EN*GENDER*ING DEVELOPMENT?

AN EXPLORATION OF TOURISM AS A GENDERED SPACE

IN ZANZIBAR, TANZANIA

by

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Tourism has become an increasingly popular strategy for fostering economic development, especially among "developing countries." As a development strategy, tourism poses various trade-offs for different communities globally, and has been both promoted and criticized for the costs and benefits it generates. However, one of the often-overlooked considerations within this context is how gender relations and ideologies are intertwined within this strategy, and how this influences the lived experiences of local communities.

This research explores the ways in which tourism can be interpreted as a gendered space, a system which disproportionately affects women's lived experiences. Based on existing literature pertaining to the theoretical frameworks of tourism development and, gender and development, this thesis aims to explore how gendered systems of power are rooted within tourism development, specifically in Stone Town, Zanzibar. Using an exploratory based approach, this research focuses on local interpretations and experiences with tourism. This thesis argues that tourism as a gendered space generates a variety barriers that specifically inhibit women's opportunities for participation in the field. In conjunction, it explores the ways in which many women employ specific strategies to navigate within this gendered space in attempt to maximize personal, social, and political agency.

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Introduction

Just off the coast of Mainland Tanzania,[1] tourists flood the island of Zanzibar every year to enjoy the white sand beaches, delectable cuisine, elaborate architecture, and vibrant culture. The calm ocean breeze in Bwejuu brings tourists from across the globe to enjoy a vacation away from their daily stresses, while the beach bars and Full Moon Parties in Nungwi draw in a more lively crowd. Street vendors offer scarves and trinkets inscribed with the phrase "*Hakuna Matata*," appealing to tourists who just returned from safari on the Mainland. The walking tour of Stone Town will take you through the *vichochoro* (narrow streets), winding between the coral stone buildings with intricately carved doors, and even past Freddie Mercury's childhood home. A tour of Jozani forest will introduce you to the playful red colobus monkeys and a walk through the spice farms will teach you about the local flora and fauna on the island. The night market in Forodhani offers inexpensive food options for a more "local" dining experience of *pweza* (octopus), *sambusa* (samosa), *madafu* (fresh coconut) and much more. While you sip on *urojo*/*mixi* (a popular Zanzibari soup), groups of young men dive into the moonlit ocean from the market's edge, while mothers, children, and their friends sit together on *mikeka* (woven mats) sharing *chipsi* (french fries) and *halua* (a tapioca based dessert), dressed in beautiful dresses and hijab. The combination of relaxing and upbeat activities to partake in attract a wide range of folks from countries across the globe, making Zanzibar an ideal tourist destination.

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[1] Zanzibar is a part of the United Republic of Tanzania. However, throughout this thesis, I distinguish between The United Republic of Tanzania, Mainland Tanzania, and Zanzibar. I refer to the United Republic of Tanzania (the joint union between Mainland and Zanzibar) as "Tanzania," while using "Mainland" to refer to the mainland area of Tanzania, and "Zanzibar" to refer to Unguja island.

During the summer of 2016 I travelled to Zanzibar to study Swahili language and culture at the State University of Zanzibar, and of course, to see the sights about which I had heard so much. During my study abroad experience, I lived with a host family just outside of Stone Town where I learned more about the experiences of local people and communities, and a vibrant and complex culture often overshadowed by the commodified tourist attractions and luxurious accommodations. In addition to studying Swahili, I also knew that I wanted to learn more about the tourism industry from a development perspective, but was unaware of—however, not surprised by—the prevalent and complex relationship between tourism and *gender*.

Living with a host family allowed me to more closely understand some of the local interpretations of and experiences with tourism in Zanzibar, guiding my exploration of some of the more deeply rooted complexities. A few nights each week, a very close friend of my host family would pick up her 5-year-old daughter and join us for evening *chai* (tea). I had become close with her as she would always push me to engage in the conversations led in Swahili around evening *chai*, but would also translate certain words and phrases to English when I was stuck. One evening, as I was searching for articles about development, tourism, and Zanzibar, she offered to share some of her personal experiences with me as they pertained to these themes. She told me about growing up on the island and her achievement in being accepted into a university on the Mainland. This is a very admirable accomplishment for any Zanzibari due to the complex tensions between Zanzibar and the Mainland. She graduated with a degree in hotel management and returned to Zanzibar expecting that she would be able to find work in the growing tourism sector almost effortlessly given her background as a local

Zanzibari with specialized education in the field. However, much to her surprise, she found it impossible to find work as a Zanzibari woman in that particular sector. She felt that, in general, women were not equally considered for employment opportunities in comparison to men. Although our discussion was brief, her frustration and interpretations led me to explore the tourism industry through a *gendered* lens.

I began to actively notice that many of the restaurants, hotels, and the majority of the tourist centered shops that I entered were staffed by foreign men and women (either from the Mainland or Western European countries), and/or Zanzibari men. Nearly all of the managers, waiters, shop owners, and tour guides were foreigners or Zanzibari men. Some Zanzibari women held jobs as custodial staff, shop staff, or worked as waitresses in restaurants. Less frequently, Zanzibari women owned their own shops. However, based on my observations, those shops were most often located further out from the city center. During my ten weeks abroad, I saw on average four guided tour groups every day, and during those ten weeks, I only saw one female tour guide. My observations led me to consider how gendered systems of power are intertwined within the tourism industry, shaping opportunities and access to the benefits of tourism, and what that means for Zanzibari people and their communities.

Tourism accounts for twenty percent of Zanzibar's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (World Trade Organization, 2012) and is believed to have the potential to significantly increase economic growth for the region (Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar, 2013). However, many conventional development strategies like tourism have failed to incorporate local community members in the planning and implementation of such initiatives, often bringing in foreign investors that reap most of the economic

benefits (Khan 1997: 989). Women have particularly been excluded in many development discussions and are often negatively affected by 1) being *directly* excluded from the discussion and/or process of "development," and 2) experiencing *indirect* effects from "development" programs in their daily lives. Using Stone Town, Zanzibar as a case study site, I aim to provide insight into how tourism might be better understood as a *gendered* system, with an investigation into how its costs and benefits are distributed, and how tourism constructs, upholds, and shapes complex gendered relationships in the context of development.

The intersections between tourism and development, and gender and development have been extensively researched and are widely known. However, much of the research pertaining to these issues does not consider the complex relations between these main themes: tourism, gender, and development. My goal in presenting this thesis is to contribute to the existing literature pertaining to development discourses by considering tourism as a gendered system. This intersection is best understood by talking to people directly involved and affected by such development initiatives, and centering their experiences in our analyses. It is through people's stories that we can better understand the lived experiences and complexities associated with tourism as development, even as we consider the influence of larger systems of power (Braun, 2011a; Braun et al., 2015; Braun & McLees, 2012). Considering and focusing on people's lived experiences may help foster more holistic, productive, and positive community development that center around specific community goals and values.

