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Tribesmen or Hustlers?
Tourism, Cultural Imperialism and the Creation of a
New Social Class in Zanzibar

By

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A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in Social Anthropology.



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This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Jason Sumich

Handwritten signature of Jason Sumich.

30 March 2001

ABSTRACT

This paper explores the interconnected processes of tourism, neo-colonialism, and cultural imperialism in Zanzibar. The research concentrated on the political economy of tourism in Zanzibar and its effects on the tourist industry underclass, locally known as 'beach boys'. I argue that tourism is characterized not only by neo-colonialism, but that these exploitative relationships are accompanied and justified by cultural imperialism. In addition to the political economy of tourism, the paper examines the social taxonomies used by both tourists and beach boys to define and distance the 'Other'. While beach boys classify tourists by gender and social class, the Zanzibari hosts are in turn classified by tourists in terms of how well they fit the colonial ideal of a rural 'tribesman'. Contrary to the belief that tourism creates cross-cultural understanding, a far more common occurrence is that tourism reinforces and solidifies stereotypes, which are used to justify the dramatic imbalances in wealth between the hosts and the guests. As well as being a tool of oppression, beach boys reformulate the language of cultural imperialism creating a vocabulary of resistance. Instead of a helpless lumpenproletariat, they have internalized the dominant capitalist ethos, creating a class of disenfranchised entrepreneurs, striving not for the group emancipation that characterized the discourse of Zanzibar's former socialist regime, but to the individual success stressed by capitalism. This success is difficult to achieve in a stagnant economic climate where Zanzibar's chief industry, tourism, is dominated by foreigners and local elites. This leaves Zanzibar in a precarious situation as local expectations are raised with the promises of the new economy, but these expectations are rarely met.

Keywords: Tourism, Zanzibar, Cultural Imperialism, and Neo-Colonialism.

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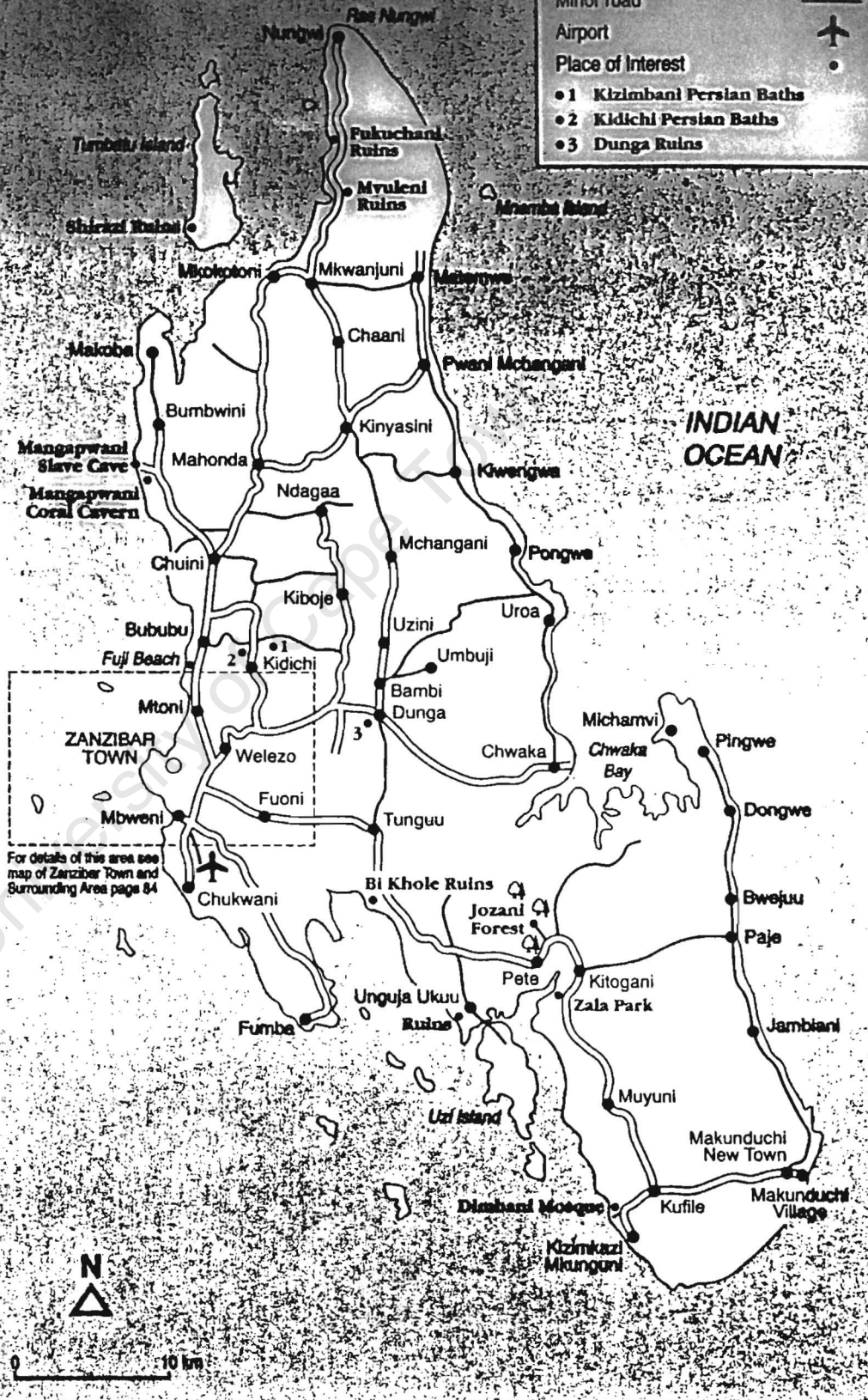
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Zanzibar Island

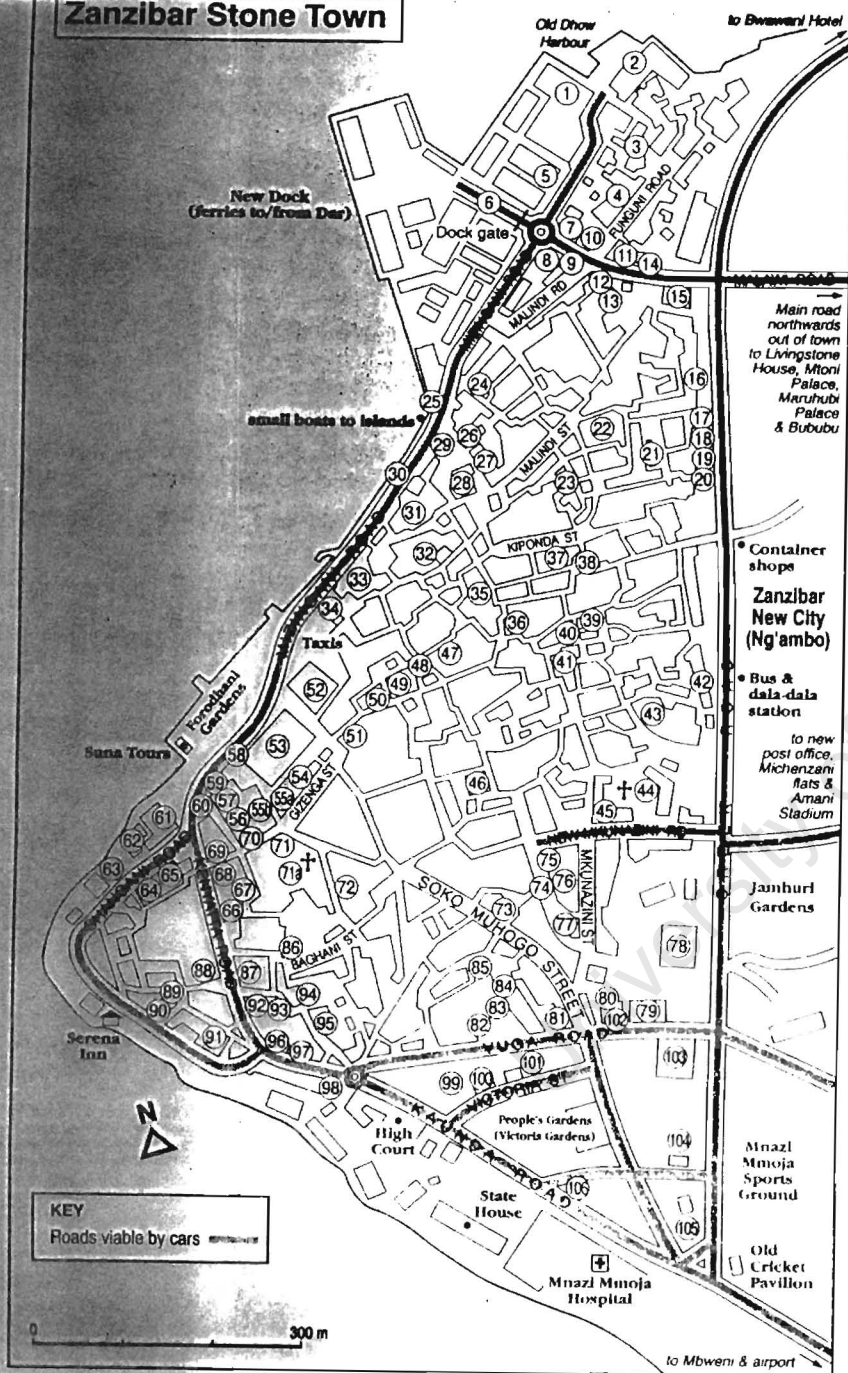
KEY

- Main town ○
- Town or Village ●
- Principal road ══
- Minor road —
- Airport ✈
- Place of Interest
- 1 Kizimbani Persian Baths
- 2 Kidichi Persian Baths
- 3 Dunga Ruins



For details of this area see map of Zanzibar Town and Surrounding Area page 84

Zanzibar Stone Town



ZANZIBAR STONE TOWN MAP: KEY

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1 Clove Distillery | 55a People's Bank of Zanzibar (main building) |
| 2 Pagoda Chinese Restaurant | 55b People's Bank of Zanzibar (foreign exchange) |
| 3 Malindi Guesthouse | 56 Coco de Mer Hotel |
| 4 Warere Guesthouse | 57 Karibu Inn |
| 5 Fish Market | 58 Orphanage |
| 6 Shipping company offices (most in this area) | 59 Le Bistrot |
| 7 Ciné Afrique | 60 National Bank of Commerce |
| 8 Malindi Restaurant | 61 Old British Consulate |
| 9 DHL office | 62 Tembo Hotel |
| 10 Malindi Guesthouse Annex | 63 Starehe Club |
| 11 Malindi Sports Club (dhow tickets) | 64 Fisherman Restaurant |
| 12 Passing Show Restaurant | 65 Le Pecheur Bar |
| 13 ZanAir | 66 Air Zanzibar |
| 14 Petrol station | 67 Blue Ocean Hotel |
| 15 Malindi Police Station | 68 Post office |
| 16 Al Jabry Restaurant | 69 Luna Mare Restaurant |
| 17 People's Bank of Zanzibar | 70 Luis Yoghurt Shop |
| 18 Zanzibar Tourist Corporation | 71 Fahaud Medical Centre |
| 19 Petrol station | 71a St Joseph's Catholic Cathedral |
| 20 Taxi rank | 72 Chit Chit Restaurant |
| 21 Karwan Serai Hotel | 73 Equator Tours |
| 22 Narrow Street Hotel | 74 Green Garden Restaurant |
| 23 Pyramid Guest House | 75 Zanzibar Roots Gallery |
| 24 Old Dispensary | 76 Jambo Guesthouse |
| 25 Pychi's | 77 Flamingo Hotel |
| 26 Gulf Air | 78 Haile Selassie School |
| 27 Ijumaa Mosque | 79 Kiswahili Institute |
| 28 Kenya Airways, Oman Air, Mega Speed Liners | 80 Air Tanzania |
| 29 Big Tree, The | 81 Fisherman Tours, Maha Tours |
| 30 Sea View Indian Restaurant | 82 Florida Guesthouse |
| 31 Old Custom House | 83 Culture Music Club |
| 32 Kiponda Hotel | 84 Haven Hotel |
| 33 Palace Museum | 85 Manch Lodge |
| 34 1001 Nights | 86 Chavda Hotel |
| 35 Aga Khan Mosque | 87 Sunrise Restaurant and Pub |
| 36 Spice Inn | 88 Mazson's Hotel |
| 37 Ithnasheri Mosque | 89 Tippu Tip's House |
| 38 Narrow Street Hotel Annex II | 90 Jasfa Tours |
| 39 House of Spice | 91 Africa House Hotel |
| 40 Hotel International | 92 Dhow Palace Hotel |
| 41 Emerson's House | 93 Baghani House Hotel |
| 42 Market | 94 Zanzibar Hotel |
| 43 Masumo Bookshop | 95 Afya Medical Centre |
| 44 Anglican Cathedral/UMCA | 96 Camlur's Restaurant |
| 45 St Monica's Hostel | 97 Maharaja Restaurant |
| 46 Hamamni Baths | 98 Chemah Brothers Tours |
| 47 Emerson's and Green Hotel | 99 Two Tables Restaurant |
| 48 Bottoms Up Bar | 100 Bar Baraza |
| 49 Clove Hotel | 101 Victoria Guesthouse |
| 50 Zanzibar Curio Shop | 102 Majestic Cinema |
| 51 Sama Tours | 103 Ben Bella School |
| 52 House of Wonders | 104 Peace Memorial Museum Annex |
| 53 Arab Fort | 105 Peace Memorial Museum |
| 54 Gallery, The | 106 Zanzibar Milestone |

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

“When you hear the word Zanzibar, it seems so exotic, you think it will be an amazing place. But its really just a beach resort isn't it? A good one, but a beach resort” (Chris, Backpacker visiting Zanzibar).

The tourist 'consumes' countries and attempts to identify not with fellow tourists but sedentary peoples encountered along the way (MacCannell, 1992:4).

In 1985, tourist arrivals in Zanzibar numbered 19,368; in 1999 86,918 tourists visited Zanzibar (Zanzibar Commission for Tourism, 2000), more than a four-fold increase in 14 years. These figures underscore the importance of tourism to Zanzibar. The 86,918 tourists in Zanzibar in 1999, numbered more than 10% of Zanzibar's total population, although tourist visits are concentrated in the peak seasons around December and July. Not only has tourism become the largest industry in Zanzibar (Issa Mlingoti, Commissioner for Tourism), but all of this has happened in a comparatively short period of 15 to 20 years, as the government abandoned its socialist, isolationist tendencies and became enthusiastically neo-liberal in its economic outlook. Tourism has been a central component of this change; its promoters argue that tourism brings revenue in the form of badly needed foreign exchange, creates economic opportunities for the general populace and has more 'human' qualities, such as creating 'cross cultural' understanding and friendships between diverse peoples. Issa Mlingoti asserts that not only is tourism vital to Zanzibar's economy, it is a positive force that integrates the Island into the world economy on competitive terms and socially as part of the wider 'global village'.

The problems with tourism that held the most concern for many Zanzibaris that I interviewed are the problems of 'cultural pollution', such as the youth abandoning Islamic traditions and imitating tourists in "immodest" dress and drinking alcohol. The blame for 'cultural pollution' is assigned to tourists on a class basis. The younger poorer backpacker tourists are held to be responsible for influencing immorality among the youth. Immorality aside, (and to be fair, worries about immoral behavior are usually confined to older more prosperous Zanzibaris) tourism is held to be the economic salvation of the island and the greatest worry is not that tourism should grow, but that the tourists will go somewhere else.

During my fieldwork in Zanzibar, I found the situation to be far more complicated

than the one described above. The benefits of tourism, both in the social and economic realm, are problematic. I was repeatedly confronted by the question of how much benefit was actually gained from tourism and how benefit could be defined in a manner that would apply to the entire population. Frantz Fanon (1967) described tourism in the Third World as the continuation of labor relationships that are built on slavery and colonialism. For Zanzibar, at least, this is an apt description. Tourism in many parts of the world, Zanzibar included, is not created or defined by the hosts, but by the metropole countries where most of the tourists originate; it is they who have the hosts at a considerable disadvantage (Nash, 1976, Jafari, quoted in Burns, 1996). The first disadvantage is the vagaries of the tourists' whims; the hosts must attract tourists who have the entire world to choose from. The second is structural, as the tourist industry is a vast multinational industry based in the metropole, estimated by some to be the largest on earth (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1997). It is this vast industry that reaps the bulk of tourism's immense profits and, using this clout, can further hold the governments of the host country hostage to their business interests, while outside of a privileged elite, the hosts are often left with low paying seasonal jobs (Crick, 1994). These relationships will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter three.

The elusive qualities of tourism, such as friendship and its ability to facilitate cross-cultural understanding, are problematic as well. Many of the tourists I spoke to are ambivalent about the effects of tourism. Although most see it as a personally enriching experience which results in broadened horizons and the facilitation of an in-depth knowledge of the world and its inhabitants, they feel the hosts are denied similar positive attributes. While the tourist is personally enriched, the host is incompletely acculturated by contacts with tourists as the representatives of the wider world. Tourists tended to have a 'noble savage' view of culture, regarding the most different or 'primitive' of the host as the most authentic or pure example of their culture. In their view, it is both more natural and more in touch with nature. The line between themselves and the 'Other' is firmly drawn: while the 'Other' may be admirable in many ways, they belong to different worlds. The supposedly 'western' traits of the urban population and employees of the tourist industry are viewed negatively as examples of cultural 'loss'. The hosts on the other hand, have a very different view of tourism: Guests living a life of luxury, beyond the reach of all but an elite few surrounding them. By local standards even the 'poor' backpacker tourists were quite wealthy, with the ability to spend the equivalent of a local month's salary on a single excursion, without ever visibly working. Many of my Zanzibari informants aspired to this life of ease and put considerable effort into trying to acquire it or its trappings. A conceptual gap

appears between tourists looking for the exotic and strange, and hosts trying desperately to achieve what the tourists find banal. The irony is that the tourists are a walking advertisement for the wealth that the adoption of 'modernity' will supposedly bring, leaving an uneasy situation full of misunderstanding. To paraphrase Crick (1994), instead of bringing mutual understanding, tourism often brings mutual contempt.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The purpose of the above section is to introduce the reader to tourism in Zanzibar and describe the issues from which my argument originates. I argue that tourism in Zanzibar is characterized not only by neo-colonialism, but that these exploitative economic relationships are accompanied and justified by cultural imperialism on the one hand, while on the other they are simultaneously being reformulated into a vocabulary of resistance by the oppressed. Schiller describes cultural imperialism as:

The sum of the process by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced and sometimes even bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominating center of the system" (quoted in Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1997:49).

The above definition is useful for describing the dilemma of the elites. It overlooks the fact that the effects of cultural imperialism are not confined to the elites alone, but attract, pressure and repel the general populace, with the media, education and tourism being but some of the media through which it is spread (ibid). The agency of the subject must also be stressed, because the subject is not an empty vessel waiting to be filled by the values and messages from the "dominating core". They accept, resist, reformulate and subvert their current environment in an effort to better their circumstances.

The research focuses on the efforts of the tourist industry's under class, which consists of informal tourist workers, locally known as beach boys, to carve a niche for themselves in the increasingly important tourist industry. They suffer a distinct disadvantage in an economic system that disenfranchises them even as it creates opportunities through the introduction of tourism. Instead of a silent poor or voiceless lumpenproletariat, they are part of a class of emergent, although marginal, entrepreneurs who collaborate with newly dominant neo-liberalism, internalizing the

ideology of individual success. This research charts this process by examining the political economy of tourism in Zanzibar and the social taxonomies used by both tourists and beach boys, to define and distance the "Other", create an identity for themselves, and justify or subvert the political and economic relationships they engage in with one another. Chapter two will discuss the history and current political crisis of Zanzibar. Chapter three will focus on the political economy of tourism with its specific effects on Zanzibar and Chapter four will examine the social taxonomies employed by both tourists and hosts in a manner which justifies the current economic structure found on the Island.

