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Declaration

I, Linn Marie Holberg, declare that this is my own original work, and the use of all other material is acknowledged.

This thesis has not been submitted to any other University than the Norwegian University for Life Sciences (UMB) for any kind of academic degree.

Linn Marie Holberg, May 2008

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to all my friends and family who have supported me through this process, especially my aunt Linda Marie Dyrliid who has given me irreplaceable advice, encouragement and inspiration throughout my education.

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Abstract

This study examines the social impacts of tourism within three different villages within the marine park with three different levels of tourism. The study also looks at two different hotels, one which advertises itself as an ecotourism destination and the other as a conventionally operated tourism lodge. The study concerns the hotels' attitudes and practices regarding the environment and their involvement in the communities they are situated in. The relationship between these actors and their management agencies, namely Mafia Island Marine Park (MIMP) and the District Office, is also looked at.

Methods used for data collection are unstructured interviews utilising a social- ecological resilience analysis by using a framework for evaluation of ecotourism by Ross and Wall (1999) supplemented by Scheyvens' (1999) empowerment framework.

Interviews were conducted with 20 informants from each village and this information was supplemented with group interviews in each village. Interviews were done with informants from the hotels, MIMP and the District. Secondary literature was accessed by review of literature.

The study reveals that the benefits from tourism, such as employment, community welfare benefits and a more active economy are concentrated around the main hotel areas. In all the villages people find no effect on culture or the environment, but fear that the younger generation might be more affected. In two of the villages people are generally positive to visitors and the tourism industry, but find that the problems they experience are connected to the investors themselves, and not the industry. In the village with the least tourism the respondents were split in being positive to tourism and being sceptical to it. Some respondents were sceptical as they feared further restriction in fishing practices within the marine park, and also due to information of negative experiences from tourism in other villages.

Both hotels have practices that show some form of environmental friendliness, but the ecotourism hotel more so than the conventional one. Both hotels have contributed financially to community welfare projects. The ecotourism hotels investors have also contributed time and expertise to community projects, some which they have taken part in initiating. Both hotels are involved in conflicts regarding land issues. Other conflicts were due to lack of

participation, consultation and disregard for the communities' opinions. Some disagreements could be avoided by increased information flow.

So far there has been a lack of cooperation and communication between management institutions. This has resulted in lack of participation for all actors, but the introduction of Environmental Impact Assessment and a recent meeting between management institutions show promise for further cooperation and communication.

Table of contents

Declaration	II
Dedication	IV
Acknowledgements	VI
Abstract	VIII
Table of contents	X
List of figures	XII
List of acronyms	XII
1.0 Background	1
1.1 Objectives of the study	1
1.2 Study area.....	2
1.3 Mafia Island Marine Park.....	5
1.4 Chole Mjini and Kinasi hotel	9
1.5 Tourism	10
1.5.1 Tourism impact on environment	11
Tourism as an anti poaching mechanism.....	11
Tourism can make protected areas worthwhile.....	12
1.5.2 Tourism impact on society	12
1.6 Ecotourism	13
1.7 Tourism in Mafia Island.....	15
2.0 Theoretical frameworks and methodology	16
2.1 Theoretical frameworks.....	16
2.1.1 Analysis of social and ecological resilience.....	16
2.1.2 Ross & Walls framework for the evaluation and development of ecotourism	20
2.1.3 Scheyvens' empowerment framework	23
2.2 Field methods	25
2.3 Limitations of the study.....	27
3.0 Results	29
3.1 Chole Mjini and Kinasi Hotel	29
3.1.1 Chole Mjini Hotel.....	29
Environmental concerns.....	30
Employment.....	31
Code of Conduct.....	32
Involvement in conservation.....	32
Community work.....	33
Societies.....	33
Relations with public sector.....	34
Relations with villagers.....	34
3.1.2 Kinasi hotel	35
Environmental concerns.....	36
Employment.....	37
Code of Conduct.....	37
Involvement in conservation.....	38
Community work.....	38
Relations with public sector.....	39
Relations with villagers.....	39
3.2 Results from village interviews.....	39

3.2.1	Chole	39
	Decision- making and consultation.....	39
	Income from tourism.....	39
	Contact and impressions of tourists.....	41
	Benefits from tourism.....	43
	Problems concerning tourism.....	44
	Cultural effects.....	47
	Environmental effects.....	48
	Entrepreneurship.....	48
	Local trends and visions for the future.....	50
	Livelihood options.....	50
3.2.2	Utende	51
	Decision- making and consultation.....	51
	Income from tourism.....	52
	Contact and impressions of tourists.....	54
	Benefits from tourism.....	54
	Problems concerning tourism.....	55
	Cultural effects.....	56
	Environmental effects.....	57
	Entrepreneurship.....	57
	Local trends and visions for the future.....	59
	Livelihood options.....	60
3.2.3	Juani	62
	Decision- making and consultation.....	61
	Income from tourism.....	61
	Contact and impressions of tourists.....	62
	Benefits from tourism.....	62
	Problems concerning tourism.....	63
	Cultural effects.....	64
	Environmental effects.....	65
	Entrepreneurship.....	65
	Local trends and visions for the future.....	66
	Livelihood options.....	67
3.3	Cooperation and relationships between actors	68
4.0	Discussion	73
4.1	Local communities relationship with tourists and tourism	73
	Economic empowerment.....	73
	Social empowerment.....	76
	Political empowerment.....	77
4.2	Local communities relationship with natural resources	79
4.3	Tourism industry relationship with villagers	80
4.4	Tourists and tourism industry relationship with natural resources	82
4.5	Management and organizations.....	83
5.0	Conclusion	84
5.1	Factors reducing social- ecological resilience.....	86
	Lack of capital.....	86
	Conflict.....	86
	Lack of sufficient benefits and participation.....	86
5.2	Factors enhancing social- ecological resilience	87
	Education.....	87

	Livelihood diversification.....	87
	Future prospects.....	87
5.3	Management and adaptation.....	88
6.0	References	900

List of figures

Figure 1:	Map of Mafia Island, Tanzania.....	2
Figure 2:	Number of visitors within MIMP.....	15
Figure 3:	The adaptive cycle, as a simple loop, showing possible changes between phases...19	
Figure 4:	The Ecotourism triangle, showing the synergistic relationship between the three parts.....	20
Figure 5:	Management agencies, protected area policies and other organizations such as development assistance agencies influence the attainment of symbiotic relationships.....	21
Figure 6:	Indicators for relationship between people and protected area.....	22
Figure 7:	Indicators for social, economic and infrastructure benefits.....	22
Figure 8:	Indicators for determining impacts of ecotourism.....	24
Figure 9:	Trends chart from Chole showing the changes in employment, business and population as perceived by the group.....	49
Figure 10:	Trends chart from Utende showing the changes in employment, business and population as perceived by the group.....	59
Figure 11:	Trends chart from Juani showing the changes in employment, business and population as perceived by villagers.....	66

List of acronyms

CEDS- Chole Economic Development Society
 CSDS- Chole Social Development society
 CSWD- Chole Society for Women’s Development
 DC- District Commissioner
 EIA- Environmental Impact Assessment
 SIT- School for International Training
 MIMP- Mafia Island Marine Park
 NEMC- National Environment Management Council
 TIC- Tanzanian Investment Centre
 TMP- Tourism Management Plan

1.0 Background

1.1 Objectives of the study

As Mafia Island is an area with relative recent development of a tourism industry my objective in this study was to investigate residents' perceptions of tourism concerning:

- The effect on culture
- Problems arising from it
- Benefits from the industry
- Dependence on income
- Adaptation to changes arising from tourism through entrepreneurship

This was to be conducted in three different villages in close proximity, but exposed to three different levels of tourism: one village with several more conventional hotels, one village with an ecotourism hotel and one village with no hotels but with day visits from tourist groups. The aim was also to compare a conventional tourism hotel and an ecotourism hotel concerning the attitudes and intentions towards the environment and impacts on the society they are located. A part of this study was also to investigate the relationship between management organisations concerning tourism in the area.

This was conducted using a social- ecological resilience analysis with a focus on social resilience using indicators from Ross and Wall's (1999) framework for evaluating an ecotourism destination and complimenting the social part of this framework with Scheyvens' (1999) framework for determining impact of ecotourism ventures on local communities.

1.2 Study area

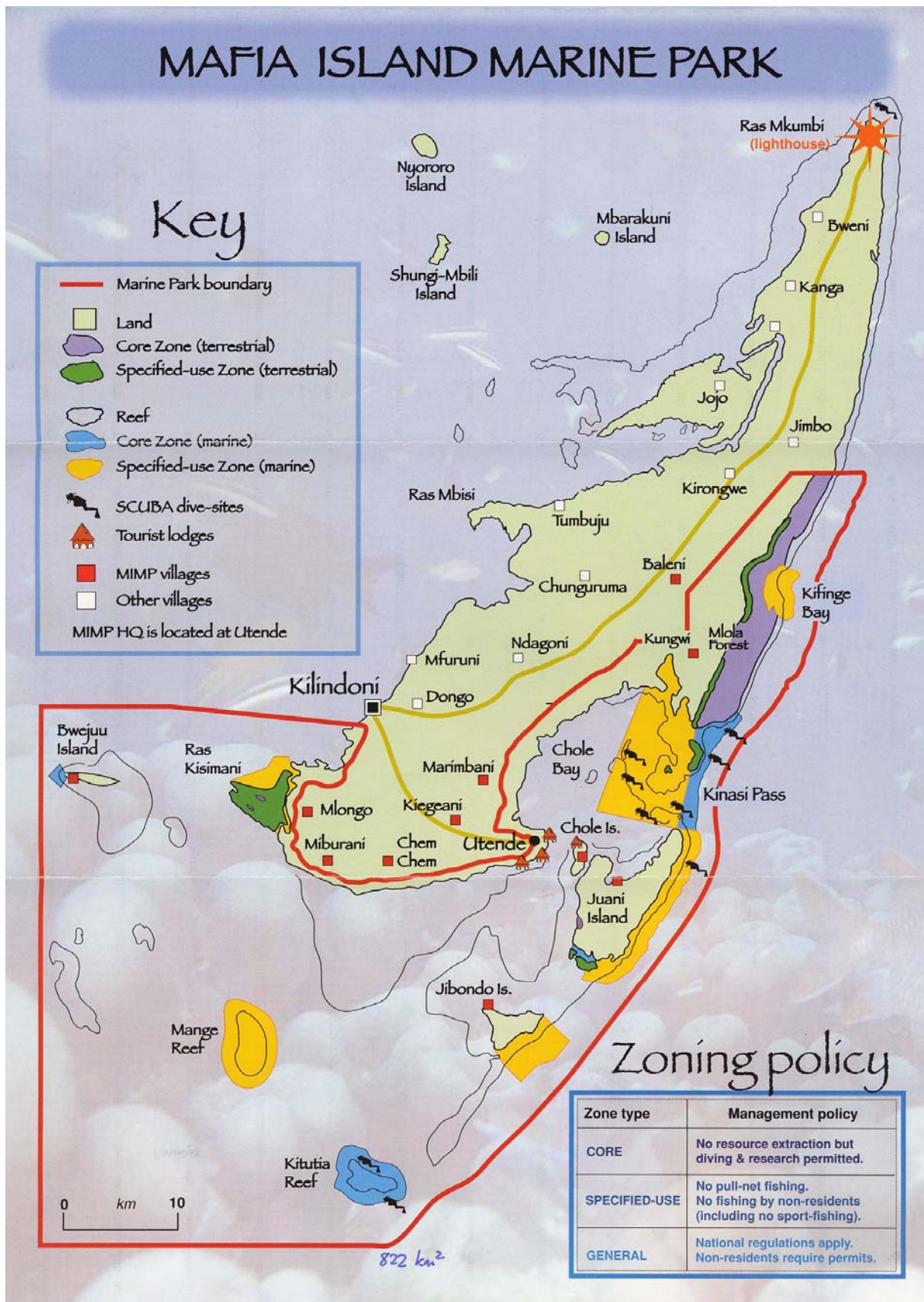


Figure 1: Map of Mafia Island, Tanzania.

Mafia Island is situated about 120 km south of Dar Es Salaam, only 20 km from the mainland in the Rufiji delta. It consists of one large island and several smaller islands, including Jibondo, Chole, Juani, Bwejuu, Mbarakuni, Shungumbili and Nyoro (see Fig. 1).

Mafia Island is a District, as an administrative unit within Tanzania's Coast Region. It is generally regarded as a somewhat undeveloped district, and is reputed to have been one of the last districts to get a secondary school (Caplan 2004, Johnson 2002).

To reach the island from mainland Tanzania, one either has to travel aboard a small, wooden sailing boat for about two days from the mainland, or aboard on a small motorized boat for eight hours or fly on one of the daily flights from Dar es Salaam and land on the sandy airstrip adjacent to Kilindoni town.

According to the 2002 census 40 801 people lived on the island. The main livelihood activities in Mafia are agriculture, livestock- keeping, fishing, industry and trade. Farming and fishing are seen as complementary activities, carried out by both men and women, though usually with different areas of responsibility. Women would collect octopus and bivalves, whilst men would go out in boats (Walley 2004). Cash crops in Mafia include coconuts and cashew nuts, although the price of coconut oil has dropped in the last years, severely affecting the farmers in Mafia who describe these times as hard times (Walley 2004). Mafia is the chief source of fish to Dar es Salaam, about 900 tones of various fish sources are fished annually. There is also commercial aquaculture on the island namely prawn hatchery, prawn farming and sea weed farming. Pearl oyster farming is also being pioneered. The only other main industry on Mafia is tourism.

Mafia has a long history of settlement, it also has a history of various invaders, rulers and slavery. The first records of settlement is of the Shirazi who had their headquarter at Kilwa during the 11th to 13th centuries, or 13th-16th century according to Moon (2004), they had settlements at Ras Kisimani on Mafias most western point. The half washed away Swahili/Islamic town is now an important archeological site and tourism attraction (MIMP GMP 2000, Moon 2004, Walley 2004). According to narratives from elders of Chole the descendants from the Shirazi of Ras Kisimani intermarried with the coastal populations and a newer group of Arab immigrants and made up the elite of the inhabitants which left the remnants of Kua ruins on Juani island. According to Walley (2004) the rivalry between the

Kua and Kisimani Mafia is a common theme in historical narratives on Chole. Slavery was common in Kua and many statements and narratives on Chole describe the horrid treatments of slaves in those times (Walley 2004). The Kua met their downfall in 1817-1818 due to an outbreak of smallpox and from raiders from Madagascar. A historical narrative from Chole also tells of the oppressed people of Kua where somebody escaped and went and asked for help from the Sakalafa people of Madagascar to come and overthrow the current rulers.

Slavery in different forms has existed for a long time on the east African coast, mostly as an extreme form of patron- client relationships. The rise of the plantation industry changed the form of slavery to a harsher form where the slaves were dehumanized and looked upon as commodities, this was also encouraged by famine which resulted in an increased willingness to sell humans into slavery. Many stories tell of family members selling younger children into slavery to pay for food (Walley 2004). Mafia belonged to Sultan Seyid Said who had his capital on Zanzibar. The main city on Mafia was now moved to Chole, where the town was called Chole Mjini and the main island was known as Chole Shamba (Chole farm or field) (MIMP GMP 2000, Walley 2004). Many ruins on Chole can be found from this time and later colonial periods (Moon 2000). In 1890, Britain declared a protectorate over the territory of Sultan Sayid Ali, but part of this territory, namely Mafia, was traded to the German colonialists who moved the headquarters from Chole to Kilindoni as it was more accessible. This meant that Mafia was administered as part of the mainland of Tanzania, unlike Zanzibar. The stories told from this period describe a harsh government that used beatings and hangings as means of punishment (Walley 2004). Mafia was captured by the British again during World War 1 and slavery was abolished. Kilindoni remains the administrative and commercial capital of Mafia until today. In 1961, Mafia gained independence with the rest of Tanganyika, as Tanzania was known as then. Julius Nyerere was the first president elected in Tanzania. His goal was to develop a egalitarian socialist state, built on the philosophy of the African ujamaa, familyhood or togetherness.

Mafia is known as a more backward part of Tanzania, and is less developed in terms of infrastructure such as electricity, roads, and education (only one secondary school). According to Walley (2004) this joint isolation and neglect have resulted in a development of more egalitarian social relationships. None were rich enough to hire other people to do work for them full time.

There are different forms of social ties in different parts of Mafia as people descend from different groups. Some are descendants from the African mainland, some have different Arab influences, and there are also groups of Indian descendants in Mafia.

The social bonds on Mafia are very much formed by bilateral kinship ties that are spread out through all of Mafia and further off to other islands. It is a patrilocal society where the woman moves to her husbands' home, so it is often the woman travel to be with her family. These ties are known as *Ukoo* on Mafia, and as they are bilateral each person has four groups, one for each of their grandparents, to maintain for means of economic and social support and security. This means that also women are independent social actors as they have a right to inheritance through their *Ukoo* ties, although this is often half of what the men get. Who is in your network or not is a very fluid and changing, especially due to the common practice of divorce and remarriage in Mafia (Walley 2004). Women still argue that they are worse of than men though, as they work harder, girls are married off to early to men they do not choose themselves and thus, forced to drop out of school (Caplan 2007).

There are two sets of opposing social laws in Mafia. One is the Islamic *sheria* law brought by the Arabs, the other is not a law in itself, but it is *mila*, customary traditions brought from the mainland. Many of the laws of these two traditions are directly opposing. The *sheria* is looked upon as higher traditions and more cultivated, but the *mila* is seen as becoming more important at the expense of the *sheria*, such as women gaining more autonomy and not necessarily obeying their husbands (Walley 2004:121). A significant feature in the culture is the importance of consensus of public decision making. In theory everybody has the right to attend and speak their mind in village meetings, although mostly middle aged and older men dominate. After opinions are presented, the argument that convinced most people is informally accepted as the consensus. It is not expected that the opponents have changed their mind, but out of respect for elders, it is expected that they adhere to it. It is also important for the village to keep a united face to guests; it would be shameful to display disagreements to outsiders (Walley 2004).

1.3 Mafia Island Marine Park

Mafia Island Marine Park (MIMP) is the first marine park in Tanzania. The National Assembly passed a resolution on the park in April 1995, which made it operational from July

of the same year. MIMP is formed under the Marine and Reserves Act No. 29 of 1994 and states that the general purposes for establishing a marine park are:

- *To protect, conserve and restore the species and genetic diversity of living and non- living marine resources and the ecosystem processes of the marine and coastal area.*
- *To manage the marine and coastal area so as to promote sustainability of existing resource use, the recovery of areas and resources that have been over exploited or otherwise damaged and to rehabilitate damaged ecosystems.*
- *To ensure that villages and other local resident users in the vicinity of, or dependants on, a marine park or marine reserve, share in the benefits of the operation of the protected area and have priority in the resource use and economic opportunity afforded by the establishment of the Marine Park.*
- *To stimulate the rational development of under utilized natural resources;*
- *To promote community orientated education and dissemination of information concerning conservation and sustainable use of resources in the marine park;*
- *To facilitate research and to monitor resource conditions and uses within the marine park.*

Specifically for MIMP to acts were added in 1999 after a participatory planning workshop.

- *To conserve and protect historic monuments, ruins and other cultural resources that have been identified as significant to the history of Mafia Island.*
- *To facilitate the development of appropriate ecotourism.*

MIMP incorporates several villages and has a population of about 15000 people, about a third of Mafias population (Study report on MIMP 2000, MIMP GMP 2000). And each village within the marine park has its own liaison committee through which villagers can express their viewpoints.

The reasons why Mafia was selected as a marine park are the relatively pristine and complex marine and coastal habitats, remnants of a coastal forest, nesting grounds for two species of sea turtles, feeding ground for several species of birds, a large fruit bat colony of a possibly endemic subspecies as well as many cultural and historical resources. Issues of concern regarding the management of the park are fishing pressure, destructive and unsustainable net

fishing, dynamite fishing, trampling of inter-tidal habitats, commercial fish processing, coral mining, mangrove utilization, use of coastal forest resources and turtle conservation.