Research Design and Methodology

During the summer of 2017, I travelled to Zanzibar for four weeks to conduct

the primary fieldwork-based qualitative research for this thesis. I conducted eleven semi-structured interviews with two men and nine women working in the tourism industry. Understanding local experiences and considerations are crucial components of my research. In conducting my research abroad, I was primarily interested in gaining insight into local people's experiences and opinions as they pertained to the broad themes I aimed to explore: development, tourism, and gender. I chose to conduct interviews with local people working in the tourism industry in Stone Town, Zanzibar to further understand the complexities and intersections between tourism operations and gendered systems. Using this method allows me to add to the conversation surrounding tourism development trade-offs, focusing on people's lived experiences as opposed to a more economically based analysis. Using an exploratory, interview-based approach allowed me to further explore the ways in which men's and women's experiences working in Zanzibar's tourism sector differ, how the trade-offs are distributed, and how local interpretations surrounding gender contribute to this phenomenon.

For my primary research method, I chose to conduct interviews and engage in ethnographic observations abroad because I wanted the bulk of my research to be reflective of local experiences and considerations, components that can often be overlooked in conventional development planning. My initial goal was to interview thirty to forty people recruited from shops, restaurants, hotels, beach vendors, and community members, with interviews each lasting approximately fifteen to thirty minutes. My initial goal was to allow for flexibility in the number of interviewees. However, I found that because the majority of my interviews lasted between thirty to ninety minutes and were conducted in Swahili (my second language), leading a smaller

number of thoughtful and engaging conversations was more realistic and beneficial for my research. I also found it more difficult than anticipated to find community members unaffiliated with the tourism industry as a profession who were willing to speak with me about these issues. So, all of my interviewees worked in the tourism industry in some capacity. Prior to conducting my interviews and observations abroad, I obtained approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of Oregon to be sure that I would be conducting my research in a productive and ethical manner, posing little to no risk for interviewees. In addition to obtaining IRB approval from the University of Oregon, I sought out local research clearance in Zanzibar, again, taking proactive measures to uphold the standards and ethical practices of research procedures and to be respectful of cross-cultural research related expectations.

While conducting this research, I stayed in a neighborhood just a short distance from the center of Stone Town and walked through the city every morning. During my explorations of the city, I built relationships with shop owners, tour guides, restaurant staff, street vendors among others, some of whom were interested in participating in interview sessions with me. Interviewees were selected based on their occupation and their willingness to speak with me, with priority given to women working in the tourism industry. My interviewees' work within the tourism industry varied, including shop owners, vendors, managerial and custodial hotel staff, seamstresses, and tour guides. I chose to interview members with varying occupations to gain a holistic sense of people's interpretations of the tourism industry, and how it has specifically affected their livelihood and well-being with regard to their individual identities. Nine of the eleven interviews were conducted in Swahili as most of my participants preferred to

speak in the local language. I offered to conduct interviews in either language so that I could gain insight from people with varying educational, literacy, and language experiences and capabilities, and to be as inclusive as possible.

I have successfully completed thirty credits of Swahili language at the University of Oregon and gained Swahili proficiency during my study abroad program in 2016. My language training prepared me for the methods used in my research design. Interviews were conducted, recorded, and transcribed without a research assistant to the best of my ability. However, when particular passages were challenging to translate or interpret, I sought out assistance from Dr. Mokaya Bosire of the University of Oregon's Linguistics department who is extensively familiar with the language as both a native speaker and instructor. Our combined efforts allowed me to analyze and interpret what people shared with me and how they chose to relay certain information more deeply.

I used an exploratory framework in conducting this research, keeping an open mind when conducting my semi-structured interviews. This means that while I made sure that all of my pre-planned questions were answered, I also valued and followed the different directions that conversations took me and explored specific concepts and themes as they seemed to recur (Berg, 2009). I chose to conduct interviews with people working in the tourism industry to better understand local experiences and considerations regarding the issues at hand. It was important for me to project as much of a holistic representation of the issues as possible by considering varying perspectives. In conducting my interviews, I was able to speak with individuals with different backgrounds and identities (including variations in age, religion, nationality, ability, gender, class, education, occupation etc.). Though my sample size was small, the

majority of the interviews conducted offered interesting and valuable insights, some of which I anticipated and some of which surprised me. In conducting my interviews, some of the broader themes that recurred included references to cultural impacts and shifts, gendered relations and ideologies, and how these components are interwoven in a complex web that influences the lived experiences of local people. As such themes recurred, I made sure to explore them further by continuing the conversation even if I did not anticipate the direction it was taking, and later adding interview questions that seemed relevant for future interviews. The recorded interviews in combination with my own ethnographic observations serve as the primary sources for this research.

The conversations I had with interviewees were dynamic, discussing experiences relating to work, home, and leisure, as well as their experiences and opinions specifically relating to my central themes of development, tourism, and gender. My goal in interviewing local people working in the tourism industry was to better understand if and how these broader themes affect one another and how local people understand and make meaning of these dynamics in their own lives. All of the people I spoke with came from different backgrounds, held different opinions, and shared different stories regarding Zanzibari culture, gender ideologies, and tourism as a development strategy. Table 1 provides an overview of all of my interviewees. In chapter 3, I highlight seven of the individual stories shared with me for a more in-depth exploration and analysis of individual experiences. While I am grateful to all of my interviewees for their insights and contributions to this research, I chose to highlight those seven narratives as they so well captured the themes and patterns that all of my interviewees spoke to. Through detailed analysis of my interviews and observations, I

have highlighted some of the individual stories of the people I spoke with to exemplify

the intersection between development, tourism, and gender in Zanzibar.

Pseudonym	Age	Occupation	Nationality	Formal education
Farida	42	Hotel owner and manager, and tour guide organizer	Zanzibari	Completed college and tour guide certifications
Mama Akida	41	Shop owner and manager	Zanzibari	Completed Primary: standard 7
Angela	35	Boutique owner and manager	Mainland Tanzanian	Completed some college
Issa	47	Hotel security staff	Zanzibari	Completed Secondary: form 3
Adiha	70	Hotel housekeeping staff	Zanzibari	Completed Secondary: form 3
Nafisa	40	Hotel housekeeping staff	Zanzibari (originally from Pemba)	Completed Secondary: form 3
Imani	42	Tour agency part owner and manager	Zanzibari	Completed college and tour guide certifications
Asha	31	Hotel assistant manager	Mainland Tanzanian	Completed college
Basma	45	Henna artist and shop employee	Zanzibari	Completed Primary: standard 7
Abdala	25	Seamstress	Zanzibari	Completed Secondary: form 4
Subira	25	Shop employee	Zanzibari	Completed Secondary: form 4

Table 1: This table provides and overview of the interviewees
that I spoke with while conducting primary research abroad.