BACKGROUND LITERATURE FOR RESEARCH QUESTION

The subject of identity and power has long been of interest to social thinkers and anthropologists. Early 20th Century anthropologists such as Malinowski (1922) and Radcliffe-Brown (1952) described identity as characteristics derived from the membership of a bounded homogeneous group. Some mid-century American anthropologists such as Benedict (1946) belonged to the culture and personality school of thought. The main thrust of their argument was that the citizens of a nation state have certain widely shared traits that make the nation distinctive. While culture and personality held a dominant position during the Second World War and for a short time following, subsequent challenges have led to fundamental questions on the validity of this assumption. The 1950s saw the theories of the British anthropologist Edmund Leach (1954) grow to prominence. He argued for a more fluid model of tribal identity, that changed depending on the situation. The Norwegian anthropologist Fredrik Barth (1969) followed Leach's work. Barth argued that ethnicity is defined by boundaries and is a means of defining and excluding the other. In other words the boundaries form ethnicity, not what lies inside. These arguments were instrumental in moving away from an essential view of ethnicity and identity as a primordial attribute, and showed how these attributes could be constantly repositioned as both a form of social cohesion and exclusion. In this vein Barth's argument was followed by Jenkins (1997) who pointed out that ethnicity does not mean who you are so much as who you are not. Ethnicity is unbounded and constantly shifting as groups form and are reformed through competition and cooperation. Frantz Fanon (1967) has remarked that ethnicity is created not by the group itself, but by the other. I found a similar relationship in my fieldwork as tourists and beach boys would constantly redefine each 'Other' to fit one another into conceptual groups. Identity is a shifting concept used to demarcate

oneself from the other.

MacCannell (1992) speaks of tourism as a search in which the jaded middle classes of the west look for an authenticity lost to them in the 'modern' world and available only in areas considered outside the 'modern' sphere. MacCannell's theories apply to many of the tourists I have spoken with, who try to inscribe the 'pre-modern' identity of the other (or "ex-primitive" as MacCannell (1992) calls them). On the other hand the beach boys I have worked with are proud of their badges of modernity and want to acquire still more. "You can teach me the slang I like, the American slang" (Hisdouri, Zanzibari beach boy). He was referring primarily to the kinds of language used in hip-hop music and movies, the black American pop culture styles that are the epitome of 'cool' for some young Zanzibaris. As was often stated by Zanzibari tourist workers, one of the prime benefits of tourism was "It brings different people together so you can meet people from everywhere" (Malindi, Zanzibari tour operator). Beach boys often prize tourist friends as a way to gain contact with the pop culture that has been denied them for so long, and to access the tourists' relative wealth. I remember being taken from house to house by a local friend to meet everyone he knew. While some of this tour was simply hospitality, there was a certain element of status involved as well. Tourist friends are highly prized for economic reasons, chances to practice foreign languages and as a way to vicariously live a different lifestyle.

MacCannell (1992) further argues that Euro-American, or 'White' culture is a totalizing, hegemonic force that is based on the domination of those considered to be outside its bounds or on the margins. MacCannell's research draws upon the work of Michel Foucault (1994), who documented the pervasiveness of unequal power relations by the imposition of a discourse by a powerful minority that buries all other forms of truth. James Urry (1990) studied tourism by using the Foucaultian concept of the gaze, which forms the identity of those gazed upon, reshaping the subject into an object of tourist interest.

While the above authors focused on the nature of power, other ethnographers have examined tourism from a number of angles. Originally tourism entered the field of anthropology through an ethnography by Nunez (1963), on weekend tourism in a Mexican village. Although this was a groundbreaking work, tourism was considered a trivial issue in the wide field of social science. Recently this view has begun to change, and tourism is gaining academic respect. Authors such as Selwyn (1996), Brown (1996), Harrison (1990), Hutt (1996) and Crick (1988, 1990 and 1994), have shown how issues of globalization, power, ethnicity and exploitation can be contained under the rubric of tourism. The literature also contains examples of effects of tourism that could

be described as both positive and negative. Burns (1999) argues that anthropologists have been complacent in blanket condemnations of tourism due to fears of homogenization, without taking the particular features of each area effected into account. Stanton (1989) argues that in the case of the Polynesian Cultural Center in Hawaii, tourism has been beneficial, providing jobs and disseminating fading cultural knowledge to the youth. Simpson's (1993) study of the Berava in Sri Lanka shows a low caste group that managed to gain a degree of economic self sufficiency through customs that had previously been looked down upon by higher castes, but which now embody local color for tourists. In a similar vein James Fisher (1990) documents that tourist interest has reversed the long pattern for Sherpas of imitating high caste, so that Sherpa dress and style are now high fashion throughout Nepal. While Sherpas may still occupy socially inferior positions to other Nepalese castes, they acquire greater value through the eyes of foreign tourists who are coming in ever increasing numbers. There is the possibility that this value may translate locally in a rise of status outside that of fashion alone. Adams (1992) has noted that sponsorship relations grow between Sherpa and many western visitors, providing extra income which is then spread throughout the community by the paradoxically strengthened institutions of reciprocity which have not only survived the onslaught of tourism but have thrived. The above authors make important criticisms and take some of their colleagues to task for overgeneralization. While I accept their criticisms, the situation in Zanzibar has not resulted in a rise of status for the hosts, and I further argue that the nature of global capitalism, in which tourism is deeply embedded, often disadvantages poorer countries. However, as shown above, this does not rule out segments of the host population from turning the situation to their advantage, or successfully resisting it.

Tourism does not always increase the status of those visited. Jean Michaud (1997) reports that Hmong villages in northern Thailand, have large numbers of tourists but that most Hmong people are indifferent to tourists, who tend to pass through the villages without much effect. Studies such as Esh and Rosenblum's (1975) in Gambia, and Hong's (1985) in Malaysia have shown that the economic benefits of tourism are minimal; they tend to follow the argument of Nash, Jafari and Fanon. The economic benefits brought by tourism tend to be swallowed by foreign tour agencies, job creation is minimal and inadequate as opposed to demand, and prices tend to rise due to the influx of foreign currency. Zanzibar is undergoing similar difficulties as foreigners monopolize most revenue earned from tourism, and the limited jobs available cannot possibly meet the demand for employment. The prices of goods in general are rising, but especially now for imported luxury items that are becoming increasingly important as

large numbers of tourists help to introduce new aspirations. Prices are also rising quickly due to IMF structural adjustments, which dismantled the meager existing state-provided social supports in the interest of neo-liberal efficiency.

Dennis O'Rourke's film "Cannibal Tours" (1987) takes a dim view of the tourist industry. The film portrays a wealthy group of tourists on a luxury cruise of the Sepik River in Papua New Guinea, the home of former 'cannibals'. As MacCannell (1992) has argued, it was the tourists who were the cannibals. They seek to consume experiences and the very 'primitiveness' of the host population. "The locals are normal with a lightly ironic attitude. If O'Rourke had asked the visitors to play the insensitive tourist they could not have done better" (MacCannell, 1992:41). The film does make the appearance of large numbers of obviously wealthy tourists seem deeply degrading in this context. Tourism is portrayed as a 'human zoo.' New Guineans did capitalize on the situation by selling large numbers of handicrafts and dressing up in traditional costumes and charging for photographs. Although the hosts try to capitalize on the situation by marketing their exoticness and handicrafts and charging for photographs, these efforts rarely overcome the differences in relative power. The tourists do not have to buy anything, it is merely a souvenir. From the seller's point of view it is a very serious matter, with school fees and other essentials at stake. Bowman found in a study of Israeli shopkeepers who cater to tourists (1996), that shop owners would seduce tourists because the act of sex and in their view the submission which accompanied sex, stabilized power relations between themselves and the economically superior tourists.

Selwyn (1996), Brown (1996), and MacCannell (1976, 1992) have written about the motivation for tourists to try and encounter the 'Other'. "The tourist, like a pilgrim, is searching for a sense (which is both Durkheimian and Turnerian) of authentic social order to reclaim that which has been lost by an essentially isolating and fracturing post-modern life" (MacCannell, 1992:7). This view is supported by Brown: "It is the search for such authenticity that drives the tourist on to new previously 'unspoiled' places and peoples" (Brown, 1996:37). Both Urry (1990) and MacCannell (1992) have pointed out that authenticity does not have to conform to people's actual lives, but to what the tourists' preconception of what their life should be. Not everyone agrees with this view and many feel that MacCannell has overstated it by making a universal out of a specific kind of tourism; some do not seek authenticity at all, but simply want to relax (Nash, 1996, Burns, 1999, Smith, 1989). There are obviously different kinds of tourism, but the search for authenticity definitely plays a part, and this can be seen in the creation of 'cultural' villages, where 'natives' dressed in traditional outfits engage in their 'timeless'

rituals. The fact that most of the employees of these villages spend their evenings in jeans and a T-shirt watching television does not matter. As Michuad (1997) noted, when Hmong villages gained increased prosperity from tourism, the tourists would move on claiming that the village was not authentic enough anymore.

While some authors point to the beneficial aspects of tourism, much of the literature is devoted to the negative consequences that follow the tourist industry. Some authors such as MacCannell and Urry focused on the nature of power in tourist /host relationships, while other ethnographers drew attention to the specific effects of tourism upon a particular area. While my study is firmly based in a specific area, it attempts a dual focus on both the agents of imperialism and their subjects, and will draw attention to the agency of the hosts and their attempts at accommodation and resistance to the forces of the dominating center. Further attention will be focused on the way the agents of the dominating center accept, reject and justify their role as agents of cultural imperialism, which has been an understudied area in literature of tourism, especially in Islamic East Africa.

METHODOLOGY

I lived in Zanzibar's capital city, Zanzibar Town, for seven weeks and focused much of my research in the historic section of Stone Town, where most tourists and tourist industry workers were concentrated (see map). My prime method of data collection was participant observation. I spent my days sitting in tour agencies talking to the employees (both expatriate and local) and hanging around a curio shop run by a prime informant playing a local board game called *bao*, which simply means game and consists of moving pebbles and shells through carved hollows on a board while trying to take your opponents shells. At sunset I would go to a local tourist bar, the Africa House, and talk to the tourists. There I would attach myself to a group and follow them to the open air market, which was a park consisting of hundreds of open air vendors selling fresh seafood and Zanzibari dishes to large numbers of tourists and locals who would stroll up and down the park sampling a variety of stalls. This is where everyone on a budget went for dinner. After dinner I would catch the last bus to my house in the suburbs. Occasionally, finances permitting, I would accompany people to the Garage, the only really popular mixed tourist-local nightclub in the city. I took two side trips to beach resorts on the coast for a weekend each. The goal here was to engage in Geertz's (1973) pioneering method of 'thick description', and find the underlying significance of everyday interactions.

Aside from participant observation and archival research, I employed Max Gluckman's method, used in "The Opening of a Bridge in Zululand" (1958) of analyzing a specific event to determine how social relationships are played out between different groups and actors. This method was useful for tourist spectacles such as the Zanzibar International Film Festival. Finally, I used semi-structured interviews. The names used are the informant's actual first name, unless I was specifically asked to change it, or have changed it for clarity (i.e., if many informants had the same name). Since many tour agencies were convinced I was a travel writer, most wanted their actual names and the names of their companies used. While I tried to explain that I was not a travel writer and no advertising would come from my research, I do not think that I managed to change many people's minds about my occupation.

Zanzibar Town is a very cosmopolitan city. Residents of the mainland, Omani businessmen, aid workers from the four corners of the world, missionaries studying at the language institute, drug smugglers, aid workers from all over Africa, Ph.D. students, researchers, anthropologists, European expatriates, construction workers, businessmen, workers in the tourist industry, thousands of tourists from Costa Rica to Russia, and Zanzibaris all mingle in the streets. Through interviews I tried to gain as wide a sampling as was possible in my limited time frame. Formal interviews were conducted with one segment of the tourist traffic, backpackers, by which I mean mainly young, independent travelers on a long trip with a limited budget. I also interviewed, using both formal and informal methods, expatriate and local members of tourist industry, including the Minister of Tourism and one of the more successful local tour operators. Informal conversations tended to follow the same range of people, but on a wider scale.

As is the increasing trend, my study differed from the 'classic' anthropological study both in time frame and location. Due to the requirements of my degree, I did not have the traditional year, so my impressions may be somewhat shallow based as they are on quick observation. A yearlong intensive study would have greatly increased the quality of perceptions found in the following work. In my defense, I have had a great deal of experience in traveling or tourism and the study is an in-depth culmination of issues I have been thinking about for the last two years. As for the location, instead of a small village or geographically bounded group, I dealt with a major city with multiple fluid groups, which formed, reformed and disappeared on a daily basis. I did not live in a hut or with a Zanzibari family, but in a rather comfortable house in the suburbs, about a half a kilometer away from the then-president's mansion. I shared the home with a German carpenter and English part time teacher, an American Ph.D. researcher, a

British construction foreman who was born in Ethiopia, his Danish wife and their blond haired, blue eyed children who were born in Dar es Salaam. This was a perfect example of postmodernism's blurred boundaries and globalization's gift of mobility to the chosen few.

One of the major difficulties in my study was the fact that many of my informants (middle class backpackers) were, in my opinion, quite similar to myself. To others, I was indistinguishable from them. Anthropology's assumptions of fieldwork and the location of the 'other' have undergone drastic reevaluation (Clifford and Marcus 1986, Gupta and Ferguson, 1997). Their perspective has greatly influenced my own thinking about the location of the other. During the height of structural functionalism's theoretical dominance in anthropology, communities were thought to be characterized by stable bounded homogeneous groups and the other was always found somewhere out there. This view is no longer considered a viable one with difference encountered somewhere far away more, unconventional studies which involve your own as well as the other in a non-stable constantly changing community will be able to contribute to anthropological understanding.

I follow the example of William Whyte's personal methodology section of his classic "Street Corner Society" (1955). Informing readers about personal details of fieldwork is becoming more acceptable as they are often crucial as to how the study was conducted. Fumbled interviews, accidental insults (I was frequently guilty of both these transgressions, especially when trying to master Swahili slang, often with disastrous results) and personal differences. There is a very definite gender bias with Zanzibari informants. Zanzibar is a deeply Muslim country and it was far harder to come in contact with women. There are no female beach girls for reasons that will be explained later. While interviews with members of the thriving (mostly foreign born) sex worker industry would have been beneficial, I did not pursue this vein of the research, because if I talked to the sex workers, most of my other informants would have looked down on me. This branch of research was further impeded when a rich and well-meaning friend tried to hire me two sex workers for the evening. I wove an elaborate tapestry of lies that included a fictitious wife and my deep religious feelings. Most of the sex workers present did not have time for me after that.

While most of the wider Zanzibari society will refer to many of my local informants as beach boys, it is a term offensive to them. Most of them are at least loosely affiliated with some sort of tour agency. They feel that the real beach boys were the ones who roamed the streets unconnected to anybody and who are often engaged in tourist scams or other illegal activities. My relations with the bottom segment of the

tourist industry are far more ambivalent. A few disliked me because I did not take their tours and every time they saw me they would loudly decry my cheapness to all present. One man, who I told to go away after he drooled on the women I was interviewing (he was extremely drunk) and later felt I did not light his cigarette with enough enthusiasm would follow me around yelling “Babylon *Mzungu* (which loosely translates to “white devil”) go home”. From my part the economic and legal complications of working with the ‘real’ beach boys compounded with the limited time available and the fact that I was tired of the constant hassle, impeded this branch of research.

CHAPTER 2. HISTORY

Zanzibar is the collective name of a chain of islands off the coast of present day Tanzania. There are two large islands, Unjuga and Pemba with 14 smaller islets. Zanzibar has a total area of 2,332 sq. kms. Unguja, the largest island, has a total area of 1,464 sq. kms. This is the most heavily populated island and contains the capital, Zanzibar City. Pemba has a total area of 868 sq. kms. As of 1995 the islands have a combined population of 779,400 people, with 58% living on Unguja. The largest city is Zanzibar City, which has 133,000 people, 87% of the urban population lives in Zanzibar City. The population is about 50% urban and has a 3% annual growth rate (Mercer, 1998). This chapter provides a summary of the history of Zanzibar ending with a discussion of the political crisis that currently affects the Islands.

Zanzibar has long been a meeting place of various peoples and identities. As one of the major merchant hubs of the Indian Ocean, capital of an empire, capital of the eastern slave trade, and colonial vassal, extensive contact with foreigners is not a new phenomenon. The political violence that often appears in a fiercely competitive meeting ground of peoples and worldviews is not new to Zanzibar either. Tourism and the new neo-liberal economic regime are the newest in a long history of imposed changes that altered the Islands dramatically and lie in the midst of a long standing political debate about the nature of Zanzibari society and sovereignty. As before, cloves and people dominate the economy, except that now instead of a politically marginal group being forcibly imported on to the Islands and exported beyond, an economically dominant groups comes to make the Islands their playground. Zanzibar is caught in the midst of a longstanding flux.

One element of this flux is globalization. Globalization is the current buzzword in social science discourse. It is constantly bandied about and seems to mean all things to all people. Anything from cultural homogenization, the Internet, television soap operas such as "Baywatch", or the rapid transfer of capital irrespective of borders falls under its rubric. Wallerstein (1979) has demonstrated that what we now call globalization is actually longstanding relationships of economic domination by world powers. Through the medium of global capitalism aspects of globalization, such as world youth cultures, fast food restaurants, and television flow throughout the world. Contrary to popular belief, these are not new relationships. In fact, they have existed for hundreds of years. Zanzibar is a case in point. The Islands have been a player (sometimes major, sometimes peripheral) in regional and global economies for most of

Zanzibar's history. By demonstrating the historicity of regional and global penetration in Zanzibar, a better understanding can be developed of the Islands' present day circumstances.

Zanzibar's history was sparsely documented until about the 8th century. The original inhabitants of the Islands were most likely a mixture of Polynesian sailors and African immigrants from the mainland. Bennett (1978) estimates that inhabitants from the mainland first crossed over sometime around the 1st century of the Christian era. There are differing opinions over the exact date. Else (1998) place the mainland migration at the 3rd or 4th century A.D. Mainland colonizers formed the ethnic groupings of Hadimu and Tumbatu. An economy based on fishing, farming, piracy and trade was built and contact with other Indian Ocean maritime powers was frequent. Traders from Arabic nations settled in Zanzibar and became very influential in the business community. The Island was often under the nominal sway of Persia or Yemen, although local groups had their own leaders and a great deal of self-determination. Inter-marriage was common and the Islamic religion was introduced and widely accepted throughout the Islands. Although other great ports and trading empires overshadowed Zanzibar, a significant amount of their wares flowed through Zanzibar's ports.

During the late 15th century, Prince Henry the Navigator, of Portugal, focused a substantial portion of his kingdom's treasury in an effort to open new trading routes. The Islamic Ottoman Empire controlled many of the land routes of Asian goods and charged a heavy duty on all goods passing through their domain. Furthermore, Prince Henry was convinced that he could find the famous Prestor John, the Priest King of Abyssinia, and join forces for a holy crusade to drive the Muslims from Europe and the Holy Land. Prince Henry's successor, King John II, sent multiple expeditions to the East. In 1488 Bartholomew Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope. In 1497 Vasco Da Gama had made it as far as Malindi on the Kenyan coast. In 1499, he landed at Unguja on a return trip from the East (Else, 1998). As trade with the Far East continued garrisons were placed along the coast of east Africa (the most famous being Fort Jesus at Mombasa) and the islands of Zanzibar. While relations were cordial initially, they soon soured. The *Mwinyi Mkuu*, or the great King of Zanzibar (although his authority was based on the Hadimu people) was forced to pay tribute to the King of Portugal and numerous armed clashes occurred (Bennett, 1978). The Portuguese garrison of Fort Jesus became known as *Mvita* or place of war. The Portuguese were referred to as *Afriti* or the devil (Else, 1998).