Most MIMP residents are dependent on the natural resources for their livelihood. Therefore it is necessary to include genuine community participation for the park goals to be achieved. The MIMP objectives for community participation in the management and access to resources are:

- *To involve local residents and other stakeholders in consultation and decision making in a meaningful way, and where appropriate to accommodate their views, ideas and traditional practices;*
- *To ensure local communities have priority access to resources and other economic and other opportunities within the marine park, provided that the communities in question have the relevant capacity and provided that it does not disadvantage inward investment;*
- *To ensure gender considerations are placed at the centre of management planning, community participation and resource allocation.*
- *To ensure that local communities take on increasing responsibility for sustainable resource management, enforcement of regulations and protection of key habitats.*

According to MIMP GMP (2000) multiple use zones in the park is essential for participatory management. It is a tool for managing protection and the user livelihood needs. The zones have different levels of protection according to their economic and ecological importance allowing for extractive purposes according to zone. There are three types of zones in MIMP, namely:

- Core zone, which gives the highest level of protection. Extractive use is prohibited, but some controlled tourism and scientific research is allowed.
- Specified use zone is an intermediate level of protection. It allows some extractive use to residents of the marine park.
- General use zone is intended to sustainable use for residents of the marine park. It is meant to relieve pressure from areas of higher protection. Other residents of Mafia, and people outside Mafia may undertake extractive activities, but only under permission of MIMP and where relevant from village councils.

There have been some problems between MIMP and villagers within the park. According to Aanby (2006) villagers in Jibondo disagreed about the understanding of the contract and reacted by withdrawing from it. According to MIMP people in Jibondo were influenced by seasonal fishers from other parts of Tanzania and also traders from Dar es Salaam, and were supplied with illegal fishing equipment (Aanby 2006). Many of the respondents in Aanby's (2006) thesis said they found no benefits from being part of the marine park, and that some parts of the agreement were not fulfilled by the MIMP or had not risen to its expectations. Aanby (2006) also mentions that there were increased tensions between people inside and outside the park as there were now restrictions of movement inside the park. Also some of my respondents said that they felt their lives were made more difficult because of the restrictions of the marine park.

In Walley (2004) it does come out that people do want the marine park because they have problems with fishermen coming from other areas of Tanzania and using unsustainable fishing methods such as dynamite. The Maritime Division operating in Mafia prior to the Marine Park did not function in preventing such activities, to much concern of the residents of the area, thus much hope was put in the Marine Park, with hopes that it would be responsive to the needs of the villagers.

Even though the park has not met the expectations of the park residents it is still an ongoing process to meet the villager and conservation needs. It is hoped that the expected increase in tourism will give the park more income through entrance fees that can go to community development projects.

To be able to build a hotel within the marine park premises it is now compulsory to conduct an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). When the hotels mentioned in this thesis were built, this was not a criteria, but it has been since the marine park opened.

The need for an EIA is according to the Guidelines and Procedures for undertaking EIA (2001) that there is a high pressure to invest in marine areas due to the high economic value for many sectors in these areas, therefore there is a need for management mechanisms that will provide balance between long term productivity, conservation and livelihood benefits and development (EIA Guidelines 2001).

The National Environment Management Council (NEMC) has drafted guidelines for EIA procedures, complementary to these are the Marine Parks and Reserves own management structures and procedures for submission and approval for development proposals which entail how the NEMC guidelines are applied in this context. The main EIA requirement for activities within a marine park or reserve is under the Marine Park and Reserves Act No.29 of 1994, Section 13 (3), it states that:

“No construction or other activities within the marine park or reserve, including the activities authorized under section 13 shall be undertaken without conducting an assessment of the environment impact of such activities pursuant to legal policy or practical requirements or pursuant to the general management plan or regulations under this Act or any general management plan for the area of the marine park or reserve.”

The requirement is guided by four principles which are

- The Precautionary Approach Principle
- Polluter Pays Principle
- Sustainable Development principle
- Stakeholder participation and Transparency, which extends to stakeholder representation on decision-making bodies, timely and accessible disclosure of information with ad-hoc consultation.

Investments will involve scrutiny and concurrence with site selection for such issues as technical feasibility, environmental friendliness and social acceptability on the one hand. On the other hand regulatory issues such as permits, licenses, title deeds and water rights will be scrutinized.

There are many steps and procedures to an EIA which shall not be mentioned here. However, it is important to remember the right and responsibility of the Marine Parks and Reserve management authority to undertake independent environmental auditing of any project at whatever time or frequency are deemed appropriate by the Warden- in- Charge. These are meant to give instructive feedback during the project process (EIA Guidelines 2001).

1.4 Chole Mjini and Kinasi hotel

The two hotels studied in this thesis are Chole Mjini and Kinasi hotel. They were selected because of their different approaches to running a hotel in terms of impact on nature and involvement in the local community.

Chole Mjini is advertised as a responsible ecotourism destination whilst Kinasi advertise themselves as a luxury lodge.

Chole Mjini is situated on Chole Island. It is owned and operated by Anne and Jean de Villiers. The Chole Mjini Conservation and Development Company Ltd were set up in 1993 to build a lodge and to take part in community development. It now hosts 1600 bed nights per year, each guest stays an average of 3 to 4 days. The lodge consists of 6 separate open air tree houses and one more conventional house on ground.

Kinasi is owned by Mr. Peter Burns and the hotel has officially been operating since 1996. It is situated in Utende on the main island of Mafia. It hosts about 3500 bed nights per year and is able to host 28 guests at the time.

1.5 Tourism

The World Tourism Organization (UNWTO.org) defines tourists as people who *"travel to and stay in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited"*.

Tourism is for many countries the fastest growing industry, and an important source of employment and foreign currency. International arrivals are expected to reach 1 billion by 2010 (unwto.org).

It has been argued that the marketing of immobile resources such as landscapes, sights, and cultures represents a substantial economic advantage for tropical developing countries, because their immobility makes it necessary for tourists to travel in order to consume them (Gössling 2002) Moreover, tourism allows the use of natural areas which are otherwise of less economic value for these countries (such as remote beaches), but perfectly meet the demands of this growing industry (Gössling 2002)

In Tanzania the number of visitors has gone from under 300,000 individuals in 1995 to over 600,000 in 2006 (information given in meeting in statistics office).

1.5.1 Tourism impact on environment

According to Gössling (2006) tourism often adds on to the pressure on natural resources such as fresh water, timber and marine edible species. In the western Indian Ocean tourism may also contribute to the threat to marine ecosystems. Common interference through tourism activities would be damage from diving, touching and trampling of corals, buying and collecting corals and reef damage from anchoring (Ceballos-Lascuràin 1996, Gössling 2006). A study by Mohammed (2002) says that an average tourist in Zanzibar demands 15 times more freshwater a day than an average Zanzibar resident. According to Gössling (2002) overexploitation of freshwater use can result in lowering and deteriorating quality of the groundwater table, land subsidence and saltwater intrusion.

There are also many negative effects of insufficiently treated wastewater and sewage disposed from beach hotels (Ceballos-Lascuràin 1996). Most hotels on tropical islands are located on or near the beaches and the sea making wastewater and sewage treatment even more important to protect marine life. Inadequate treatment of sewage and wastewater can cause or contribute to eutrophication of seawaters causing excessive growth of opportunistic macro algae as coastal waters in tropical areas usually are oligotrophic and the dispersal of unsustainable amounts of untreated wastewater causes unbalance in the receiving coastal waters. It can help spread water born diseases, such as cholera and dysentery, especially if pollutants are leaked into bathing waters or areas for fishing or collecting shellfish or into the groundwater (Mohammed 2002).

However, tourism can indirectly have a positive effect on ecosystems in an area, namely as an anti poaching mechanism and as an incentive to protecting natural areas.

Tourism as an anti poaching mechanism.

Tourism can give an incentive to avoid poaching, and to convert areas into protected areas. When the local population benefits from protecting areas where they previously fished or hunted through employment, they will be more likely to consent to the restrictions of use. The presence of tourism will also hamper any poachers. Local management of any protected area and employment of residents as managers/wardens/guides will aid the protection of the area as they have more authority and negotiation abilities among co residents (Shah, N.J 2002).

Tourism can make protected areas worthwhile.

Protected areas have often been associated with the fortress approach in which larger areas have been closed off for extractive use, including for people living in and around the area. This has usually entailed great losses for these people causing strong negative emotions towards national parks. Consequences of this have been minimal respect for laws and regulation concerning these areas and a high degree of poaching. However, with tourism, and ecotourism/community based tourism, these parks can generate income that can compensate the restrictions in use for local people. With increased local control over the area and the financial benefits it is likely that anti poaching laws will be adhered to and the protection of the area is more successful. Even though it is not said that such things are easy to manage on any level. (Honey 1999, Ceballos-Lascuràin 1996, Pimbert and Pretty 1997). Also natural areas viewed as having less economic value, such as remote beaches, will be an asset to the tourism industry (Gössling 2002).

1.5.2 Tourism impact on society

In the early stages of tourism residents are often happy to welcome tourists. They are flattered by the fact that others want to visit them and their area. And the fact that the guests bring capital and following investments are seen as very beneficial, especially in remote or developing areas where this is particularly lacking. However as the numbers and interaction between hosts and tourists increase, so does the strain on the social fabric of the host society (Mathieson and Wall 1982). According to Gössling (2006) locals are rarely involved or consulted in the process of developing the tourism industry in their area. Therefore they have little information and ability to prepare or influence the upcoming changes, and it is difficult to influence tourist behaviour in terms of general codes of conduct. The rapid change that tourism and the industry catering to their demand continues and expands brings on distress in the host communities as they see their traditional ways of living are changing or interrupted (Mathieson and Wall 1982). The demonstration of different ways of living and behaving, and often the display of higher economic well being

However, the money-spending behaviour and display of general wealth, compared to the residents, might lead to feelings of inferiority thus causing aggravation in the host population. Even though the local population might have a higher living standard due to the tourism industry, the feeling of poverty might be strengthened as the demonstration effect gives higher

expectations of material standards. An increase in the crime rate may follow as residents are unable to meet their wanted living standard through legal methods.

The younger part of the population will be more affected by this development because their foothold in the traditional culture is not as strong as the older generations (Mathieson and Wall 1982). They are the ones taking jobs in the industry by choice or by necessity, and change their behaviour and lifestyle through the influence of their encounters with tourists. In many professions it is also mandatory for the employed to adopt western behaviour, as dress codes and ways to address visitors (Mathieson and Wall 1982, Gössling 2002). This might cause a split in the host population as the older generations have more negative connotations towards the visitors as they feel their young are drawn further away from the traditional way of life. Many will be unwilling to continue working in farming, fishing or other livelihoods causing weakened traditional kinship patterns and community bonds (Mathieson and Wall 1982, Gössling 2002).

Another change in the social structure might be the role of women and the young. It might be changed by the fact that they will have a more important role in the economic situation in the household through employment or production of artefacts or other goods; this also leads to less dependence on their side.

1.6 Ecotourism

Ecotourism has many definitions, but according to The International Ecotourism Society (ecotourism.), ecotourism is the “responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the wellbeing of the local people”

The purpose of ecotourism is to make tourism sustainable and contribute to natural conservation and to create development and opportunities for local people living in or around natural areas. The tourist is to be educated about the natural area he/she is in, about the local culture and history and to be culturally sensitive so as not to offend any with his/her behaviour.

In 2002 the UN sponsored a conference that ended up in the Quebec Declaration on Ecotourism. It says that ecotourism:

- Contributes actively to the conservation of natural and cultural heritage.

- Includes local and indigenous communities in its planning, development and operation, and contributing to their well-being.
- Interprets the natural and cultural heritage of the destination to visitors.
- Lends itself better to independent travellers, as well as to organised tours for small size groups (Uddhammar 2006).

Because of the lack of an international standard for ecotourism destinations, Martha Honey (1999) has developed seven characteristics for recognizing real ecotourism, these are:

1. Involves travel to natural destinations
2. Minimizes human impact
3. Builds environmental awareness
4. Provides direct financial benefits for conservation
5. Provides financial benefits and empowerment for local people
6. Respects local culture
7. Supports human rights and democratic movements

One of the main benefits of ecotourism is the incentive it creates for protecting natural areas. When an area with surrounding population is protected it should pay off in other ways than extractive use. Tourism to natural areas can give economic benefits by non-destructive use such as diving or hiking (Boo 1992). Some areas can be more beneficial in their pristine state than by farming or fishing or other extractive activities, but in many cases tourism does not pay off enough to benefit all stakeholders sufficiently.

Tourism is an industry that undeniably brings the customer to the product, not the other way around. One of the main points of ecotourism is to avoid backflow of money, but to keep them in the local economy to a large extent. This gives the potential for stimulating the local economy and for the local population to diversify their economy (Boo 1992, Campbell 1999, Honey 1999).

A problem facing ecotourism, especially in developing countries, is the lack of local or national investors and human capital, such as education, knowledge and economic ability to start up a tourism business which may lead to a larger backflow of money out of the area and less control over the industry by the local inhabitants (Gössling 2006, Fennel 1999, Fuller et al. 2005).

Income from tourism might often surpass income from traditional activities leading these to be exchanged. A negative side effect to this might be dependence on the tourism industry. As a tourism destination is prone to fluctuations in numbers of visitors, dependence on a certain number of tourists could have severe effects if it was to suddenly drop. This problem would be lessened if people maintain their other livelihood options in order to have other things to fall back on if the tourism industry in the area fails (Gössling 2006, Honey 1999).

If an area becomes a successful tourism area and becomes wealthier than the average in a country or region it might experience an influx of people looking for better opportunities. This can give an extra strain on resources, cause crowding, increased building and construction, as well as an increase in property prices (Gössling 2006, Honey 1999).

1.7 Tourism in Mafia Island

There has been tourism in Mafia for quite some time. In 1971 the government opened the 80 bed Mafia Island Lodge in Utende. It has since been privatized.

The number of tourists in Mafia has been very low for quite some time, but has in the last years increased substantially. There are no specific numbers for how many tourists actually come to Mafia. Even though there are some guesthouses in the main town of Kilindoni, almost all visitors stay within the marine park in Utende or Chole. As all visitors have to pay fees per day, they are registered at the park gates. The statistics are from 2000 onwards and are separated between Tanzanian and non- Tanzanian visitors.

Year	Tanzanian	Non- Tanzanian
2000	484	393
2001	1091	79
2002	1353	98
2003	90	1380
2004	190	2212
2005	132	2593
2006	112	3007

Figure 2: Number of visitors within MIMP.

As we can see from the table the number of non-Tanzanians has increased by over 665% since 2000, the numbers for 2007 was not yet ready when I acquired these statistics. The number of visitors is not the same as other areas high in tourism such as Zanzibar, but it is a significant increase, and is not expected to drop as more hotels are being built.

2.0 Theoretical frameworks and methodology

2.1 Theoretical frameworks

2.1.1 Analysis of social and ecological resilience

The resilience of the social ecological system relates to the functioning of a system rather than the stability of its components which is a more classical equilibrium or succession resource management way of thinking. An essential part of resilience thinking is the fact that everything in both the social and ecological part of our world is undergoing constant change; sometimes the change is slow and predictable whilst at other times change happens in drastic shifts (Berkes et. al 2003, Walker and Salt 2006). According to Walker and Salt (2006) ignoring or resisting the fact that things change increases our vulnerability and also the chance of foregoing emerging opportunities. A resilient social ecological system is adaptable, flexible and prepared for change and uncertainty (Marshall and Marshall 2007)

There are many different definitions of resilience. The Resilience Alliance (www.resalliance.org) define resilience as the capacity of a system to absorb disturbance and reorganize while undergoing change so as to still retain essentially the same function, structure and feedbacks - and therefore the same identity.

Social-ecological resilience relates to a) the amount of stress a system can absorb and still remain within a given state, b) the degree to which a system is capable of self organization, and c) the degree to which the system can build capacity for learning and adaptation (Berkes and Folke 1998).

Adger (2000) defines social resilience as the ability of communities to withstand external shocks to their social infrastructure, such as environmental variability, social, economic or political upheaval, and to recover from such perturbations.

Social resilience incorporates economic, spatial and institutional dimensions, therefore it requires interdisciplinary understanding and analysis at different scales, but due to its institutional context it should only be applied to communities and societies rather than to individuals as it is related to the social capital of societies and communities (Adger 2000). Adger (2000) defines institutions in the broadest sense, namely as modes of socialized behaviour and formal structures of governance and law.

The link between social and ecological resilience can be indicated by the degree of dependency of a society on certain resources. Indicators of this are income stability, social stability and migration (Adger 2000). The level of resilience depends on the diversity of the community, whether it is dependent on a single resource or multiple resources, perhaps from different ecosystems or income from different sources. A society is more resilient to change and disruption if it relies on several livelihoods such as farming, fishing and other employment, as it then has the ability to lean on the other inputs if one fails, as long as these livelihoods are not interconnected. A society that relies on both beach tourism and fishing might be more resilient as they have inputs from two different sources. On the other hand, both of these would suffer if an oil spill destroyed the beach and fishing opportunities.

Gunderson et al. (2002) claims that ecological knowledge, both traditional and scientific, gives insight and understanding to the management regime of the social- ecological system. Traditional ecological knowledge refers to a cumulative body of knowledge and beliefs, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings with one another and with their environment. Local knowledge is the knowledge generated through observations of the local environment and held by a specific group of people (Gunderson et al. 2002). This kind of knowledge is part of the cultural capital by which societies convert natural capital into human- made capital. According to Gunderson et al. (2002) knowledge as capital is similar to nature as capital. There are different levels of knowledge: namely information, knowledge, understanding and wisdom. Gunderson et al. (2002) refers to knowledge in terms of managing natural resources. I will show that knowledge is also necessary in terms of social resilience where knowledge is important for a society to respond, manage and adapt to changes.

According to Walker et al. (2004) the trajectory of social- ecological systems are governed by three main attributes; namely resilience, adaptability and transformability. Transformability is the capacity to create a fundamentally new system when ecological, economic, or social structures make the existing system untenable. Adaptability is the capacity of actors within the system to influence resilience. In social- ecological systems this mainly relates to individuals ability to function as a group to intentionally or unintentionally maintain or alter the system which they are in (Walker et. al 2004).

Adger (2000) argues that whilst ecological resilience has a longer history of research and documentation in relations to human impact, social resilience has not been explored to the same extent, and he questions if the term has the same relevance as ecological resilience. According to Marshal and Marshal (2007) social- ecological resilience is very context specific and can be viewed in different ways. It is possible to experience shifts in the livelihood resource system and thus show capacity to reorganize and change, but essentially maintain the same social functions even though one has changed the resource system which provides the livelihood. Marshal and Marshal (2007) use the example of a fisherman who experiences changes in policy concerning fishing and chooses to change profession to farming. He shows social resilience as he adapts but still maintains the same social functions in earning the same wage, supporting his family and paying the same taxes, but the resource system has changed, characterising a shift from one state to another. Fishermen choosing to remain fishers, only not by choice are socio- ecologically less resilient as they have entered a non- desirable state viewed by their welfare, even though they are maintaining their structure and function within the resource- extractive industry.

An essential part of the social- ecological resilience framework is the adaptive cycle. It incorporates the whole cycle and dynamics of destruction, rearrangement and re-growth instead of only focusing on the growth and conservation face. The way in which nature and society organizes itself and adapt to changes can be described in the phases of the adaptive cycle. The adaptive cycle incorporates four different phases with two different transitions. The first is the frontloop which is the longer, slower and more stable movement from the r phase of growth after the initial faze of pioneering and innovation to the K phase of conservation and accumulation of capital such as biomass and knowledge. The K phase can be illustrated with the pine forest in Norway with its stability of species and slow growth and accumulation of capital as it is left to grow. The second transition is more rapid and abrupt

back loop from the destructive Omega phase where the original structures are broken down and released through such things as forest fires or outbreaks of pests in the ecological system or a revolution or war in society over to the Alpha phase with quick re-growth where everything is renewed and reorganized where nutrients are made available for pioneer species. In society it is a time of innovation and restructuring such as after the election of a new leader or peace after war (Gunderson and Holling 2002, www.resalliance.org, Walker and Salt 2006).