Drawing from existing literature, Chapter 1 will explore the theoretical frameworks regarding development, tourism, and gender, on a more global scale. This chapter aims to contextualize these broad themes first as individual concepts within the context of development, to then better understand how they can be interpreted as interconnected systems. The discussion of these concepts will aid the exploration of considering tourism development as a gendered system, and more specifically, how this system operates and is experienced by local communities within my case study site.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the context and background of the case study site, Stone Town, Zanzibar. A brief overview of the site's history and significant cultural dynamics will help contextualize the discussion surrounding tourism, gender, and development frameworks, applying those theoretical concepts to Zanzibar specifically. The discussion within this section in conjunction with the themes surrounding theoretical frameworks will provide further context for the data and analysis section of this thesis.

In Chapter 3, I outline some of the individual experiences shared with me during the interview process. I will extensively delve into each of these stories, pulling out recurring themes as they relate to the outlined theoretical frameworks and research context. More specifically, I will analyze the ways in which women navigate within systems of power to maximize their sense of power and agency in Zanzibar.

I conclude my thesis by arguing that, within the context of development, tourism is best understood as a gendered system of power that generates a variety of trade-offs that disproportionately affect women. Women strategically navigate within this system in a variety of ways in attempt to maximize their agency.

Based on both the existing literature in conjunction with my primary data, I argue that women need to be offered opportunities to be included in tourism planning to maximize the benefits that this development strategy proposes. In addition to these conclusions, I will offer alternative and additional considerations for how further research can help foster more holistic and productive development initiatives that are centered around and better meet community goals and values.

Chapter 1: Theoretical Frameworks Regarding Tourism, Gender, and Development

International development has been a considerable point of focus in the global political economy since the 1950s, involving a combination of frameworks and strategies that have evolved over time and space (Visvanathan 2011: 3). Various development frameworks and the strategies used to support them continue to be challenged, critiquing the problematic and often exclusive ways in which different development models operate (Rai, 2011b). Viewing development processes through different lenses allows us to articulate the various trade-offs associated with particular development programs and strategies, focusing in on the more deeply rooted issues that help shape individuals' lived experiences. This chapter aims to provide insight not only into how tourism strategies and gendered frameworks operate within a development context, but also to begin to articulate how the two concepts are interconnected. Examining tourism development through a gendered lens allows us to explore the ways in which tourism can be interpreted as a gendered system and what that means for local people and their communities.

Development and Developing Countries

"Development" is a constructed, complex, and contested term that has evolved over time and does not have one strict definition. Post World War II, International development aid became an important "political tool" used by Western superpowers with the overarching goal to influence decolonizing and non-aligned nations during the Cold War (Momsen 2010: 7). From this, American neoliberal capitalist ideals became a

dominant model for international development programming and assistance, aiming to promote economic modernization, globalized free markets, and poverty reduction in "non-Western" countries (Carothers & de Gramont 2013: 24). This in turn led to viewing Western (and mainly American) economic and political development as the "standard" for what a developed nation should look like (Carothers & de Gramont 2013: 24). This very brief overview of how international development efforts and aid became more focused on in international affairs is an important component to understanding the various ways in which development is theorized, applied, and contested internationally today.

While there is no single definition for "development," understanding some of the different interpretations of the convoluted term, how it is applied, and what the associated trade-offs are will aid the later discussion surrounding *tourism* development. When discussing development, it is important to consider and reflect on "who" is "doing" development "for whom" (Braun, 2006). White explains that "Development discourses assume and inscribe notions of difference, between here and there, now and then, us and them, developed and developing" (White 2011: 95), geopolitically recognizing the West as "developed," while remaining regions are contrastingly deemed "underdeveloped" (Rai 2011b: 14). As Rai explains, "underdeveloped, developing, Third World, the global south are all terms that are used to describe the poorer nations of the world," reaffirming the dominant power structures that promote Western interpretations and standards of development (Rai 2011b: 19). These terms are problematic because they generalize a large group of communities and nations, creating a constructed dichotomy between "developed" and "underdeveloped" countries, further

upholding the rooted power structures that define them (Rai, 2011b). With these considerations in mind, we can begin to better understand how different development frameworks and strategies are implemented, who will be involved in those processes, and what implications this holds for local communities.

Although there are a multitude of different definitions and alternatives associated with development, "conventional" and "community" development models are particularly relevant to this discussion. "Conventional" development mainly focuses on generating wealth and capital, often failing to incorporate other social, political, and environmental considerations. The more conventional development models often adopt more "top-down" approaches to development. In this framework, those "doing" development are often those in power, which just so happen to (often) be local and international governments, International Non-governmental Organizations (INGOs), development agencies etc., while the ones "being" developed are most often communities which are identified as in need of development interventions largely conceived in relation to Western standards of development (Carothers & de Gramont, 2013). This is not to say that this is *always* nor the *best* way for development programming to unfold, but it is a more common strategy, and one that has received much pushback by development critics and local communities which are primarily affected by such programming.

"Community" development is another contested term that has various definitions and strategies associated with it. For the purpose of this research, I adopt the Community Development Exchange's (CDX) definition, which describes community development as being "about building active and sustainable communities based on

social justice and mutual respect. It is about changing power structures to remove the barriers that prevent people from participating in the issues that affect their lives" (Changes, 2018). This definition differs from that of conventional development as it highlights the need to alter "power structures" and break the barriers that hinder community participation in development programs. Community development critiques conventional development frameworks, which often fail to include local community considerations in the planning and implementation processes.

There are many development alternatives to both of these models, all of which have unique interpretations and strategies for fostering different development outcomes. However, understanding and distinguishing between conventional and community development frameworks will serve for the scope of this research. Considering the goals, frameworks, and strategies associated with specific development programming initiatives guides our understanding of how such approaches shape people's lived experiences. More specifically, I will explore the ways in which tourism as a specific development strategy can pose various trade-offs for different communities and influence the lived experiences of local people.