Although the Portuguese were dominant along the coast of east Africa, they had

numerous rivals. The British and Dutch frequented the area trying to break the Portuguese monopoly. Further afield, the Omanis, fresh from capturing the capital of Muscat from the Portuguese, continued their attack on Portugal's east African holdings. The Omanis attacked with the strong support of Pemba (which had sent a delegation to Muscat to request aid) and many local elements, although some rulers remained loyal to Portugal. Oman was distant and their supply lines were overstretched, and battles continued inconclusively for many years. Portugal remained in control, but islands such as Pemba and other discontented sections of Portugal's domains supplied steady support to Oman. Finally, in 1696, Oman laid siege to Fort Jesus. Two years of fierce fighting resulted in defeat for the Portuguese, who withdrew to the borders of modern day Mozambique, leaving Oman the dominant power of the east African coast (Bennett, 1978).

Oman left only small garrisons along the coast, collecting sporadic tribute and generally leaving the region, which was made up of numerous city states and conflicting factions, alone to struggle for dominance. Oman itself was divided into warring dynasties, although after 1741, the BuSaidi dynasty held the throne and official title to the empire, rival factions held sway over sections of the African coast. The autonomy of the coast began to change after the accession of Sultan bin Ahmed to the throne. Oman was a major trading nation with dates being a principal export. Slaves were used for the cultivation of the date crop and ever-increasing numbers were funneled through Zanzibar, as was ivory and gold. With the increasing economic importance of the coast more attention was paid to the area (Else, 1998).

The son of Ahmed, Sultan Salim Said, became one of the most famous leaders of Zanzibar. Racked with internal feuding and bankrupt after constant wars, Oman left little in the way of inheritance for Sultan Said. Realizing that the most prosperous Omani merchants were already residing in Zanzibar, he followed and divided his time between Zanzibar and Muscat. Through skillful diplomacy with the British to ensure his domains both in Oman and Africa, he bought himself room to develop his vast empire. Although this Empire technically encompassed Tanzania, and large sections of Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, Kenya and eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, in practice his rule was confined to the coast and was quite loose there. The Sultan also built up the capital of Zanzibar City, especially the Indian and Arab section of Stone Town. The Sultan only had an irregular army of about 400 and his famous armada was rarely sea worthy. Trade relations that were beneficial to all parties secured his power. By promising to abolish the slave trade gradually, the British helped Sultan Said defeat his rivals on the coast. Said introduced cloves to the island, which radically increased

both the island's prosperity and the slave trade as large numbers of workers were needed on the plantations (Bennett, 1978).

After the death of Sultan Said, the empire fell slowly into decline. Zanzibar was split from Oman and became an independent empire, with one of Said's sons ruling Zanzibar and another ruling Oman, although both parties schemed of ways to recapture the other. There were internal disputes between his four sons, who ruled in succession, and often jailed or exiled one another. The British gained increased power in the Sultanate and grew more concerned about the lack of action in abolishing slavery which continued steadily in both export and internal consumption throughout the reign of the Sultanate. Germany's imperial ambitions were another significant threat to the Sultanate. The extreme German nationalist Carl Peters claimed large areas of modern day Tanzania and the coast, all of which fell under the Sultan's domain. At this stage the Sultanate was too weak to oppose Germany and had to rely increasingly on Britain to keep its own independence. Germany's actions were brutal and brought wide spread rebellion and dissatisfaction, but as the only power strong enough to dislodge them, Britain did not want to risk war and punished dissent severely. The Sultanate's realm was reduced to a coastal strip and was still under threat (Bennett, 1978).

Thoroughly dissatisfied with foreign intervention, the Sultan Khalifa tried to unsuccessfully attract French or American support and was finally forced to abolish slavery, although it continued in Zanzibar. After Khalifa's death the British installed Sultan Hamoud. Another prince, Ali Khaled, raided the palace with a total of 2,000 supporters, raised the red flag of Zanzibar and declared himself the Sultan. Although he tried to negotiate with the British, they refused to recognize him. This incident led to what is probably the shortest war in history, often referred to as the 'ice cream' war, because resistance melted away (Else, 1998). August 26th, 1896, five British war ships sailed into Zanzibar City's harbor. At 09:02 am, the ships opened fire, at about 09:32, they stopped. The bombardment left 500 dead, with serious damage to the palace and lighthouse. The British suffered no casualties. At 09:40 am, Khaled surrendered (Else, 1998). After this incident, the British dropped the pretense of Zanzibar's independence, and through the policy of indirect rule then assumed all real power, while leaving sultans of the Busaidi family as figureheads.

Over the next 60 years Zanzibar receded in importance. From being one of the commercial centers of thriving Indian Ocean mercantile networks, Zanzibar became a sleepy, colonial backwater devoted to the farming of cloves. Much of the clove production on Unguja was dominated by Arab plantation owners, although most were seriously in debt to the Indian business community, which numbered between 4000 to

7000 (Clayton, 1981). On the island of Pemba, both black and Arab Zanzibaris owned plantations. Although Pemba was responsible for the majority of the clove production, plantations tended to be smaller than those of Unguja, and all political decisions were taken on the main island. Although there was a racial hierarchy, Islam was the dominant religion and Swahili was almost everyone's first language. Formal education was rare and concentrated in the Indian community. Koranic and Christian missionary schools were the other options, but attendance among the Black and Arab community, outside of Koranic schools, was low.

Labor for the plantations was a continual problem due to the abolition of slavery. Many of the descendants of the slave population intermixed with the local population and provided sporadic labor, but mainly focused on fishing and agricultural endeavors of their own. Many laborers were lured from the mainland for the promise of significantly higher wages. Laborers from the mainland were to be a temporary solution, but many stayed on. A large African ghetto formed outside of Stone Town, in what is now New Town. It was known as *Ng'ambo* or the other side. No services were provided and conditions were squalid. While some Zanzibaris resided there, the area was dominated by mainland economic migrants (Clayton, 1981).

After the end of World War II, the tides of African Nationalism began to be felt in Zanzibar. Arab landowners and Indian merchants organized advocacy groups. During a dock workers strike of 1948, Africans, both indigenous and mainland, began to form advocacy groups as well. All began to demand independence. The political ground swell grew through the 1950s as parties were created along largely ethnic boundaries. The ZNP or Zanzibar National Party was dominated by the Arab land owning class, with a radical Marxist influence branch breaking off and forming the *Umma* or masses party. On Pemba, a party with a largely Arab base, although it did have the support of the Black plantation owning class, was formed under the name of the Zanzibar National Peoples Party, or ZNPP. The Afro-Sharazi Association (Sharazi is the name of an earlier Persian group of settlers who intermarried extensively, and later came to refer to black Zanzibaris) later named Afro-Sharazi Party or ASP, was a loosely organized group that represented indigenous black Zanzibaris and enjoyed the support of many migrant workers. Relations between parties were tense and political violence was frequent. Against this backdrop, independence was set for 1963. In a close election, with many charges of fraud and vote rigging, the ZNP gained 12 seats, the ZNPP gained 11, and the ASP won 10. A coalition government lead by the ZNP supported by the ZNPP, under the pro-ZNP Sultan Jamshid took power. The ASP, lead by Abeid Karume was marginalized, and in fact the government demanded that ASP M.P.s leave

their party and defect to the ruling party in order to take their seats (Clayton, 1981).

The new government made serious mistakes in their first and only year in power. First they fired the existing police, who were African and primarily from the mainland, but left them on the island. New decrees further alienated the black population, although the government had little military power to deal with dissent. Finally the ASP was disillusioned with the electoral process. As expected, revolution came, but not from the ASP. A Christian Ugandan immigrant named John Okello organized and led a revolution, composed largely of mainlanders, former police and some members of the ASP youth wing.

With a large amount of popular support they took power in one night in 1964 and proclaimed Abeid Karume the president, with John Okello as the Field Marshall of the revolutionary forces. Although the new government was in power, with sporadic resistance, Okello wanted to destroy opposition. He gave nightly radio addresses outlining his plans: "Vagabonds in the house of Hilali Kihanga in Dole are trying to harm innocent people with their firearms. I want Hilali to hang himself. He must first kill all his children by slashing them. I have no mercy. I, The Field Marshall, want to destroy the place completely. I am coming with heavy arms" (Clayton, 1981:156). In the orgy of violence that followed, between 11,000 (Bennett, 1978) and 17,000 (Else, 1998) people, mostly of Arab origin, were killed. The ASP and elements of the Umma party took power. Arab and Indian women were occasionally forced to marry party leaders, the stated goal being intermixing to finally destroy the racial problem. Finally Okello became both a rival and an embarrassment to Karume who had him exiled.

The communist block quickly recognized the new government, and East Germany provided weapons and aid. Nyerere, president of Tanganyika, was worried about the build up of Zanzibar and had to crush a Zanzibar inspired coup against him with British help. In 1964, he proposed a union with Zanzibar, which Karume accepted. Nyerere was the president of the new Tanzania, with Karume as vice president of the union and the leader of Zanzibar. Not everyone was happy about the union and the Zanzibari government tended to avoid references to it. Karume retained considerable power in Zanzibar and often ignored Nyerere's requests. With East German help he built large Stalinist apartment blocks in the former African areas of towns, formed his own military and created an island-wide education system, which has shown poor results to this day. Karume's rule became increasingly dictatorial, repressive and erratic. He was assassinated in 1972 (Clayton, 1981).

His successor, Aboud Jumbe Mwinyi, was far more sympathetic to the mainland and merged the ASP with Nyerere's TANU forming the CCM (*Chama Chu Mapinduzi*,

or Party of the Revolution). Mwinyi was known as a moderate who tried to temper the autocratic excesses of Karume's rule. Following the trend of the mainland both Mwinyi and Nyerere began to introduce economic liberalization. Although throughout Karume's rule, goods were still traded on the world market, Zanzibar's economy could be characterized as state capitalism. Zanzibar slowly lost its reputation as the Cuba of East Africa. Along with economic liberalization came economic decline. Cloves, the chief export, continued to drop in value. In 1984 Ali Hassan Mwinyi became president of Zanzibar. His political program consisted of increasing economic liberalization and repressing secessionist sentiment at home. In 1985 he became president of the republic after the resignation of Julius Nyerere. Idris Abdul Wakil became president of Zanzibar with an economic crisis looming. The government tried to diversify the economy from its dependence on cloves. Seaweed farming was introduced, and the tourist industry became increasingly important.

In 1990 Dr. Salim Amour became president. Multiparty elections were introduced in 1992, with the election taking place in 1995. The ruling party in Zanzibar faced a strong challenge from the opposition CUF (Civic United Front) party, which wanted more autonomy or even succession. A violent election took place with the CCM barely winning with 50.2% of the vote compared to the CUF's 49.8% (Anyaoka, 2000). The election process was widely considered to be fraudulent. Leading CUF members were arrested for treason and CUF M.P.s refused to take their seats in parliament as protest. The next election, in October 2000, followed a similar pattern, the CCM, under Amani Karume, son of the first president won (Dr. Amour was dismissed for corruption), but most likely by fraud. The *Economist* (vol. 357, 2000) reported foreigners and children voting for the CCM, while ballots in heavily CUF areas were lost. Political violence continues to simmer. According to the *Mail & Guardian, South Africa* (vol. 15:5) 32 people were killed in a recent clash between the government and opposition supporters. The future of the islands and the union with the mainland is uncertain.

The current political conflict in Zanzibar has been described by journals such as the *Economist* and travel guides such as *Bradt's Guide to Zanzibar* as being ethnically motivated, the more Arabic Pemba supporting the CUF in conflict with the more African CCM. While there may be some truth to this belief, (an Arab taxi driver told me he would never vote for CCM because "they kill Arabs"), I feel it is an oversimplification. Ethnic origins are rarely mentioned, most people refer to themselves as Swahili or Zanzibari. As a case in point, a leading politician's son, obviously of Arab descent, told me: "Black, Arab, it doesn't matter anymore, we are all Zanzibari now." I am not suggesting that there is no ethnic dimension involved in the current conflict. What I am

suggesting is that ethnicity can be used as a mask for class and other differences that are glaring on the island. What is at stake here is a vision of Zanzibar's future, although an ethnic component may play a part in this, it is not the main factor

As this chapter has shown, Zanzibar has been a major player in the trade networks of the Indian Ocean for hundreds of years and has long been accustomed to contact with foreigners. Although labeling the current conflict as related to some sort of primordial ethnic identity may be a way of simplifying a complicated situation, it is not accurate. Zanzibar has lost its status as an empire and become a rather small province in a larger, more powerful, but impoverished nation. The CUF opposition party is not so much concerned by the ethnic identity of the current rulers as they are of autonomy or independence and access to power. Tourism has become a mainstay of the economy and vital to the economic survival of the ruling party. Tourism greatly enriches both the ruling class and foreigners who have the capital, connections and expertise to take control of industry. The benefits to the masses of the population are limited. The benefits are not distributed by ethnicity, but by class, as the ruling elite, which is ethnically mixed, has a firm lock on economic power on the Island.

Kopytoff (1987) describes how African frontiers are created by excluding newcomers and creating 'sons of the soil' movements. While he was referring to the pre-colonial historical creation of the frontier his analysis is useful here. The CUF is both anti-tourist and anti-mainland. They have been economically excluded by the current, corrupt, ruling class, and seek to redefine the distribution of power by seniority. They have been here the longest and believe they should be running things, not expatriates and immigrants from the mainland. Since they cannot control tourism, they will reduce its importance and restore Zanzibar's former glory as an economic hub. Friedman (1994) demonstrates that the Hawaiian sovereignty movement is also virulently anti-tourist, and ethnic Hawaiians have also been excluded from the controlling positions in the industry. Paradoxically, instead of being an ethnic conflict, the current crisis may continue the process of Zanzibari nation building, as people see themselves as Zanzibaris in conflict with outside forces and a corrupt ruling class, instead of as Arabs, Africans or Indians battling each other within Zanzibar.

CHAPTER 3. POLITICAL ECONOMY

Tourism itself doesn't make much for Tanzania because so much of what is spent is "yo-yo money." The foreigners arrive via foreign owned airlines in planes built by foreigners. They stay at hotels constructed with foreign building materials, ride around in foreign made cars and eat imported food from foreign places. The money rolls in, pauses for a moment and rolls back out (P.J. O'Rourke, *Inside Tanzania*, 1997:39).

During the 1970's the Greek Orthodox Church recommended a new prayer: 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on the cities, the islands and the villages of this Orthodox Fatherland, as well as the holy monasteries which are scourged by the worldly tourist wave (Crick, 1988:64).

Responding to a question as to whether tourism was good for Zanzibar, Khamis replied: "Well, you know, there is no sweet without sweat" (Khamis, tour guide for Shangani cultural tours).

Zanzibar is marketed as the "best kept secret of the Indian Ocean" (A local Post Card), "The Island of mystery, witch doctors, local medicine, great beaches and beautiful scenery" (Sign outside a tour agency. When I mentioned this to the owner he just laughed.). "Today the romance, the splendor and legends of the past are still vibrantly alive, traditional sailing dhows, carved wooden doors, chests, the scent of clove and the smile of hospitable residents welcome you to Zanzibar" (Karibu Zanzibar, Accommodation guide, 2000 -2001). Tour books, travel brochures and the tourist commission wax poetically about the charms of the Island. Seeing the lush beauty of Zanzibar, it is hard to argue with them. One aspect not mentioned in the brochures is the structure of the tourist industry in Zanzibar, and the effect of tourism upon the Island itself. The following chapter outlines the political economy of tourism in Zanzibar; focusing on Stone Town, the historic section of Zanzibar City, with additional mention of two beach resorts on the North and East Coast of the Island that I briefly visited.

Stone Town was the Arabic section of Zanzibar City. The former Sultan's palace, the House of Wonders (now a museum), is located there, as is the commercial district, and what used to be the homes of Arabs, Indian merchants, and (less frequently) wealthy Africans. The current government is located in Stone Town. Although Stone Town is no longer the preserve of Indians and Arabs, the ethnic mixture is still far more diverse than the surrounding section of New Town, which used to be a

slum for African workers and is now characterized by large Stalinist apartment buildings and a surrounding shanty town. The rich live in the suburbs about 5 km outside of town, but the urban poor, shop keepers, the middle classes and some of the wealthy traditionalists share Stone Town with luxurious hotels, dingy guest houses and hordes of tourists.

I arrived via ferry from the mainland. I had been anxiously watching the approaching island. I had a discussion with an Australian tourist next to me about where to stay. Moreover, I hoped that I would not have to bribe the health officials again. I had once already that day, and I felt once was enough. At the ferry docks, our senses were assaulted by the commotion going on around us. Large numbers of young men rushed up and offered to help us with our luggage and take us to a hotel. The noise, heat and lack of sleep were bewildering. I was just trying to get through and keep hold of my belongings. A group of men followed us, although I was vigorously asserting that I did not require assistance. They continued to follow us, loudly denouncing the others of their entourage as cheats and liars and giggling every time I said we did not need help. I soon realized what the joke was, although the route to the hotel was deceptively simple on the map (which came from the so called "backpackers bible" the *Lonely Planet*), Stone Town does not lend itself to first time visitors. The streets are a narrow maze, kept in permanent twilight by the surrounding crumbling stone buildings. Throngs of people, swarms of hooting motor bikes warning people of their presence, hundreds of traders peddling their wares, yelling school children and harried mothers shopping for the day, crowd around and over you in a street three meters wide. There was no way we could find the hotel on our own. Finally a very friendly middle aged man, who did not even ask for a tip escorted us. I later found out that the commission for bringing tourists to a hotel is quite high, a fourth of the nightly rate.

The tourist industry in Zanzibar is organized into different segments. At the top are the multinational corporations and the indigenous and governmental elite that work closely with those who control the industry, including the hotels, airlines and travel agents that funnel tourists into Zanzibar. The hierarchy goes all the way down through tour guides, restaurant owners, cleaning staff, to beach boys, who may not control any resources used in the tourist industry (land, hotels, transport, restaurants to name a few). But through individual enterprise, they have created a niche for themselves, employing themselves as cultural middlemen, those who know how tourism works on Zanzibar. By realizing that many of the tourists are bewildered and confused upon arrival, they guide the lost to hotels, arrange cheap, and occasionally nonexistent

transport and excursions, provide companionship, obtain drugs or sex workers or various other functions that operate through a Byzantine system of commissions, negotiations and sometimes outright theft. While the traditional tour guide may have considerable knowledge about local history, points of interest, or flora and fauna, which the beach boy usually lacks, the beach boy knows which cafes are the least expensive and where the best night clubs are, knowledge that has considerable value as well. The system the beach boys operate under is at the edge of the 'official' tourist industry, both of which will be discussed further.

The following chapter is divided into three sections. The first will discuss the tourist industry's history and operations in Zanzibar. The second will describe informal tourist workers whom, although technically on the margins or outside the official tourist industry, play a significant role in it as Zanzibar's unofficial cultural brokers. The final section will synthesize all of these elements, showing the social and economic structure of tourism in Zanzibar.

THE TOURIST INDUSTRY

Gone is any official speak of egalitarian futures, work for all, or the paternal government envisioned by the various freedom movements. Those ideals have given way to a spirit of deregulation with its taunting mix of emancipation and limitation. Individual citizens, a lot of them marooned by a rudderless ship of state, try to clamber aboard the good ship Enterprise. But in so doing, they find themselves battling the eccentric currents of the new world order, with short circuit received ways and means. Caught up in these currents, many of them come face to face with the most fundamental metamorphoses wrought by the neo-liberal turn: the labile role of labor in the elusive algorithm connecting production to consumption, the pro to the con of capitalism (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2000:298).

. Tourism is being pushed as an economic savior for poor countries that lack the traditional industrial resources. Although gold, diamonds, or oil may be lacking, if a country has sea, sun, sand, wild animals, historical landmarks, or an 'exotic' culture, tourism can be an option (Crick, 1994). Almost every country has possession of at least some of these criteria. Major funding institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF enthusiastically promote tourism as a cure for many Third World countries' economic ills (Crick, 1994). Although there are strong economic arguments for tourism, there are many hidden costs. Few countries have the significant capital to develop the industry by themselves and therefore they need to seek the aid of international capital.