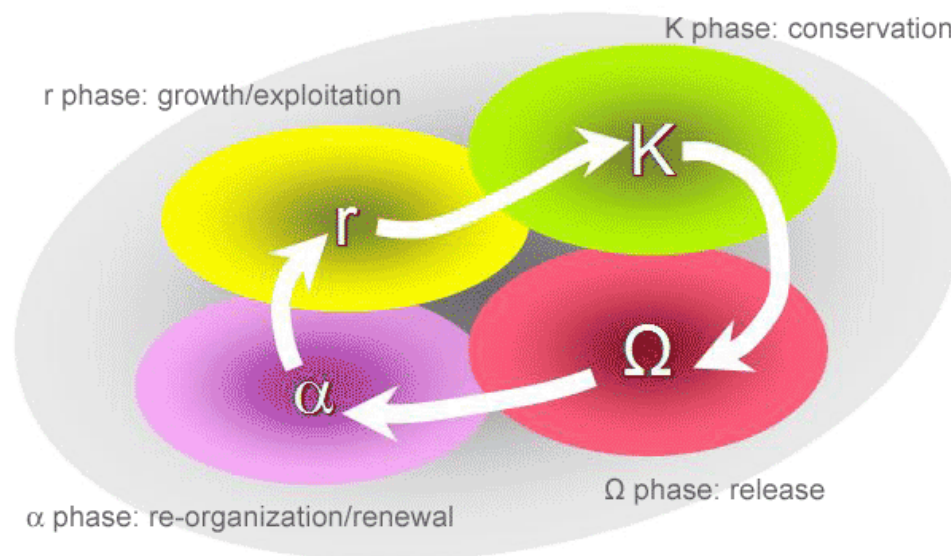


Figure 3: The adaptive cycle, as a simple loop, showing possible changes between phases. (Gunderson and Holling 2002)

The adaptive cycle is not a fixed cycle and varies from situation to situation in both ecological and social systems. Berkes & Folke (1998) articulate that it is the social, political and economic organization and the institutions that govern them that is the crucial part of the sustainability of the relationships between society and the ecosystems that it depends on. An essential part in adaptive management is the response to feedbacks from that which is managed and to learn from them. *“The term feedback refers to the result of any behaviour which may reinforce or modify subsequent behaviour, in this case sustainability refers to the ability to recognize and respond to environmental feedbacks in the ecosystem which provides the livelihood services”* (Berkes & Folke 1998). With the focus on change and feedbacks adaptive management incorporates the unpredictability in the social- ecological systems and focuses on institutional learning.

Successful management systems need to learn and adapt to their surroundings to be sustainable. In the case of Mafia Island this can be viewed as the ability of the District officials to respond to its inhabitants, and the investors to respond to the needs of villagers and visitors, and for villagers to give feedbacks and respond to opportunities given.

2.1.2 Ross & Walls framework for the evaluation and development of ecotourism

Ross and Wall (1999a, 1999b) argue that ecotourism has the potential of giving a synergistic relationship between conservation, tourism and local development. In two consecutive papers they present, justify and apply a framework which is meant as a tool to evaluate and develop ecotourism destinations with a focus on building positive linkages between natural resources, people and tourism. In this they justify the view that local communities and natural resources have a symbiotic relationship, and tourism can help maintain or develop a positive relationship between the two.

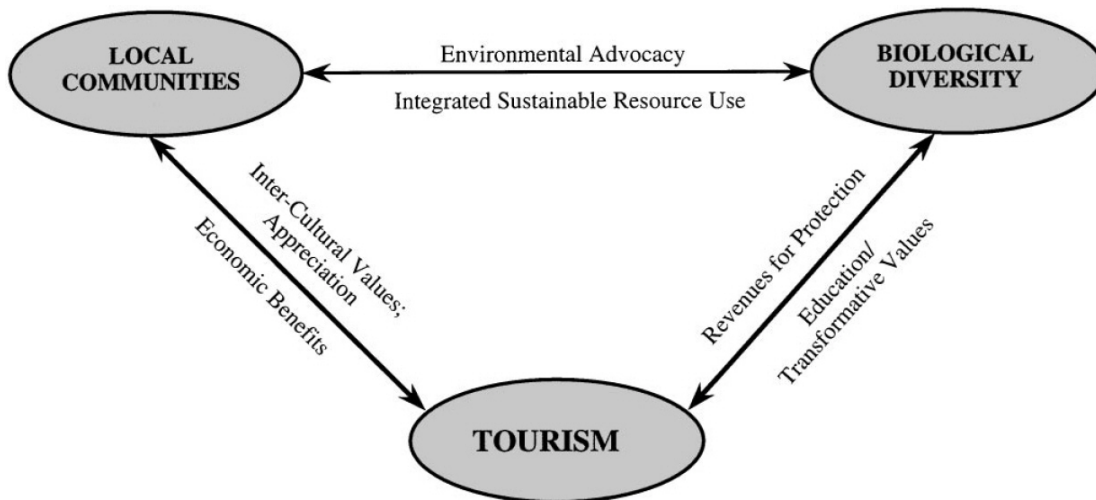


Figure 4: The Ecotourism triangle, showing the synergistic relationship between the three parts (Ross & Wall 1999).

However, according to Ross & Wall (1999) ecotourism can not be successful without good management. Good management consists of management agencies, protected area policies, NGOs' and other organisations and helps facilitate a good relationship between local communities, biological diversity and tourism.

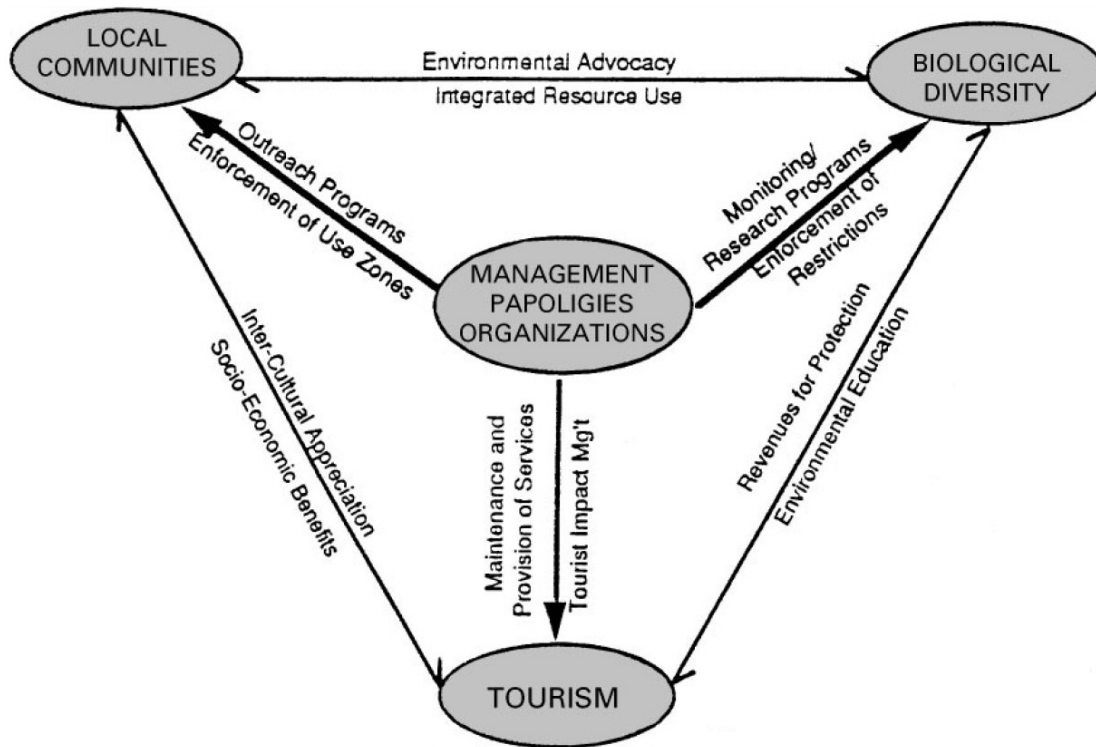


Figure 5: Management agencies, protected area policies and other organizations such as local development assistance agencies influence the attainment of symbiotic relationships (Ross & Wall 1999)

Local communities:

Ross & Wall (1999a) emphasises the importance of local participation and influence over resource use and development of tourism for ecotourism to be successful. They argue that local inhabitants must be able to express their opinions and be heard, to be able to inform and keep a dialogue concerning conservation efforts and to develop tourism in an appropriate way.

Another important aspect is the local populations' dependence and use of local natural resources. Ross & Wall (1999a) has suggested indicators to evaluate if the relationship between local residents and the natural resources is healthy.

Examples of indicators which may be used to assess the status of relationships between people and protected areas

Community characteristics	Characteristics of natural area ecosystems and their inhabitants	Examples of relationship indicators
Population sizes (e.g. per sq km)	Size of protected area	Degree of dependence on natural resources
Livelihood strategies	Ecosystem health (including extent of external impacts)	Local attitudes towards conservation
Social welfare of residents (including health, safety and education)	Number of endangered species/habitats	Extent of local participation in conservation (number and types)
Social structure/values <i>Religion</i> <i>Culture</i> <i>Traditional values</i> <i>Familial cohesion</i> <i>Exposure/flexibility to change</i>	Population dynamics/statistics and composition of flora and fauna (minimum viable populations)	Nature of relationship between locals and protected area employees
Local uses of protected area	Inherent ecosystem sensitivities <i>disturbance/succession regimes</i> <i>soil qualities</i> <i>predatory-prey relationships</i> <i>interdependent links among species</i>	Integrated use zones? (frequency of use)

Figure 6: Indicators for relationship between people and protected area.

One of the main attributes of ecotourism is the benefits the inhabitants gain by social, economic and infrastructure improvements. Ross and Walls (1999) suggested indicators used to evaluate these are:

Possible economic, infrastructural and social benefits to local people from ecotourism

Type of benefit	Form of benefit	Examples of indicators
Economic benefits	Increased employment opportunities (guides, transportation, construction; protected area employees; restaurants, motels, shops, retail, etc.) Entrepreneurship Distribution of tourist revenues	Number of Locals employed in tourism-related employment Number of local entrepreneurs (restaurants, shops, entertainers, accommodations); Ratio of locals to outsiders
Infrastructure benefits	Access to goods and services Quality/access to health care; education Communication infrastructure Transportation infrastructure	Distance of nearest town for goods and services including health care/education provisions (Quality of) mail delivery, telephones, electricity supply? Quality of roads, public transportation?
Social welfare benefits	The indirect benefits of improved infrastructure, ture, and socio-economic status Status of environmental conditions Intercultural appreciation Strengthening of cultural pride heritage	Health and education levels of residents, effects of increased disposable income Nature of local-tourist interactions Locals attitudes towards tourists and tourism Authentic or commodified opportunities to view or experience local culture

Figure 7: Indicators for social, economic and infrastructure benefits.

According to Ross and Wall (1999) tourism should contribute to the protection of the area through education, awareness raising and increased income. Tourism should also be managed in such a way that the presence of the visitors does not harm the environment. Not all the indicators in this framework will be used due to time limitations. Indicators focused on are those that coincide with Scheyvens' (1999) framework.

2.1.3 Scheyvens' empowerment framework

To complement the social part of Ross and Walls (1999) framework, Scheyvens' empowerment framework will be used in addition to this.

Scheyvens (1999) uses four levels of empowerment, namely Friedman's (1992) division of psychological, political and social empowerment, including these she also uses economic empowerment.

Friedman discusses empowerment on the household level where social power relates to access to information, knowledge, skills, financial resources and participation in social organisations. Political power concerns the access individual has to decisions concerning their own future, also within families. Psychological power is concerned with individual sense of potency that, when strengthened, will again have positive effects on social and political power. Psychological power will not be dealt with in this thesis as it is on an individual level and does not coincide with the nature of this research.

The concept of empowerment is disputed as it is debated if power is something one can transfer from one entity to another, or even be forced upon a group or individual as a solution. The question is if power is something that only can be obtained by a group or individual from within.

Titi and Singh (1995) discuss empowerment in terms of social learning, and an approach of participation, by using local knowledge and experience from those being excluded from power. However, they point to the ambiguousness of the powerful yielding power to those without, as they are doing it to manage the powerless.

Craig et al. (1995) claim that the assumptions that the subjects in question want to be empowered in the way that those in power find essential is not necessarily what would be desired.

However, I choose to use this framework as the economic, psychological, social and political power relations are good indicators and measurements of effects of tourism in a society. This framework is also a good addition to Ross and Walls (1999) framework to elaborate more on social consequences.

Scheyvens’ (1999) emphasizes the fact that the remote and undisturbed areas that are most sought after by tourists, and are in most need of development, are the same areas that are most vulnerable to cultural disruption and environmental degradation. Furthermore she argues that ecotourism needs to start from the needs and concerns of the local population to avoid alienation. The main purpose should be to enhance the well-being of people living adjacent to natural areas, as well as protecting the natural resources. Even though the economic income in communities is increased does not mean that the well being of the people has increased as it does not take into consideration the social and cultural changes that might take place, or the uneven distribution of the revenues. According to Scheyvens (1999), people need to maximize the benefits, and to exert some form of control over what is happening in their area.

Framework for determining the impacts of ecotourism initiatives on local communities

	Signs of empowerment	Signs of disempowerment
Economic empowerment	Ecotourism brings lasting economic gains to a local community. Cash earned is shared between many households in the community. There are visible signs of improvements from the cash that is earned (e.g. improved water systems, houses made of more permanent materials).	Ecotourism merely results in small, spasmodic cash gains for a local community. Most profits go to local elites, outside operators, government agencies, etc. Only a few individuals or families gain direct financial benefits from ecotourism, while others cannot find a way to share in these economic benefits because they lack capital and/or appropriate skills.
Psychological empowerment	Self-esteem of many community members is enhanced because of outside recognition of the uniqueness and value of their culture, their natural resources and their traditional knowledge. Increasing confidence of community members leads them to seek out further education and training opportunities. Access to employment and cash leads to an increase in status for traditionally low-status sectors of society e.g. women, youths.	Many people have not shared in the benefits of ecotourism, yet they may face hardships because of reduced access to the resources of a protected area. They are thus confused, frustrated, disinterested or disillusioned with the initiative.
Social empowerment	Ecotourism maintains or enhances the local community’s equilibrium. Community cohesion is improved as individuals and families work together to build a successful ecotourism venture. Some funds raised are used for community development purposes, e.g. to build schools or improve roads.	Disharmony and social decay. Many in the community take on outside values and lose respect for traditional culture and for elders. Disadvantaged groups (e.g. women) bear the brunt of problems associated with the ecotourism initiative and fail to share equitably in its benefits. Rather than cooperating, individuals, families, ethnic or socio-economic groups compete with each other for the perceived benefits of ecotourism. Resentment and jealousy are commonplace.
Political empowerment	The community’s political structure, which fairly represents the needs and interests of all community groups, provides a forum through which people can raise questions relating to the ecotourism venture and have their concerns dealt with. Agencies initiating or implementing the ecotourism venture seek out the opinions of community groups (including special interest groups of women, youths and other socially disadvantaged groups) and provide opportunities for them to be represented on decision-making bodies e.g. the Wildlife Park Board.	The community has an autocratic and/or self-interested leadership. Agencies initiating or implementing the ecotourism venture treat communities as passive beneficiaries, failing to involve them in decision-making. Thus the majority of community members feel they have little or no say over <i>whether</i> the ecotourism initiative operates or <i>the way</i> in which it operates.

Figure 8: Indicators for determining impacts of ecotourism.

2.2 Field methods

The data was collected between October 2007 and January 2008.

I lived in the village in the small island of Chole. I shared house with a woman employed in CSWD. I tried to spend my free time socialising with and observing the people around me. I also took part in everyday activities such as collecting water from the well to be able to meet and talk with as many villagers as possible. This was also important to become a familiar face in the village so that it would be easier for people to trust me and relax around me. During my stay in Chole and time spent in Utende I had the chance to do many observations and have many informal conversations.

To acquire information about people's thoughts and perceptions of tourism I conducted semi structured interviews (Bryman 2004). 20 persons each from Utende, Chole and Juani were selected by convenience and snowball sampling, with the aid of the interpreter, field guide or village chairmen. I attempted to spread the sample between both genders and different age groups, but an overweight of older males are represented. The sampling is a non probability sample, so it is not representative for the population in the individual villages or for Mafia in general.

Introductory visits were made in Chole Mjini, Kinasi, MIMP and the District Office to notify of my presence, explain my project and agree on later meetings.

The research process started with village interviews in Chole where the questions were tried out on four respondents. The interview guide was then adapted to what was more relevant and to acquire as much information as possible. Some questions were removed, some added and some were re-written to be clearer.

Village interviews were then conducted in Chole, Utende and Juani. A translator was used in these interviews. Due to difficulties I had to switch translators after conducting the interviews in Chole. In Utende a translator and field guide was used, in Juani only a translator with knowledge of the area was used.

Focus group interviews were also done in all three villages with a combination of older and younger men where a trend chart was made and relevant topics discussed. The combination of

older and younger men was to form a group with knowledge of the area over time, and to see if there were any differences in opinions between generations. Two translators were used in these group discussions to help take notes and to limit loss of information as several people may talk at one time. Participants were acquired with a combination of help from the village chairmen and through snowball sampling.

One participant observation (Bryman 2004) I did was to take part in a course in Chole with School for International Training (SIT). The SIT students is a group of undergraduate student from the USA that come to Zanzibar and Mafia for field based learning for two weeks to be educated in participatory research and in marine ecology by the investors in Chole Mjini . They come to Chole after they have been in Zanzibar for classes there. They have also had Kiswahili lessons and cultural sensitization classes. The group spend one week in the hotel having classes, and then spend one week living in the houses of villagers spending time with the families. The families receive payment for housing the student. They have to apply to have the students living there, the investors are the ones to decide who gets to have a student in their home and not. Part of the course is practicing different interview techniques with informants in the village. The topic of the practice was tourism opportunities in Chole. I took part in this to see how the villagers and the students interacted and to learn what the outcome of the interviews was. All the students were American.

I also participated in an English practice class at the learning centre to socialise with the participants there. These were mainly young men, and some women, who wanted to work with tourism.

I participated in a meeting concerning illegal fishing within the marine park with participants from different villages, MIMP, dive masters from Kinasi and the owners of Chole Mjini.

I did interviews and follow up interviews with the manager of Kinasi and with the owners of Chole Mjini. An interview was attempted done with the owner of Kinasi hotel, but was not possible due to shortage of time of the investors side. Questions were sent and answered over mail instead.

Interviews and follow up interviews were done with several employees in MIMP and in the District Office. Secondary data such as reports, management plans, project proposals and

meeting minutes were collected from MIMP, the Districts Office and NGOs, which together with interviews and observations made out an important part of establishing triangulation. I also had a meeting in the statistics office of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism to acquire statistical information on tourism in Tanzania.

A short phone interview was done with the leader of Seasense, an NGO doing work in Juani. As she was on leave at the moment, it was agreed that questions were to be sent over mail. But there has been no answer even after several reminders. Their homepage has been used for information.

2.3 Limitations of the study

The study was done over three to four months, the time limitation was a factor when it comes to trust between the researcher and the informants. Three months might not have been long enough for me to be fully trusted by the villagers which might have caused biases in the answers. Part of this trust also comes down to how I was perceived in the village during the research. The fact that I am a westerner and believed to be wealthy compared to the villagers might have caused a feeling of inferiority among villagers. As I quote from the interviews, a lady said that we are afraid of the white people, they are rich and we are not which states that many might be uncomfortable with this apparent difference between me and themselves.