Tourism and Development

International tourism is a growing industry and is often portrayed as a viable tool for achieving socio-economic growth and stability. The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) 2017 report states that: "International tourist arrivals grew by 3.9% to reach a total of 1,235 million," accounting for nearly 46 million more tourists who travelled internationally from 2015 to 2016 (UNWTO, 2017). As international tourism continues to grow, more countries are attracted to its potential to

foster economic development, especially among "developing countries" (Telfer & Sharpley, 2015). While proposed benefits such as economic growth, job opportunities, and reduced poverty rates are all possible (and desired) results, there are additional trade-offs and consequences that many nations have experienced when adopting tourism as a system for promoting economic development. Focusing on tourism is just one strategy often used to foster development, and, like many other strategies, it comes with various trade-offs. This section aims to provide an overview of some of the potential trade-offs that can come from using tourism as a development strategy, steering away from the idea that it produces wholly "good" or entirely "bad" outcomes for a particular community.

Tourism and Developing Countries

International tourism is widely promoted as a viable means for fostering economic growth and stability, and has specifically become increasingly popular as a strategy for developing nations (Telfer & Sharpley, 2015). Jefferson explains that:

> [Tourism] is not a single industry but a movement of people, a demand force. It is a major economic activity which is highly competitive: a major employer, and a global phenomenon […] its upside of tangible benefits [include]: economic—wealth creation, foreign exchange earner; creator of employment; conserver of traditions, crafts and heritage (Jefferson 1991: 3)

These are just a few of the more broadly defined proposed benefits associated with using tourism as a development strategy, but overwhelmingly relate back to the concept of economic growth. Because of its potential for maintaining steady economic growth, tourism is especially attractive for developing nations as a more *long-term* strategy for fostering economic development (Jenkins, 1991). Jenkins argues that tourism has the

potential to vastly promote economic development as it provides employment, foreign

investment, foreign currency earning, and infrastructure related opportunities,

opportunities which can benefit both local communities and the general economy in the

long-term (Jenkins, 1991). Before delving into how these proposed benefits are

generated, first, we need to understand the different ways in which these various trade-

offs are broken down and interconnected.

Ashley et al. argues that tourism development produces a variety and

combination of *direct*, *indirect*, and *dynamic* trade-offs (Ashley et al., 2007). These

concepts help to break down the broad effects that local communities experience, while

also highlighting the complex web of trade-offs stemming from the industry. The *direct*

effects refer to "the wages and earnings of those who participate directly in the sector as

workers or entrepreneurs," while the more *indirect* effects "occur through the tourism

value chain, […] draw[ing] on inputs from the food and beverage, construction,

transportation, furniture, and many other sectors" (Ashley et al. 2007: 8). In addition,

the more *dynamic* effects are associated with "the effects on the economy and society

more generally," relating more closely to communities and entities less affiliated with

the industry (Ashley et al. 2007: 9). For example, while infrastructure improvements

may be implemented to *directly* support a growing tourism industry, those

improvements can also assist in fulfilling more local needs like water access,

transportation, health services, etc., posing more *dynamic* trade-offs as well (Ashley et

al. 2007: 9). The *direct*, *indirect*, and *dynamic* effects are not inseparable from one

another, rather they are intertwined concepts working together to generate different

trade-offs for different communities.

For many developing countries, tourism is particularly attractive due to its perceived ability to increase economic growth. We can break down this broadly defined, overarching benefit of economic growth, to explore the more underlying components which support it, components including: foreign investment and exchange earnings, employment, and infrastructure improvement opportunities. As Jenkins argues, many developing countries are particularly attracted to the potential for increasing local employment opportunities (Jenkins, 1991; Braun, 2011b). Jenkins explains that "tourism creates a need for services. Most developing countries have high rates of population growth, high levels of unemployment and under-employment, and a desperate need to find jobs in a growing labour force" (Jenkins 1991: 85). More specifically, Jenkins highlights the opportunity to generate more "un-skilled" or "semi-skilled" employment opportunities in the tourism service industry, as there is a specific need for hotel, housekeeping, restaurant, tour, and transportation staff (Jenkins 1991: 85). In addition to supporting the general economy, creating more "un-skilled" or "semi-skilled" employment opportunities is argued to be beneficial because it attempts to meet the general need for creating jobs for large populations with varying levels of education (Jenkins 1991: 85).

An additional factor contributing to economic vitality of a given region is the potentially low start-up costs and less reliance on infrastructure investment that tourism can offer in comparison to other development strategies. Telfer and Sharpley argue that in some cases, "Tourism utilizes natural, 'free' infrastructure," arguing that because "the development of tourism is frequently based on existing natural or man-made attractions, such as beaches, wilderness areas or heritage sites," there is often less start-

up effort required to support the industry (Telfer & Sharpley 2015: 27). In the case of Zanzibar, for example, while hotels, restaurants, and gift shops require funding to maintain (which is often supported by foreign investment and programming), the pre-existing infrastructure and natural attractions on the island does not require initial costs to build (Marks, 1996). For this reason, among others, tourism presents itself as an especially viable option for developing countries.

Developing infrastructure is another important factor as it presents the opportunity for both the tourism industry *and* local community to benefit. While natural and pre-existing infrastructure often support low start-up costs for the industry to initially develop, tourism often pushes for basic infrastructure implementation in order to accommodate tourists from across the globe. This often incorporates water and sanitation, transportation, and health service related improvements in a given area. Not only are these resources enjoyed by tourists, but local communities may then have increased access to them as well, a more *dynamic* effect stemming from tourism infrastructure development (Ashley et al., 2007).

While tourism is often promoted as a viable strategy for boosting economic development by increasing foreign currency earnings, employment opportunities, and infrastructure development, there are additional trade-offs that can pose more costly effects. Critics of tourism development consider the ways in which social, political, and environmental sectors are impacted by this strategy, moving away from the dominant discourse surrounding economic development and its proposed benefits. By exploring these sectors, critics uncover the often overlooked "consequences" that stem from using tourism as a development strategy, specifically focusing on weighing the costs and

benefits that local communities experience.

Potential Trade-offs

   While tourism can act as a catalyst for economic development in many countries, the processes by which it operates and the outcomes that it produces can generate various trade-offs for different individuals and their communities. Ashley et al. explains that "despite growing evidence of the beneficial impacts of tourism in developing countries and good practices by some individual firms, critics still question whether the overall balance of impacts is positive" (Ashley et al. 2007: 6). In addition to the economic benefits it can generate, tourism development can also pose more social, political, and environmental costs that look different for various regions, communities, and individuals.