I turn again to Wallerstein (1979) who defines what is currently termed as globalization, as the rapid shifting of capital irrespective of borders, which is symptomatic of a capitalist world economic system that has been in existence since the 1600s. Many recent theorists including Coronil (2000) have expanded on Wallerstein's original thesis. Coronil defines globalization as follows:

“Globalization is merely the intensification of old processes of transcontinental trade, capitalist expansion, colonization, worldwide migrations and transcultural exchanges, and that its current neo-liberal modality polarizes, excludes, and differentiates even as it generates certain configurations of translocal integration and cultural homogenization” (2000:352).

A global division of labor, existing amongst multiple cultural systems, characterizes this system, according to Wallerstein. The system is made up of groups that pursue their own interests by organizing to exert influence on states, thereby seeking to distort the market to their favor.

Tourism often is organized in a similar fashion, as multinational companies often control airlines, travel agencies and hotels, concentrating the profits exclusively in their coffers. Pressure is exerted on national governments to improve infrastructure to provide tourists with the comforts they are accustomed to, and the money for infrastructural improvements is extracted from the nation's population through taxes (Crick, 1994). Furthermore the national government must provide suitable air and seaports, streamline immigration proceedings and ensure the safety of the tourists, all at considerable cost to the government.

The profits of tourism are concentrated in multinational corporations who are also in a position to maximize these profits. Tourism tends towards a cyclical existence, of boom and bust periods. The beach resort of Mombasa in Kenya is a good example. A huge tourist boom occurred during the 1970s, which accompanied a spectacular amount of tourist oriented development. During the 1980s and 1990s, many tourists felt that Mombasa had become too developed and arrivals declined dramatically (Issa Mlingoti, Commissioner for Tourism). Multinationals are in a position to pull out when the venture is no longer profitable, while the governments and tax payers, who at the very minimum had to finance large scale infrastructure upgrades, are left holding the now empty bag.

Wallerstein describes the world economic system as having the profits concentrated in core countries, while much of the raw materials and increasingly the labor itself, necessary for the accumulation of profits are drawn from semi-peripheral

and peripheral countries. The semi-peripheral and peripheral countries have the necessary raw materials and labor, but do not have the control of the industries that capitalize on them. While these relationships exist on a national level, they are also reproduced within borders as well. A core group, linked with international capital, monopolizes political and economic power, and rules through semi-peripheral underlings and over the peripheral masses who, while performing the necessary labor, are excluded from decision making and from reaping a large share of the benefits. The tourist industry in Zanzibar is organized along these lines.

The tourist industry has had an ideologically difficult position through much of Tanzania's (including Zanzibar's) post-colonial history. Despite the state's socialist policies, the tourist industry offered luxury unimaginable for many of the nation's inhabitants to foreigners on a large scale; luxury safaris, plush hotels, imported food and drinks, everything the tourist could desire, although Tanzania was by no means the only socialist state that practiced economic hypocrisy for foreigners. As the published debate within the TANU Youth League on tourism, "Tourism and Socialist Development" frequently stated, double standards such as this fly in the face of socialist egalitarianism. As Burns (1995) has pointed out, tourism in the Third World can create 'islands of affluence' in the midst of general poverty. These problems worsen as scarce resources are used to provision tourists with luxury. The locals usually have little control of the industry and gain the least benefit, while social resentment can mount as poor areas host foreigners living a life of wealth and indolence.

Tourism may have been subject to a long debate on the mainland, but has had a different history in Zanzibar. Under much of the Karume period, tourism was actively discouraged and the regime maintained an isolationist policy. Emigration and immigration were strictly controlled. In 1969 a law was passed stating that anyone from the mainland who married a Zanzibari woman would have to repay the government the cost of educating her. Permits were required to travel to or from the mainland. Foreigners faced more severe restrictions. After 1971, tourists were allowed access to Zanzibar on a small scale, 1,500 people per year. The only real accommodation available was the badly constructed government owned hotel, the Bwawani. Tourism was limited mostly to day trips and was tightly controlled (Clayton, 1981). Pemba was off limits and, outside of official tours to government spice farms and certain beaches, the government tried to keep tourists in Stone Town. It was not until liberalization that the government actively encouraged tourism. Young 'backpacker' tourists were the first to start filtering into Zanzibar. At the time they were the majority of the tourist trade due to the remoteness and the lack of tourist facilities. There was not much appeal to

package for more conventional tourists. "Backpackers were the first. Originally we did not have the infrastructure or the competent staff necessary of the higher market, here in Zanzibar we are not so developed in hotels. Backpackers spread the word about Zanzibar to people in other countries encouraging them to come" (Issa Mlingoti, Commissioner for Tourism).

Tourism began to be a major focus for the economy with the presidency of Dr. Salim Amour. His free market policies, coupled with a continuing drop in the price of cloves, made the intensification of the tourist industry seem very desirable. Major economic institutions like the World Bank and the IMF also advise tourism as a beneficial route for developing countries to earn foreign currency. According to Issa Mlingoti, Stone Town and six coastal areas were set aside for tourist development. The areas outside of Stone Town were picked for their scenic beauty, lack of farming potential and favorable local sentiment. Extensive hotel and recreation development was allowed to take place in the original zones. The government, with the aid of foreign experts, did the planning. There have been conflicts about land loss, even in the coral zones, which can be used for farming. Fishermen also have lost access to beaches due to hotel development. Although local sentiment was supposed to be a major factor, not every village was happy about tourist development: Nungwi, a village on the North Coast resisted inclusion as a designated tourist zone intensely. Their efforts were in vain though. Several hotels have been built there, including a very expensive resort (Else, 1998). The government may not wish to antagonize villagers by alienating large numbers from their land, particularly in a tense electoral climate, but the ultimate decision rests with the government.

There may be some problems with tourist development, but the market has grown dramatically since the early 1970s. Of the 86,918 tourists who visited Zanzibar in 1999, Italians are the largest cohort, with 23,279 people. The next largest cohort is the British with 14,141 (Zanzibar Commission for Tourism). The Italians dominate the package tour industry. Several beach resorts and specialized tour agencies serve only them. Many of the hotels and restaurants are Italian owned and there have been numerous charges of corruption. "Zanzibaris did not know corruption until the Italians came, all that stuff is Mafia owned, and they are in bed with the government" (Sale, Tour Agency owner). From having one government owned hotel, there are now 42 licensed hotels on Unjuga and 4 on Pemba. There are 12 licensed hotels in Stone Town alone. These figures do not take into account the numerous guesthouses, which serve the lower strata of the tourist market. I was not able to get accurate numbers for them, but they far outnumber licensed hotels.

Although the first tourists to visit Zanzibar were backpackers, the government is now focusing on high-end luxury tourism. Supposedly high end tourism will bring smaller numbers of tourists, minimizing “cultural pollution” or the lessening of Islamic values by large numbers of hedonistic western youths. Furthermore, high-end tourists will maximize foreign exchange earnings due to their increased economic power and will have far less environmental impact due to their small numbers. Eco-tourism is the current buzzword in Zanzibari tourism. It is an ideal catch phrase, because it holds different meanings to everyone. For some it means expelling poorer tourists and building hotels for the rich. For others it means nature conservation. For others still it means the construction of ‘eco-friendly’ hotels. Since it can mean anything to anybody, not only can significant policy debate be avoided, but the boom and bust cycles experienced by other East African tourist destinations can somehow be avoided (Issa Mlingoti, Commissioner for Tourism). The validity of these statements along with other views of tourism will be discussed later in this chapter. The Commission for Tourism hopes to increase the number of visitors to around 100, 000 a year and then stabilize at that number. The next section focuses on the informal sector of tourism. Although this sector does not account for the same earned revenues as the formal sector, it provides the majority of tourist related employment.

TOUR GUIDES AND THE INFORMAL SECTOR

Some tourists alleged that the touts (beach boys) in Sri Lanka were the most annoying in Asia. Tired of the incessant approaches of these predatory creatures, they felt themselves to be ‘victims’ as they walked the streets of Kandy. At a street level, any notion that tourism is a force for international peace and understanding is almost laughable. If the depiction of guide as predator and the tourist as victim is understandable at this level of interpersonal interaction, at the ‘system’ level another view is possible. Profits from international tourism have a strong tendency to flow to multinational corporations and to political and economic elites in developing nations. Seen in this perspective, and given the strategies to which the poor in the Third World have to resort to make ends meet, perhaps we need to ask again who the real victims of international tourism are (Malcolm Crick, 1992:147).

Zanzibar’s beach boy underclass has widely heterogeneous backgrounds and interests that make them difficult to mark out as a social class in the more traditional forms of the word. They have been created and are sustained by the newly dominant neo-liberal economy, which according to the Jean and John Comaroff (2000) is

characterized by a curious mixture of emancipation and limitation. Their backgrounds differ immensely, they are former (or even current) teachers, students, tradesmen, workers, farmers, merchant marines, or just about anything else. The level of education, the social background, and sometimes even their countries of origin are diverse. The end of the Tanzanian version of socialism has freed them from their former trades and sometimes area of origin, while paradoxically limiting their opportunities by leaving them with stagnating economies without the former option of government employment, especially for the educated such as teachers and the ranks of lower government officials. They share the discernible features of a class, a roughly similar access to the control of resources, and although they have varied backgrounds, they currently share a similar social rank (Williams, 1983). They have not been proletarianized. Although Zanzibar was a socialist country, there was never much of a proletariat, as agricultural production, small scale trading and the government bureaucracy provided most of the available jobs (Clayton, 1981). They do not share similar interests in a way that group social action could offer a way of advancement for them as a class. They are the creation of the recently introduced, but now hegemonic, (in a Gramscian sense), neo-liberal capitalism, which fetishizes the market as a sort of perfect entity, currently thought to be the engine that can bring prosperity. Comaroff and Comaroff (2000) refer to this as millennial capitalism, as it claims to be able, through the workings of the market, to offer the perfect world to come, the often heard but rarely agreed upon end of history (Fukuyama, 1989). Their interests lie not in solidarity, but in individual competition over scarce profits. Even their labor carries scant value in a market surrounded by massive unemployment (Economist, vol.357, 2000). As Coronil (2000) pointed out, this emergent underclass has little to sell on the market outside of drugs, sex, black market dealings, stolen goods, body parts or themselves. In Zanzibar the fledgling tourist industry is one of the few places that offers any opportunity for the enterprising to carve a niche for themselves. Yet even here the indigenous elite and foreign expatriates have monopolized the well-rewarded positions. These patterns are a part of a worldwide trend where: "Nations have become increasingly open to the flow of capital, even as they remain closed to the movements of the poor. While elites of these nations are increasing integrated in transnational circuits of work, study, leisure, and even residence, their impoverished majorities are increasingly excluded from the domestic economy and abandoned by their state" (Coronil, 2000:368). Although there are beach boys from foreign countries and many from the mainland, they draw the wrath of many locals. The state, looking for a way to appease their own population without putting the current financial system in jeopardy,

may restrict the movement of poor foreigners trying to live off tourism in Zanzibar, especially as a gesture to appease the opposition, which is anti-mainland and anti-foreign.

As a group, beach boys are similar to youth groups across the field, as consumption becomes a focal point of identity (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2000). They are exceedingly 'modern' in style and outlook. They identify with the current system as a way out of the oppression it creates. As Comaroff and Comaroff (2000) have shown, while neo-liberalism disempowers the poor, it offers seductive images of "taking the waiting out of wanting" (pg.309). Mastery over 'casino' capitalism is just a stroke of luck away. One wealthy tourist looking for a husband or a large group of Italians that are looking to buy and then the beach boy will be rich too. Capitalism is resisted by becoming aggressively capitalistic. To beat the system at its own game and emerge victorious is the hope of my informants, not a greater emancipation for all, or a future utopian society. Utopia can be had now for the proper price, all that is needed is money. By trying to resist the encroachments of capitalistic 'modernism' beach boys have become the 'youth as trouble' stereotype Comaroff and Comaroff (2000) have found so common in feelings from the wider society about youth movements. Hence the Swahili term for a beach boy is *papasi*, or blood sucking leach, a metaphor in itself for the 'illegitimate' capitalism they practice. For tourists, beach boys end up in the limbo of half authenticity, which will be described in chapter four.

The appearance of beach boys in Zanzibar is relatively new. While unemployed men would hang around the docks in the socialist period looking for some work, large groups of young men pestering tourists would not have been allowed under the old regime. The relative freedom of the new regime, coupled with even worse economic circumstances than before, and finally a large group of wealthy foreigners who are allowed unsupervised contact with the hosts, have facilitated their appearance. Although tourists and the establishment generally regard beach boys as 'annoying pests' (or "marginal men" as Smith (1989) calls similar cultural brokers), they fulfill a certain need. "In the tourist area, there is a necessity for at least some of the hosts to function as marginal men or cultural brokers in order to deal with tourists and their metropolitan sponsors as they create a pressure for acculturation in the direction of metropolitan cultures, learning how to carry on superficial, objective transactions and providing for leisure needs" (Nash, 1978:48).

Beach boys are on the margins of their own society as they engage in locally questionable behavior such as flouting Islamic laws regarding drinking, praying, and, with the large Rastafarian contingent, even religion. Furthermore they are associated

with backpackers, who are blamed for being cheap and increasing 'cultural pollution' in Zanzibar, by helping, in the official view, to create these drug using, hip hop quoting louts. Rich or package tourists are insulated by money and air-conditioned buses and therefore rarely come into contact with beach boys. *Papasi* consist of tour guides on the margins of the official tourist industry and work primarily in the informal sector, which, as the name suggests, is large and ill defined. The informal sector mainly consists of those who provide services for poorer or 'backpacker' tourists, or those who provide illegal services such as drugs or sex. There often is some overlap between these two categories. Some are loosely connected to the tour agencies and act as tour guides simply for tips and commission. Many official employees augment low salaries by doing tours on their own. There are also many curio dealers who can not afford the overhead of owning a shop, so they rent out sections of pavement on the street or at the Forodhani gardens, where an open air barbecue is held every night and is heavily attended by tourists. At the lower levels are the beach boys or *papasi*, who hang around waiting for tourists who want to take trips, go snorkeling, buy drugs or whatever else is needed. There are also many sex workers who doubtlessly cater to locals, but make a habit of hanging around tourist bars because tourists have more disposable income and therefore can be charged more.

According to my informants, many of the first beach boys were originally merchant marines. They would often come back from their journeys with a good knowledge of English, a heavy drug habit and a need for quick money. Because of their knowledge of English, they were in a position to show tourists around the island and act as cultural brokers through haggling, negotiating with police or sex workers, or anything else where the tourist may not have the sufficient cultural capital to engage successfully.

One of the more infamous of the old guard is Abdullah who is between 30 and 40 years old. While I only spoke to him a couple of times, many of the beach boys told me numerous stories about him. He spends most of his time in the Starehe (relax and enjoy yourself) bar, which is a beach boy hang out. The bar was originally run by the government tourist cooperation specifically for foreigners (Zanzibar is predominantly Muslim and drinking is frowned upon) but has fallen on hard times since then. The freely distributed tourist guide, "Recommended in Zanzibar" describes it as "Not for the faint hearted, my advice is don't get lured in there, you could lose more than your wallet" (April-June 2000:4). While it has a beautiful location, on the beach with an open drinking area, it is visibly run down. A few tourists still visit there, and the beer is significantly cheaper than elsewhere. The bar is primarily a hangout for current and ex-

beach boys and many sex workers as well.

Abdullah is a permanent fixture at the Starehe, always recognizable by his Castro beard. Occasionally he makes half-hearted attempts to stir up business, but more often he regales anyone within hearing distance about smuggling heroin from Pakistan in the old days. I was told that a Danish girlfriend or wife, who visits Zanzibar regularly, supports him. On occasion, he strolls the main curio street, selling travel apparel or accessories, such as wallets that strap on to your waist and similar items. There are several other men around his age that hang around together at the Starehe, who make up the original contingent of beach boys. Attempts to interview them did not go well: although they are talkative while sober, they can become quite hostile when drunk. With Abdullah for instance, outside of a 15 minute tirade documenting a well known British expatriate's habit of sleeping with little boys, he was often too drunk to speak. He was the man who drooled on the women I was interviewing and one of his best friends was the fellow who used to follow me around yelling "white devil go home". There are other older beach boys, and many seem to be rather unsuccessful at drumming up business, due to the fact that they are often visibly drunk in the street harassing tourists. While this is part of the job, they are far more aggressive and all the tourists I knew tried to avoid them. I suspect a few are mentally disturbed. One of the more successful is usually drunk as well, but he had managed to learn Italian and befriend some of the official tour guides attached to the Italian packaged tours. By doing favors and earning commissions for things like curio shopping he manages to keep afloat. My beach boy informants regarded him with a mixture of amusement and caution, as many of them told me that he is insane.

The younger generation of beach boys is a more diverse category whose main assets include some knowledge of English and a large amount of free time, thereby giving them the ability to go off on a 2 week trip around the island with tourists at a moment's notice, or hang around all day waiting for business. There is a large contingent of Rastafarians, or at least pseudo Rastafarians. They have the style but they drink alcohol and eat meat, both of which are forbidden by mainstream Rastafarianism. Interestingly all the Rastafarians I saw were men, primarily young men. There are also some people who have moved over from tourist areas like Dar es Salaam on the Mainland, and Mombasa in Kenya, to search for greener pastures. There are school kids on holiday, usually local but occasionally from the mainland, or those who drop out in search of money. I was told of a few teachers who had also moved over to tourism with the hopes of bettering their financial position.

Most beach boys are in their early to mid twenties, although there are both older

and younger beach boys working the streets. Most of my informants have at least 8 years of schooling, although some have more and were continuing their studies. There are no beach girls, I was told it would be “just too shameful”. People will swear at you or not greet you back. A beach boy cannot have shame, he has to get the money” (Hassan, Zanzibari tour guide). The closest female equivalents are sex workers who, from my observation and backed by local lore, tend to be foreigners. Those who focus their activities in tourist areas are usually from the mainland, Kenya, Uganda, and one woman who is amazingly slim and visibly ill is from Somalia. I was told that once again, sex work for women is considered far too shameful for a Zanzibari and especially their family, although it occurs.

SEYID'S STORY

With the exception of Abdullah, the discussion of beach boys in this paper has been focusing on general issues. The purpose of this section is to introduce Seyid, both as a prime informant for this study, and to demonstrate the impact of tourism on a personal level. Seyid is having problems with his business. He is in debt and not selling much. He has a solution though: “Tomorrow I am going to stop smoking and drinking, I need to concentrate on the business, I waste too much time and money on drinks and cigarettes. I am going back to school. First I will take English classes, I don't speak English very well. Then I will finish a high school degree, if I can ever get the money. Life is hard here in Zanzibar.” Seyid is 25 years old. He is slightly stocky for a Zanzibari. He sports dreadlocks and is always wearing dark sunglasses and a large digital watch, which does not work. It was a gift from a tourist friend. He runs a small curio stall on a street devoted to the sale of curios. Seyid is extremely friendly and quite popular with tourists, his sales style is also very laid-back and lacks the high-pressure attempts that are common on Zanzibar. He is a regular feature at the Garage Club and other tourist hot spots. A large portion of his income is devoted to living a tourist lifestyle. Beer is expensive and hanging around drinking every night with tourists, even if they buy the occasional drink, can be financially ruinous. He is full of self-improvement plans as seen in the quote above. In my limited time there he enrolled in two classes and quit drinking and smoking three times. These efforts never lasted long. He rarely attended the classes and after a couple nights absence from the clubs he would be back again. After speaking to tourists who know Seyid, it became apparent that short-lived self-improvement plans were a long running effort. The siren song of beer and pretty, young tourist women are too much for him to resist.

While all the dealers are cordial to one another and many are good friends, competition is fierce, as all stalls offer similar or identical merchandise consisting of carved elephants, Masai spears, masks, 'ethnic' statues and seashells. Almost all of the items come from dealers on the mainland. There is very little indigenous craft making on the Islands. Sales are relatively infrequent. The most I ever witnessed Seyid sell in a day was three items. The popular belief amongst curio dealers is that the merchandise is of secondary importance to the personality of the curio dealer, which determines the success or failure of a stall. Therefore most of the dealer's efforts are focused on making themselves as opposed to their goods attractive. Most dealers are young men who are, by Zanzibari standards, the epitome of modern and cool. Their clothes are tourist chic and language is western slang: "what's up man", or for the hip-hop fans "my niggazs".