The fact that I do not speak Kiswahili led me to associate with people who spoke English when my translator was not present. Most of these, except a few younger boys employed by one of the hotels, were not local to the village. One of my friends was also a European girl newly employed as a teacher by the hotel. The fact that I associated myself with people also perceived as newcomers or outsiders to the village might have hindered my integration in the village and made me not as trusted as I could have been.

Some people might have had agendas when answering questions as they have hopes that the results might be read by someone in decision making positions, thus people might give more negative answers on questions concerning income and benefits from tourism hoping that it might benefit them more at a later time.

As the sample was a non- probability sample the results may be unequal to the population as the respondents were chosen through the translators/field guides contacts and with the aid of village leaders, some individuals are more likely to be chosen than others. The respondents are not equally distributed between genders and age groups since older males are more represented. Part of the reason was that women declined to be interviewed more often. One of the reasons for this was that people were used to receiving money for being interviewed and many women chose not to take time out of their daily activities if they were not compensated for it.

People in the area I operated were also suffering from researcher fatigue. Many were tired of having to answer questions from people they did not know, and they did not feel they were gaining anything from it as they did not see any improvement in their daily lives from this. During the short time I was there I met three other researcher operating in the same area as I did. Many times people agreed to talk with me out of politeness or because I promised to give my thesis to MIMP and to the District Office because the respondents wanted people in power to read what they had to say. I always explained that I was a student and not a person with any decision making power, therefore I never promised that my thesis would actually change anything as I did not want to create increased expectations or false hopes.

The language barrier was a big obstacle in this research. Even though I was living in Chole village I could not really get close to many of my neighbours as we could not have a proper conversation. As I did not speak Kiswahili I needed to use a translator for the village interviews. The first interpreter I hired to assist me in Chole had to be replaced as he was unreliable time wise, also I suspected he might have been creating biases when selecting informants as he was good friends with the hotel owners on Chole. Besides this he appeared to be not well liked by some villagers. I then hired a university student doing practical work in MIMP and also hired a field guide as I needed someone who knew the area and people of Utende. After finishing the interviews in Utende my second interpreter had to go back to his work. I then hired my previous field guide as an interpreter as his English was very good. I was sceptical at first as he was only 17, but he had a good understanding of the research process. According to Bryman (2004) it is an advantage to use the same translator throughout the research so that the person understands and can take part in achieving the goals of the research. In my case it was not an option, and it also turned out to be an advantage to change translators. When I started using my last translator I found that it was much easier to conduct

interviews with younger men and women. I believe this was because he was very young; his appearance is also fairly young for his age. I believe that the fact that he was not an adult male made it easier for women and young men to express themselves as they did not see him as an authority. This can also be explained by Berremanns (1962) article “*Behind many masks*” where he describes how a change in interpreter from a high cast Hindu to a Muslim in a Hindu village during his fieldwork gave him access to new sides of the life in the village he was working in. He explains this by Goffmans (1959) theory of impression management in which people seek to control the impression others receive of them, and which changes according to situation and person receiving.

3.0 Results

3.1 Chole Mjini and Kinasi Hotel

3.1.1 Chole Mjini Hotel

Environmental concerns

The hotels environmental concerns are evaluated from interviews with the investors about their policies and practices, no further investigations except observations were done. The research is thus more concerned with the investors’ opinions and standpoint concerning environmental protection than the hotels impact on the environment.

According to the investors Chole Mjini was constructed trying to minimize the destruction on its surroundings by using local materials and big mangrove logs from forest clearing in the mainland. The roofing is made from palm leaves woven by villagers.

No mangroves were cleared in Chole, but an already existing port giving an opening among the mangroves into the bay has been maintained. One tree was cut down, the rest of the tree houses and paths were built around the baobabs and trees that are there. The hotel is visible from the bay and from the surrounding paths. It does however for the most part blend in with its surroundings as it is made from wood and palm leaves.

According to the owners Chole Mjini does not have its own well, but uses brackish water well for the showers and laundry. They bring in water from a bore hole well in Utende for kitchen water. The drinking water is bottled water. They do not have an accurate measure of the amount of water they use. They only have one flushing toilet, the rest are long drop toilets as I

could observe when visiting. Each tree house has its own outdoor shower with an individual water tank.

Waste and wastewater management are important matters in environmental concerns. In Chole Mjini the investors explained that the liquid from the long drop toilets is stored in sealed tanks which overflow and the wastewater soaks into the ground. The faecal break down in the tank. According to the investors the tanks are situated away from any wells to avoid contamination. Grey water is used to water the gardens. The water from the showers flow directly in to the gardens.

Organic matter is composted and used in the gardens. Papers and other suitable waste is burned, the rest is buried. Often bottles and other usable things are reused by villagers. According to the owner children from the village play in their waste dumps picking things with them. This happened to me as well, after throwing things out small children would come and pick out things such as boxes and bottles and play with them. Many a time the things ended up back inside my house scattered around.

Employment

Chole Mjini has 40 full time employees and 10 casual employees at the time of the fieldwork. If one takes into consideration short time employment for building, and also suppliers of fish, vegetables, and handicrafts and other goods and services they support about a hundred people, according to the owners.

According to the owners they have put down certain criteria for employing people. Namely that the person must be from Chole and that as few as possible should be from the same family to spread the benefits of employment throughout the population of the island. This is followed to the extent it is possible. They have a man from Zanzibar in charge of the staff, and some Maasai watchmen from Arusha employed. They have trained their staff in most skills needed for running the lodge, including language, service and some have also been trained in diving. According to the owner they have a policy in which they do not fire any of their employees, but during my last week there, and after my departure I got words from other sources that several people were let go.

Code of conduct

Chole Mjini has a specific code of conduct for the visitors. According to the contract of January 2007 it was made in collaboration with the villagers. However, as mentioned there are disputes about this contract.

The hotel owners have agreed in the contract to educate the visitors how to behave respectfully in the village. In each tree house there is an information pamphlet asking the visitors to cover their shoulders and knees when entering the village.

In the village interviews many respondents mentioned an improvement in behaviour of the visitors as a response to this contract. Many appreciated that the visitors for the most part covered themselves up and did not take pictures without asking.

Involvement in conservation

According to the hotel owners they originally have not engaged themselves in conservation as a part of their sustainable tourism project, but have seen themselves forced to take part in these efforts out of necessity as the conservation has not been satisfactory. According to the project description (1995) sent to the Woman's Front of Norway stated that projects associated with the Chole Mjini Conservation and Development Project will aim to promote the involvement of the local community in the monitoring and management of the marine park and the sustainable utilization of natural resources.

They have taken part in initiating the Mafia Island Whaleshark Association to explore tourism opportunities within the area and to encourage and give incentives to protect them among affected villages.

During the fieldwork period a meeting took place where pictures had been taken by the investors of reefs destroyed by illegal fishing methods. The investors had approached the park warden with these photos. MIMP then initiated a meeting, which took place 10.11.2007, with local stakeholders to address the ongoing illegal fishing activities in the area. There were 37 participants in this meeting including myself, amongst who were village leaders, diving instructors from Kinasi and others.

Community work

According to the owners Chole Mjini Lodge was started up with community development in mind not merely as a business venture alone. Their idea was that development projects are rarely sustainable. Their wish was to create something that was sustainable in itself and to educate two generations of the children on Chole as they believe it would make a lasting positive change for the community.

The owners of Chole Mjini Lodge has taken part in many development projects in Chole and are trying to keep some of them financially sustainable by outside donations and by giving \$10 each night from each adult guest staying at the lodge.

Societies

The projects started up are Chole Social Development Society (CSDS) and Chole Economic Development Society (CEDS). These two are given \$5 each per \$10 received from the guests. CSDS is directed more at contributing to the hospital, school and other social development matters whilst CEDS is supposed to also provide loans for small business development, but their responsibilities are intertwined. The investors took part in initiating the Harambee committee in the island which is funded by individual donors giving money each month. Most of these donors are guests having signed to give support and donors who signed up at a charity event in England. It supports children whom have passed their exams and want to go to secondary school.

Chole Society for Women's Development builds upon a political party's women's group in Chole. It started being active as CSWD in 1997 and has received funding since 1997 and registered as an organization in 2000. It was restarted by the support of the investors, CSDS and Kvinnefronten (Women's front of Norway).

One of the investors of Chole Mjini started working with the group voluntarily and later took a paid position as project manager. CSWD took part in starting up and running the Chole health centre, the kindergarten, the Learning centre and the Market, some of which are also funded by CSDS and CEDS.

Apart from starting up these societies and providing funding through the guests the owners have been active in attracting funding from other donors as well, such as the British council and the women's front in Norway. They also give direct donations from the hotel outside the agreed payment per guest.

The learning centre established by CSWD was set up to teach whoever wanted to attend it , to obtain English and computer skills. However, the computers have been stolen. There is an English teacher working in the learning centre. He teaches small groups of people, both men and women, everyday. Every Friday there is a discussion group in English to practice conversation skills. I took part in this group four times. From my observations mostly a group of 4-5 young men took part in these discussions. One girl attended the group one time, and once I saw two other women be taught by him in daytime. I observed that he also taught a few younger boys of around 12 years of age. All in all, my impression was that few people compared to the population on Chole took the opportunity of learning English, and of those taking the opportunity mostly men did so.

Relations with public sector

The owners of Chole Mjini are quite disappointed with the leadership of MIMP as they find they are not efficient enough in protecting the coral reefs. They recognize that their funds are limited so they cannot patrol to the extent necessary, but they wanted MIMP to have a patrol boat on the water at all times so they could react quickly. They also blame them for being to political and not using the chances they have of making a difference. In a meeting showing pictures of broken reefs one of the investors suggested a warning system where people could notify anonymously of illegal fishing using text messages, and being rewarded for their actions.

Relations with villagers

Chole Mjini consulted the village in village meetings before buying land and commencing building the hotel. According to the owners they have taken a great interest in village life and have contributed to many parts of the society.

There have been some problems concerning the CSWD and the hotel. In an evaluation report made by two independent researchers for Kvinnefronten (CSWD evaluation 2004), it states that the project manager handed in her resignation in February of 2004 after tensions between

villagers, Chole Mjini and CSWD. Although much had been achieved with the women's group during her time, and also in spite of her experience in the field of community development and knowledge of Swahili and English it was recommended in the report that she should not continue her position as project manager. The tensions were due to disagreements between the initial investors and their respective supporters in the village. There were also tensions due to the making of a legal contract between the village and the hotel and due to the dual role of hotel owner and project manager of CSWD.

There have also been other conflicts between CSWD/Kvinnefronten and Chole Mjini. There has been, and still is disagreement over the market place that was built. Chole Mjini meant that it was made on their land and that it should now be used for other purposes and is building a new market place on the other side of the island to replace it. According to Kvinnefronten the land where the market currently is was given to them, and the eviction is done in an unreasonable way. This is however, a complicated disagreement which is not yet resolved. At the time I was there only a few women were selling goods. There were few people around and I never observed anybody buying anything there. But in talks with one of the women selling her goods there she stated that: *"It is working well. But we don't want to move. In this place we make business from those waiting for the ferry, they buy sodas. We come and sell here every day, but not on Sundays."*

The construction of the new market was more or less finished when I was there. It is situated on the other side of the island next to a boat yard. It was unknown when or if the move would happen.

Another disagreement between the investors and the villagers is the building of a fence around the ruins next to the hotel. Many villagers disagree and do not understand the reason for the building of the fence as it reaches down to the beach and blocks a path they have used when passing to the ferry. According to the hotel owners the ruins were on land that they had purchased, and the fence was built as part of a new scheme with guiding in the ruins, which was also one of the reasons for repossessing the market. The market was to be a reception for tourists visiting the island where they can hire a guide and buy/borrow kangas' if they are not appropriately dressed. The guiding was to help employ younger people on the island, and a group of young boys and some girls were given a guide course whilst I was there. None of the income was to go to the hotel itself, but to the guide and for maintenance of the market building. According to Gössling (1999) guiding may be a key issue within tourism benefits,

while creating additional jobs, it maximizes the knowledge tourists can gain. Moreover, guides control visitor behaviour in protected areas, and thereby increase carrying capacities (Gössling 1999).

The building of the fence was also for security reasons. According to the investors the ruins are unsafe and stones can fall from them, and they do not want to be held responsible for that. It is claimed that the land which has now been fenced and some of the buildings within it was not part of the land belonging to the hotel and was illegally possessed, this is not yet settled.

There are two contracts that have been signed between the villagers and Chole: one is from 1996, the other from January 2007. The contract is supposed to guide the relationship between the villagers and the hotel. A quote from within the CSWD evaluation (2004) made by an adult male states that:” *The issue of the contract and the women’s group should be kept separate. Let the hoteliers work out their differences, then we can get a contract. It’s ok if the hoteliers stay; as long as we have a contract we can live together in peace (CSDW 2004:84).*” There has been criticism of the last contract, mainly giving too much power to the hotel owners.

3.1.2 Kinasi hotel

Environmental concerns

As in Chole Mjini the evaluation of the hotels relationship with natural resources is done by interview with the manager about their policies and practices, no further investigation is done except observations during visits.

Kinasi is built using mostly concrete and have used local material where possible. Most of the roof is made using woven palm leaves which is made by locals. This could also be observed as one of the villagers was making ceiling material for Kinasi as I was interviewing him.

Mangroves were cleared to make a beach front on Kinasi, how large an area could not be confirmed.

Kinasi has their own groundwater bore hole where they obtain their water. They use about 10,000L of freshwater everyday; this includes water for the swimming pool and water for the rooms, kitchen and laundry.

According to the owner Kinasi separates the black water and grey water into different tanks. In the first interview the manager claimed the black water is disposed into the communal sewage system, but there is no such thing according to the sanitation engineers in the District Office. In the second interview he claimed it was stored in septic tanks, but it could not be confirmed by any other source.

There is an ongoing project to utilize grey water for watering the gardens. The kitchen and laundry water is to be collected into septic tanks where it will be chemically cleaned. The project is planned to start up between March and June when there is no occupancy and the water can be turned off. According to the manager the future plans may be to utilise grey water from the rooms as well.

During the fieldwork period Kinasi was starting to utilize its own biogas plant. As I was shown biodegradable kitchen waste was put in to two black tanks which produced biogas for kitchen use. The by-products of the biogas plants might be used as compost in their garden.

Any wastes not suitable for the biogas plant, such as plastic and glass are incinerated in a high temperature boiler; bottles that are not used are taken to Dar es Salaam to be dumped in a proper way.

Employment

The hotel has 50 employees in which six are expatriates from South Africa, Italy and Thailand. The expatriates are employed as management, diving instructors or in the spa. Kinasi hires based on interest in the job and according to the application. However, locals are given priority; one of the reasons for this is that it provides more stability as the employee will have his home and family there. Local does not mean local to Utende only, but to all of Mafia. All employees are hired for full time and have a contract according to the manager. The employees are continuously being trained in the skills necessary. According to the owner it is a problem that people continue to resign for the reason that they are given jobs elsewhere because of their qualifications.

Code of conduct

Kinasi does not have a specific code of conduct for the visitors. However, they have information in all the rooms where they are advised on how to dress and behave respectfully when walking in the villages and when going on tours. According to the manager guests are

encouraged to leave the hotel premises in company with a local guide to be guided around the area and to behave respectfully.

Involvement in conservation

The official stand when it comes to conservation is that it is MIMPs responsibility also because their guests already are paying \$10 per day they are staying there in fees to MIMP. However, Kinasi is starting up farming using sustainable methods, and also wants to use it as a model farm and are willing to show and instruct other farmers in the area who wants to stop using slash and burn methods. As all companies involved in diving in the area, their presence around the protected reefs is making it more difficult to do illegal fishing in the area. Through the Mafia Island Association the owner of Kinasi, has taken interest in getting involved in the solid waste issue in Kilindoni and environmental management in Bweni village, no recent updates could be found on this. This information was displayed in the hotel through pamphlets informing visitors on this and it was elaborated on through questions answered over e-mail.

Community work

The owner of Kinasi claims that private businesses should not be expected to contribute to community development as it is not the responsibility of the investors. He chooses to contribute to community development because he wants to.

The owner of Kinasi and his wife started up the Mafia Island Association in 2004 as a means to implement community based programs for development and conservation efforts. It is funded by Kinasi hotel and any guest who wants to contribute. One of the issues they have focused on is “adopting” some schools. One school in Kilindoni and one in Bweni are supported by Kinasi hotel/Mafia association. They provide school equipment such as desks, books, some second hand computers and have also been active in building classrooms in a school in SongoSongo and in Kilindoni and a teacher’s house in Bweni village. Direct monetary contributions have been done in the past, but were not successful as the manager claims the funds were not utilised in a proper way. Although they have contributed in providing a well in Utende the Mafia Island Association has chosen to do most of the community work away from Utende so as not to give any signals of wanting anything in return.

Relations with public sector

Kinasi hotel and its owner are not very impressed by the public sector in Mafia. The owner of Kinasi is disappointed in the work of MIMP and the Districts Office. He claims that they have had many opportunities to create better relations between the villagers and themselves. He feels that the management of MIMP can be improved. This gives an illustration of the nature of their cooperation. When it comes to relations with the District authorities the response is somewhat more mixed:

“We now have a much better relationship with district authorities thanks to an enlightened DC; before that we had 20 years of bad and corrupt DCs and a particularly nasty RC.”

Relations with villagers

According to the owner of Kinasi the villagers of Utende were consulted before the hotel was built, in village interviews there was disagreements over this. The manager has not been working there since the beginning and could not say for certain if the villagers were consulted before the hotel was built, but could inform that the area in which the hotel was built was already designated as a tourism area before any land was purchased, and he was certain that the villagers were at least informed of that. As will be presented later the villagers interviewed in Utende claims they were not consulted before the hotel was built, and there have been some disputes over land in the area. Particularly one family has been in conflict with the hotel for many years, as they meant the land was only rented to the hotel, the conflict started when the lease was to be renewed. There have been trials over this. According to the owner, this has been settled, according to the family they have not finished with this.

As stated by the manager there is no regular interaction or communication with the villagers or the village council. Since Kinasi hotel is a private enterprise they do not want any interference with the business. There is however regular contact with villagers not employed by the hotel through trade with fruit, fish and vegetables and for casual work such as building and clearing of coconut trees.

3.2 Results from village interviews

3.2.1 Chole

Chole is the small island outside Utende and in low tide you can walk across to Juani. Chole Mjini is situated on this island, which inhabits approximately 800 people.

Decision making and consultation

The villagers of Chole were consulted through village meetings concerning the initiation of the hotel project. The current contract that regulates the interaction between the hotel and the villagers was made January 19 2007, between Chole Mjini Conservation and Development Company Limited and the Chole Village Council. There are, however, unsolved conflicts related to this contract. Nytt avsnitt? Hopp ei linje ned.slik:

Upon interviews concerning tourism investments 13 out of 20 respondents replied they did not know how decisions were made or who made them of these people 4 people said they were passive concerning these things or did not care about them, one made no comment outside besides not knowing. 9 people would like to take part in or know more about the decision making process. Of the ones answering the questions, 6 of the 7 said the villagers were consulted in the decision making process and one replied that all the decisions were made by the central government. When asked who they thought were responsible for decisions concerning tourism investments 6 people's answers were that the Tanzanian Investment Centre (TIC), the District Commissioner (DC), and? MIMP played a part in the decision making process. Several people I talked with had taken part in meetings regarding Chole Mjini at some point, but could not specify the time. Many people were surprised about the questions of consultation and the decision making process and either did not understand them to begin with or avoided to answer them because they were not sure about the answers and were embarrassed about this. Apparently, many had not given much thought to this, although some said they would like to take more part in the decision making, but had not acted upon this wish.