   Although development initiatives are often implemented to relieve economic and social inequalities primarily in developing countries, such initiatives often fail to close those gaps. Telfer and Sharpley argue that, "development [often] fails to materialize, benefits only local elites or is achieved at significant economic, social or environmental cost to local communities" (Telfer & Sharpley 2015: 4). More specifically, using tourism as a development model in developing countries often boosts the pre-established wealthier communities while at the same time exploiting local resources and labor at the expense of the poorer communities, further expanding the gaps between economic and social equality (Telfer & Sharpley, 2015). Ashley et al. elaborates on this idea, suggesting that:

> By pushing up local prices and the country's exchange rate, for example,
> it can leave those outside the tourism sector worse off. It can also deprive
> local people of access to the natural resources on which they rely, such

as fishing grounds, forests, and water. Although there are many examples in which the improvements in infrastructure that accompany tourism development—such as electricity, water, transport, and telecommunications—have benefited the poor, in certain situations they can cause harm. For instance, if a certain resource is scarce, such as water, constructing hotels, golf courses, and other world-class facilities can come at the expense of the local (and particularly the local poor) population (Ashley et al. 2007: 9)

These examples highlight some of the inequalities that arise from tourism development. There are various scales to tourism such as "mass," "large-scale," and "community based" approaches, which help shape how it is implemented, and in turn, how local communities benefit (Braun et al., 2015). The issues that Ashley et al. highlights often stem from more large-scale approaches (describing "hotels, golf courses, and world-class facilities"), issues that often pose more *dynamic* effects. For example, while water access and usage is an important resource in boosting the tourism sector, water depletion affects both the natural environment *and* local communities, fostering a web of both environmental *and* social concerns. It is important to consider the potential, perhaps more detrimental effects stemming from tourism to weigh the costs and benefits of adopting it as a development strategy.

Hawkins and Mann offer another perspective on some of the more costly outcomes, arguing that "the structure, organization, and management of international tourism […] favors multinational corporations, assuring them a larger proportion of the value added to the product being sold and implying a net loss to the host country using public funds to pay for the infrastructure that allows the product to be accessed" (Hawkins & Mann 2007: 351). Hawkins and Mann suggest that in many developing nations, foreign investors are often prioritized with the hopes of continuing to foster productive (and financially

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based) relationships that support the industry, often at the expense of local communities. Not only can this be detrimental for local communities and their values, but it is potentially dangerous as it can increase a country's reliance on foreign investment to support their development efforts, in turn, increasing their level of vulnerability (Telfer & Sharpley 2015: 109).

Adding to these critiques, Khan protests what she calls "mass" tourism development in developing countries, highlighting the more negative outcomes it generates including export market dependence, increased foreign dominance, and environmental degradation. She explains that "Modern theorists might […] argue that mass tourism development in the Third World improves the local economy by providing job opportunities, improving the quality of life, creating educational opportunities, and strengthening the infrastructure," (Khan 1997: 988) acknowledging the proposed benefits of the industry in the development context before discussing her concerns. Khan critiques the tourism industry as a whole, raising particular issues with the planning and implementation processes, as well as the distribution of benefits. More specifically, Khan argues her point from a dependency theorist's lens, examining the historical patterns of unjust power dynamics between nations and how those patterns have generated a more developmentally dependent relationship between "rich" and "poor" nations. She argues that "Dependency theorists […] might view this kind of development as more for the benefit of capitalist-tourism generating countries and not self-generating for the host countries [themselves]" (Khan 1997: 988), arguing that although tourism is often advertised as being economically beneficial for the *host* country, it is rather the foreign invested nations that are seeing most of the benefits.

Khan specifically highlights the ways in which the distribution of "benefits"

stemming from tourism is unequal. She explains that:

> The majority of tourists to Third World countries are often from
> developed countries, using their own international airlines. Many of the
> goods and services required by a typical tourist have to be imported from
> capitalist countries which results in a major proportion of tourism
> expenditure *leaking out* [italics mine] from the local economy (Khan
> 1997: 989)

Khan mainly highlights the "leakage" factor of this equation, explaining that even

though the destination country hosts the tourists, much of the amenities they require are

offered by foreign entities that, in turn, reap most of the benefits. In many countries,

foreign investment and involvement are huge factors in the tourism development

process. Khan further explains, "The large amount of capital needed to invest and

promote tourism development, along with the expertise and knowledge required, have

to be imported. A good example is the mushrooming of hotel and restaurant chains in

developing countries with foreign ownership that transfers profits *out* of the country and

causes an economic leakage" (Khan 1997: 989). While foreign investment can be

viewed as a positive component to fostering economic development, an underlying

tension is that, all too often, much of the foreign investment mainly supports those

foreign entities and their home countries as opposed to the host country's economy

(Braun & McLees, 2012; Braun et al., 2015).

Tourism is not an entirely "positive" or "negative" strategy for fostering

development, but is rather a complex system that works at different scales and can

generate various trade-offs for a given community. As we have seen, the dominant

attractive qualities for using tourism as a development model include its potential for

increasing economic growth, foreign investment, foreign currency earnings,

employment, and infrastructure opportunities. While these are potentially viable outcomes, tourism development can also generate less desirable costs such as social inequalities, political and economic setbacks, and environmental degradation. As discussed here, tourism as a development strategy is contested, and the ways in which tourism is planned and implemented can shape very different outcomes for different communities. This requires an approach that is sensitive to considering systems and dynamics of power, including gender.

Gender and Development

There are a multitude of development strategies implemented across the globe that generate different trade-offs (as we saw with tourism). However, these strategies are not independent of external systems of power. Rather, these strategies are intertwined with different systems that reinforce pre-existing social structures and affect individuals' lived experiences. Development is widely recognized as a gendered institution, meaning that gender ideologies are intertwined in development processes and generated outcomes, and affect people in different ways based on their location in gendered systems of power. Here, I consider development as a gendered institution, exploring how development programming has evolved to incorporate gender-based frameworks and considerations, and the particular ways in which women have experienced and navigated within certain development approaches.

While men and gender non-conforming individuals also experience development processes and outcomes in different ways—and it is important to consider and value those voices as well—women have traditionally been "left out" of the development discussion as a whole. This kind of exclusion reinforces more nuanced gendered affects

that disproportionately affect women, which is why women's experiences will be focused on throughout this thesis. The scope of this research focuses on women's interpretations and experiences to better understand the deeply rooted themes and complexities that contribute to development as a gendered system, and how women actively navigate within the constraints and opportunities of their lives, sometimes shaping new possibilities for themselves and others.

Gender, Gender Relations, and Gender Ideologies

Gender is socially constructed, an active *process* that "involves a complex of socially guided perceptual, interactional, and micropolitical activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine 'natures'" (West & Zimmerman 1987: 126). Gender is more of a fluid *process* than a simple binary that distinguishes characteristics and behaviors between men and women. "Gender relations" and "gender ideologies" are two important concepts that work within this process. Gender relations refer to the "socially constructed form of relations between men and women," while gender ideologies are constructed ideas about who should do certain kinds of work, an important distinction to make in understanding gender as a social construct (Momsen 2010: 2). Gender relations and ideologies are underlying concepts that affect individuals' lived experiences, and have become increasingly focused on in international development frameworks specifically.