Even with all the accessories of modernity, the business is difficult, sales are few, and bargaining is endemic. The lack of profit is coupled with the high costs of the life style. While some are more successful than others, debt is common and in Seyid's case, chronic. Most merchandise is bought from middlemen from the mainland on credit. Seyid usually has large portions of it repossessed by angry, unpaid middlemen. While merchandise is of secondary importance, it is necessary for a stall. Furthermore goods considered to be of a higher quality would sell better, but Seyid can never get his hands on this kind of quality merchandise, (although when it was pointed out to me, I could not tell the difference).

What I found interesting is that with all the difficulties of making a living in the tourist industry, everyone told me that they got into tourism because it is easy. This is Seyid's reasoning as well. His father is a carpenter in Dar es Salaam, and Seyid was trained as his apprentice. His specialty is T.V. cabinets. His mother is Zanzibari and he moved back to the Island as a child to attend school. He found it difficult to be a carpenter on Zanzibar, as people rarely paid for the services they commissioned. One of Seyid's uncles sells sugar cane juice at the Forodhani gardens and he also opened a stall selling T-shirts and beaded sandals to tourists. Seyid started working with his uncle and eventually opened his own stall next door. He continues to work at his uncle's stall as well. Seyid's younger brother helps him with his stall. Seyid told me that he wanted to join his uncle because he could make easy money for a minimum amount of work. This belief may have been misplaced, as his uncle always introduces himself as the "poorest man in Zanzibar". Hours are long and rewards are few.

The attitude of many informal tourist workers, Seyid included, is compatible with the neo-liberal capitalist economy that has made zealous converts out of the Tanzanian

government. The emancipatory visions of general upliftment that accompanied the earlier rhetoric of Zanzibari socialism are now out of vogue. When people speak of economic advancement it is of an entirely personal nature. For all of my informants in the tourist industry, moving to Europe where a decent salary could be earned was a far more realistic plan of action than reforming or restructuring economic relationships at home. Comaroff and Comaroff (2000) have noted the lessening of class relationships as a vehicle of social action or solidarity in the current economic climate, being replaced by gender, ethnic, or consumption-based identities. Beach boys, due to the individualistic nature of their enterprise and the importance of western styles in their personal identity, are a good example of the Comaroffs' point. Seyid's dream is to move to Europe, marry a European woman and engage in carpentry work. When I asked him if his family would be upset at him living so far away from home, he looked at me like I was an idiot and said: "of course not". Realizing that his family has a far greater chance of substantial remittances with Seyid in Europe, I could understand why his leaving would not be entirely negative.

Informal tourist workers are the marginal men or underclass of the modern economy. While the economic rewards of such work are minimal for most, the most powerful weapon of the neo-liberal arsenal, hope, is fully deployed. While life may be grueling at the moment, a beach boy's big score is just around the corner. Day after day, I watched Seyid sit around his stall selling very little, but he rarely seemed disheartened. He always talked about how the Italian tourists would come and buy everything in sight, they were always coming just next week. If it was not the Italians, then it was his hope that he would one day marry one of his tourist girlfriends and gain his magic ticket to Europe. When seen from this light, spending long periods of time in bars, drinking beer and chatting up female tourists was not a waste of money, but an investment in the future. The prospects for the future are dim and only the lucky would get ahead. Comaroff and Comaroff (2000) have written about the 'mystification' that accompanies neo-liberalism. This includes the increased use of supernatural methods or the lottery effect of an economic system whose workings are beyond simple work, but call for the presence of the divine for success. Fidel Castro commented that "...the entire world has become a giant casino" (quoted by Comaroff and Comaroff, 2000:297). For beach boys, this indeed is the case, as some prosper and many fail for reasons that often defy explanation. In this case economic disempowerment does not breed rebellion, but increases allegiance to the system that disempowers: the next day their ship can always come in. This can help explain the generally positive attitudes most beach boys have towards tourism and tourists in general.

Seyid is a good example of the overlap with other informal professions such as curio dealers, who will often leave their stalls to accompany tourists to the coast or show them around. Curio dealers are also dependent on beach boys to bring business to them. Beach boys occasionally pretend to be negotiating with the dealer in Swahili on behalf of the clients, although they are often trying to drive the price up and increase their commission. There are frequent arguments over the size of commissions, and there is a common practice of hanging around a stall while people are shopping and then coming in after they leave to demand a commission. Curio dealers have the power to refuse a commission, but they cannot afford to overly antagonize a beach boy or they will keep tourists away, telling them that this curio dealer will not give them a good price.

Beach boys are officially seen as a scourge by the tourist industry. Many of the tour owners I interviewed felt that beach boys are the biggest threat to the tourist industry. They associate beach boys with crime and drugs and resented the fact that beach boys can undercut their costs with ploys such as “sharing” where a group of tourists share the cost for an excursion, thereby lowering the price. Tour agencies are also afraid that beach boys will drive away tourists by hassling passersby on the streets and destroying the image of an ‘untouched’ island. “No one wants to feel like a tourist, everyone wants to be an explorer discovering an exotic land, it does not matter if a million people visit every year” (Graeme, expatriate tour guide). Beach boys are a constant reminder that tourists had been there before and that one is actually on a well traveled path. Beach boys are also associated with ‘backpacker’ tourism, which is another rather unpopular aspect of tourism within the official industry. The following quote shows states the ‘official’ opinion:

Zanzibar is a backpacker’s paradise, cheap hotel rooms and transport. And if you didn’t know (sic)? The backpackers bible subjects all its members to hard partying, loads of pot and plenty of you know what, these needs have to be supplied and beach boys flourish. The influx of hardened beach boys from Mombasa (Kenya) and Dar es Salaam have not helped the situation. These pirarrihas (sic.) have changed attitudes and traditions of beach boys who could not adapt to this mean streak simply faded away to easier professions (Recommended in Zanzibar, 1998:23).

Backpackers tend to stay away from official and expensive tours. Although their money tends to go directly into the local economy, there is not much of it. What is also interesting to note is that the foreignness of beach boys is stressed, making them a

problem from outside of Zanzibar. While some beach boys are from abroad (the mainland is often considered a foreign country), most of those I met are Zanzibari. Many of the older ones are better traveled than the average Zanzibari and had come in contact with the tourist industry earlier in Kenya or Tanzania. Many of the current generation of beach boys have only been to Dar es Salaam, if they have ever traveled at all.

In reality beach boys often work closely with official tour agencies. They work on a piecemeal basis, when needed, and have close connections to many official tour guides. Beach boys often sell empty seats on official tourist transport to backpackers for lower prices (you are always sworn to secrecy never to reveal the price you paid to the other passengers, but it is usually 30-50% less). Then they split the difference with the drivers. The government has engaged in many half-hearted measures to stop or contain beach boys. Anyone driving outside town with foreigners has to have an official permit, which must be purchased from the tourism commission, or they are liable to be arrested. This measure can be circumvented by bribing the police, who at the time of my research had not been paid for 4 months, or by collusion with an official tour agency. Furthermore police are supposed to stop Zanzibaris who seem to be following or hassling tourists, although this proved too difficult in practice. Local tour agencies contributed for a pick-up truck that would be used by the police for a tourism patrol. According to one of my informants, the truck is used to ferry tourists to the coast, in direct competition with the agencies that bought it. There is also a large degree of interdependence, as beach boys can lead people to tour agencies for commissions.

Another issue that characterized beach boys is that they date foreign, especially white women. This is so pervasive that one of my informants told me that: "Anytime you see a Zanzibari with a Mzungu (white) woman, he is a beach boy. Maybe some other Zanzibaris would like to date white women, but they never get to talk to them." Such phenomena are not limited to Zanzibar. Pattullo (1996) described a similar situation in the Caribbean, as young men cruise the beach looking for unattached tourist women who will provide for them financially during their holiday in return for sex. There is a defined etiquette as to which person is entitled to seduce who. Tour guides have access to their particular group and others are expected to stay away. I witnessed a tour guide accusing one of informants of "fishing his fish." Their manner was joking and my informant explained to me that once he realized she was part of the other man's tour, he immediately backed off. Although the manner was joking, there was an element of warning here. White women are seen as desirable because they have a reputation of being easy to sleep with, rich, and are also a badge of modernity, which I

will discuss in the next chapter. Turning again to Glenn Bowman (1989) who has discussed the political implications embedded in guide/tourist relationships. Sex can be one way of revenging dramatic power imbalances between the two parties. Although it may be willed by the woman who treats it as another holiday 'indulgence', sex is one way for the guide, in his view, to reassert his power. The beach boys often viewed sex as surrender to their personal charm, or power. Their tourist girlfriends often financially provide for beach boys. While the actions are identical to the sex work practiced by women, even if it is on a part time basis, my informants did not feel that this is shameful although they feel that female sex workers are. In fact it is often a source of pride. I must stress that my informants are for the most part young men and this is their perspective. I do not know how women or the wider society viewed these activities. Almost every beach boy I knew has a tourist girlfriend, and many planned to move to Europe and marry. Letters from their girlfriends were always a source of pride and passed around continuously. I will examine this aspect more fully in the following chapter.

Beach boys have a somewhat ambiguous place in the wider Zanzibari society. They are collectively referred to as *papasi*, which is considered an insult. Shopkeepers will often shake their head in disgust and mutter "*papas*" under their breath, as one attempts to entice a tourist with his services. I do not know of anyone who will refer to himself as *papasi* and most will take great offense if anyone else did. It is a label they often use to describe other beach boys. While they are collectively looked down upon, due to the alcohol, drugs, sex and 'copying' of westerners, one of my informants explained that there are degrees of beach boy-hood. The part-time students and those who are using their earnings to help impoverished families are pitied. Their activities are questionable, but they are doing it out of necessity or youthful rebellion. They can still be incorporated into the wider society. The hard core drug users and criminals on the other hand, are considered beyond the pale of respectable society and are doomed to live in the margins.

There is a very wide range of people involved in the tourist industry, especially the informal sector. Crick (1994) felt that contrary to Whyte's (1955) study of street gangs there is very little established structure in the informal tourist sector. "We are not dealing with large gangs with established leaders routinely performing a number of joint activities" (Crick, 1994:140). While there may not be a tightly organized, gang-like social structure there is a degree of territoriality involved with street side curio shops which have to pay rent to the government; and there is a constant state of flux with the rules concerning who can seduce which women. Fistfights between beach boys over

the 'theft' of a client are not uncommon, and the losers will often follow successful beach boys shouting insults. Though this may point to chaos, there is a complex hierarchy at work which, like most hierarchies, may sometimes be contested but still provides the groundwork for some sort of organization.

Groups and networks of friends exist, but a beach boy is primarily on his own: even friends may be competitors, depending on his experience and the security of the niche he has carved out for himself. One of the most frequent causes for fights is when a tourist switches from one beach boy to another, bringing the stresses of the fragile territorial system to bear. Outside of the financial loss, the social stress inherent in such an over-crowded and unstable profession keeps rivalries simmering just below the surface. In general beach boys are young, poor and possess limited education, although there are several that break that stereotype as I have tried to show. Similar to Crick's (1994) study of Sri Lanka, beach boy's knowledge of Zanzibar's history, architecture, and other cultural contributions may be limited. One informant who did historical tours of the city learned all of his history from a guide book. Their knowledge of drugs, women, transport and cheap places to eat and stay is quite extensive. As a European expatriate mentioned, tourism as much any other major industry had increased the numbers of people streaming into the cities to far more than could be employed. Beach boys, while differing immensely in social composition and levels of employment, constituted a floating class of the marginally employed. Any measures taken by the state in response to requests of official tour agencies would have to take the fact that there are not really any other opportunities for beach boys as tourism often creates a limited number of low paying seasonal jobs (Burns, 1995). Without this form of unofficial employment the government would have to face the political and social consequences of having a large body of unemployed men hanging around the capital. In some ways the informal tourist sector operated as a safety valve, occupying and offering hope to those who will most likely lack opportunities otherwise.

THE OVERALL EFFECTS OF TOURISM'S STRUCTURAL INEQUALITIES.

The very underdevelopment that exacerbates the resolution of political demands and frustrates economic aspirations is a potential asset in attracting tourism. Thus we have a paradox: nations which are veritable hellholes for most of their citizens are sold as 'unspoiled paradises' to outsiders. Societies teeming with squalor, conflict and insecurity set out to attract those seeking serenity, beauty, simplicity and oneness with nature (Richter, 1992:35).

Social change in Zanzibar is currently characterized by the dismantling of the socialist system. The former isolationist regime is rapidly opening up, and political instability is rampant as long-held disputes erupt in the new multi-party system and hordes of tourists descend on the Island in search of the exotic. Tourism is now one of the primary industries on the Island. As the price of cloves decreases and tourist infrastructure becomes better established, there is little doubt that tourism's economic importance will increase. While tourism is often promoted as a viable development option for Third World countries, as the nation already has the necessary resources, (e.g. beaches, forests, animals, exotic cultures), the actual costs are severely underestimated. To attract tourists, large-scale infrastructure improvements are often needed, especially in the case of Zanzibar. While road building and electrification can benefit the population as a whole, the efforts are often located in places of tourist interest, leaving the hinterlands without support. The costs of building, maintaining and staffing tourist facilities are enormous, limiting expansion in other sectors such as education, or other industrial efforts. Tanzanians question tourism's place in development when they ask is it right for the government to spend huge amounts for foreigners to live in luxury, while their own citizens live in abject poverty (Shivji, 1973).

Another often claimed benefit is the creation of jobs through tourism, both directly and indirectly. It is impossible to deny that jobs are created, although the number is often overestimated. The initial gains in employment often shrink after the hotels have been constructed (Crick, 1994). The low paying seasonal jobs left over are not near enough to fulfill the demand. This is especially evident in Zanzibar, whose tourist industry is under a large degree of foreign control. The Serena Luxury Hotel only employed Zanzibaris in the most menial positions, such as cleaning staff. All other positions are held by European expatriates and employees from the mainland, including Kenya and other African locations of the chain. According to the expatriates employed at the Serena, restricting Zanzibaris is an unwritten policy.

GRAEME, JON, AND MOSES: WHO BELONGS?

Foreigners occupy a problematic space within tourism in Zanzibar. Their positions in the tourist industry tend to be higher than Zanzibaris, which unsurprisingly causes resentment. Resentment tends to be focused on the most vulnerable, lower ranking Africans as opposed to higher-ranking Europeans. I asked Graeme whether he thought there would always be European expatriates in the tourist industry. He replied: "I am not saying that they are racist, but many tourists like to see a white face running

things at the end of the day. For that reason, I think there will always be European expatriates working here". Graeme is one of the European expatriates he was speaking about. Although he was born and raised in Kenya and Uganda (his father ran tour companies in both places) he refers to himself as Irish. He is 21 years old and recently completed his studies in tourism at a university in England. The four years he spent in England was more than enough for him, and he plans to make his home in either Kenya or South America. Graeme is a member of a very tightly knit group of expatriates of European, or rarely, American, origin that forms a society unto themselves within Zanzibar. They are mainly connected with each other. While they have Zanzibari friends at their respective workplaces and see some of the wealthy Zanzibari tour owners socially, most of their free time is spent exclusively in the company of expatriates, who refer to themselves as locals. As a rule, they are not overly friendly to tourists on their own time, in fact considerable amounts of time are spent making fun of them. Towards the end of my stay in Zanzibar, I had been there long enough to meet Graeme and many of the other expatriates, and I hung around with them frequently. Almost universally they were friendly, interesting people, especially Graeme, who had been everywhere, and told great stories. The usual topics of conversation were places everyone had lived, which company was bringing in new and available women, and who had caught the most unpleasant tropical disease (a scuba instructor who claimed to have developed a large lump that gave birth to hundreds of baby spiders won).

Although Graeme and the other expatriates earned a very generous salary by Zanzibari standards, I never heard beach boys express much resentment towards the presence of well paid foreigners doing basically the same job for significantly more money. They seemed to feel that there would always be white faces working in Zanzibari tourism as well. This was a dramatic contrast compared to mainland Tanzanians who were employed in the tourist industry in Zanzibar. Jon and Moses are both Christians from Dar es Salaam. Jon attended Tourism College and was hired at a Zanzibari tour company upon completion of his degree. Moses, who is Jon's best friend, decided to accompany Jon to Zanzibar and see if he could find greener economic pastures. Although Moses did not have a degree in tourism, his mother is an English teacher and his command of the language is far greater than the average Zanzibari. While Graeme and the other expatriates move through the society around them, with relative ease, life is far more difficult for Jon and Moses. Neither of them particularly liked living in Zanzibar. They say they are subject to frequent discrimination due to their religion and mainland origin. Moses finally obtained employment in the

tourist industry, which he frequently told me was his “dream”, due to the opportunity to earn a salary, possibly experience foreign travel, or even emigrate with the help of tourists “friends”. These are basically the same reasons as those that motivate Zanzibari tourist workers. To be eligible for employment, he had to Islamize his name to Moussa and create fake Zanzibari origins. Jon, who kept his Christian name and made no secret of his mainland origins, earned a lower salary than Moses. Jon’s salary is a barely livable 10, 000 tsh, or 8 U.S. dollars a month.

Geschiere and Nyamnjoh (2000) have recently explored the growing importance of autochthony in politics under neo-liberalism, with special attention to Africa. They argue that instead of seeing autochthony as a form of traditionalist resistance to encroaching global capitalism, it is a process that goes hand in hand with neo-liberalism. “Autochthony can best be studied as a trope without a substance of its own. It can be used for defining the Self against the ‘Other’ on all sorts of levels and in all sorts of ways. Autochthony discourse tends to be so supple that they can even accommodate a switch from one ‘Other’ to another” (2000:448). As the state, especially in post colonial Africa, weakens, or has increasing elements of its previous responsibilities privatized or taken over by N.G.Os, the projects of nation building that were common in the 1960s and 1970s are replaced by a new stress on origins, which an unscrupulous government can use to maintain power. In Zanzibar, diverse ethnic groups that have had long relationships of exploitation and hostility seem to be increasingly drawn together through their opposition to even larger categories outside their borders, such as inhabitants from the mainland. What is interesting is how the European expatriates remain untouched by hostility to foreigners. This is not to say that there are no complaints against the domination of the tourist industry by foreigners. There are. What seems to be the case is that while domination may be resented, it is also taken for granted that certain Europeans will dominate certain sections of the economy in a way that other Africans cannot. Many Zanzibaris would like to see the Europeans lose their stranglehold on tourism, but no one really seems to want to do anything about it. Europeans, most likely due to the colonial history, are not subject to local rules and norms the way other Africans are. The life for a European expatriate in Zanzibar, which may be small and to some degree isolated, is also quite pleasant as opposed to that of an African expatriate.

There are many stated reasons as to why foreigners are favored in many areas of employment. Progressive labor laws in Zanzibar side with the worker, and Zanzibar’s education system is not as developed as the mainland where English is more widely spoken. Zanzibaris have a negative reputation in the tourist industry. One

European tour guide put it politely by stating that “Mainlanders have a reputation for being hard working, while Zanzibaris have a more laid back culture.” An American tour agency owner put it more blatantly with racist overtones: “Zanzibaris are lazy, stupid and thieves.” Such stereotyping is commonly aimed at underprivileged groups throughout the world, and is often found directed towards the tourist industry’s underclass. It excuses foreigners to monopolize positions of power while the locals, the majority, are consigned to fill the lowest positions. I have met Zanzibaris who also seem to share the belief that Zanzibaris cannot manage on their own. Sale, a young Zanzibari man of just 22, who owns several tourist-related businesses, spoke to me about the importance of foreigners in tourism: “Zanzibaris are helpless, they cannot do it for themselves. They don’t know how. They need someone else to do it for them.” I found it interesting that he kept distancing himself by referring to Zanzibaris as “them”.