Income from tourism

The respondents were asked if they had any income at all from tourism, 8 out of 20 said they had no income from tourism themselves. Of these 8 people, 2 of them answered that someone in their family had an income from tourism. 12 out of 20 respondents said they had, or used to have, some income from tourism, but as it is not a probability sample it should not be viewed

as representative for the population. Three of the respondents were either employed by Chole Mjini or they supplied the hotel. The others sold food or handicrafts directly to tourists. Most of the money made from tourists was occasionally added income; some women were making money selling baobab sweets to children, but have on occasion sold to tourists passing by. Some women were making mkeka's, a mat woven from dried leaves, and selling it at the women's market. Only one person not employed by the hotel was spending most of his time earning a living of tourism, namely a man selling his own paintings, he was also farming. Many of the women had wanted to work for the hotel and had enquired about work, but they were told that there was none available.

A few of the respondents showed some anger towards the hotel because of the apparent differences in wealth between the owners and visitors and the villagers. The community on Chole is based on norms of equality, thus there were some unhappy comments asking why 'they have so much when we have so little.' These comments were directed at both, the visitors and the hotel owners.

An older retired male who used to take tourists out in boats, told me that life was 95% good in the village now. He stated that: *"Before, people had no money to buy fish. Even if you had fish, you could not sell it because no people had money to buy it. Life is good now, the young people can buy things and they can go to Dar es Salaam. They become educated. People stop fishing and go working again."*

The bad thing is that when the lodge came, people stopped coming to the villages to stay there and to go diving with the local people's boats. Now they only stay at the lodge.

Now the hotels have everything themselves, they don't need the locals to come with the boats. Mafia lodge used to have the villagers come with their diving tools, and go with our boats. The president says that when investors come they must invest in the village. The government must change the law so that the hotels can't do everything themselves, the villagers must get some. They should participate and share with their diving tools and equipment. And they never employ the old villagers. The only "income" I have from the tourists now is talking with them and sharing ideas and eating together.... We say we are poor, and they say they are poor, everybody should help each other in their country."

This shows that he recognizes that the economy has become more active due to increased tourism activity. But even though he used to have an income from tourism, he now feels that the opportunity is taken from him as his previous business is taken over by the hotels, and he does not have the chance to work in any hotels because of his age. The fact that he feels the government should take part in managing this, explains that he or the village is not powerful enough to deal with this situation, or that he is used to a strong socialist government which has a higher degree of control over companies. When asked what he meant by saying “*we are poor, and they say they are poor*”, he explained that the tourists he had taken around said that they were poor in their own country, and that their own country had many other poor inhabitants. He did not know which country this was, but the answer had come from a white man.

A general comment given by people who did earn money through tourism was that it did not give a large income. “*I sell some fish to the hotels, but it is not much money,*” one man said. He was a fisherman who also traded fish. He claimed that it did not give much income, but later in the interview, when asked what he would think if tourists stopped coming, he said (it would be very bad, and that he would become very poor, but he would survive by fishing. This indicates that the income many people have is not satisfactory, and they still feel they could get more from the tourism industry. But they have gained something from it, as the thought of it disappearing was not appreciated.

Contact and impressions of tourists

When asked if they had any personal contact with tourists, as in meeting any tourists and talking with them, 8 out of 20 said they had not; they had only seen them and not talked with them. It is worth mentioning here that when asked who was considered a tourist villagers would explain that all white people or westerners were tourists, , regardless of the purpose of the visit,. The only exception would be people who permanently settled on the island, or people who stayed for long periods of time.

3 of the respondents say they have mostly had contact with the owners of the hotel or brief acquaintances with tourists in the past. 6 of the respondents have had SIT students living in their houses.

All the respondents who have hosted students find it to be a positive experience for themselves and for the village. Many people have made efforts to improve their houses to fit the required standard for hosting students. The women are positively surprised to find that the students are willing to help with the housework, *“they even help us to make coconut flour!”* exclaimed one woman telling me about them. Having the students living in and around people might decrease the distance villagers feel to the tourists staying only in the hotel. It might also help to clear up misunderstanding or misconceptions people have of foreigners. According to the village chairman, the SIT students are much appreciated as they bring in money. They also help them to learn about culture and exchange ideas.

When asked in general what the interviewees thought about the tourists, 11 gave a positive response to their idea of the visitors. 6 interviewees were indifferent, but positive. They said the tourists are ok, they come and they look, then they go again. Or they said that the tourists are ok, they don't break our culture. It appears that to these respondents the tourists did not make much of a difference to them, but they did not bother them either. Two people said they like the tourists for no specific reason, two people said they liked the students and did not have anything else to say about other visitors. One person said he liked the tourists because they bring money and one could share ideas with them. One person simply said that we are nice and they are nice.

8 of the respondents gave negative answer to the questions. Two found the visitors to be arrogant and to not care about the villagers. One man said *“white people are selfish, they don't talk with blacks”*.

One woman was very suspicious about the visitors; she did not understand what the visitors were doing or what they wanted by coming to Chole. She had a quite aggressive tone, and looked me straight in the eyes the whole interview and clearly viewed me as one of the people she was talking about. When I asked for her opinion about the visitors, she started by saying: *“They come and walk around, they are asking us questions, what do they want with my life?”*

When trying to ask her further about her opinions she stated that:

We are afraid of foreigners, they have money, and we don't. They come and say nothing of what they are doing, what do they want?

She was not happy with the situation, and felt that things were unfair, especially the obvious difference between her and the visitors who come here.

Why can you come here to our country, and we not go to your countries?

When asking if she felt the visitors had any effect on the children she said, *"the children are nice now, not like before, they are not afraid of the foreigners anymore. But they start begging from them."* I also asked her if she thought the visitors had any effect on the culture: *"No effect on culture, they can't break it, they come and leave. Tourism can't change us. They can come more. The hotel is there, they have their people, I'm here."*

This woman lived right on the path that the tourists use when they are guided around on Chole, so she sees visitors more often than others on the island. One would think that being around tourists would make a person more used to it, but she is not comfortable with their presence, possibly because she feels she has no control or understanding of why they are there. She felt that those who did come in touch with her intruded into her life. She felt there had been an improvement in the relations between children and visitors as they were no longer afraid of them, but that they had now started begging from them, as I, in fact, experienced many a time walking past the kindergarten.

5 of the respondents said that they didn't like that the tourists wore such short or revealing clothes. One respondent claimed that this problem was more prevalent in Utende: *"visitors to Chole have respect for us; they have contact with Chole Mjini and learn to dress properly."* One older male said that he likes some guests, but not others. Some are friendly and greets him, others are arrogant

Benefits from tourism

18 of 20 respondents say there are benefits from tourism. 9 of these 18 answers specifically mentioned the community benefits contributed, among others, by Chole Mjini, education and health benefits. 8 people specifically mentioned money and employment as the benefit, the fact that Chole Mjini and the tourists bring money and business to the community is for the most part regarded as good. Two people of the 17 said that only the young or those who have employment get benefits. One man said there were no benefits except the fact that he could sell fish to the hotel. Two women mentioned contact with SIT students and general development as a benefit from tourism. The 2 persons who said there were no benefits to tourism at all claimed that bad relations with the investors of the hotels was the reason for the lack of benefits.

One woman explained the different benefits she felt her and the community received from tourism in one way or another:

“We get development from tourists. We get money, health and education. We also talk with them, even though we don’t know each other. We get experience in talking English. With the SIT students we get money and help in the house.”

She sums up the different benefits that people felt they had received from tourism. This woman was very positive towards tourists, and she did not have the mixed feelings that many other informants have expressed. She had also had a student in her home at least once, and had experienced it very positively. This may have affected her thoughts concerning other experiences of tourism.

Another woman also sums it up in a similar way, focusing on the material benefits:

“Life has changed with tourism. We have what we need and want; clothes, shoes and we learn English.”

Problems concerning tourism

7 of 20 people said there were no problems with tourism. One of these respondents also said that the only problem was that people of Chole did not appreciate all the benefits brought by tourism. 8 people answered that the main problem with tourism was the existing conflicts between villagers and the hotel. 3 of these 8 people said that they disagreed with regulations the hotel management had carried out, especially concerning the building of a fence around the ruins. These three informants also claimed that the owners of the hotel should cooperate more with the villagers. 5 of the 8 people were concerned about the fact that there was a conflict going on, but they were not concerned with the matter of the conflict

During an interview with one woman, another one was sitting nearby weaving a mat. She could obviously hear what we were saying, and wanted to state her opinion in a matter.

Me: are there any problems with tourism as you see it?

Woman originally being interviewed:

There are many problems with the villages. They are fighting about the school, they want one more house and more teachers. They are fighting over the fence, they never agreed to make a fence, they were given little land, now they have a lot. Now the people have to pass by the toilets.

Woman sitting nearby:

You know, people don't understand about this. We were the ones who gave them the place, now we say: why are they doing this.

Me to the woman I was interviewing: *What do you think about this*

Woman being interviewed (sighing):

We just want to listen to each other and understand more.

This shows that there are different opinions concerning this issue. The final comment also shows that she is avoiding further direct conflict over this issue, but would rather have a solution.

One evening after finishing the interviews scheduled that day, I was walking home with my translator when we happened to meet an elderly man. He stopped my translator and started a discussion with him in Kiswahili so that I would not understand them. After some minutes my translator explained that this man had many strong opinions about the hotel. I asked him if I could interview him, and he just waved us along to his house. During the initial greetings and explanations of my person and mission, another elderly man appeared and joined us in the talk. The two men had much to say about the Chole Mjini and what was going on there.

Me: *So what do you feel is the problem with the hotel (Chole Mjini)?*

Mzee 1: *There is no help from the hotel, they do everything themselves. There is no way for us to do our business with the visitors. The hotel can have the rooms and the food, but let us do the transport and the diving.*

Mzee 2: *Mjini burns us. I had my own things, but Mjini takes the land without saying anything, they take the land near the harbour. I am old, I get nothing. He can't fish because of MIMP, he does seaweed farming, but little money in that, 250(TSh) per kilo. He is skinny, has no food. The hotel should help them; they can have the house, but let them use their tools (....) They are not doing as they agreed with the house for the school; they have made the classroom, but no house for the teacher which they agreed (...) The new market is in a bad place, it is not strong. They took our market too.*

Mzee 1: We don't like the fence! People should come and go as they wished, why did they make the fence? They treat us like animals!

Me: When was the fence made?

Mzee 1: The fence was made August. 2007. It is a long way to walk around the fence. Why did they make the fence? It is as if we have a problem between us, it blocks the old path.

Me: Have you tried talking with them?

Mzee 1: As if they have time to talk with us (...)

Me: Do you get any help from the committees?

Mzee 2: the mzunguz are experienced, they pick the people they want in the committees, the ones that will support them. All those whom work for them are in the committees. They make the villagers hate each other because of that. The Harambee committee has a bad way of choosing it's leaders, it should be democratic. The one with the big family should be the leader, not like it is now, they should choose the leaders in a good way. We do not like the committees.

Mzee 1: No, we do not.

Mzee 2: The people are now arranging to meet the president to tell him what is going on. The people hope he will send a committee to come and do research.

(...)

Mzee 1: the contract says there can be no new investors, that is not good.

The new contract with Jean and Ann is between them and their law members, they did not consult with all the people, only with those working in the hotel. It is between them, not us.

Mzee 2: We are old now; we don't know what to do now because of the hotel. We are not young. We don't feel free in Chole anymore (...).

Me: Who makes decisions about tourism in Mafia?

Mzee 1 & 2: We don't know, we are passive.

These men obviously felt very unfairly treated. They felt they had little say in what was going on in their village and that things were taken out of their hand and wrongly dealt with. They also felt they saw little of the benefits that tourism should have brought in terms of income and improved living standard. Even though one of these men had a son working in the hotel, he saw no benefits from it. They focused only on the investors and their supporters, not on the tourists as they had nothing against tourists and the money they brought with them. They were only left with a feeling of powerlessness as they saw a lot of things going on that they disagreed with, but were unable to influence.

2 of 20 respondents said they saw it as a problem that people did not get direct monetary benefits from tourism, but that the money passed through societies. They disagreed with the fact that the hotels did all the business themselves and did not let villagers take part in e.g boat transport of the guests. 1 person said that there were no problems with Chole Mjini, but that the other hotels on Mafia did not care about the villagers. 1 woman was troubled with students and researchers, seen as part of the tourists, coming and asking her about her problems all the time: *“We want more to come, but to help us, not to bring us down. They come and ask about our problems, but nothing happens”*.

It made her feel sad to only focus on problems, besides she never saw any improvement in what she told them. 1 person answered that there should be more, but better, tourism.

Cultural effects

The respondents were asked if they thought their culture was affected in any way. 3 of 20 respondents answered that it used to be a bad effect because the visitors walking around on Chole were badly dressed in swimwear and other inappropriate garments, but that all of this had changed because of the new contract signed with Chole Mjini stating the rules which guests should follow when entering the village. 4 other respondents also mentioned that there was no effect on the culture due to the agreement between them and the hotel. 4 people said there was no effect on the culture without referring to the agreement, and one of these stated that *“the tourists can just come, they can’t break our culture”*. 4 women stated that the people, especially the women, wear bad clothes that are too short. They were concerned that the children would want to copy this way of dressing. 3 people said that it was a problem that children had started begging for money and sweets. They all emphasized the fact that children had been given money and sweets without asking before, and that this was the reason for them starting to beg. It was experienced every time I walked through the village that children came up to me and asked for money, sweets or to be photographed. When I asked the children why they were asking for this, or who taught them the English word for these things, they became embarrassed, avoided the question or said that was not what they asked for.

One child said that his father had taught him the English word for money.

1 older male said that the people in the village had started copying the foreigner love. *“We copy behaviour like their love. They kiss and hug each other, and the children. So we start*

doing that as well. And we sometimes copy their clothes. The bad thing is that they take pictures without asking, that is not polite.”

When asking a few women on the matter, they could confirm that people were copying some of the behaviour with children, but when giving examples they only mentioned that they copied the way of dressing their children.

1 woman said that there was a small cultural effect, but that the effect was mutual. She explained to me: *“There is not a lot of effect. We copy what we like in their culture, and they copy what they like in our culture. You start wearing our kanga and we copy your dresses. The children copy their language, they learn English. Maybe we copy their behaviour for children; we buy foreigner things for them, like pants.”*

The main focus concerning culture was mainly focused around visible things, such as clothing and body contact. There was also some focus on the language. But there was not much concern for any deeper cultural effects. Although it should be mentioned that the research setting was not ideal for uncovering such changes as it would need a much deeper understanding of the culture and language, and a longer research period with much more personal trust between the researcher and respondent. However, in these interviews, there was no mention of it.

Environmental effects

18 out of 20 people asked if they thought there were any effects from tourism on the environment said there were no such effects. Two people, a married couple, said there were more plastic bottles in the ocean. 7 people said they had been given education about how to treat the environment. No one could answer with certainty who educated them on this issue. Some said the hotel had taught them about this. Some said they were taught what nets they should use, others said they were taught how to repair broken reefs. When asked further on this, he meant that repairing reefs was to remove trash if they saw any of that. Some received training on how to grow vegetables.

Entrepreneurship

The interviewees were asked if they had ever thought about doing any business in tourism and the reason for not doing or doing so. 9 people said they had never thought about doing

business themselves, two people said they were too old for such things, 5 of these gave no reason for not considering it, 1 person said he had no desire to deal with tourists as he was happy doing what he was doing and 1 person said he wanted to develop the carpentry business he already had. 5 people said that they had thought about having a handicraft shop, but they also said they did not have enough capital to start up the business. 4 of these were women who were already selling handicrafts at the women's market, and some in Utende, and they had talked about starting to collect money to start a shop. It was unclear if they meant to develop the women's market further or to start a new shop unrelated to the market.

2 other people were also already making money from tourism, one was a painter and one woman was making and selling mats, one older male used to be a boatman for tourists, but had retired. 2 women had already started a business selling homemade sweets. They had thought about doing more business with tourism, but they said there was no using starting a business because other people would just copy them and they would lose profit like they had experienced with their existing business. One person did not give a specific answer regarding his own involvement in business, but he thought it was good if people chose to do business because it helped develop the country.

In further questioning of the painter on why he decided to become a painter he said: *I became a painter by looking in magazines, I just wanted to paint. I came up with the idea to paint myself, I sell something every week to every month.(...) I like the tourists very much, they bring income. All guests are good, but I like those whom buy pictures more than others. It varies how many that comes, sometimes more sometimes less, but in general more now.*

I never saw him sell a picture to anybody except myself. But by the time I left, he had also acquired some jewellery that he sold for someone else with some profit.

Local trends and visions for the future

	1980	Today	In 10 years
Fishing	●●●●●●●●●● (10)	●●●●●●●●●● ●●●●● (15)	●●●●●●●●●● (10)
Farming	●●●●●●●●●● ●●●●● (15)	●●●●● (5)	●●●● (4)
Employment	●●●●● (5)	●●●●●●●●●● (10)	●●●●●●●●●● ●●●●● (16)
Employment in tourism	(0)	●●●●●●●●●● (10)	●●●●●●●●●● ●●●●●●●●●● (20)
Small businesses	●●●●● (5)	●●●●●●●●●● (10)	●●●●●●●●●● ●●●●● (15)
Population changes	●●●●● (5)	●●●●●●●●●● (10)	●●●●●●●●●● ●●●●● (15)

Fig. 9. Trends chart from Chole showing the changes in employment, business and population as perceived by villagers.

The chart shows that the group thinks that the employment situation will keep moving from a weight in fishing and farming to be mainly in paid positions and fishing. They believe employment in tourism will move from non-existent in 1980 to the double of what it is today. The small business situation and the population are anticipated to continue to increase in the next 10 years. Only farming is anticipated to decrease in the future. The explanation given by the participants was that farming was hard labour and did not pay off sufficiently. They also explained that younger people did not like doing work which had a long payoff period. They preferred work that paid off right away such as fish trading and other businesses. They also expected fishing to decrease due to the increased difficulties in fishing in the marine park. They expected employment to increase because more hotels were being built where people could work, more money would thus enter the community while giving life to smaller businesses. They expected the population to increase of natural causes and by people moving in from other areas.

During the village interviews the participants were asked what they wanted in the future concerning tourism. 16 of 20 people answered that they wanted more tourism, hotels or

businesses in the future. Three people wanted the tourism industry to benefit local people more than it did today. One person did not have any particular view in those matters, but was concerned how increased ticket prices to visit Chole would impact his tourist dependent business .

Livelihood options

When asked what they thought would happen if tourists stopped coming to Mafia and Chole 17 of the 20 said things would be very bad and that it would affect their lives very much, many expressly said that Mafia was dependant on tourism now. 3 people said that it would not change their situation at all. When giving a reason for why it would be so bad to loose tourism, people answered that it would stop development, and also the district would not have money to spend on the communities. Moreover, the community benefits Chole residents receive from the hotel would stop. But mostly, people were concerned that their family members would not get any income to distribute amongst their relatives. But all of the respondents had the option to go back to living of their farm or to go fishing. The general response was that it would be very bad to loose tourism, but that life would go back to the way it was before. One person gave the example of the life in the rainy season when the hotels are closed, he said life was bad for the people, especially in Utende, there was no business going on.

3.2.2 Utende

Utende is the place in the island that has most hotels and tourism activity; it is also where MIMP has its head office.

Decision making and consultation

As there is more than one hotel in Utende the questions concerning decision making and consultation were made more general than in Chole on how the participants feel they are consulted in tourism matter that concern them such as construction of new hotels, and if they know who makes such decisions.

11 out of 20 people said they are not consulted in the decision making process. The comments made around this question was that some people felt that the decision are made over their heads and that problems occur just because decisions are made without talking with people in

the villages. One man said that they have not been consulted in the past, but that things were changing now, although he could not specify exactly what was changing. 4 people said there had been meetings with village leaders. 5 people said there had been meetings, that they have a contract with PolePole resort and meetings about community support. Some mentioned that there had not been meetings when the lodges had been built, but that there had been meetings since that.