Gender and Development as a Discourse

Gender and development theorists have done extensive research surrounding gender ideologies in relation to development programming, with particular emphasis on

how women have been differentially impacted in this context. Momsen argues that "economic development has been shown to have a differential impact on men and women and the impact on women has, with few exceptions, generally been negative" (Momsen 2010: 16). Momsen highlights the importance of considering intersectionality in relation to development efforts, particularly focusing on gender identity in conjunction with other factors and identity components. For example, there are cultural, environmental, geographical, and economic related factors that all contribute to how an individual or community might be affected by a development program, and those components can often be overlooked in the initial planning process (Braun, 2005a, 2005b, 2010). Momsen highlights some examples of how women, in conjunction with other factors, have often seen the differential impacts of development:

> The modern sector takes over subsistence activities formerly undertaken by women. Often a majority of the better-paid jobs involving new technology go to men, but male income is less likely to be spent on the family. However, new low-paid and low skilled jobs for young women are also created in factories producing goods for export. Modernization of agriculture has altered the division of labour between the sexes, increasing women's dependent status as well as workload. […] Women carry a double or even triple burden of work as they cope with housework, childcare and subsistence food production, in addition to an expanding involvement in paid employment (Momsen 2010: 1-2)

These are just a few examples of how development as a set of processes affect women and men at different capacities, and how many of those effects disproportionately influence women's livelihoods and well-being (Braun, 2005a, 2011b, 2015). Women experience both *direct* and *indirect* trade-offs stemming from tourism, as tourism may reflect and reproduce gendered ideologies of work in the public and private sphere for example, or may provide opportunities to push against dominant gender ideologies or to address gender inequalities. This is why gender ideologies continue to be considered

and discussed within development frameworks, in an attempt to foster more productive and beneficial development outcomes for women in particular.

Evolution of Approaches

Approaches in addressing gender related development issues have evolved over time and space. As development goals more broadly began to shift from focusing on economic growth to fulfilling human needs, gender-based considerations began to take shape in development discussions (Rai 2011a: 28). Specific frameworks such as Women in Development (WID), and Gender and Development (GAD) are particularly important approaches to consider in this context. The WID approach was developed in the 1970s, recognizing a gap in women's participation in and benefits from development and economic activities (Rai 2011a: 28). The approach aimed "to ensure that benefits of modernization accrued to women as well as men in the Third World," promoting women as viable economic actors by including them in the development process itself (Rai 2011a: 29). While WID aimed to maximize women's benefits, it often overlooked some of the root causes of development issues. Visvanathan critiques the WID approach, arguing that "WID scholars have failed to differentiate between women of different classes and ethnic identity, have generalized women's subordination and have assumed that those women were a unified, coherent group" (Visvanathan 2011: 10). The approach affectively "stirred" women into development, making the assumption that *all* women cross-culturally and globally share the same experiences and that one model for development would work for everyone. While the WID approach initiated an important shift to considering women's lived experiences in relation to development, it failed to consider how social and political structures, and gender

relations and ideologies impact women's opportunities to participate in development

discussions in the first place (Rai 2011a: 31).

Shifting away from the WID approach, the GAD model focuses on "the

relationships that position women within society" (Rai 2011a: 32). It focuses on the

more deeply rooted barriers (such as gender relations, gender ideologies, and power

dynamics) that affect everyone, specifically considering how these barriers affect

women's access to opportunities and choices for participating in development

programming. As opposed to passively "stirring" women into development, the GAD

framework focuses on the more embedded gendered systems and power structures that

limit women's opportunities and choices. However, Wilson critiques the GAD approach

arguing that:

> Gender and Development theorists have increasingly highlighted
> women's 'agency'. Women in the global South are no longer invariably
> seen as passive victims; there is an increased focus on women's ability to
> make decisions and choices under given circumstances. But rather than
> challenging the racialized power relationships inherent in development,
> this has decisively shifted attention away from material and ideological
> structures of power (Wilson 2011: 99)

The GAD approach recognizes that there are physical and social barriers that need to be

resolved to provide opportunities for people to find agency. However, the GAD

approach has been criticized for not delving deeply enough into those barriers, often

recognizing them as static, and failing to highlight other intersectional considerations

(Wilson 2011: 96).

Intersectional frameworks which consider how individuals across time and

space experience development programming in different ways (with regard to

components such as race, class, and gender), have been increasingly focused on in

international development discourses (Braun 2011: 145). The WID and GAD frameworks (and their critiques) consider development through gendered lenses, helping us understand the complex nature of gendered systems of power in relation to development processes. Examining development discourses and systems through a gendered lens allows us to better understand how more marginalized groups experience development, and how individuals navigate within those systems of power.

"Direct" and "Indirect" Impacts

Considering the more "direct" and "indirect" ways in which women experience development is a considerable example of how women navigate within gendered systems of power. To better understand this idea, we can draw from Ashley's et al. interpretation of indirect and direct effects in the context of development discourse. While "direct" impacts relate to the access and opportunities to participate within development programming and extract the proposed benefits, the more "indirect" effects reflect the more incidental consequences that influence people's everyday lives (Ashley et al., 2007). Women experience this phenomenon in different ways in comparison to men (Momsen 2010: 2).

In the development context, women often experience direct consequences such as unequal opportunities to be involved in the development discussion itself, while also experiencing indirect consequences such as having unequal or less access to vital resources (Braun, 2005b, 2011a). For example, while a large-scale dam project may be implemented with the prospects of increasing economic development, women's voices and considerations are not often incorporated in this discourse (Braun 2011a: 142). This particular instance has proven to pose detrimental effects for women in particular, as

their primary water resource is less or entirely inaccessible, in addition to being faced

with other gender-based inequalities and effects (Braun, 2011a, 2015). Gender

ideologies play an important role in shaping many of the effects that women experience.

Considering both the direct and indirect ways that women are particularly affected

within development is important for understanding how development trade-offs are

distributed, and how women navigate those constraints.

"Second Shift"

Hochschild describes the idea of the "second shift," a concept rooted in gender

ideologies, which identifies that most women are often tasked with balancing (at least)

two primary jobs: professional employment and reproductive labor (Hochschild, 1989).

