of the organization? How can it ensure its proposals receive buy in at the beginning or implementation at the end? Implementing such an effort would require both broad organizational support and specific AKTC resource increases. Second, the AKTC wants to engage in institution building as part of its intervention; it believes sustainability of its efforts is only possible when it leaves stronger local institutions at the end of its intervention than at the beginning. To accomplish this, perhaps local government could be invited to watch the process of oversight as it occurred within the AKTC. Efforts to date to professionalize the STCDA have resulted in a stronger organization, but it is unclear whether municipal agencies have the resources or skills to demand broad benefits for residents from new development. Unfortunately, this does not change the difficulty of monitoring the small-scale changes -- like door and window removal -- that are slowly changing the physical character of the city.

CONCLUSION

It is difficult to take the Hedonic Psychology Approach as anything but a framework for assessing and considering developments and interventions: the field of Hedonic Psychology is still nascent, there is disagreement in the field as to which are the real drivers of wellbeing, and different local contexts create different conditions for individuals to experience wellbeing. However, it remains a potentially useful framework for it allows a value-neutral discussion of which interventions work well or poorly in a given society. Indeed, without such a framework all interventions however well intentioned can only be

conceived out of the convictions of the observer. While it may seem cold and calculating, scientific rigor does allow us to evaluate traditional societies, modern societies, democratic societies, authoritarian societies, and so on as either serving the psychological needs of inhabitants -- or not. This approach rescues us from applying too much cultural relativism and becoming overly culturally sensitive; by attuning to the psychological needs of the individual, a development 'expert' could as easily come from the ivory towers of the developed world as the favelas of Brazil. A commitment to wellbeing is universally transferable and scientifically objective.

Of course, paying attention to cultural differences such as the different assumptions that drive our evaluation of wellbeing is fundamental to applying the Hedonic Psychology Approach. It is important to consider that cultures and individuals within cultures have different needs for autonomy, competence, and relatedness, so it is critical to apply the approach with an understanding of its limitations. But this does not imply a right to ignore the findings of the social sciences. While a blanket application of the drivers of wellbeing may not perfectly serve users of a space, it is better to have a statistical sense of what makes people report satisfaction with their lives than to base that assessment on personal conviction. If an individual wrongly reports that "more money" will make him happier, than it is likely more wrong for someone to try to identify the factors that will drive happiness in someone else. Unless, of course, the application of those factors has some scientific validity, as we find in the drivers of wellbeing.

Future research will hopefully apply the statistical techniques of Hedonic Psychology to tourism areas. It would be instructive to find out what policies, designs, activities, and conditions in these areas truly support autonomy, competence, and relatedness. Hopefully, future research within the Hedonic Psychology field will point to ways that findings can be operationalized, so I hope planners and developers alike pay attention to the findings of the social sciences in coming years.

Other research could address dilemmas posed by the 'current approach to tourism studies.' For instance, what tensions are produced by the fact that Christians are overrepresented in the curio trade? Is the Stone Town economically a tourism 'Monoculture' -- and what can be done about it? How do men and women - - with different levels of contact with tourists -- experience issues of boredom and isolation on the island?

It will be interesting to know how a more sophisticated and accountable set of government institutions in Zanzibar will support and manage tourism growth. Can policies be put in place to preserve the character

of the city while still pursuing a tourism economy? Will they recognize in time the threat of serving tourists at the expense of locals? The *Factors limiting tourism growth* may prevent too many tourists for now, but they will not protect Zanzibar forever.

METHODOLOGY & NOTES

I spent a week in Geneva meeting with people at the AKTC, looking at their archives, and visiting the UN Library. Then I spent two weeks in Zanzibar talking to everybody I could. In some ways, I was trying to piece together an image of the city, so my research focused in increasing my understanding of the area in general; I think this approach is reflected in my thesis. I hope to paint a picture of the Stone Town, and to provide some reflections on how it can be managed -- not to pick apart a small aspect of the industry.

There are three seasons for tourists: The high tourist season (May - August), the low tourist season (December - March) and the low season (all the other times. It is monsoon season.) My research occurred in late January/early February, so it is important to understand that what I witnessed was not necessarily the case all year long.

Interviews

Aga Khan Trust for Culture

- Emin Balcioglu, Director, Historic Cities Support Program
- Stephen Battle, Project Officer, Historic Cities Support Program

Hotel Owners and Operators

- Jennifer Kay Goodman, Co-owner, Emerson and Green Hotel
- Tom Green, Co-owner, Emerson and Green Hotel
- Charles M Muia, General Manager, Zanzibar Serena Inn

Tour Operators

- Claude David, General Manager, Ocean Tours (A subsidiary of Abercrombie & Kent)
- Abdullah Omar Abdullah, Managing Director, Zanzibar Youth Promotion Center

Government Officials

- Mussa Awesu-Bakar, Assistant Architect and Construction Technician, Stone Town Development and Construction Authority
- Issa Mlingoti, Director for Tourism Planning and Development, Commission for Tourism

- Mariam Mohamed Hamdani, Deputy Principal Secretary, Ministry of Trade, Industry, Marketing, and Tourism -- Zanzibar

Experts

- John Baptiste de Silva, local artist and former tour guide featured on CNN
- Sébastien Cron, University of Bordeaux *Licence* candidate
- Akbar Keshodan, Oxford University Anthropology Ph.D. candidate
- Suzanne de Monchaux, BA, MCD, EDD

Informal interviews

- Zanzibar is a warm and welcoming society; it is easy to engage in conversations with English speaking men in the 18-45 age range. Informal interviews of length from 10 minutes to 2 hours were conducted with numerous tour guides, curio venders, shop owners, employees at the Zanzibar Youth Promotion Center, and many others.

Intercept surveys

- Because Zanzibari culture biased my research towards interactions with young men involved in the English speaking/tourism world, I hired a Swahili-speaking guide for a series of intercept surveys. These surveys were not intended to gather a statistically significant sample of the population, although that would have been ideal. Instead, I hoped to converse with populations with whom I had not come across naturally. The act of interviewing women remained a challenge, and sour relationships between religions were highlighted for me when we tried to interview an elderly Hindu man who clearly did not want to be engaging with a young African. In total, 10 interviews were conducted.

Intercept survey demographic breakdown (estimated ages in parenthesis)

Approximate age	Men	Women
18-20	--	2 (Muslim)
20-30	1 (Unknown)	1(Unknown)
30-40	1 (Unknown)	1 (Muslim)
40-50	1 (Unknown), 1 (Muslim)	--
60-70	1 (Muslim)	1 (Muslim)

Abbreviations

AKDN: Aga Khan Development Network

AKTC: Aga Khan Trust for Culture (Branch of AKDN)

CBR: Community-Based Rehabilitation

HCSP: Historic Cities Support Programme (Initiative of AKTC)

STCDA: Stone Town Development Conservation Authority

TPS: Tourism Promotion Services (Branch of AKDN)

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