Concerning consultation of the building of Kinasi lodge, the owner, Mr. Byrnes, said that the villagers were consulted before purchasing land in the area. The manager of the lodge could add that, although he was not working for this company at the time, the land which Kinasi is situated on was designated as a tourism area, and he felt certain that the villagers were aware of that. When the interviewees were asked particularly about the construction of Kinasi some people said they did not know anything about the project before they saw it being built, others said they were consulted through the leaders; others again were not sure about the process.

When asked who they thought made decisions concerning tourism investments and tourism activities most people said they did not know, but when asked to guess who they thought it might be 17 people answered the land owners, village council, district council and regional commissioner or other government officials, the rest did not want to answer.

An older male were not sure about who made decisions concerning tourism, but guessed the district commissioner had something to do with it, but his additional comments were: *“It (the decision making process) is not working well, all could happen without people knowing.*

There were no village meetings before the building of Kinasi or Pole Pole. The government must take the burden of conflicts because the investors are given more power than the host community.”

Another adult male said this: *“When the investors are interested they talk to the district commissioner and go to the area and buy from the owner. The investors make contract with landowners, but when the investors get experience with the area they corrupt leaders and take land. There are never any meetings; solutions are made over our heads. Decision making is not open; there are no meetings, the villagers are not participating. We know everything about our villages, let us participate (...). The way things are done in Chole is better than here.*

When asking him why he thought it was like this, he answered: *“There are no meetings with the villagers. They are not asking us any questions because it would discourage the investors if we made demands. We are not allowed to meet the bosses.”*

A woman said: *” The decisions are made from the outside without communicating with the villagers; we just see the projects starting.”*

These statements illustrate the feeling of being ignored or excluded and lack of participation in the decision making process that the villagers experience concerning the tourism business. Large hotel constructions are started without their knowledge or ability to influence the decision making process. Some of the respondents said that they were consulted in some matters.

One woman said: *“There was no village meeting with the owner of the land and the investor before, but this is different now, we have some meetings.”*

Another man claimed: *“Meetings were held, but only with the village chairman and his cabinet and the government representative. But never with the whole village.”*

Therefore there are different opinions about what has been done and what is happening now. But there is not a certainty or a feeling of being able to take part in and express their opinion and to influence what is happening in their area concerning tourism.

Income from tourism

When asked if they had any income from tourism in their livelihood 17 people said they had direct income from tourism, either directly from tourists or by supplying hotel. 3 persons used to have income from tourism, but not anymore. The income varied from just some additional income every now and then to most of their income coming from tourism related activities. When asked if they also had any income from tourism in their family 7 people said that they had family members earning money from tourism.

One man explained that: *“Tourism has played a major factor in village development, business groups are made, schools, hospital; the youth is employed in the hotels. The woman’s batik group is supported by the lodges. But the employees are given low wages and their jobs are not permanent. The boatmen are not given a chance to participate and are becoming jobless.”*

A young unemployed male said: *Three years ago tourism was ok, but not this year. After Mafia lodge privatized many people lost their livelihood. There are fewer people walking around now, and no guiding and boating is happening for us.*

An older male who is also one of the leaders in the village claimed: *“There are some restraints that keep villagers from fully participating in the tourism industry. They no longer do jobs with the boats like they used to, the hotels are doing this themselves. People are employed, but only part time, but there has been an increase of business by handicraft shops and food places.*

This shows that they are recognizing the economic benefits from the industry, but that there are still some difficulties in terms of employment. Some have lost their income after the privatization and others are not satisfied with the income or the job conditions. Many used to earn extra income by taking tourists out in their boats, an opportunity which they have lost in the recent years and which has impacted quite a few which now do not know how to enter the tourism industry.

Contact and impressions of tourists

9 out of the 20 asked said they have had interactions with tourists in varying degree, additional 4 people said they used to have contact with tourists some time ago, but not anymore. The rest did not have any contact with tourists in their daily life. When asked what they thought of the individual tourists that came to visit the island 20 out of 20 respondents either said that there were no problems with the tourists, comments were that they were nice or good. The village chairman said: *“There are no problem with the visitors. People are happy and moving in the high season, they are interested in the tourism activities.”*

Most people seemed to see little of the tourists as they mostly kept in the lodges or out on boat tours. There was a general idea that the tourists were restricted in their movement by the lodge owners or managers. In talks with the manager of Kinasi, he was unfamiliar with claims of restricting guests movements. In talking with visitors myself, they did not know of any restrictions either.

These comments may be from the fact that visitors from Mafia lodge, when owned by the government, were from a different group of people than the current guests, and that these people moved around the village more. The only negative comment on tourists was from a woman that thought the tourists were friendly, but that the women wore small clothes sometimes.

Benefits from tourism

When asked what benefits they themselves and the village got from tourism employment, business and social benefits such as school, dispensary and the fresh water bore hole were mentioned the most. Other benefits brought up were that the country got foreign currency, increased environmental awareness, interaction between cultures, electricity, rehabilitated airport and small loans. They did not differentiate where these benefits were from, whether it was MIMP, the government, one of the hotels or an NGO such as Seasense or WWF that had brought the benefit. One of the village leaders stated that: *“Most of the people in the village are now employed in tourism. People are changing their ideas from meeting tourists. By the help of the hotels and MIMP we have now got schools, hospital, water supply and education, some have learned to dive. Life is good now, the people have income and everybody has a better standard of living.*

Another man said: *“There are many big differences, there are many improvements around the village. People have good work, they are building good houses, there are many strangers around. It is good for the country and the village, we get education.*

This shows that people have seen some changes in their or others lives. Even people who earlier stated that there was no income or employment from tourism now said that there were things that have changed compared to before and mentioned several benefits. The inconsistency in answers earlier and later in the interview might be because of different opinions of what is income and communal benefits, or because they might think of benefits that they had not thought of before.

3 people said there were no benefits from tourism, two people said that tourism is only good when it brings income, and that only those employed get any benefits. One man said “yes,

tourism does benefit some, but not as much as it benefits the owner (of the hotels). Tourism is good in it self, the problems come from the owners.”

Problems concerning tourism

4 people said there were no problems with tourists whatsoever. The two biggest complaints were that the villagers were not able to participate in the tourism business and the working conditions of the employees in the hotels. Common comments concerning these issues can be exemplified by some given from a young male: *“I have not seen any benefits from tourism because everything is done by the owners. People are getting no jobs. Everyone can benefit from tourism if they are given a chance. (...) Even those whom are employed are getting to low wages, and they are on temporary contracts, it makes it easy to be chased from that job.”*

Most people saw both positive and negative aspects to tourist, exemplified by the statement of a young man: *“Tourism has played a major role in raising the income and employment in the village. Problems have been that some investors take land using their power and without communicating with the villagers. Some of our old pathways are now forbidden to use.*

The problems the villagers feel they face with tourism are also much connected with feeling of powerlessness. They see tourists coming and going, and they know there are possibilities with business, but they do not know how to go about it, and their old ways of making a living of it using their skills in the ocean are now taken away from them. As mentioned there have also been land issues with Kinasi, mostly connected with one family saying they rented the land to the hotel, but the hotel says they bought the land. This conflict was brought up by several villagers. It seemed to me that this conflict had been more heated earlier, as some people said it was settled now, and others said it was not. In talks with one of the family members involved in this conflict he said he was still not happy with the situation, and that he hoped for help from outsiders.

Cultural effects

13 out of 20 people said there was no effect on their culture due to tourism. The village chairman put it like this: *before our culture restricted us in meeting the foreigners. They do not change our culture, but there is friendship between us.”* Which says there has been a change in attitude towards tourists since the beginning to a friendlier attitude? One can draw

lines between this statement and the one made by the woman in Chole whom was very sceptical to tourists, saying she was afraid of the visitors because she did not know what they wanted, and because they have money and she does not. It can be questioned if she represents the more traditional or “older” way of thinking, whilst this is the attitude more people are feeling now.

Some of the respondents commented on the fact that the tourists wear small clothes and that the young girls were copying the way of dressing. One man explained “*there is some confusion of culture going on here, because the visitors come in their small clothes, which is not part of the culture here.*”

I observed several times visitors walking around on the beach in bikinis or other small clothes. Many fishermen work on the beach, and many spend time down there waiting for the ferry. I saw many shocked or embarrassed faces as these people were passing by. But it did not appear that it was the first time they saw it, but it still seemed to make some uncomfortable.

It could also be observed in Utende that a few young girls were walking around with kangas (the traditional colourful sarong) and tops not covering their shoulders, which could not be observed anywhere else I visited on Mafia. Other effects mentioned were that people were copying and learning the languages of the tourists such as Italian and English.

Some people complained that the owners of some hotels had stopped them from playing and performing local dances because it was too loud in the evenings/nighttimes, but that they were now dancing in secret.

Some answered that there was no danger to their culture because the visitors loved their culture and wanted to know more about it. One woman said “*the visitors come and buy African things, they make us feel proud.*”

One elder male said that there was no effect on the culture now, but thought it might happen as time goes. He also said the chairman and elders had been educated about the effects on culture and way of dressing. This was not mentioned by the chairman himself, but it may have been a previous one.

One woman said that the women of Utende had started wearing jewels made and sold by a group of Maasai that have set up a small shop on the beach.

Every time I walked through Utende hordes of children came running up to me and were asking for sweets, but not on a single occasion did I ever hear any of them asking for money, which is different from the situation on Chole. When I asked the interviewees about the effect tourism had on children almost all of them said there were good relations between tourists and children. The visitors love the children and they give them gifts were the most common response. It seems no one saw it as a problem that the children were begging for sweets. The only negative effect mentioned directly with children was the fear that they would copy the inappropriate clothing. It also seemed more like a game to run up to the visitor, rather than only to get sweets. So far there has not been much cultural effect as people see it, but they recognize that there are some in ways of dressing. They have also been made aware of the possibility of it through education of their leaders. But so far the experiences with tourists themselves have been more or less positive by their children being given gifts and other friendly gestures. In the time I spent in Utende people were always friendly and curious as to what I was doing there.

Environmental effects

15 out of 20 people said there was no negative environmental effect from the hotels or the tourists. In fact many made a point out of the fact that the hotels were very concerned about the environment and active in conservation efforts although no specific examples were given. Several villagers said it was rather the villagers that caused environmental damage one person said: *“we have been given education about how to treat nature, but local people are local people, they have not learned they still need education”*. However, four people mentioned that was some pollution from the hotels, mainly due to bad treatment of wastes, it was said that one hotel had a dug a hole near the village and filled it with wastes, only that it was very shallow and wastes were scattered around it and the smell reached the houses around it. There were also concerns that children might get sick from it because they played around it and tried to dig out treasures.

Entrepreneurship

Only 3 people had not considered having a business related to tourists, and one of these was a retired man. 10 people had some business part or full time either supplying hotels or having

their own food stall or shop. Some of the respondents wanted to engage in businesses such as shops or cafe's but did not have the capital to start it up. One person said he used to have a shop directed at tourists, but did not have enough customers to support it. One person said she was happy doing what she was doing, but would like to find some business to do during the rainy season, because it was a time with hardly any business.

Someone creating a living of tourism was a group of Maasai. I had a group interview with five of them. Here is their story composed from the interview:

We have been in Utende 1 year and 4 months. All nine of us came here together to fight for our living and for the tourism business. We were the first to start up a shop, all the other shops here on the beach came one year later. We also work as watchmen for the hotels.

Both Mjini and Kinasi are good hotels, but they give different wages.

The business we are doing is not really legal, the land is owned by the hotel, and one of the houses is marked to be demolished.

We make some of the things in the shop our selves, some things we buy from other places such as from local people here and in Kilindoni.

The tourists that come here are good, some buy some things, and others do not buy things, they just look.

We want to develop our shop, if we get more products to sell, then we will have more guests.

The government should promote tourism on Mafia, there is a low number of international visitors. If tourists stop coming here we would go back to Arusha or die of hunger.

Our situation is not clear, but we are working hard and hope one day they we will have success.

We have no support from the outside; we only have our selves here.

This group of young men has shown the possibilities that there are in Mafia. They have created this shop together, and are supplying their income working as guards. They are not experiencing easy times as they are living outside, they are not getting much business, and they are not really on land that belongs to them, but they have hopes and goals for the future. They have survived for over a year, which means they also made it through the rainy season which is a very tough time for anyone depending on tourism as most hotels are closed.

Local trends and visions for the future

	1980	Today	In 10 years
Fishing	●●●●●●●●●● (10)	●●●●●●●●●● (10)	●●●●●●●●●● (9)
Farming	●●●●●●●●●● ●●●●●●●●●● (16)	●●●●● (5)	●● (2)
Employment	●●●● (4)	●●●●●●●●●● ●●●●● (15)	●●●●●●●●●● ●●●●●●●●●● (19)
Employment in tourism	●●●● (4)	●●●●●● (6)	●●●●●●●●●● ●●●●●●●●●● (20)
Small businesses	●●●●● (5)	●●●●●●●●●● (10)	●●●●●●●●●● ●●●●●●●●●● (15)
Population changes	●●● (3)	●●●●●●●●●● (10)	●●●●●●●●●● ●●●●●●●●●● (17)

Figure 10: Trends chart from Utende showing the changes in employment, business and population as perceived by the group.

The chart shows that the respondents believe that the occupation situation has, and will move from farming towards employment. They reported many of the same reasons as in Utende for leaving farming for employment and staying with fishing. The older men in the group said the younger men preferred to receive payment everyday, and with farming giving seasonal payment and being hard labour people will prefer to employment. With the building of a new hotel in the area and the improvement of the airport they believed that employment in tourism, including supplying hotels, would increase substantially. Also the operation of small businesses will increase, although not as much as there already are quite a few small cafes and shops in the area.

Utende has experienced some influx of people, both from other places in Mafia and from the mainland, among others the Maasai group mentioned earlier. As one can see the respondents had experienced quite some population growth already, and they are expecting an increase in the next ten years.

When asked what they wanted for the future concerning tourism 15 out of 20 wanted more hotels and tourism, they wanted more investors so that there could be more competition for

employees and the salaries could go up. Many also wanted the service and the sights to improve so that the visitors would be satisfied. In general the respondents also wanted more community support from the hotels and they wanted more chances to participate in the industry.

Livelihood options

When asked what would happen if the tourists stopped coming most people said there would be no more development, no more business and no employment. People said they were dependent on tourism now; whole families were dependent on the hotels.

Two different men had two different comments:

” We would be much affected because so many are employed there. The population would decrease and there would be no more business. I would do nothing if this happened, because I would have nothing to do.”

“85% of the village is working with tourism companies. If there was no tourism anymore there would be no development and no economy, there might even be hunger.

100% of my life is dependent on tourism. I myself, I would have to move.”

Also they would not have the help they were getting from the hotels. Some mentioned the conditions they were experiencing during the rainy season as such a situation; many people were struggling during these times. It can be questioned that the fact that people have to prepare for these times gives them an incentive to maintain a diversified livelihood of both fishing, farming and employment for those who have these options, and that these contributes to increasing the resilience.

When asked what options they had in terms of livelihoods people said they would fish or farm, others said they would move or die of hunger. One person said he would be perfectly happy in the coconut business. His comment was: *“Most people are dependent on tourism, if it stopped people would have no jobs, no foreign money, the help given from hotels would stop and there would be hunger. I myself would engage in business with coconuts.”*

3.2.3 Juani

Juani is another larger island in Mafia. It has no hotels, but it has some sights visited by tourist groups from Chole and Utende.

Decision-making and consultation

12 of the 20 people asked did not know who makes decisions concerning tourism on the island. Those who did answer suggested different leaders such as the village chairman, district commissioner, government or members of parliament.

As there are no hotels on the island they have not been consulted in such matters. However, MIMP has built a campsite to receive backpackers and other tourists, where some people were trained to run it. It has not been successful and has still not been operating. When asked what they have heard about it some had never heard of its existence others that were working on the project were in contact with MIMP concerning it on a weekly basis.

Income from tourism

When asked if they had any income related to tourism themselves or in their families 17 people said there was no income from tourism whatsoever. One person had income from Seasense and two people sold fish to the hotels on occasion.

Contact and impressions of tourists

18 people had never had any contact with tourists. Reasons given for this were the fact that they did not speak English and that the tourists come with their own guides and did not spend time in the village. Two people said they had interacted with tourists; one man used to take tourists out in his boat another man had talked with tourists when he was in training for the MIMP camp in Tanga.

One adult male said: *“Here (in Juani) I know nothing from tourism. Almost all tourists that come to Mafia come to Juani, but the villagers here benefit nothing. I have not talked with any tourists. I do not speak English so I have not talked with them. I do not like them because I do not benefit from them. The tourists they just come and go. Life has not changed for us.”*

This comment is very representative for the answers I got when asking questions about this topic. People saw many tourists coming and going with their guides, but rarely interacted with them, mainly due to language difficulties and because travelling in a tour group does not allow for much wandering about the villages. The fact that so many come to their area for

guiding or diving without leaving them many benefits was a reoccurring topic with many questions and respondents.

Benefits from tourism

18 of the 20 people asked said they saw no benefits from tourism. One said it was nice to see the visitors coming, but his life was no different since they started coming. Two people said they hoped to see great benefits in the future. One of these was a man that had invested in building a guest house for visitors, but it was not finished and operational yet. He told me about this project: *“I have started to build a house for tourists, but lacks the money now. I applied for MIMP loans, but could not get them, I am not sure why. I plan to sell the house now, or to find a partner to make it work.*

I have seen the benefits of tourism all the time, so I decided to build the house. I started one year ago, and have done it all by myself.

There are many attractive things here for tourists to see, such as turtles, caves, dams, fish and ruins. I think there will be many benefits from tourists in the future.”

The other man had seen the benefits other places like Chole and Utende had gotten, so he thought that they may reach Juani one day.

Yet another man asked what benefits there could be: *”It is impossible to stop the tourists from coming, but I would like to know the benefits from tourism. I have asked the leader of Seasense and an employee of Seasense what the benefits are. Maybe the employee takes all the benefits himself. I would like to see everybody benefit from tourism. I don’t know any bad things about tourism. I would like more tourism if everybody could benefit, don’t know how everyone would benefit though.”*

One man whom has worked with tourists has acknowledged that there are benefits with tourism and is trying to take part in it. Another man sees the tourists coming and recognizes that they will keep coming, but he sees no benefits and questions if there are any. Even if he thinks there are no directly negative aspects from it, but it would be more encouraging if there could be benefits for the village from the visitors they are subject to.

Problems concerning tourism

Four people said there were no problems with tourism. The main problems with tourism for many people were that many tourists were doing day visits to the island, but not leaving any money there. They had visitors, but were not getting any benefits from it. Another issue that was very important to them was that they were hindered from fishing by the tourists that were

out diving. They were chased from the areas that the tourist boats were in. They felt that they were more restricted in the marine park when there were tourist boats there and not only the MIMP patrols. An older fisherman told me: *“Tourism is pulling back development in Juani. When we go to fish and come across divers, we are not allowed to fish there. When tourists see us fishing they contact MIMP and the police to take our nets. Tourists contact MIMP because they like to look at the fish, not to kill them.*

They are chasing us because MIMP is big and we are small. Juani people say we do good things, but MIMP says it is inappropriate.”

There are no other benefits or problems with tourism besides that. The tourists just come and go; they don't give us any benefits.

This shows the connection they make between tourism and MIMP, they feel the controls from MIMP are made stronger because the tourists want to go diving in the reefs. Also the presence of the tour boats makes them unable to fish in these areas. I could not find out if the areas mentioned are the no use zones or not, which would mean the areas are illegal fishing areas. Regardless, the statement shows that they feel unfairly treated and that they are unable to influence MIMP. They feel the tourists are a hindrance in their life without providing any benefits.