The "second shift" is an example of how deeply rooted gender relations and ideologies

within the family and public structures impact men's and women's lives in different

ways. It reflects a set of gender ideologies that are persistent within the private sphere,

distinguishing between the type of work that men and women are primarily

"responsible" for. More specifically, it upholds the notion that women are first and

foremost mothers and caretakers in the home, assuming that all women are destined to

become mothers at some point in their lives. It also expects that women take on

professional, paid employment in addition to their reproductive, unpaid labor expected

of them. The "second shift" is upheld by constructed gender ideologies that distinguish

gendered work expectations. Even though both economic and household related work

are generally expected of women, social barriers are in place that make balancing these

"duties" less manageable. Hochschild explains further that:

as things stand now, in either case, women pay a cost. The housewife
pays a cost by remaining outside the mainstream of social life. The
career woman pays a cost by entering a clockwork of careers that permits
little time or emotional energy to raise a family. Her career permits so
little of these because it was originally designed to suit a traditional man
whose wife raised his children (Hochschild 1989: x)

Hochschild points out the social barriers in place that fail to support work socially

assigned to women. The idea of the "second shift" is not to say that all women need to

be mothers and/or professionally employed, nor that men and gender non-binary

identifying individuals don't experience the second shift. Rather, this concept highlights

that hegemonic gender ideologies particularly affect women's lived experiences, an

unfair system based on gendered ideas and systems of who does what kind of work.

The second shift is one example of how women navigate and negotiate within

gendered systems of power in their everyday lives. Many women make choices in

relation to balancing between professional and reproductive work in different ways. The

different strategies that they choose to employ act as a set of bargains, which are used to

maximize personal autonomy, power, and agency.

"Patriarchal Bargain"

Kandiyoti coined the term "patriarchal bargain" as a concept referring to the

strategic ways in which many women make choices within gendered systems of

constraint (Kandiyoti, 1988). By strategizing and bargaining within these systems,

women are, in turn, able to maximize their sense of autonomy, power, and agency,

whether they challenge systems and relations of power directly or indirectly, or not at

all (Braun & Sylla, 2015). Kandiyoti explains that:

women strategize within a set of concrete constraints that reveal and
define the blueprint of […] the *patriarchal bargain* of any given society,

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which may exhibit variations according to class, caste, and ethnicity. These patriarchal bargains exert a powerful influence on the shaping of women's gendered subjectivity and determine the nature of gender ideology in different contexts. They also influence both the potential for and specific forms of women's active or passive resistance in the face of their oppression. (Kandiyoti 1988: 275)

Patriarchal bargains reflect a strategic sort of "pick and choose your battles" kind of mentality, a concept that looks different for every community and every individual. For example, Kandiyoti explains that, "Yoruba women in Nigeria […] negotiate the terms of their farm-labor services to their husbands while they aim to devote more time and energy to the trading activities that will enable them to support themselves and ultimately give up such services" (Kandiyoti 1988: 276). In this instance, women are actively navigating and negotiating within a set of constraints, making sets of choices that support their sense of autonomy, power, and agency while navigating the complex realities of power that shape their lives (Braun & Sylla, 2015).

Empowerment and Agency in Development Discourses

Within the various gender and development frameworks, theorists often refer to "empowerment" and "agency" as key components to consider. However, different frameworks conceptualize and interpret empowerment and agency in different ways. I define empowerment as an individual's ability and power to gain personal agency, autonomy, and self-efficacy. Moving away from the idea that empowerment is something that can be passed down from a person "in power" to a person with "less power," this understanding of empowerment is more dynamic, more accessible, and caters to individuals of varying identities and backgrounds. As we will see in the following chapters, women navigate within certain sets of constraints in strategic ways

to maximize their sense of power and agency, as opposed to accepting those constraints as static.

There are complex, deeply rooted gendered systems that assist in shaping how different people are affected by development efforts and outcomes. Considering the complex dynamics within specific development frameworks, how they have evolved, how they interact with each other, and how they impact different people and communities is an important step toward fostering more productive, and community-oriented change in the world. In order to more fully understand the impacts of international development as a gendered system, it is crucial to communicate with different communities and individuals, allowing us to "link the local and the global through the voices of individuals" (Momsen 2010: 18). Understanding and valuing lived experiences allows for a more holistic understanding of the complex, deeply rooted gendered systems within development programming.

Exploring the ways in which women's lived experiences are disproportionately affected within development programming fosters an understanding for development as a gendered system more broadly. More specifically, considering the theoretical frameworks surrounding tourism development and gender and development begins to shape our understanding of tourism as a gendered system. Before delving into how the concepts and themes I have previously described are intertwined in the context of my case study site, I will first lay out the contextual background of Stone Town, Zanzibar.

Chapter 2: Research Context

Located just 22 miles off of the coast of Mainland Tanzania, Zanzibar is an archipelago composed of two main islands, Unguja (commonly referred to as Zanzibar) and Pemba, as well as smaller surrounding islands that are mostly uninhabited (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2017). Zanzibar is 600 square miles in size (ibid.) and is home to 1.3 million residents from varying ethnic and cultural backgrounds, ninety-nine percent of whom are Muslim (U.S. Department of State, 2017). Tanzania's national languages include Swahili and English, both of which are widely spoken, but Swahili remains Zanzibar's principal language (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2018).

Zanzibar has experienced a long history of successive colonial invasion by the Portuguese, Omanis, Germans, French, and British, influencing some of the social and political systems present today (Wilson 2013: 12). Between 1890 and 1963, Zanzibar was a British Protectorate, prior to which, the island was a prominent hub in the East African slave trade (Ayany 1970: 1). British rule heavily influenced the current economic state of the island, pushing for the expansion of the "educational, medical and agricultural services" through official development projects (Ayany 1970: 22). This significantly enhanced Zanzibar's reliance on exporting goods, mainly cloves and coconuts, as the foundation for its economy. Cloves have been a significant contributor to the island's export economy, accounting for over twenty-five percent of Zanzibar's merchandise exports (World Trade Organization, 2012). However, clove production and export have been in decline, and its contribution to the overall economy of the islands is not substantial (Wilson, 2013). Tourism is another major contributor for the island's economic sector, as a World Trade Organization (WTO) 2012 report states that

"tourism is the leading sector of [Zanzibar's] economy, contributing twenty percent to GDP and accounting for eighty percent of foreign exchange" (World Trade Organization, 2012). Today, Zanzibar is perhaps most well-known for its agricultural significance and white sand beaches, attracting hundreds of thousands of tourists every year (Yussuf, 2015).

Historical Background

Zanzibar has a rich and complicated history, a history rooted in colonial, national, class, and racial tensions that continue to hold significance today (Sheriff, 2001). While the primary focus of this research is not historically based, it is important to understand some of Zanzibar's significant historical moments to provide context for later discussions. Understanding the historical and cultural context of the case study site will aid the later discussion of my primary research findings and how we can interpret the data.