There are jobs available for Zanzibaris in the tourist industry outside of menial labor, but the outlook is not as rosy as forecasts would suggest. Many of the luxury hotels are international chains that can import staff from other locations, saving the expense of training local people. Although Zanzibar does have a recently established tourism-training institute, according Issa Mlingoti, Commissioner of Tourism, they have only graduated 72 people, and cannot hope to meet staffing needs even if the hotels are actively trying to hire Zanzibaris. All tour agencies have to hire Zanzibari tour guides by law, although foreigners can own the company. Zanzibaris seem to dominate this section of the tourist industry, even though foreigners work as tour guides as well. One is working openly; the other is trying to pass as a local.

Another problem is that the market may be glutted. At the time of my research there were over 70 tour agencies in Zanzibar. Not all are actually tour companies, as some licenses are used as fronts for various other activities, or to show employment for emigration purposes. The license is fairly easy to buy from the Tourism Commission. If you have the proper qualifications you must either pay a fee to the government or you must pay a bribe. The large numbers of companies represent significant job creation, although they vary greatly in size and amount of employees. This contributes to the danger of glutting the market, leading to lay offs. As Shivji states, perhaps somewhat simplistically in “Tourism and Socialist Development” (1973), the amount of money spent on building tourism could open numerous textile factories, which may employ far more people. What the factories would produce and if they could be made competitive or even constructed in the current global market is an entirely different question. While Shivji’s analysis may be overly simplistic, it brings up important questions as to where resources are being concentrated and to whose benefit they are being concentrated for.

With Zanzibar's annual population growth rate at about 3% (Else, 1998), continuing urbanization and large-scale unemployment, there are not many opportunities outside of tourism. As more and more people get involved, the profit margin shrinks for everyone. Already signs of glut are apparent. Hundreds of curio stalls line the streets, all selling almost the same items. The number of beach boys is continually increasing, as is the constant hassling of tourists to take their tours. For every sale made, people will crowd around and accuse the other of cheating. I met tourists who were willing to pay more in the shops just to avoid the hassle. The most significant disadvantage is that tourism in general and the informal sector in particular does not supply anything necessary. While package tours are often pre-booked and pre-paid, beach boys constantly have to seduce the tourist with the magic of their tour. Nobody has to go on a spice or dolphin tour; it is done for fun. If large crowds of very persistent people make the process of getting the tour unpleasant by constantly trying to sell you something, it is easy to say no. While stories of easy money made from tourism abound (everyone told me they got into it because tourism was an easy way to make money, foreigners are rich and are thought to buy anything) I rarely saw anyone make a sale. Those who did had to put an amazing amount of effort into it. Living the tourist life style quickly uses up what money is made.

According to the Tourism Commission, tourism is also supposed to earn foreign exchange. The amount of foreign exchange earned for Third World countries through tourism is debatable. Authors such as Crick (1988, 1992, 1994), Shivji (1973), Urry, (1990), Cohen, R., (1987), Nash (1978), and Ryan (1991) have all demonstrated the power of the metropole and that there is a significant 'leakage' of foreign exchange. When foreigners dominate the hotels, airlines, travel agencies, building companies and food providers, much of the earnings will flow back to them. Although this was recognized early on, no one has decided what can be done.

It is true that tourism earns us badly needed foreign exchange, but what do we do with this foreign exchange when we get it? With some of it we service the loans we borrowed to build these lodges and hotels. Then we spend some of the rest to build more hotels and lodges, and to run and maintain both the old and the new, to keep the animals alive from poachers, to feed the tourists and transport them around. The net balance we share with the capitalist shareholders who jointly invested in this trade with us, and so on, and so on" (O. B. Kopoka, quoted by Shivji, 1973:52).

Not all of the major hotels are owned by foreigners. A small number are wholly owned by Zanzibaris and many more are held in joint partnerships (Issa Mlingoti,

Commissioner for Tourism). Having some economic power concentrated in the hands of a local elite does not guarantee that foreign exchange will stay in the country. Even if the hotel is locally owned, significant business will be connected with outside sources, such as travel agencies or airlines. What is formed is a local clique of wealthy people with government connections. Sale, (the 22-year-old who ran several tourist business), is the son of the first president's personal secretary and later foreign minister. The ruling party that has the opportunity to make money from tourism also has connections with the wider world that the average Zanzibari does not. While the local elite is earning a large salary, many also have diverse investments and foreign bank accounts. There is nothing to keep their earnings in the country.

The process of foreign leakage of earnings will probably be further accelerated by the government's decision to focus on high-end tourism (Issa Mlingoti, Commissioner for Tourism). While they bring more money, the tours are often pre-booked and paid for elsewhere. Once in Zanzibar they buy nothing but drinks and possibly souvenirs. For the wealthy independent traveler, the most luxurious hotels are foreign owned. They also provide numerous services such as restaurants, curio shops, bars, and tours. Foreign owned tour agencies have booking agents who sell the tours in Europe or America, eliminating the need to buy them in Zanzibar. Large amounts of money are spent but little of it trickles down. Low budget tourists or backpackers, on the other hand, tend to put their money directly into the local economy and spread it more widely. The downside is that they put smaller amounts of money into the local economy.

For tourist development outside Stone Town, there is the problem of land and resource alienation. Hotels outside of the capital wanted to focus on beachfront property, causing numerous land disputes. I made two brief visits to coastal villages during the course of my fieldwork. The spatial politics of tourism found there are quite interesting. The village of Nungwi on the North Coast exists almost as two separate entities. There is the local section heading back into the interior, and a long line of hotels and resorts dominating the beachfront. A school and an empty area separate them. There is very limited contact between the village and the hotels. A few shops are visited by tourists and there are a couple of local restaurants, but the hotels are self sufficient in such respects. There are fishing boats docked outside the hotels but much of the area has been used for tourist beach purposes. Seaweed farms and beach fishing has been moved down the coast from the hotel beachfront.

The second coastal village I visited was Jambiani on the East Coast. Once again resorts line the beach, separating the village from the beachfront. This village

runs parallel to the hotels and there is more interaction. There are numerous beach boys and many small bars and restaurants that cater to tourists. One woman from the mainland moved to the village to open a small bar that serves beer from her living room, and she often makes guests lunch as well. A local man named Kassim opened up a community-based tourist project. He was angered by the fact that all the economic benefits of tourism are going to foreigners and the government, (in fact he lost his house to hotel development). He is also worried about the cultural changes being brought by tourism, which will be discussed in the next chapter. He created "Jambiani Cultural Tours", which is supposed to earn money for the community and instruct visitors on local traditions. Developments such as these are common throughout the Third World and are often referred to as 'sustainable tourism' (Burns, 1996). In Eric's Crystal's (1989) 15-year study of tourism effects on Tana Toraja in Indonesia, he initially felt that the tourist gaze had elevated the cultural practices of a marginalized group under threat from various acculturating forces. He later revised his initial thesis: as time progressed cultural practices have become greatly commodified instead of enhanced.

Kassim's tour leads through the primary school, a coral plantation, around the village, through an old holy site, and ends with a visit to the local herbalist and an opportunity to shop at the co-op's souvenir shop. While craft centers are often felt to be a sector encouraged by tourism, Pattullo (1996) has pointed out that demand often exceeds supply, or for simple economic reasons, crafts have to be imported and sold as 'local' art. Local artisans rarely benefit from this, although shop owners can make a considerable profit. I do not know how the funds entered the community, or what Kassim's exact share of the venture was. Nungwi has yet to capitalize on tourism in this manner. Considering the strong resistance there to tourist development, they may be trying to ignore it altogether. A tour owner told me that villagers have gotten rich from hotel development, but have squandered all the money on buying more wives and having more children. He further stated that the infrastructure improvements brought everyone good roads and free electricity. While this may be true, in talking to Kassim, I heard numerous grievances related to uncompensated land loss. He also disagreed about service provision, stating that not everyone had electrical outlets. Patullo (1996) noted in her study of the Caribbean, that locals there have little access to the benefits of infrastructural development in tourism, as beaches are fenced off, electricity and water are prohibitively expensive and hotels receive priority. Tourism seems to have an uneasy relationship in the villages. Similar relationships were observed by Urbanowicz (1989) in Tonga, where land is scarce, the Island is overpopulated and the promises of

job creation through tourism turned out to be limited. Frustration, unemployment and mass migration were the result.

In this chapter I have aimed to give an overview of how the tourist industry works in Zanzibar, who the players are, and what the effects of tourism have been. Currently there do not seem to be many other options for the nation economically. Most people I interviewed felt that tourism is a good thing that brought easy money in hard currencies, jobs, 'development' and foreign friends. Ryan (1991) has described that the first influx of tourism brings enthusiasm and even euphoria as the novelty and promises of wealth are still fresh. These attitudes often turn to acceptance as tourists simply become part of the scenery. Finally resentment starts to spread as more and more tourists arrive, while economic benefits are never as great as originally expected.

Given the natural beauty of Zanzibar, the lack of any sort of manufacturing industry and the long-running decline of their economic mainstay, cloves, tourism would seem to be a match made in heaven. However, there are dangers that have been overlooked. Tourism is a notoriously fickle industry, as paradise has an ever-changing location. Planning future growth based on tourism can be risky. Many of the foreign expatriates involved with tourism told me they felt that Zanzibar had reached its peak and is in for a decline. There are worries that the Italians, who are currently the backbone of the tourist industry, are getting bored and are planning to move on. Many of the backpackers I spoke to also feel that Zanzibar is becoming too touristy, and are talking of more 'untouched' places to go visit. Walking through the streets, one would get that impression. I saw three new hotels going up in Stone Town, during my stay. The number of tour agencies and beach boys are large, although it is difficult to get an exact estimate. If tourism does decline due to the recent, widely publicized electoral violence which, as Richter (1992) points out, often effects tourism far beyond the violence committed, there will be widespread bankruptcy. Luxury hotels do not have many alternative uses, considering the immense cost to keep them operating.

The recent political violence is most likely influenced by the economic dominance of a small, politically well-connected clique, whose power extends into the tourist industry as well. There will also be the problem of numerous young people who have been introduced to aspects of western affluence through tourists, and who are unlikely to be able to recreate that level of wealth at home. Finally, although tourism can bring economic benefits, it creates structural inequality. By this I mean a set of relationships where one category is reduced to subservience. In a way, tourism can be a recreation of colonial attitudes. Predominantly white northerners can be served and pampered by poor, dark, southerners. Nothing the tourist economy offers is necessary for survival, or

even for the industrial economy. Tourism in poor countries is linked to the economic whims of rich countries. Trying to survive between the recessions of the First World and the competition of other Third World countries that can also offer similar sights, nations try to capitalize on their exoticness and ability to serve and please the foreigner. The result can be economic growth and improved opportunities for the nation's citizens, but the results can just as easily be the commodification of culture, turning traditions into a show for jaded westerners and creating a nation that exists to serve rich vacationers. While there may be many benefits from tourism for the Third World, the structural inequality that is inherent in the process offers a constant counter argument. While more money may come into the economy, new wants are also stimulated for which low paying jobs for the few and unemployment for the many can rarely provide. This further strengthens the current world order by reinforcing the subservience of the poor locals to the rich visitors.

CHAPTER 4. SOCIAL TAXONOMIES

...every European, in what he could say about the Orient, was consequently a racist, an imperialist, and almost totally ethnocentric. Some of the immediate sting will be taken out of these labels if we recall additionally that human societies, at least the most advanced cultures, have rarely offered the individual anything but imperialism, racism, and ethnocentrism for dealing with "other" cultures (Said, 1978:204).

Destinations are attractive in the measure they are unspoiled. Yet the very act of going to them, spoils them and despoils them. The westerner goes to find somewhere uncontaminated by westernization. His visit, in itself, contaminates... The western tourist is unable to escape his own shadow, and a protective wall of western comforts and debased imitations of local culture grow up around him (Harrison, 1993:5).

Very much at our ease, we listened to them all: colonial administrators are not paid to read Hegel, and for that matter they do not read much of him, but they do not need a philosopher to tell them that uneasy consciences are caught up in their own contradictions (Sarte, quoted in Fanon, 1963:8).

This chapter focuses on the categories of identity created both by Zanzibaris in the tourist industry and by foreign tourists. Categories are broad phenomena and I do not argue that they are all inclusive. People can be nice, unpleasant, and possess a wide range of other qualities that negate or modify the niche that they fall into. While this is a self-evident fact, the broad categories help create and color both initial and long lasting impressions, and rarely do they entirely dispel group prejudices. As Eriksen (1998) has shown in his study of ethnicity in Mauritius, while friendship between ethnic groups is common, such friends tend to be seen as exceptions of the dominant stereotype instead of falsifying them. A study by Burns (1995) found the surprising results that British students who have lived overseas tended to have more negative attitudes towards foreigners than those who have not left. Contrary to the popular belief, travel can increase, instead of dispel xenophobia. Taking the above points into account, identity formation and modification is still dependent on wider criteria than the actor alone. To paraphrase Karl Marx, people make history but not under conditions of their own making.

I propose to examine the social taxonomies of tourism, by which I mean the stereotyped identities that both the guests and the hosts use to fashion the identity of

the 'Other'. The categories used by the host to define tourists are primarily based on the class standing of the guest. These categories are formed through a vaguely Calvinist style of morality, where the higher the class standing in economic terms, the better the person. Hence the rich tourist is considered the Island's economic savior, while the blame for all of the problems of tourism falls directly at the poorer tourists' feet. The taxonomies employed by the guest on the other hand dehumanize the hosts by dividing them into noble, cultural peasant, or bad, detribalized urban dweller. I argue that these attitudes are a continuation of a colonial discourse used to justify the core countries' economic domination, thus allaying any possible guilt felt when face to face with the economically dominated. The discourse used by the tourists follows that 'good' Africans do not need the wealth that the core countries take advantage of everyday; it would be dangerous for them because it is not part of their 'culture'. 'Good' Africans are rural, generous, speak a language that the tourist does not understand, and do not ask for anything. 'Bad' Africans are greedy con men who try to advance 'illegitimate' claims towards the wealth of the tourists. This ideology, as with other outdated colonial ideologies, legitimize differences in wealth through the construction of difference between the 'west' and the 'rest'. This is done by using the discourse of 'culture'. Hence many tourists felt that economic poverty is 'natural' to African 'culture'. The lack of material things is compensated by the spiritual richness of African life, and those who want material benefits are sacrificing this spirituality for a sad imitation of 'modern' life.

The modernist, colonial perspective, by which I mean seeing the world through a stage of linear advancements where the west sits on the apex of civilization, and much of the third world, especially Africa, lies at the bottom in benighted ignorance, forms a cornerstone of both interaction and identity for both tourists and locals. My argument is divided into multiple parts. The first deals with categories of different kinds of tourist held by Zanzibaris. The second deals with the different categories of locals held by tourists. This section is further divided into the following sections; one dealing with a story about a tourist / beach boy relationship to emphasize the everyday consequences that identity-based interactions have; another deals with the tourist industry's efforts to reinforce these categories by cultural performances.

ZANZIBARI CATEGORIES OF TOURISTS

The categories for tourists tend to be defined by ethnicity, class standing and the possibilities of sexual relationships. Western foreigners fall under the blanket term of

Wazungu (plural form of *Mzungu*), which is the Swahili term for white people whether male or female. Under the rubric of *Wazungu*, tourists are categorized into three further classes based on wealth and their willingness to spend it. Rich tourists are known as *Kuku*, the Swahili term for a chicken. According to Seyid, the curio dealer from chapter three, the term originated because: "rich tourists are easy to catch, like a big fat chicken." The key to the local definition of wealth in this case is not so much being in possession of money. Most people I spoke with are convinced that all tourists are rich: as Hisdouri stated: "if you are not rich how did you come to Zanzibar?" The key is lavish spending and a reluctance to bargain. The ideal *kuku* is described as someone who wants to do every possible tourist outing and activity while shelling out money right and left: "A spice tour for \$30? Sure, no problem." *Kukus* are accorded great respect. They are the ones who are keeping tourism afloat by the massive amount of revenue they are bringing into the country. They are more a figure of myth for most people than a viable source of earning a living. Most *kukus* stay in fancy hotels on pre-booked tours and, outside of a few curio dealers, they have limited contact with people working in the informal sector.

Two other economic categories exist for tourists. *Vigodoro*, which technically means a thin mattress that is used primarily by the less well to do, is used to describe middle income tourists. The word is uncommon, and I would guess insulting. Informants from the mainland said it is a Zanzibari word and Zanzibaris said it is used on the mainland. Both giggled when it was mentioned. I later found out that it has sexual innuendoes. I rarely heard it in everyday conversation.

The most common category for tourists encountered by those working in the informal sector, would be *kishuka*, which technically means bird shit. This is slang for a sarong like garment worn by the poor, and is used to refer to backpackers, budget travelers and South Asians. For Europeans, *kishuka* tend to be younger and shabbily dressed. No one thinks that they are poor, but they are not as flashy as the rich tourists are. They also tend to be long term travelers; according to Seyid: "they have too many countries to go to, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Europe, wherever, they are on a schedule and cannot spend their money here." Tales of the almost legendary cheapness of *kishuka* abound. Two tour guides, Hassan and Amer, gave me some examples;

They are so poor they will refuse a free ride; they say they would rather walk. They bargain over everything; if they walk into a store and ask the price of rice, they will try and reduce it by half. Tell me, can you do this in your country? They say they are poor so they stay in the guesthouses, but those cost ten dollars a night and they stay for a long time, they are not

poor, just cheap. They always think that everyone is trying to steal from them or cheat them. It is not true. What is a lie is when they say they are poor, but they go all over the world, I would like to but I have not been anywhere.

Cheapness, the insistence on bargaining for everything, is seen by many as rather mean-spirited given the relative wealth of the tourists. Not everyone is so negative. Jon and Moses, tour guides from the mainland, said they liked *kishukas* and *kukus* for different reasons: "We like *kukus* because we are poor and they have money. *Kishukas* are friendlier and talk to people but they have no money. *Kukus* act like they are good, but they don't care about other people."

Positive statements about budget tourists are confined to descriptions of westerners. South Asians are almost universally despised in the tourist industry. No matter how rich the South Asian tourists appear to be, and no matter how much they buy, they are always referred to as *kishukas*. I witnessed a very prosperous-looking Indian family on a shopping spree at Seyid's stand. A woman and her two daughters were speaking English in what seemed to be American accents, except for the man I took to be the father, who was bargaining in Swahili. They were carrying large bags and buying a large quantity of curios. In fact, one daughter had to buy two more bags to contain all of her purchases. I thought Seyid would be ecstatic. It had been a slow day and theirs was the first business to come to the stand. Instead I was surprised by Seyid's intense hostility towards the shoppers. The bargaining was prolonged, loud, and angry, with both sides walking away in disgust repeatedly. Finally the man purchased some curios as Seyid stalked away swearing and shaking his head. I guessed that this was simply the usual drama that follows commercial negotiations. I was wrong, as Seyid continued to rant about the cheapness of the shopper and the unpleasant qualities of Indians in general. "That man is bastard, he has no respect, he does not know the business or how to act. You see this is what Indians are like, they will not let a black man have business, they want everything so cheap that it is for free, I hate them. Fucking *kishuka*." I said that I thought the man appeared wealthy, he was dressed nicely, with a gold watch, rather portly and had the money to buy seemingly endless amounts of curios. Seyid looked at me in disgust and said; "...just because a man is fat does not mean he is rich, just as thin man can be rich, and a man in bad clothes can be rich. All Indians are *kishuka*, all they do is bargain and they treat us with no respect." I found that these sentiments were not uncommon and anti-Indian prejudices are widespread throughout the Island.

Female tourists are categorized both by class standing, as they fall into the

previous categories, and by sexual availability. Young, unattached tourist women are called *madodo*, which means a ripe fruit that is about to fall from the tree. The meaning is self-explanatory and unattached women are considered to be relatively easy to gain sexual favors from, especially in contrast to local Zanzibari women, to whom, according to my informants, large amounts of promises, cash and possibly an engagement are necessary. The last category, *cowa*, referred to Zanzibaris themselves. The term means a kind of jealousy, where a man pretends to be dating a woman he has not yet seduced to drive competition away. This is common among guides and at nightclubs, where many beach boys and tourist workers compete for the women who go on their tours.