One man said that the tourists were changing their culture by way of dressing, another said that tourists come and cheat them and lie to them: *“Tourists come and cheat us. Tourists come and promise things, but never come through. This happened in Chole, not here. When investors come they are good in the beginning, but after some time they change and go outside the agreements. Some good development would be an agreement between investor and villagers that goes right, then there would be no conflict (...).*

Juani is not benefiting at all, but maybe they are in Utende, people in Utende get money.”

The fact that people hear negative things about experiences in other areas makes them more suspicious to tourism development in their own areas, and it shows there is lack of trust also in areas not directly affected by the hotels and the agreements.

Other bad things a man had heard was: *“People would be stopped to go to a well near Kinasi, the lodges are built along the beach and the people are not allowed to pass there. Peter burns stopped people from dancing because of noise.”*

But there are still mixed feelings within the village regarding tourism, illustrated by one young man:” *One group of people in Juani likes tourists, one does not. I want the people of Juani to decide for one thing.(...) Those whom don’t like tourism are not educated, they believe that if more tourists come MIMP will be stronger and protect more, this is not true.*”

This man obviously does not believe in the correlation between the presence of tourists and MIMP’s strictness in their patrolling. But he does not appreciate the disagreements within the village and would like for there to be coherence within the village regarding these matters.

Cultural effects

Of all people interviewed only one person said there were any cultural effects at all, and that was due to the way the visitors dressed. Most of what the respondents elaborated on was the fact that the tourists only came and left in the same day and that they did not have any direct contact with them, they just saw them walking past: “*There is no effect on culture, nobody sleeps here in Juani, everybody just come and go, the people here do the same as always.*”

As mentioned, the strongest matter of concern for most of the villagers concerning tourism was the idea that the tourists and the tourism operators were oppressing them because they were calling MIMP and alerting them about their fishing.

Environmental effects

All 20 respondents say they know of no negative environmental effects of tourism, but rather that they themselves have been educated and advised about how to protect the environment. They have gotten this information from people at MIMP and from Seasense.

Entrepreneurship

As mentioned earlier two people were already selling their fish to the hotels in Utende or Chole. One man was constructing a guest house which he was hoping to be able to rent out rooms to tourists in the future. This man was also employed by Seasense to take care of the turtle nests in the area. He was at the moment lacking money to finish up this house, but was hoping to find someone to join in the project. When asked further on why he commenced on this project he answered that he had seen the benefits of tourism all the time, on how they were coming in from abroad and left money in the hotels on the island. He felt that Juani had many sights to offer and therefore he thought there was a market for accommodation which he wanted to fill. 7 people had never thought of doing any business with tourism. However,

some had wanted to sell goods to hotels, such as fruit, vegetables, poultry and handicrafts, others wanted to take part in the tourism business with their boats doing tours.

Local trends and visions for the future

	1980	Today	In 10 years
Fishing	●●●●●●●●●● ●●●●● (15)	●●●●●●●●●● ●●●●●●●●●● (19)	●●●●●●●●●● ●●●●●●●●●● (17)
Farming	●●●●●●●●●● ●●● (13)	●●●● (4)	●●● (3)
Employment and small business	●● (2)	●●●●●● (6)	●●●●●●●●●● (10)
Employment in tourism	(0)	●●●●●●●● (9)	●●●●●●●●●● ●●●●●●●●●● (21)
Population changes	●●●● (4)	●●●●●● (6)	●●●●●●●●●● ●●●●●●●●●● (20)

Figure 11: Trends chart from Juani showing the changes in employment, business and population as perceived by villagers

The chart shows that farming has decreased substantially in favour of business and fishing. They are also expecting farming to decrease a bit more, and same with fishing and for employment and small business to increase. The reason given for this was that Juani was not suitable for farming as the soil was low in nutrition, and there is lack of water on the island. They expect MIMP and tourism to restrict them even more in their fishing practices even more, which is the reason for the expected decrease in fishing practice.

In 1980 no one in Juani was employed in tourism in any way, today there are several which has some income from the business, and they expect it to more than double in the next 10 years. They don't feel that the population has changed much since 1980, but expect it to increase substantially in the next ten years.

When asked if they wanted a lodge to be built in Juani 14 people wanted a lodge or hotel to be built there, and 6 people did not want one to come. However, of those 6 two of them would want to work in it if it was built.

One young man that was interviewed was hesitant about answering this question, when asking him why he was so unsure about the question he answered that if he were to listen to the older men in the village he would have to say no, that a hotel would be a bad idea because of all the negative things heard from Chole and Juani on the investors taking land. When asked to state his own opinion he said he definitely wanted a hotel because he thought it would bring development to Juani. I believe this illustrates some of the respect and authority older younger have to elders, even if they are not present during the interview.

The people who wanted a hotel to be built gave reasons such as more work opportunities and increased business on the island as reasons for it. Those who did not want it were afraid of even more restrictions in their fishing activities as a reason. As mentioned people seemed to believe tourism and more restrictions from the marine park went hand in hand, which is partly true. But they did not find any advantages of this as no positive effects of tourism had reached them. Another reason was words of bad experiences with investors and hotels in Utende and Chole. They had heard that people had been lied to; about land conflicts and that people were restricted to move in areas they previously could walk freely, such as different areas of the beach.

When asked what they wanted for the future concerning tourism some wanted tourism to increase so that they could receive some benefits from it. Many wanted the guests that come to see the turtle hatching were to pay on the island instead of paying to Seasense so that one could spread the benefits. Others wanted the number of tourists and tourist boats to decrease in the area so they again could feel free in the ocean, like before. A few said they did not know what to expect or want from the future because they did not know what benefits or difficulties to expect from tourism.

Livelihood options

People were not concerned if tourism was to disappear, they said that their lives had not changed since tourism started to increase in Mafia. If anything some said life was more difficult now because of the fishing restrictions from MIMP. Concerning livelihood options, 18 out of the 20 said their families were dependent on the ocean. Some had small gardens around their house, others had poultry, but the main source of income on Juani is the ocean.

3.3 Cooperation and relationships between actors

According to the National Tourism Policy (URT 2002) the incentive to promote tourism is to *”promote the economy and the livelihood of the people, especially contributing to poverty alleviation through encouraging the development of sustainable and quality tourism that is culturally acceptable, ecologically friendly and economically viable.”*

As Mafia has many tourism attractions the District Office seeks to promote tourism investments on the island specifically to:

- Generate foreign exchange
- Create jobs
- Generate tax revenue
- Initiate an enterprise economy
- Have an impact on regional economic activity
- Make strong linkages to other economic sectors
- Improve the socio-economic infrastructure in local communities
- Act as a multiplier effect in the economy by stimulating and generating other businesses.

The District Office was at the time of the research period working on a tourism action plan. However, there was a project appraisal available which stated social and ecological justifications and potentials of tourism area promotions in Mafia.

In social justifications the project appraisal suggests that promotion of tourism will enhance people’s interaction which will facilitate exchange of experiences and promote socio-economic development. Attention is given to the concern of maintaining the good traditional norms and culture of the Mafia people.

The project appraisal states six objectives which is to improve community knowledge on tourism potentials in Mafia, capacity building through training, establish a tourist information centre, improve access and infrastructure to potential tourist areas, establish and strengthen institutions and tourism linkages among stakeholders and to support environmentally sustainable utilization of tourism areas (Mafia District Council, 2006). Most of the goals are to be reached through research, training and supporting relevant branches in their work. In conversations with the District Executive Director and the District Commissioner it was clear that they were strongly positive to additional tourism development on Mafia. They were

positive to the contribution the tourism hotels had made in the community, by sponsoring classrooms, dispensaries and contributions to the secondary school. Some hotels were mentioned that had not contributed. Especially the District Director was unhappy with this, as he felt that the hotels had an obligation and a duty to contribute to the communities they were situated in. The reasons he gave for this was moral reasons of helping your neighbours, and also the obvious difference in wealth between the hotel owners and visitors and the villagers. When asked if the villagers had any similar duties, he said it was their duty to make the visitors feel welcome and to treat them in friendly manner, so they would want to come back. The District Director wanted more large hotels to be built to boost the economy, but would prefer it if hotels were to be built outside the Marine Protected Area to help spread the benefits of tourism. As he saw it at the present time, almost all the benefits were concentrated around the MIMP area.

At the time there was no organized cooperation with MIMP or other stakeholders concerning tourism management or development, but in the project appraisal it was planned to initiate some cooperation.

With any details concerning environmental issues such as freshwater management, waste disposal etc. I was referred to the environmental impact assessment (EIA) that all hotels now must go through to get approved. All hotels built so far on Mafia have not had to undergo an EIA. The district director and the district commissioner were both certain that any hotel that was approved after an EIA would not cause any problems socially or environmentally. I was also referred to the water engineers in the district to get more information on the freshwater resources and wastewater management.

According to the head engineer there were no problems with the water supply on the island, and there were no problems with substantial amounts of hotels being built in Mafia as long as they made their own boreholes to supply themselves with water. When asked if a large number of hotels were built would cause problems with lowered freshwater levels it was said that this would not cause problems as the natural freshwater reserves would be refilled in the rainy season. The only problem posed was that if many hotels made their own boreholes in close proximity it would cause the ground to be porous and could cause a collapse. It did however, come out that there were problems with freshwater supply in some villages during the dry season. The action taken concerning this so far was to delegate responsibility to the

villages to make water and sanitation committees that would discuss the problems in their village with freshwater and wastewater. Solutions should be suggested by these committees and would be aided to solve it by the District. There is no public management of solid waste and sewage on Mafia.

According to the senior technician at MIMP the water engineers in the district does not have enough knowledge about the water drawback capacity or the amount of water a hotel needs. He also claims that their planning is fairly short term. Nevertheless, he was satisfied concerning the water and sanitation committee project, and expects it to improve the situation.

The MIMP vision on tourism development on Mafia states: "*MIMP believe that tourism promotion must stimulate the development of the Mafia residents at the same time mitigating the potential negative impacts that can result from it so that the socio-economic and cultural status is not adversely affected*".

In talks with the MIMP warden he stated that their main concern has been, and will continue to be conservation. But as the tourism industry has expanded on Mafia, and in the Marine Park especially, they have been forced to incorporate tourism in their management to a larger extent, therefore they had also decided to hire a tourism officer to manage these issues. Both the warden and the tourism officer emphasized that tourism was an important part in making the marine park a successful park conservation wise as it is an industry that can generate income without necessarily doing harm to the environment.

In the MIMP general management plan (2000) the main concerns in regulating tourism development are

- Over- exploitation of freshwater supplies;
- Improper disposal of solid waste, wastewater, sewage, chlorinated and other contaminated water;
- Habitat damage, such as mangrove clearing
- Disturbance of the coastline from construction too close to the shore;
- Visual pollution;
- Friction with local residents over land acquisition and access rights.

Related to these issues are concerns with over settlement in areas where tourism is developing. Issues of concern according to the MIMP management plan are

- Disturbance of visitors in lodges by noise from neighboring houses and local bars;
- Disturbance of visitors by beach boys;
- Additional pressure on local resources including freshwater and land;
- Over- development and crowding of tourism areas by local houses.

Other issues of importance mentioned in the management plan are cultural erosion and a need for an information centre to inform tourists about the physical and cultural environment they are in. Some posters and plaques were put up next to the MIMP office and on the beach sharing information about the marine park.

MIMP has a plan of developing community based ecotourism. It has been attempted to start up a camp on Juani to generate employment and income, this has not been successful yet. There are disagreements as to why this has failed. The villagers' of Juani involved in this feels they do not have enough training although they have been on training in Tanga in a similar tourism camp site. The people involved at MIMP says they do not wish to invest more unless the villagers themselves take more action, the solution for the moment seems to be to get an outside investor to take part, which both parties agree on.

The MIMP is to get part of its income to community projects through the fee it takes from visitors, which is \$10 per person per day you are within the MIMP boundaries. According to the MIMP warden this has so far not generated enough to support the desired projects which have left villagers frustrated. As the District gets part of the income from these fees the opinion of the tourism officer is that MIMP should be consulted more in matters that affect them in decisions made by the District.

Other benefits from tourism such as employment has also failed to have enough impact so as to relieve the pressure from fishing, there are not enough jobs to show considerable difference. This is also due to fishermen from Zanzibar and the mainland coming in to fish in MIMP waters not being concerned to practice in a sustainable way. But the warden confirms that the presence of boats taking tourists snorkelling and diving in the reefs are supporting MIMP in their patrolling by keeping fishermen from illegal fishing in these areas.

According to the study report on tourism potential and promotion for MIMP made in 2000, there are some weaknesses that are prominent in holding back tourism development on the island, these are:

- Lack of qualified personnel to advise on ways to develop and promote tourism attractions on Mafia;
- Inadequate motivation of tourism investors
- Fragmented tourism operations;
- Poor infrastructure;
- Outdated laws which make it difficult to invest in Tanzania in general.

At the time I was there, there was no contact between the District Office and MIMP except that the Districts office received a share of the fees MIMP collects at the park gate. MIMP was awaiting a consultant to establish a tourism management plan, it was said that they also awaited the consultant before they attempted any further contact with the District Office.

As mentioned earlier, I attended a meeting with representatives of all stakeholders concerning illegal fishing methods; the meeting was organized by MIMP, but initiated by the investors of Chole Mjini. It was the first meeting of its kind in a long time. I was not able to get information of when a meeting of this kind had taken place.

However, in communications with the MIMP tourism warden after my return home there has been a meeting between the District Executive Director and the Heads of Departments from the District on various issues that affects both sides. Where they agreed to work with each other by providing necessary information to each other, carry out joint patrols and collecting fishing licence fees together. The tourism warden was very positive about the development and future prospects of cooperation.

There is no official plan that clearly describes what kind of tourism is best for Mafia. According to the tourism officer the most important thing that should be accomplished is the development of a Tourism Management Plan (TMP) for Mafia. He explained that at the moment tourism facilities are just being established basing on the assumptions and on the existing National guidelines. The status of the resources such as fresh water and energy etc

are not well studied and documented. He also states that the relationship between the industry, meaning the tourists and the investors, and the local community is not what it should be, and that all this possesses potential conflicts between and among the stake stakeholders. He believes that with a TMP in place such issues can be taken into consideration to show each stakeholder responsibilities and rights. Also he believes it is important to further improve the infrastructure in Mafia and between Mafia and the mainland as this will encourage more tourists and investments.

4.0 Discussion

As seen in chapter 2, the theory of social and ecological resilience is based on nature and society being in constant change in one state or another of the adaptive cycle. Even though Mafia has undergone many changes throughout history, including slavery and occupation; and lately the start up of MIMP, the last ten years of rapid increase of tourism has imposed an external factor of change to the island, mainly within the marine park. Resilience is mainly used to analyze the nature of relationships between nature and society. However, in this discussion the focus is on the social change brought on by increase in tourism, how the different stakeholders adapt to it and how this in turn strengthens and weakens social ecological resilience. This is done by using some of the indicators presented by Scheyvens' and Ross & Wall's framework for evaluation of tourism.

4.1 Local communities relationship with tourists and tourism

Economic empowerment

Scheyven (1999) emphasizes the importance of economic gains being lasting and shared within the community, the opposite of this is for most of the economic gain to go to tour operators, a few families benefiting and others to get sporadic income from the industry.

There are signs of economic improvement in Chole and Utende. Many people have income from tourism in their families; and from the interviews it is clear that people are noticing that money is entering their communities. Especially in Utende one could see money had entered the village by small businesses operating in the centre selling food to workers in the hotels and other small shops. Also, according to the trends chart, all villages had seen an increase in

employment in tourism and small businesses. All groups interviewed also expected to see an increase in this in the future, although both were most prominent in Chole and Utende. This indicates that tourism has made itself noticed as an economic factor in the communities.

Tourism has also made itself noticed by showing the economic differences between tourists and villagers in a more prominent way as it is closer to them now that people are working side by side with what they perceive as rich visitors, and that the high class lodges are in their own villages. The people interviewed gave negative comments regarding the obvious difference in material wealth. Not sharing this wealth is against cultural norms of reciprocity in the area, as described by Walley (2004).

Because there were few people with service and language skills to international standard among the population to begin with, both Chole Mjini and Kinasi have employed people local to the area and invested in training them.. Chole Mjini has also made an effort to employ people from different families to attempt to spread the benefits of employment.

Many people told of extra income through work or trade with hotels and tourists. Therefore it can be concluded that there are economic benefits in Chole and Utende. Although many said it was not enough, and they wanted and needed a higher income. This might imply that the income is for many not stable enough, and that those who rely on supplying the hotels are experiencing more sporadic income, as for many it relies on their fish catching. This indicates that their livelihood options have not diversified as they still rely on one source, even though they have the option of obtaining cash for their catch. Others had more periodical work, such as maintenance or supplying hotels with farm produce. People working full time also complained of too low wages.

On the other hand, the statements people made when asked what would happen if tourism was to stall, made it apparent that income from tourism has become important. People claimed the village was now dependent on tourism.

There are still not enough employment opportunities to fill the need, as many people interviewed said they had tried, sometimes several times, to ask for employment in the hotels. This shows that the economic benefits might not be adequately dispersed throughout the population, or that the industry is not generating sufficient employment. According to the MIMP warden, there is still not enough employment to relieve the pressure of fishing in the

area, and there were really only job opportunities in two villages within the park, namely Chole and Utende. Even though the trend chart for Juani showed a substantial increase in people's income from tourism, they could only name one person who was employed, although several occasionally sold fish to hotels or traders.

According to the interviews, there are signs of a growing dependency on flow of tourism in Chole and Utende as people themselves were claiming to be dependent of inflow of money from the hotels to live satisfactory lives now. One of the examples given was that in the low season, when hotels are closed, was claimed to be bad times and times of poverty. But the fact that there is a low season can give incentive to people to maintain or acquire a diversified income base as it can be expected each year and lasts long enough to make people have a backup in these times, such as maintaining a garden for example. In Utende one of the small café owners also said she was trying to think of a business she could have in the low season, when she had no customers.

This is not the same as claiming yearly times of poverty is a good thing, but that a yearly fluctuation in tourism flow gives an incentive to maintain diversified livelihood strategies. Diversified livelihood input strengthens resilience because one is more prepared for unexpected fluctuations in one or more livelihood options.

Increase in the tourism industry can easily turn into a situation where increased employment opportunities will leave the area more vulnerable to fluctuations in the industry. On the other hand, if there is no increase in job opportunities there will be less dependence on the industry, but the pressure on fishing and other natural resources will continue, and there will be no improvement in living conditions.

Another issue is that the economic benefits are concentrated around the hotel areas and do not reach beyond those areas to any visible extent. Even though Juani had visitors coming to their island to see some of the sights, Juani seemed to still be more or less unaffected by tourism in terms of economic benefits, even though there were expectations of more impact in the future. People expected their lives to be more or less the same if the tourism industry would cease to continue in Mafia.

As mentioned by the District Director, the tax revenues go directly to the national level and not much can be shown for in Mafia directly, therefore it is a problem that the direct economic benefits do not reach throughout Mafia. MIMP has income through the fees visitors have to pay to enter the park, some projects have been started, such as the construction of a building for a dispensary in Juani, but it is not yet operating as MIMP expects the District to take the running costs. But one hotel is being built on the opposite side of the island to the other hotels, and it is hoped it will spread the benefits.

One problem facing the villagers was the lacking opportunity to participate in the industry except for employment, and most employment was in low paying professions such as housekeeping and waiting. Even opportunities they previously had are taken away from them. Reasons for lack of ability to participate are lack of knowledge and skills relevant for work with tourism and capital for investment. There was a will and a wish to participate, but the opportunity was not there. This is hindering people from adapting to new circumstances and being able to diversify their livelihoods to a larger extent. For a society to strengthen its resilience people need to be able to adapt to changes within their system. According to Marshal and Marshal (2007), being faced with new circumstances in your surroundings, but not being able to change, shows low social resilience as you are in an undesirable state, even though you are performing the same structure and function within the social- ecological system.

It should be mentioned that not all wanted to take part in the industry, but many had a feeling of unfairness seeing “rich” visitors come and go in their village without seeing any of the wealth reaching them. Part of the reason for people not being able to participate fully is lack of education. But the tourism industry has contributed to improving the education in Mafia through supporting among other things secondary education. This might lead to a development towards more people having skills, such as language, to participate.

Social empowerment

The last decade or two have brought on a lot of change in Mafia, tourism has had a part in it, but so has the media, influx of people from the mainland and Zanzibar for fishing and work, the initiation of MIMP and general development.

The biggest change tourism has brought on is through the increase in foreign visitors, employment and contribution to building of schools, dispensaries, raising funds and other social welfare projects. Tourism is also part of the reason for the upgrading of the airport and the planning of a port as there are great hopes for an even stronger increase in the tourism industry.

Scheyver's empowerment framework talks of maintaining a social equilibrium as an end in itself; this is not necessarily a possible or desirable goal, and according to the resilience framework, there is no such thing as an equilibrium point, but rather cycles which happen at different paces. As Mafia has a male oriented traditional society where elders have had much of the decision making power and control (Walley 2004), changes are giving more power to youth and women in a different way. And according to the resilience theory, it is a society's ability to change and adapt to its surroundings that makes it strong and sustainable and able to remain in a desirable state.

In Chole, the learning centre has given people the opportunity to learn new skills. The CSWD has given women a sphere where they are in control, it has taught them organizational skills and given them an opportunity to cooperate with each other in a different way to gain more confidence and to help their own and other villages in their projects. Through small business schemes and a savings club they can strengthen their position in the community even further. But this has also created conflicts in the village which might be damaging to the community. The kindergarten is giving both boys and girls equal stimulation and nutrition. Efforts made by hotels in building and supporting schools are giving more education to both boys and girls and in Chole the scholarship system is giving eligible children an opportunity to acquire more education than most of the previous generation by sending them to secondary school. This has been greatly appreciated as many see education as a way of getting better opportunities for employment. Education is also a build up of social capital which can create ingenuity and find new ways to make a living; this might strengthen the society's resilience.

In the hotel and as tour guides younger people, both men and women are employed. By working for the hotels they are trained and given a salary. This gives the individual a chance to be independent from their parents and family. It also gives them a more autonomous position where they are not forced to follow the decisions of their superiors as they are not dependent of them for their upkeep.

All these changes do not keep society in equilibrium, but a society is in constant change regardless. These factors have undoubtedly catalyzed even more change, but not necessarily only bad change. The MIMP general management plan says that it is important to maintain *good* culture and social norms, not all social norms add rules. It is, of course, impossible to decide what is good and bad in this, it will vary among individuals. But as change is already occurring, it is up to each society to decide and act upon what they want to maintain and not, and also how to do it.

Political empowerment

Political power relations relate to how different groups' interests are represented concerning tourism, if there is communication between stakeholders and if all are included and heard regarding decision- making.

In Chole the villagers were consulted before the venture started. According to the contract (2007) between the company and the village council the villagers are to be informed and involved of any decisions made that might be detrimental to the wellbeing of the village council or the local community. However, there have been great conflicts over decisions made and projects started. Such as the most recent one where a fence has been constructed around some ruins against many people's wishes. The investors and other people of power involved have been blamed for putting the people who suits them best in the right positions.

There is a split in the community regarding tourism, some are positive to it, others do not approve of it. Others do not mind the tourism industry, but are not satisfied with the investors as they do not feel they are heard, there is some suspicion and distrust in the community and between villagers and the investors. Chole Mjini is more involved in community than more conventional hotels and is using opportunities to hear villager's opinions, but the question is if they are listening equally much to all groups in the community. It can be argued that due to lines of conflict some groups within the village and the investors are not communicating sufficiently. Without communication it is harder for both parties to respond to feedback from each other resulting in lessened social resilience as one is not adapting to each other and changing conditions. There are conflict resolution mechanisms within villages through village councils, but it would be beneficial to have organized forums for communication and conflict resolution between investors and villagers. This would also give an opportunity to exchange

knowledge, ideas and expectations between all groups involved and thus strengthen the ability to self organize with intent and to adapt to unexpected circumstances and therefore influence resilience in a positive way.

In Utende there were mixed messages regarding consultation before initiation of building Kinasi. The investor does not believe in involving the local community in the private business. There have been some conflicts over land rights in relations with Kinasi that are still going on. This strong separation between hotel and its neighbours gives room for mistrust, alienation and does not use the potential for cooperation and exchange of knowledge. Many of the people living in the villages have lived there their whole lives and has extensive knowledge of the area and of the culture there, this could be of great value for the hotel and its visitors.

It varies greatly from hotel to hotel how involved the community is in decision making. People are not certain how decisions are made regarding tourism development and investment. Some wanted to be consulted more, but as tourism is so young in the area, they have no reference point over what they want or should demand.

4.2 Local communities relationship with natural resources

People on Mafia are still very much dependent on natural resources such as fishing, farming and cash crops such as coconut plantations are important businesses for tree owners on the island.

The trends charts (Fig 9, 10 & 11.) show a movement from farming towards employment and business in all three islands, whilst fishing is more stable. Although the participants felt that there has been a lot of change in terms of employment the MIMP warden still feels it has little or no impact on the pressure on fishing in the marine park. There are still people coming from other places to fish in these waters, and illegal equipment and fishing in core zones. There is awareness of natural resources in all villages as it is told that many people have been given environmental education or would want to be given environmental education, being given insight into scientific ecological knowledge might give people more understanding of the natural surroundings and give more incentive to act in a more responsible way thus

strengthening ecological resilience. Institutions providing this are both MIMP, WWF and associates of hotels are mentioned.

In Utende the respondents say they have been given environmental education, but that villagers are villagers, and they continue in their destructive ways, implying that even though they have been given information they are still maintaining the same fishing practices. This would relate to Gunderson et al. (2002) levels of knowledge, being given information is not the same as understanding, and understanding is not the same as practicing if one does not have the ability or opportunity to do so. In both Chole and Utende they say the hotels are the first to have concern for nature, more so than the villagers.

All in all, it seems people are, and realize that they are, dependent on nature, but there is a lack of long term thinking for conserving natural resources, or more so the opportunity to do so as many people described the time they are living in as hard times implying that they have a hard time providing for themselves and their families and feel they need to practise in the same way to make as high fish catches.

In Juani people made the most emphasis on being fully dependent on the ocean as the island is not suitable for farming and there are few other employment possibilities. However, the respondents here were the once who were most aggressive towards the impact tourist boats have in the water, which is understandable as they are so dependent on fishing, but it would also mean that they might be fishing in some destructive way as they say they had to stop fishing when tour boats or patrols were present.

4.3 Tourism industry relationship with villagers

Tourism industry relationship with villagers relates to the involvement in community development, level of participation and communication between hotel and villagers and possible conflicts between the community and hotels.

Chole Mjini has community development and participation as one of its main functions while Kinasi is a more conventional hotel with no original ambitions of participation in the community, but a stand where private business does not have a corporate responsibility to its

surroundings. As the hotel pays taxes, and the guests also pay a fee to enter the park, it is the opinion of the owner that this is the responsibility of the government.

Both hotels have engaged in community development projects, Chole Mjini to a larger extent than Kinasi. But it shows that both enterprises have concern for the community they are in. Both have also provided training through employment, Mjini also through their previous involvement in the learning centre and by acquaintances coming and contributing to the island with their knowledge.

However, both hotels have had and are involved in conflicts in their area. Kinasi has been in disagreements over land and are accused of not treating their workers right in terms of not giving them permanent contracts and not paying enough salary. Chole Mjini is in conflict with villagers over a fence they have built and over the moving of a market place. Even though there are many good intentions in the plans concerning the fence, it has also created many problems. A tall fence blocking the path and the view right in the middle of a busy area on the island is a very visible and symbolic sign of separation between the hotel, their guests and the village. Since the hotel started being constructed in Chole it has developed from a camp site to a high end hotel, and the change in clientele might mean that the interests of the guests have changed as it is a different category of guest that stay in a camp and who stay in a high end lodge. It can be questioned if the focus on community development has changed somewhat since the beginning, as projects are now pushed through; despite conflicts and that the contributions are not the same compared to the price per night compared to earlier. It should be mentioned that the owners do lend out money from themselves to villagers, as was confirmed from village interviews.

A larger part of the community is involved in the hotel through employment or through the projects that the hotel has been involved in. It is possible that the involvement in the community and the promise of participation from the beginning of the project has created increased expectations which have led to disappointment and a sense of unfairness as it has not fulfilled these expectations of the villagers. The fact that there have been conflicts from the beginning of this project for various reasons seems to have lead to disappointment and fatigue from both villagers and investors side since expectations have not been met from either sides.

Kinasi is not as involved in the village, which might give less ground for disagreement, but it also alienates the villagers from themselves, even though hotels take up a large part of the village area. The villagers are not given a chance to voice their opinion in matters that might affect them as their area is hosting quite a few hotels now. This including conflicts over land gives room for lack of trust and disappointment. The fact that many feel they do not have a chance to participate in the tourism industry gives them a feeling of powerlessness. They see many visitors coming and going, and they know there should be possibilities for business, but they do not know how.

When a community is going through as much change as it has in Mafia, with the increase of the tourism industry, conflicts between the involved parties are inevitable . But as the resilience of a system its capacity to reorganize and absorb the disturbance whilst undergoing this change, and at the same time keep its identity, it is important to remain flexible and adapt to these changes. Being able to remain within a given state implies being able to avoid or resolve conflicts for all parts involved. Conflicts drawn out over long periods of time create a negative environment between hotels and villagers, which again create difficulties in further cooperation and communication. Both, cooperation and communication are essential qualities for common learning, adaptation and organization for both parties in order to benefit satisfactory from the industry.

4.4 Tourists and tourism industry relationship with natural resources

There is some difference between Kinasi and Chole Mjini when it comes to concern for natural resources. Chole Mjini has taken a stand to be a responsible tourism destination, whilst Kinasi is a more conventional lodge in that sense. Even though both hotels make efforts to be environmentally conscious with efforts to save or reuse freshwater and compost their organic waste. Mjini is still more ecologically friendly as they have less water consumption, they use less energy and they have cleared less vegetation for their construction. Whilst Chole Mjini has composting toilets, it was unclear how Kinasi treat their sewage. I was given unclear answers when I confronted the manager with the fact that there was no communal sewage treatment as he claimed they used.

Both hotels' presence in the water with their diving boats help protect against illegal fishing in no use zones or with illegal gear. Chole Mjini has been more active when it comes to conservation efforts and initiating meetings and also taking part in the whaleshark association.

The hotels are putting some extra strain on natural resources, but at the same time they are diversifying the livelihoods of the people on the island. The number of hotels in Mafia is still not very high, so there is still room for more. But as the hotels are concentrated in the park area, the pressure on resources is higher there, so it can be questioned if there should be more hotels in that particular area. At the same time, according to the park warden, the amount of employment is not significant enough to make a difference in the fishing pressure in the area,. One may question whether it is beneficial for the environment to build more hotels in the area. It would however, lead to higher employment and perhaps even make a difference in terms of conservation in the marine park. But this is not likely as part of the problem was fishers coming from other districts and fishing in the park area.

4.5 Management and organizations

It is MIMP and the District, with the basis in national laws, that have the main management responsibility for tourism in Mafia Island,. These two authorities have had little communication and have different priorities when it comes to tourism. The main purpose of MIMP is conservation . As a consequence, MIMP is involved in tourism out of necessity whilst the District is more concerned with economic gain from the industry.

Both are essentially positive and optimistic towards tourism and have expectations in terms of its development. There is nevertheless little communication and information flow between these authorities.

At the time I was there, the communication between them was more or less non-existent when it came to tourism as they had no organized relations, only vague plans to develop it. After my departure I was informed that there had been a meeting, which the tourism warden regarded as very positive as they had agreed to maintain and keep each other informed and cooperate in these matters.

According to Gössling (1999) *“effective planning, management and control is a precondition for a sound relationship between protected areas and tourism. Local communities have to participate in these processes, and to receive a share of the financial benefit.”*

With MIMP, the District and villagers all being positive to tourism, they will notice the benefits from the industry. They are also likely to obtain more benefits as the infrastructure improves and the industry develops. If the tourism industry in Mafia is to be successful in providing more benefits locally and to put as little pressure on the natural resources as possible, the lines of communication between these stakeholders should be improved to enable all parties to inform of their actions, needs, problems and other concerns. Lack of cooperation leads to less efficiency, as all parties are not informed of the each others' actions. This means that they loose the opportunity to use each others' knowledge, assistance and collaboration. This would lessen the social- ecological resilience as these factors are preconditions for a development which maintains the environment and society in a desirable state. It also leads to lack of trust as one does not know what the other is doing.

The fact that all investments within MIMP now has to go through an EIA, gives an organized way of involving all stakeholders in the beginning of hotel projects. This happens through the environmental auditing that the MIMP should do and the fact that investors have to include villagers in their decisions. Also the District Office is involved through charge of permits and licenses. The fact that the EIA incorporates all these factors should be beneficial to the social-ecological resilience.

5.0 Conclusion

Of the three villages visited in the fieldwork there are most similarities between Chole and Utende. Both of these villages have experienced benefits in terms of employment and community development. Many respondents in the villages were concerned with the same cultural effects such as too little clothing on the visitors and the kind of influence this would have on the young. In both Chole and Utende people said there was not enough benefits from tourism, but it would be detrimental if tourists would cease to come.

In both Chole and Utende there were conflicts with investors over land issues. More or less all of the respondents said they found the tourism industry to be beneficial to the village, they

were also positive to the tourists that were visiting. They found that all the problems they were concerned with were with the investors themselves, not the tourism industry as such.

The one thing that was similar in all three villages where the trends concerning occupation and population, where all groups perceived a move from farming, and to a lesser degree, fishing, towards paid occupations, for the most part within tourism.

In Juani they found no benefits from tourism, and they felt no impact from tourism in terms of culture or environmental impact. They did feel a degree of unfairness because of the lack of benefits as they did have tour groups come to their island. The respondents in Juani were split in terms of future wants as some definitely wanted tourists and others were more sceptical as they had heard negative experiences from other villages and because they feared more restrictions in terms of fishing. In Chole and Utende more people were positive to an increase in tourism as they believed it would increase the employment and general benefits.

Chole Mjini and Kinasi hotel have very different intentional starting points for their business ventures. Chole Mjini as an ecotourism destination attempts to conduct their business in an ecologically sustainable way and to devote part of their income, their time and knowledge to community development and has community participation as part of its mandate.

Kinasi operates as a conventional private business and has no initial intent of conducting community development or to practice additional ecologically sustainable practices outside what is required. They are, however, both contributing financially to schools and are applying some environmentally friendly practises.

Both hotels are involved in conflicts, both regarding land-rights and for overlooking villagers' opinions. This is creating negative relations with villagers.

To the question of which practice of tourism is more beneficial for the island, it could be asserted that well functioning ecotourism would be the best. By well functioning I mean a business venture where villager's opinions are heard and projects implemented with their consent and full participation. The tourist business should simultaneously maintain ecological considerations while operating with high quality and financial sustainability.

The increase in tourism in Mafia is a disturbance to which the inhabitants and the ecosystem have to adapt to and manage. It is not only the presence of tourists and the establishment around them that brings on changes. Tourism also brings on new factors of disturbance which gives new challenges for the resilience and adaptive capacity on the island. Some of the change that might happen is the influx of people from surrounding areas if tourism increases the wealth of the area compared to other Districts. Also the fluctuation in numbers of visitors is a challenge as both too many and too few guests will cause problems. What influences the actor's ability to handle these disturbances is their social capital such as the level of knowledge, and what type of knowledge. A mix of both scientific and local knowledge provides a broader base to make decisions upon. Other factors that influence the ability to handle present and future disturbances is the management regimes ability to cope, respond to feedback and allow for change to happen. The key to maintaining and building resilience is to find balance between allowing change and taking advantage of the opportunities which change brings. The challenge is to at same time limit the impacts that it can bring so as to remain in a desirable state, but still allowing for renewal.

5.1 Factors reducing social- ecological resilience

Lack of capital

Lack of capital is one of the reasons for people not being able to enter the tourism industry. Many wanted to make business within tourism, but were not able and gave lack of financial capital as a reason for this. Being forced to use all of their capital and time in providing for their daily needs forces people who desire to do so unable to change their situation. Being unable to embark on other income strategies and to diversify their livelihood shows lack of adaptive capacity. Marshal and Marshal (2007) claims that being unable to change your situation when you desire to do so is the same as being socio- ecologically non- resilient as the person has entered a non- desirable state.

Conflict

The various conflicts between hotels and villagers create a negative environment on the island. Persistent conflict and disagreements between actors result in lack of trust which makes cooperation more difficult. One of the reasons for conflicts or disagreements is lack of communication leads to misunderstandings. Another is disregard for communities' wishes or

importance of consensus in decision-making processes. There is a need for conflict resolution mechanisms between hotel owners and villagers to aid in solving or preventing unnecessary disagreements and conflicts.

Lack of sufficient benefits and participation

The tourism industry contributes with employment and community benefits, but so far it does not make enough of an impact to improve the livelihood of entire villages or for the areas outside the main tourism areas. People still feel poor and struggle to make ends meet, many are also involuntarily unemployed.

People are also feeling powerless as they want to enter the tourism industry, but are unable to do so due to lack of knowledge and capital. They are also unable to take part in decision-making regarding matters of tourism in their area reducing resilience of management regimes.

5.2 Factors enhancing social- ecological resilience

Education

Both environmental and general education is taking part in strengthening resilience in the area. MIMP, WWF, the learning centre and associates of the hotels have been taking part in giving environmental education. Contribution to the schools in the area from hotels and scholarships to continue to secondary school is helping to increase the general level of education amongst the population.

Environmental education gives insight into ecology and environmental protection; the result could be more responsible behaviour towards natural resources. Even though comments were made contradicting that education had any effect, general education of the population gives a broader base for the community to make decisions concerning resource use.

General increase in the education level of the population provides a basis for increased ingenuity and competence and strengthened capacity that can give basis for additional livelihood diversification and increased ability to handle disturbances.

Livelihood diversification

Tourism gives increased work opportunities so that families can diversify their income base. Income from tourism provides a market for several other small businesses such as food stalls in the villages that have hotels. A diversified livelihood base is the same as risk spreading and increases communities and families resistance to disturbances as long as these livelihoods do not rely on the same resource base. Most people maintained a diverse livelihood base with farming, fishing and employment if possible, mainly out of necessity.

Future prospects

There are many factors that point to a positive development, namely the introduction of EIA, the fact that there is some increase of communication between actors and the fact that villagers are generally positive to the tourism industry. The improvement of infrastructure on Mafia may contribute to an increase in tourism. This can be both good and bad, as it may increase the benefits, but also lead to a dependence on income from tourism.

5.3 Management and adaptation

MIMP is dependent on tourism for success as its success as it is one of the main independent income bases and a source of non- resource based employment. The District Office sees a lot of potential in tourism for the development of Mafia as a District. The lack of communication and cooperation between these two actors up until recently makes it difficult to respond to feedback from the industry and from villagers. As MIMP and the District Office have initiated cooperation it is a positive step towards more participation and communication between all stakeholders.

The introduction of compulsory EIA increases communication and participation from all parts, particularly in the initiation phase.

The challenge will be to find a permanent way to provide feedback between all actors so as to maximise the potential for learning and adaptation. Adaptive management requires the participation of all actors in all phases to be successful, particularly the participation of the villagers as they are the ones with knowledge of the area. The hotel owners are the ones with financial capital and knowledge of the tourism industry, both are needed on the island: the

hotel owners need to find or be given opportunities to benefit from letting villagers participate to a larger extent.

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