The local categories used to refer to tourists are all based on the gain that can be had from them. For male and many female tourists the gain is primarily economic. One of the more commonly held ideas about foreigners on Zanzibar is that they are all rich. The more one spends the better a tourist one is thought to be. While many Zanzibaris said that they have friends who are backpackers, almost everyone I interviewed wanted to work with *kukus* as opposed to *kishukas*. *Kukus* are also thought to be of much more importance to the national economy, although their contribution may be overstated. For many young women, economics and sexual access combine to determine what sort of person they are seen to be. While sexual access may be the most important feature, many tourist women pay all the costs for their local boyfriends during their stay, such as food, drink and travel. As with the other taxonomies, the person you are is secondary to what you can provide. Tourism is a central part of the neo-liberal economy that has taken hold in Zanzibar. In fact tourism could be the epitome of the economy it accompanied. Jean and John Comaroff (2000) note that: "...consumption has become the moving spirit of the twentieth century" (2000:295). They further state that consumption has become a key factor: "...in shaping selfhood, society, identity, even epistemic reality" (2000:293). It seems that under modern capitalism everything and anything can be a commodity and in this case people are being consumed. A Zanzibari tour owner explained to me that 15 years ago, foreigners were considered "like Martians". Nobody had much experience with them and children would follow them down the street in amazement. Now he says everyone has learned rather quickly, that a foreigner is a "walking wallet". Commodification is true on both sides of the equation as the hosts provide exoticness and sexual favors and the tourists provide money and sexual demands. Modern capitalism in this case at least has reduced people entirely to their 'market' value in the space of two decades.

TOURISTS' CATEGORIES FOR ZANZIBARIS

A colonized people are not alone. In spite of all that colonialism can do, its frontiers remain open to new ideas and echoes from the world outside (Fanon, 1963:55).

It is perfectly legitimate to compare tourists with barbarian tribes. Both are involved in mass migrations of peoples who collide with cultures far removed from their own. There is however one major difference, the old Golden Horde was a nomadic, non-monetary one, which threatened the settled civilizations of Europe. Today the pattern is reversed. Tourists come from the industrial centers, but this time, it is they who are fanning out through the world, swamping apparently less dynamic societies, including the few pre-industrial societies that remain. In the past, it was great commercial centers of the world like Constantinople and Vienna that were threatened. Today it is the Nomads of Affluence, coming from the new Constantinople-cities like New York, London, Hamburg or Tokyo-who are creating a newly dependent, social and geographic realm: the pleasure periphery (Turner and Ash, 1976, quoted in Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1997:63).

There is a vast standardization of taste in the region, symbolized not only by transistors, blue jeans, and Coca-Cola but also by cultural images of the Orient supplied by American mass media and consumed unthinkingly by the mass television audience. The paradox of an Arab regarding himself as an "Arab" of the sort put out by Hollywood is but the simplest result of what I am referring to (Said, 1978:324-325).

While Said does not refer to Zanzibar in the quote above, the similarities of what he describes and the tourist industry are many. We are not dealing with the old style of colonialism enforced on the point of a bayonet from distant lands. Distant lands are now Turner and Ash's pleasure periphery where the grandchildren of the colonialists frolic. The new colonialism, the spread of neo-liberalism, is accompanied by cultural imperialism, which deals chiefly with attitudes and is spread far and wide through fashion magazines, the cinema and MTV. The media are not the only carriers of the core's hegemony. The World Bank, expatriates, soldiers, N.G.O.s and tourists do as well, perhaps especially tourists. Stebbins (1997) argues that today's cultural tourism is more than simply a leisure activity, but a passion due to the discomfort, expense, time and effort directed to it. Munt (1994) argues in a similar vein that the 'new' tourism, focusing on cultural or eco-tourism is much more than a leisure activity but a class distancing exercise, where the new middle classes and their children engage in an 'involved' or socially aware tourism as opposed to 'vulgar' mass tourism. They follow

Cohen's (1976) model of the adventurous tourist, who retains many of the comforts of home while venturing as far from the beaten path as possible. As the privileged fan out in search of an experience of 'real' culture the postmodern world can be a glaring reminder of the 'vulgarity' of tourism. One must always go farther to escape the tourists and see the 'real' thing.

The contrast between categories about tourism and the categories held by tourists is very interesting. Zanzibaris look to tourists for what they could provide and for models of modernity, as can be seen in dress and style. The carefully preserved clothes of a beach boy have some similarities with Friedman's (1994) study of La sape in the Congo-Brazzaville. In this case an entire society grew up of primarily lower class men who traveled to Paris so they could work to acquire the latest high fashions. Upon return they would host a ball where they could be gazed upon while clothed in their newest finery. Friedman's contention is that this is a way for the lower classes to mimic the elite and therefore take their proper place in society. "Clothing is more than property or the expression of one's already existent self, or the fulfillment of an imagined self. It is the constitution of self, a self that is entirely social. There is no 'real me' under the surface and no roles are being played that might contrast with an underlying subject" (Friedman, 1994:162). In the Zanzibari case, fashion is used to create a new identity, that which is modern and 'hip', and more akin to hip hop videos, or at least the local conception of what these videos mean: modernity and wealth, respect and power, than a 'traditional' past that is both hybrid and hypermodern. Beach boys are aspiring to the status of elite as well, with a hypermodern style that is befitting an entrepreneur, a modern businessman. As Friedman states: "...Third World hypermodernity [is] where fashion is not merely a representation but a constitution of social identity" (1994:108). Tourists, on the other hand, look to Zanzibaris for models of 'purity' or 'authenticity'. Most of the tourists I interviewed are backpackers who have traveled all over the continent. Most had come to Africa to see the wildlife (lions, leopards, elephants etc.) and to experience the cultural differences from the supposedly homogenized west.

Alber and James (1983) in a study of tourist postcards noted that the representations are almost never neutral pictures of people simply engaging in activities. They tended to emphasize the exoticness, humor, beauty, sexuality or 'cuteness' of the subject. Representations of tourist subject matter have to emphasize the difference or strangeness that can only be encountered somewhere else. In this vein, most of the people I spoke with have preconceived images of African poverty, 'witch doctors', wars and famine, and an overall sense of 'primitiveness' that could be

found here more frequently than the rest of the world. Often, the actual Africa with its conglomeration of mud huts and bustling cities with cell phones, luxury cars, pop music and western fashion, is a disappointment. This has created the image of two Africas, the 'developed' or 'westernized' cities that are often spoken of in disparaging terms and the real or true Africa of the villages and rural areas. (For my Zanzibari informants, the divide between urban and rural is far more problematic. They often have roots both in the rural areas and the cities, making a sharp divide far more difficult.)

Tourists spoke of urban dwellers in disparaging terms, as mercenary and "contaminated" by the west. The people found in Nairobi, Nairobi as tourists called it, or Stone Town were seen as not genuine representations of African culture, nor are they completely acculturated into 'western ways'. They float in a limbo somewhere between the two. Two British tourists explained to me that: "Nairobi is full of ex-farmers following a western way of life, but they do it differently. It is poor and badly organized; Most people have bad lives. The west has more money and Africa has less education" (Michael and Miriam). Many of my informants emphasize the materialism of the cities: "they just want your money". Tourists spoke of the intimidation of the street touts trying to sell them curios and tours, aggressive beggars, and of the scams, supposedly being run by the citizens of the city. My informants see tourism as directly affecting this tendency by making the areas visited, especially urban areas, more materialistic. I asked one informant if he thought that tourism would swamp Zanzibari culture. His reply is instructive:

Yeah, I think it could happen, in a certain period of time it probably will happen. Especially here because there is this attitude towards having money and changing your lifestyle. Many of the people have this idea about a western style of living, which is also influenced by what they see on T.V. or in the cinema, or from the people coming in. Most of them will look forward to acquiring that kind of living. In many ways they are prepared for it. Remember what I told you about, for example saving money. People don't save, they want instant gratification. These kinds of issues would, after sometime, allow them to increase or improve their standard of living. So here there are people being locked in a certain kind of self-destructive cycle. People want to get money, but not in a way that will allow them to get what they want. People want this western quality of life and then again, they will feel more in need of money and spend it double as fast if they get money. They will not have a sustainable way of life." (Ignacio, tourist in Zanzibar)

Tourism, especially backpacker tourism, is an exercise in instant gratification. If you are bored in one place you can simply go to another country. Ignacio later told me

that he loved travel for the “pure freedom of it; you never have to plan what you are going to do tomorrow”. Yet, only the backpackers are allowed this freedom; instant gratification is dangerous for the ‘Other’ and will lead to cultural loss and destruction. Furthermore his views create a double bind: On the one hand Zanzibaris or Africans in general are not as economically successful as the west and therefore they are primitive; on the other hand, Africans should stay primitive and not try to ‘imitate’ the inhabitants of the west, because that is not their real culture. Being primitive is bad because it has a low standard of living, but that low standard of living is natural here. Ignacio feels that the problem lay with colonialism. He stated that while countries such as Egypt and those in the far east had all suffered under colonial oppression, they had glorious civilizations of their own before the colonialists came. He does not credit the same to sub-Saharan Africa because, in his opinion, sub-Saharan Africa had suffered longer than most due to the slave trade and in general has little in the way of written history. Ignacio felt that Africa has a lack of history, and therefore Africans craved western marks of success more than residents of Egypt or Vietnam. This ahistorical view reconfirms the tourist’s impression of the ‘primitiveness’ of the surroundings. The urban is imitative, because it does not allow indigenous developments; there is supposedly no historical tradition, and urban life is copied straight from the former colonizers. While colonialism is now generally considered an immoral enterprise by most of the tourists I spoke with, the colonial imagination still exists. This imagination describes Africa, and Zanzibar as well, as a land of villages; they are not ready for cities and at the end of the day, the westerner knows best. The luxuries enjoyed by the tourist are not appropriate for the ‘Other’.

IGNACIO: THE BACKPACKER

Although I have spoken about tourists generally, none has been introduced with any depth so far. My primary tourist informant was Ignacio, whom I met through Seyid. He is the embodiment of a backpacker, he truly loves to travel. I asked Ignacio; “What is the attraction of traveling for you”? He replied. “To see different things, adapt yourself to different customs. It’s good for journalism too”. (He works as a news anchor for CNN). “There are also cultural reasons. Its not the same if you hear about the Palestinian/Israeli situation from reading newspapers, or watching television, than if you are there and talking to the real people, the real Palestinians that are uprising or whatever. You get to know how they live and the background of the whole thing. Also, it’s the freedom, you know feeling alive.” I asked: “Freedom from what”? He replied:

“Freedom to choose what you are going to do the next day. Where you are going to go, who you are going to meet, what kind of train you are going to take, where you are going to stay, how long you are going to stay in that place, how you are going to interact with the people and surroundings because it can change from one place to another. The freedom to have nothing fixed for the next day”. Ignacio seemed to be the epitome of a backpacker. He had taken leave from his job two and a half years ago and had been traveling ever since. Ignacio is 31 years old, he was born in Spain, but had grown up in Costa Rica. He attended university in Spain and had a master’s degree in journalism. A few years ago he began to get bored with the monotony of daily life. His girlfriend was also pushing for marriage, a commitment he did not feel ready to make. Since then he had been in three different continents, he has worked as a policeman in Nairobi, a reporter in Israel, and a backpacker through sub-Saharan Africa. He is making his way to Australia and New Zealand before heading home. He even looked the part of a backpacker, everything he owned is in a small backpack and he always wears a full safari outfit, with special quick drying shirts and pants that have zippers that enable them to become shorts. He is a very likable guy; he later stayed with me for two weeks in South Africa. He excels at bar conversations; nobody can beat his stories of guerrillas in Uganda, climbing Mt. Kilimanjaro, and the Palestinian uprising in Israel. All in all, he was a traveler *par excellence*, and perhaps he is the best qualified for a ‘typical’ backpacker’s point of view. This view grows from a position that is firmly embedded in a social background I found common to many backpackers. That is an urban middle to upper middle class family. Almost everyone I interviewed came from an affluent background. Ignacio, as well as most of my informants, are well educated and will probably be employed in professional positions. Many like Ignacio are firmly positioned for relatively prosperous futures. Like Ignacio, many have tired of the monotony of working life and felt they have to see life first, although this can best be seen as a temporary break instead of a outright rejection of the life ahead. Travel is a safe road of rebellion; it does not permanently endanger future prospects, but allows the person to experience some more of life than the average middle class life style will allow. Perhaps this is why the different, i.e. the peasant, witch doctors, village, tends to idealized, while the urban similarities are not. As Ignacio stated, “...people involved with the tourist industry have lost some sort of primal fear of white people”. Primal fear, in this context is, supposedly a good thing. Although Ignacio, as well as most of my respondents, consider themselves politically progressive and definitely non-racist, they have internalized the colonialist stereotypes that shape the way information about other people is conceptualized, although they gave it an interesting new age twist. Now, what

many people had seen as savagery during the colonial era (although the noble savage stereotype is by no means new) is given positive connotations. The most 'primitive' people are living their 'real' culture and are therefore worthy of respect, while the 'modernized' are not. Ignacio spoke of urban dwellers as "imitative" and said that the upper classes are crueller to their own people than the whites, because they lacked the guilt that many white people feel when dealing with inhabitants of their former colonies. This is part of the attraction of travel, the fascination with the strange and different. Experimenting with a new life, witnessing and living (if briefly) with difference is what traveling is about, where you can temporarily leave the responsibilities and boredom of home behind. The more different or exotic the people seem, the better. This is, in part, the search for authenticity, finding the people that live a 'real' life; that are thought to be closer to nature; that MacCannell claims is the driving force of modern tourism. As with Ignacio, the sheer exuberance of traveling in search of experience can be quite charming. Ironically though this search falls into many of the same traps of the older colonialist ideas they so strongly disavow.

According to tourists the 'real Africa', Zanzibar included, can be found in the rural areas. Here, a proud and generous people are still living in 'culturally appropriate' ways. Almost every backpacker that I talked to has a story about going to a village and meeting the people. Usually the stories involved being given some food and a place to sleep. In almost every story, the language barrier is so strong that neither party is able to communicate with the other outside of gestures and signs. Often the Africans are said to be too proud to take anything in return for their generosity. Tourists interpret this as a cultural attribute: it is their culture to be generous and hospitable. While many people speak of the squalor found in the cities, rural poverty is perceived differently. Here poverty is associated with stoicism and dignity. A British tourist named Steve said in amazement: "Here in one of the poorest places on earth, everyone is walking around smiling. They don't have much of anything, but they seem pretty happy, they must be doing something right. It really makes you think about all you have and how much of that is really necessary."

Tourists do not find everything in the rural areas to be utopian. Many have specific complaints. They feel it is rustic and uncomfortable. Various people on a semester abroad program with whom I spoke had really wanted to live in a hut before they arrived. While some did and found the experience and "simple dignity" of the village to be a worthwhile experience, others had backed out. "Huts are uncomfortable, you can't read and there are flies everywhere"(Bailey, American student). The perceived sexism of rural societies is also a major complaint among the women.

Another common complaint is being visibly alien and constantly drawing attention from villagers with every little action. This is wearying after a while.

Very few of the tourists I interviewed would like to live in an African village permanently, but a trip there is a necessary part of their tourist experience in Africa. If one only stayed in the cities and close to the tourist sites, although a village can easily be a tourist site, one did not see the real Africa. The village is held to be the heart of tradition, where real Africans live, and this should be preserved. In another interesting twist on cultural relativism, I witnessed tourists lecturing Zanzibaris on the beauty of African traditions and the evils of the western way of life. I did not meet any tourists who wanted to trade places though. The Zanzibaris I spoke to are not impressed about the respect for their traditions. Many tourists have a very limited idea of what those traditions actually were. Simon Harrison (1999) has shown how a dominant majority can defuse struggles for independence and cultural autonomy by appropriating the outward symbols used by the minority. While his work refers to relationships between a dominant majority and marginalized minority within a single nation state, tourists, by making an outward display of symbols attached to the country they are visiting (braiding their hair, the wearing of sarongs) may be in fact dehumanizing the inhabitants of the area by using cultural symbols as play or by using them incorrectly, trivializing the meaning. As a case in point, many Zanzibaris I spoke felt that the tourists wanted them to remain poor and 'primitive'. A human zoo of cultural difference is being constructed. This is one of the reasons for the popularity of rural areas where the 'other' really lives. This is the difference tourists have paid so much to come and see. Town dwelling Africans are not seen as the same. They are frightening and represented more the dark side of the tourist's own societies than the simple dignity and the lack of expectations found in the village.

Many tourists are on a search for the experience of difference. The stress on the rural areas and the maximization of difference is part and parcel of the search for experience. Johannes Fabian documents the travels of early explorers in Central Africa in his book "Out of Minds" (2000). He notes that generally explorers had a deep curiosity mixed with notions of the absolute separateness between themselves and the subject of their inquiry, not to mention pervasive use of alcohol and mind altering substances to ease the burdens of travel. Fabian's project documented what has been called the height of the discovery era, where supposedly Europe first encountered the residents of the heart of Africa. In reality many had been there before and they followed rather set routes, much like the backpackers of today. Instead of pioneering an area, many are following the thousands of tourists who have been there before

them. Delusions of an untouched Eden, inebriation and stereotyping often follows the modern tourist as it did the 19th Century explorer. Part of this can be seen in the insistence on hard or 'real' traveling. 'Bubble' traveling is to be avoided at all costs. By bubble traveling, I mean the reliance on insulated air-conditioned buses and hotels of the wealthier tourists. Local transport and going by foot through local villages, living with or, as Harrison (1990) put it, living off the local people, is the correct way to really see a place. Zanzibar unfortunately did not fit the bill. While poverty abounds, the houses are made out of stone and many people own motorbikes. It is considered by backpackers to be too developed and touristy. Zanzibar is used by most as a rest stop, a beach resort to relax and get ready for the next stint of 'real' traveling. The villages outside some beach resorts are difficult to access, as there is no place to stay and camping is illegal. The Zanzibari government, unsurprisingly, wants to maximize the profits of tourism, while the revelation that tourism is done for money destroyed the authenticity of the experience for backpackers. Although everyone knows that tourism is a business, the obviously business-like experiences are rarely the most treasured. This is one of the reasons why being fed and housed by local people is often mentioned as 'real' contact; since it is not paid for it must be authentic.

Quite a few people are cynical about the amount of genuine interaction achieved through backpacking or its overall difference from higher budget tourism. One tour operator named Graeme said:

Instead of an air conditioned tourist bus, backpackers are all on a local bus, which is 40% tourist going to the same place all clutching their copy of the Lonely Planet and staying at the same hostel. It's the same thing, just cheaper. When backpackers tell me about how they went to the villages and understand the people now I have to laugh. Tell me about the Masai, you went on a three and a half-hour tour and bought a belt. Maybe tourists can scratch the surface and understand superficial things but they don't really know what is going on. If they say they do they are kidding themselves. That whole traveler versus tourist thing is pretentious, it's all the same thing.

Others feel that backpacking is a slightly better way to experience the places you visit. The chances of meeting someone who is not a waiter are better, but you are still a tourist who is just passing through. Many expatriates or students are anxious to emphasize that they are working and not on vacation. One woman felt that travel has colonial implications and always tries to have a reason such as work or study when she goes somewhere. Some tourists just want to have a good time. What I am speaking of

is an ideal that motivates many to travel to Zanzibar in the first place. If Europeans or Americans are just interested in sun, sand and sex, there are many cheaper easier places to go. Whether that ideal is found or even lived when you arrive is of secondary concern.

One casualty of these attitudes is the hosts who live in the authenticity limbo of half modernity. They obviously work for profit, which in tourist eyes loses them the respect accorded the dignified, stoical poverty of the rural masses. Their need is articulated often in a language the tourist can understand. Since they offer services, ask, beg and cajole they are not a silent abstract poor, content with their lot since they do not need the lesser things of materialism, but a never ending need, an unfillable void that can not be satisfied. They are part of the failed urban experiment of the third world and are seen as mercenary and as con men. One has to wonder what the villagers feel about feeding and housing groups of wealthy aliens that pass through on vacation leaving very little.

For my tourist informants, beach boys are a part of this half authenticity. They are Zanzibari but live among and take many cues from tourists, living or imitating the modernity that many westerners do not feel is natural for the 'other'. Many tourists find them annoying. I dreaded the approach of quite a few myself. But almost every group of travelers has their 'pet' beach boy. Beach boys are exotic, but understandable. They are not considered to be the real thing, but can provide an entryway due to their knowledge of language and local culture. Since they are a part of the tourist industry, they can also be discarded when the vacation is over. Of all the relationships I saw between a beach boy and his tourist girlfriend, the beach boy was convinced (or tried to convince himself) that they were going to get the magic ticket to Europe to marry the woman. While doubtless this has happened, it would be unreasonable to assume that most women promise this; very few beach boys got to go. They are a holiday indulgence. This is not specifically a Zanzibari phenomenon, but common in many holiday areas where the tourists are richer than the locals. Power relations are unequal. From the host's side, while one may not be rich, one can live a life of wealth vicariously, for a while at least. Once again people are commodified in the relationships of capitalism. Tourists can provide access, although it is often temporary, to a life beyond the means of the average Zanzibari, and with a little luck it may become permanent. Neo-liberal capitalism is both the cause and the escape hatch for the beach boy's poverty. For the guests on the other hand, beach boys provide a window onto the exotic, a good holiday story.

HISDOURI'S STORY

Hisdouri, a part time beach boy, is nominally Moslem, but neither he nor his family live orthodox lives. He lives in the tourist style, with alcohol, cigarettes and tourist girlfriends. He grew up on a tourist spice farm and had been involved with tourism since he can remember. After he completed school, he moved to Stone Town and got a job as a tour guide for a charter company. The pay was good. He could live well and save up money to buy a house in Stone Town, which is his goal. He could also afford to send money back to his family, which has fallen on hard times. He has had tourist girlfriends all his life and he likes them. They are fun, they will drink and go to nightclubs, and dating them is easier than dating the Moslem Zanzibari women that he knows.

One year ago he met Amy, a girl from Britain who had been traveling around Africa for over a year. She liked Zanzibar and ended up staying for nine months. Her parents are wealthy so money was not a concern. Hisdouri met her while leading a tour over the island through his company. They started a relationship and, according to Hisdouri, they were madly in love. He spent increasing amounts of time with her and was neglecting his duties at work so he could show Amy around the Island. He also got her a job at the Internet cafe so she could earn a little extra spending money. Hisdouri has some training in information technologies and had a few connections with computer-based businesses in Stone Town. Hisdouri felt that the relationship was becoming very serious, he introduced Amy to his parents and took her home for weekends. She would come to visit him everyday when he was at work. In fact Hisdouri's boss was getting annoyed that they were always together even at the office. Amy's mother and sister came to visit her in Zanzibar and Hisdouri felt this was the green light to commence plans for marriage. He told me that Amy was aware of his long-term plans and also wanted to get married. Hisdouri lost his job at the tour company because he was spending too much time with Amy. This was a serious problem as he had spent much of his savings touring around the island with Amy, eating at nice restaurants, going to night clubs and generally enjoying himself. His father had become seriously ill and Hisdouri needed to send money home for the hospital bills and pay for his younger sister's schooling. Because he was fired from a reputable tour company, he was blacklisted and was unable to get a similar position elsewhere. He had to become an unofficial tour guide, working for commission only, which caused a drastic drop in his income. He was hoping to get a computer-related job, which would hopefully earn some more money.

While Hisdouri was trying to find the money to pay off his obligations, Amy met a friend of Hisdouri's named Mustapha. Mustapha ran a small guesthouse on the coast and invited Amy to stay there for a weekend. When Amy came back, she collected her belongings, quit her job without notice and broke up with Hisdouri. She started dating Mustapha and he said she could stay for free at his guesthouse. Hisdouri was shaken both by the financial setback and the obvious hurt of a betrayal by both his girlfriend (or fiancée) and a friend of his. When he told me this story he insisted on showing me all of the pictures of them together and we read the birthday card she sent repeatedly. He still wanted to marry and he said that his parents adored her. He wanted my help in composing a letter in 'proper' English telling her how he felt and hoping to win her back.

I met Amy and Mustapha the day I arrived, which was the day she left for Britain and I did not get to hear her side of the story. Like many it could be exaggerated in some places and self-serving in others. Nor are beach boys the proverbial lonely girl on prom night all of the time either. They cheat and try to seduce or be seduced by as many tourist women as possible, while professing their undying love to whoever is currently on the Island. While I do not deny that genuine feelings can arise through these relationships, they can also be the ticket to what is seen as a better life for the beach boy. A wife can take them back to Europe or America where they can get a good job and support themselves and their families in a way that is most likely unavailable at home. For the tourist, while many are probably fond of the person, it is part of the excitement of the holiday. You get to go to new places, see new things and sleep with new people. Unfortunately, sometimes it is hard to remember that the rest of the world is not at play as well and that one's actions, even if it is just a casual fling, can have real world repercussions. Lives and jobs can be greatly altered by casual flings. Outside the repercussions of actual relationships between tourists and locals, there were multiple staged events that were supposed to 'educate' or entertain tourists by explaining Zanzibari culture.

TOURISM AS A PLAY

Many articles have been written as to the staged aspect of tourism (MacCannell, 1992, 1976, Urry, 1992, Senft, 1999, Wood, 1998, Greenwood, 1989). The host culture can be seen in this case as a presentation for the enjoyment of the tourist, reinforcing a trend which I have addressed in this paper: the reduction of the inhabitants of the host country to play things for the tourist. While this is not to say that the host country receives nothing through staged representations of their culture, Wood (1998), in an

extensive survey of the literature has shown the importance staged culture can assume. In Bali, touristic interest has revived ethnic pride, showing the worth of indigenous customs because outsiders valued them. This has happened to such an extent that tourism is an integral part of what many Balinese would describe as culture. Tibetans have used tourism with considerable success to educate the outside world about their plight and draw considerable attention and sympathy due to the 'beauty' of their customs and religion. Nations suffering far larger refugee problems such as Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo have not shown the same media savvy, nor have they drawn as much international support. Linda Richard (quoted in Wood, 1998) has suggested that the comparative lack of tourist interest can undermine a national or ethnic self-confidence, as she found in Pakistan. In Toraja, various ethnic groups compete for tourist attention. Those who compete with less success, such as the Buginese: "express the view that tourism has unjustly ignored their own gentle landscape, colorful marriage ceremonies and, in their own eyes, more sophisticated culture" (Alice Volkman, quoted in Wood, 1998:108). Greenwood (1989) has a more negative view in his famous case of the performance ritual of the Alarde of Funeterrabi, which he found to lose all original meaning to the local inhabitants after they started to perform it twice a day as a tourist spectacle. "The commoditization of culture in effect robs people of the very meanings by which they organize their lives" (Greenwood, 1989:173).

In Zanzibar, examples of staged culture are common. There are village tours, where tourists are taken to a 'traditional' village, shown around, while 'villagers' explain cooking and farming implements and then serve a meal while the villagers sing and dance. On spice tours, the tour guides drop the tourists at a village house for donuts and coffee. The tour guide pays the household behind the scenes for providing the food, and every house that provided food has a stand, which sells souvenir spice baskets to the tourists, often a primary source of income. In Pemba, Portuguese colonialists introduced bullfighting, which persisted for a time as a source of entertainment. While they are not as common now, a tourist can arrange to witness one for U.S. \$410. The cost includes the rental of the pen, the bull and the bullfighter.

The old Omani fort in the center of Stone Town offers weekly buffet dinners accompanied by traditional Zanzibari music and dance. It is billed as spending a night with Africa. I attended one showing of African night at the fort with a Ph.D. student who was studying Swahili in Zanzibar. The fort had about 50 customers spread throughout an open-air section. Four large tables were filled with a high school Baptist missionary group from the U.S. and their minders. One was wearing a T-shirt with "Jesus the

second coming” on the front and had famous incidents of the Rabbi’s life on the back set up like concert dates. I had to wonder if that was popular in a country that is 95% Islamic. The missionaries were working on the Mainland, since missionaries outside of Islam are illegal in Zanzibar. One table held six middle aged German tourists who were quite drunk. Another table held a group of backpackers who looked to be in their mid thirties, from New Zealand and Australia. At the table nearest to me were two British women in their early to mid twenties. At my table were the Ph.D. student, Arielle, and a wealthy young American couple who had just finished university.

A large meal of seafood and curries was served and the dancing took place in a center circle that all of the tables were facing. Alcohol was served and, except for the missionaries, everyone was drinking. The dancers wore traditional Zanzibari dress except for the women whose heads were uncovered. Accompanying the dancers was a small *taarab* orchestra playing Arabic influenced music played primarily on drums and the flute. The *ngoma* or dance performed is found throughout Tanzania. The lyrics used this night, while all in Swahili, came from the mainland during the Nyerere period and had to do with the politics of nation building and the need for all ethnicities to fuse into the larger Tanzanian national identity. All of the tourists were initially photographing the event. As Senft has noted in a similar performance in the Trobriand islands: “They come to the village, taking it for granted that the villagers and their tour organizers have negotiated that they as tourists are allowed to visit and to film the people and their material culture” (1999:24).

The politics of tourists during an event performed for them are delicate. It is polite to show interest but many people do not want to be overly intrusive. Goffman (1978) has written about the perils of the encounter:

Once the audience has been admitted to a performance, the necessity of being tactful does not cease. We find that there is an elaborate etiquette by which individuals guide themselves as members of the audience. This involves the giving of a proper amount of attention and interest; a willingness to hold check one’s own performance so as not to introduce too many contradictions, interruptions, or demands for attention; the inhibition of all acts or statements that might create a faux pas; the desire above all else to avoid a scene (Goffman, 1978, quoted in Senft, 1999:26).

While this is an apt general statement and doubtless many of the people at the event felt similarly, it is not a cultural universal. During the beginning, the tourists just photographed the event. As the night progressed the dancers tried to pull audience

members into the dancing. While initially resistant, as more alcohol was consumed, inhibitions seemed to melt away. One of the backpackers from New Zealand was captivated by the pelvic thrusts of the dancers and jumped into the middle of the dance floor to imitate them without great success for a prolonged period of time. Many of the other spectators joined a sort of conga line to dance, more demurely than the backpacker. The German group that seemed slightly intoxicated when they arrived was extremely drunk. They were trying to imitate the undulations of the female dancers by making American Indian calls with their hands over their mouths and meowing. Some of the men also made lunges for the female dancers and finally left after a very loud dispute over the bill.

After the show I asked a few of the audience members why they had come and what they thought of it. The young American couple was very impressed. They had never been out of the States before and the trip was a congratulatory gift for finishing university. They wanted to see something exotic and meet different people. So far they had been to Kenya, Tanzania and Zanzibar and were now heading home. They spent most of their time doing safaris. They had specifically come to this show to “see some culture” which was everything, but mainly traditions. Their concept of culture could be rated on a graduating scale. In Kenya the Masai have more culture than the Kikuyu who live in Nairobi. The Masai wear traditional outfits and live in the rural areas, they look more “African” than the Kikuyu of Nairobi, who are different, but trying to be westernized with western clothes and (hopefully) wage labor. What they had seen tonight is real Zanzibari culture as opposed to what you see on the street everyday. Arielle had a completely different view of the situation. She feels, and I tend to agree, that the event was distasteful and colonial, where a white audience watches the ‘natives’ entertain them. In fact she felt that travel itself is often colonial. Instead of this being representative of Zanzibari culture, it is the opposite, the commodification of culture to entertain jaded foreigners. She has worked at the Grand Canyon, and had seen Hopi Indians dance in similar ways to entertain tourists. The ballet, or a performance in Europe would not bother her so much, because the history of colonialism and extreme and continuing power inequalities are not as present.

The interesting thing here is that the staged aspect of culture was seen by some as a real representation. As the American couple said, we came to “get some culture”. What is seen on the street everyday does not seem to count. While some people were there just to drink and have dinner, those who were not hopelessly drunk and obnoxious were respectful to the dancers in a way I did not see tourists treat Zanzibari tourist workers on the street. Once again it seemed ‘modern’ urban Africans were not

authentic in the way exotically dressed people enacting the 'old' ways were. The irony is that I doubt the songs were actually Zanzibari. As Friedman (1994) observed in Hawaii, it is not uncommon to have Brooklyn born Tahitian dancers performing Fijian dances as ethnic Hawaiian dances in the Islands hotels. The lyrics of the songs performed that evening came from the mainland during the Nyerere period.

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Creating difference takes many forms in tourism, both institutional, as the staged 'cultural' performances such as those mentioned above, and informal, through the stereotyping identities with which both the hosts and the guests categorize one another. The common factor is the dehumanization of the subject. The subject no longer has a distinct personality, but is part of an undifferentiated mass. Simply, they are now one of them. Whether social class classifies the subject, their degree of 'noble savagery' or acculturated urban dweller is irrelevant, as all categories have become all-encompassing stereotypes from which individuals must struggle to free themselves.

Chapter 5. CONCLUSION

The characteristics of modernity . . . are advanced urbanization, expanded literacy, generalized, healthcare, rationalized work arrangements, geographical and economic mobility and the emergence of the nation state as the most important political unit. These are merely surface features of modernity. The deep structure of modernity is a totalizing idea, a modern mentality that sets modern society in opposition to both its own past and to those societies of the present that are premodern or underdeveloped (Dean MacCannell, 1976:7-8).

Always there lurks the assumption that although the Western consumer belongs to a numerical minority, he is entitled to own or expend (or both) the majority of the world's resources. Why? Because he, unlike the Oriental, is a true human being. No better instance exists today of what Anwar Abdel Malek calls "the hegemonism of possessing minorities" and anthropocentrism allied Europocentrism: a white middle-class Westerner believes it his human prerogative not only to manage the non-white world but also to own it, just because by definition "it" is not quite as human as "we" are (Said, 1978:108).

In conclusion, this paper has aimed to show that tourism as practiced in Zanzibar at least is not only an extension of neo-liberal capitalism, but also an extension of neo-colonial and culturally imperialistic relationships that dominate the core nation's interaction with the periphery. One point that must be stressed is that Zanzibaris, and beach boys in particular, are not passive subjects being imposed upon by the wider world. They are active participants in their fate and are constantly trying to reposition themselves in an advantageous manner, although at a significant disadvantage due to the lack of control over the forces that impinge upon them.

Tourism is part of the wider rubric of neo-liberal capitalism, which is a recent innovation in Zanzibar. Chapter two discussed Zanzibar's long standing regional and global economic integration. Zanzibar is not a new player to global capitalism. Even during the socialist period, the government participated in the world economy. State capitalism was a better characterization of the socialist period. Now further attention is directed at how current conflicts, often influenced directly or indirectly by neo-liberal capitalism, have been incorrectly seen as ethnic conflicts, part of a long simmering hatred. As Jenkins (1994) and Barth (1969) have shown, ethnicity is not a primordial category, but a shifting phenomenon used for both social inclusion and exclusion.

Current conflicts in Zanzibar are not so much about an age-old grudge between Arabs and Africans as they are about different views of the future for the Island. Outside observers have characterized the current political division as the African CCM versus the Arab CUF. As chapter two argued, the problem could more accurately be described as a class conflict. Foreigners and the ruling elite dominate tourism, which is the dominant industry of Zanzibar's neo-liberal economy. The opposition, denied their share of tourism's revenues, want to break away from the mainland and regain their former glory as a merchant state. The common ideal used by the CUF is to become an African Singapore (Economist, vol. 357, 2000). Ethnicity in Zanzibar, as defined by the opposition, is not dependent on Arab or African roots but on autochthony. By focusing on the separateness of Zanzibari national identity, the opposition can hope to sever ties with the mainland, which also props up the current ruling party. In this way the opposition can hope to gain power.

Chapter three examined the political economy of the tourist industry and the formation of a new class through this industry. Although world capitalism may not be new to Zanzibar, what is new is the character of neo-liberalism or millennial capitalism, which elevates the market to a semi-divine, sentient creature that will solve all ills as if by magic (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2000). As the socialist apparatus was dismantled, the market for cloves collapsed, the policies that leaned towards isolationism were abandoned, and the influx of wealthy foreigners on a mass level was experienced as 'new' for many Zanzibaris. The lessening of state controls, accompanied by the overall lack of economic opportunities and diminished government support, is creating a new 'class' of beach boys, who were previously limited to small numbers of the unemployed hanging around the docks.

Beach boys are the exemplars of the new economy. They are, like Seyid, young men who occupy marginal spaces in society. Foreigners and the local elites control tourism, the dominant industry on the Island. The jobs that are available usually go to those who have better qualifications than beach boys. By marshalling the resources available, which usually include spare time, lack of any other real options, and an idea of what tourists may want, they attempt to create a niche for themselves in an environment that is hostile to them. This new class has internalized the neo-liberal values of the capitalist system that originally created them as a class. Instead of group emancipation, they are tempted by the promise of individual success. One of the paradoxes of neo-liberalism is the system's ability to find supporters out of those it disempowers. This class of beach boys is both oppressed by the current capitalist system and trying to use it as a means for their personal liberation. If they are lucky

enough, someday they could become the rich tourist.

Chapter four discussed how tourism creates difference. That is part of the allure of travel, to see something new. While difference can be celebrated, in this case it is used to disempower. Difference is used by tourists to justify the dramatic wealth differentials between them and the hosts. Poverty is seen as natural for the 'Other' and has spiritual ramifications. To want more is to lose or betray the host's culture. In numerous conversations the differences between tourists' and Zanzibari tourist workers' ideas of culture was evident. Tourists, especially those with long experience traveling or living in Africa, continually emphasized the differences between locals and themselves. I was told repeatedly that the cultural gap was unbridgeable. The ways of life were so different as to be from another planet. Even those who seemed to be the closest to the tourists, such as beach boys, were a kind of strange half-breed. Deep down they were Africans, just corrupted by the city and 'western' ways that they did not really understand.

Zanzibari tourist workers, on the other hand, often felt that after two weeks you could have a pretty good idea of Zanzibari culture. Go on a few tours, read a pamphlet, talk to the people and you would pretty much have it. While they obviously have a commercial interest in making Zanzibari culture accessible to outsiders, they tended to focus on similarities. The differences mentioned by the tourists would probably be insulting to many Zanzibaris, since they focus on the 'primitive', 'uncivilized' aspects of the local society. This is not to say that locals felt that tourists were the same as them, but that they felt themselves to be a 'modern' or 'modernizing' people who simply had different customs.

The political economy and social differentiation found in tourism in Zanzibar are not separate processes, but intimately connected. The social taxonomies of tourism grow out of relationships of economic dominance, both past and present. The inherent 'savagery' of the 'Other' was a common method of justifying colonialism. The same arguments, rephrased in a more relativistic manner that is acceptable today, are used to justify the massive differences in wealth. The differences in wealth between many of the hosts and guests is a result of colonialism, where certain countries came to dominate the world economy and control the resources of the rest of the world. While the tourist industry may have undergone massive growth in the last hundred years (Urry, 1990) it is simply one more incarnation of capitalist expansion throughout the world.

There are many areas of this study that could benefit from further research. Comparative studies of beach boys and tourism in neighboring countries would be

useful in order to document whether similar social, economic and class relationships exist, especially since many neighboring areas have had a longer exposure to tourism. Studies of gender and tourism in Zanzibar have not been touched on here.

Understanding the effects of tourism upon female tourist industry workers and sex workers would allow a wider picture to the gender biased one I have painted. A serious study of cognitive mapping in Zanzibar would be informative in order to document the social uses of space by both tourists and tourist industry workers.

Further study in the subject could determine whether Zanzibar is an isolated case or not. My own hunch, supported by extended periods of travel and numerous conversations with tourists and tourist industry workers in a wide range of countries, in conjunction with the examples cited in the literature, would indicate that the Zanzibari experience of tourism is not uncommon. Zanzibar is an example that can be applied to the wider world.

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