Zanzibar Revolution

Zanzibar won its independence in December of 1963 and in January of 1964, the Arab-led government was quickly overthrown in a violent revolt (Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar, 2013). The Zanzibar revolution was led by the Umma political party, which not only aimed to "overthrow a politically bankrupt government and caricature monarchy [… but] to change the social system which had oppressed them and for once to take the destiny of their history into their own hands" (Babu 1989: 3). Shortly after the revolution, Zanzibar and Tanganyika merged to form the United Republic of Tanzania (Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar, 2013), a union which

was heavily influenced by United States and United Kingdom intervention (Wilson 2013: 3). Today, Zanzibar is a semi-autonomous state, with its own constitution and government, the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar, but remains a part of Tanzania. Writings on the Zanzibar revolution and its aftereffects are extensive and complex, and only a few sentences here does not do its history justice. However, a brief overview of the revolution will serve for the scope and purpose of this research.

Mainland and Island Tensions

The Zanzibar revolution and the joining of Zanzibar and Tanganyika are two (of many) distinguished events that have helped shape the current relationships and tensions between Zanzibar and the Mainland today. National and racial tensions are prominent between the regions, concepts that became recurring points of discussion and contention while conducting my primary research for this thesis. Brennan describes the complicated colonial, racial, and ethnic tensions of Tanzania, explaining that "categories of belonging like nation, race, and ethnicity (or 'tribe') were shaped as much by the limitations and contradictions of colonial rule and by local cultural understandings of hierarchy and difference as they were by the imposition of new colonial categories" (Brennan 2012: 1). The British colonial administration perpetuated racial, ethnic, and class-based inequalities by creating "racially identified associations," and educational systems based on race and class distinctions (Wilson 2013: 14-15). While colonial rule played a key role in how social and political inequalities unfolded in Tanzania, local interpretations and contexts ultimately shape how national identity is understood in the post-colonial context (Brennan, 2012).

Brennan argues that *taifa* (race/nation) is an integral component in the formation of national identity in colonial and postcolonial Tanzania (Brennan, 2012). He argues that "racial thought is understood […] not as the elaboration of genetic and biological differences, but instead as a discursive field in which people generally assume humanity to be divided into discrete natural categories, each with its own traits and characteristics" (Brennan 2012: 118). The relationship between Zanzibar and the Mainland is reflective of this idea. For example, on July 9, 2008, Tanzania's Prime Minister, Mizego Pinda further aggravated tensions between the two nations, declaring to the Zanzibar Parliament that Zanzibar is not an *nchi* (country) (The Citizen, 2008). Brennan explains that, in this statement, "Pinda drew this distinction in part to preserve one of Nyerere's most prominent political legacies, the 1964 union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Pinda was allowing Zanzibaris to enjoy their separate identity but not their separate *sovereignty* [italics mine]" (Brennan 2012: 200). This is just one example of how tensions regarding *taifa* are sensitive and dynamic issues in Zanzibar and the Mainland today, and permeate through different social and political sectors as we will see in the following chapter.

Tourism Development

In 1986, facing economic collapse, Tanzania received International Monetary Fund (IMF) assistance to combat the economic downturn the country was facing (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2018). The IMF loan came attached with certain structural adjustment policies (SAPs), which specifically required Tanzania to move away from a socialist agenda to adopt more of a neoliberal capitalist economy by cutting subsidies, price controls, and certain social services (ibid.). Following the implementation of

SAPs, opportunities for foreign investment sparked, and in 1987, Zanzibar established The Zanzibar Commission for Tourism, shifting its focus to supporting tourism as a promising economic driver (Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar, 2013). The goal in this establishment was "to promote Zanzibar as a tourist destination," and in attempts to increase foreign investment in tourism projects, the Zanzibar investment promotion agency was formed in 1992 (ibid.). Tourism was viewed as an entry point into becoming more involved in the increasingly globalized world markets, and for fostering economic growth and stability for the area.

As we saw in the Tourism and Development section, there are a variety of proposed trade-offs for promoting tourism as a catalyst for development in Zanzibar. However, while the Zanzibar Commission for Tourism aimed to foster economic development, Wilson claims that tourism brings "only very limited benefits to [*local* communities] in return" (Wilson 2013: 102), a common critique of more conventional approached to tourism development. In addition to some of the broader trade-offs, I will consider how gender relations and ideologies are prominent, and often overlooked components which help shape people's interpretations of and lived experiences with the tourism industry in Zanzibar.

Gender Ideologies

Gender ideologies in Zanzibari culture have been shaped by external influences and powers, have evolved over time, and are complex. Dean describes gender ideologies as permeating through both the social and political spheres in Zanzibar. She explains that:

> Patriarchal systems predate colonialism in Africa, but gender inequality
> was exacerbated during the colonial era by colonial and customary court
> systems, economic policies, religious missionisation, and educational
> opportunities that institutionalised men's (particularly older men's)
> political power. (Dean 2013: 25)

Dean suggests that dominant patriarchal systems of power are prominent in Zanzibar, and were particularly shaped by colonial influences. She explains further that "what had previously been flexible categories of social organisation became rigid roles, and women's diffuse forms of power […] were devalued, while men's realms of influence were elevated and legitimated as 'political' by the colonial state" (Dean 2013: 25). Understanding how these systems came to be so prominent and how they have evolved over time provides further insight into how Zanzibari women navigate within these sets of constraints today.

In the late nineteenth to mid twentieth century, gender ideologies were heavily influenced by colonial British ideals (Fair 2001: 33). Fair argues that British colonial rule assisted in shaping how both social and political spheres fostered gender relations and ideologies that disproportionately affected women. She explains that certain freedoms and powers previously enjoyed by Zanzibari women were altered and even stripped away during the colonial period (Fair, 2001). Women were not supported in courts of law, their claims regarding sexual harassment and abuse were often deemed invalid or "their own fault," they no longer enjoyed land and property rights, and were declared property of their husbands themselves (Fair 2001: 200-202). Women pushed back on these colonial imposed inequalities through different means, exercising the systems in which they still held power.

Fair highlights some of the ways in which women exercised their power to navigate within these new sets of constraints. In relation to employment opportunities, Fair explains that:

> Whereas women accounted for at least fifty percent of the urban labor force in the nineteenth century, working not only as domestics but also sorting, loading, and packaging goods down at the port or in building construction, the British perceived these forms of wage labor as men's work. As the twentieth century progressed, women found it increasingly difficult to procure waged jobs in town. (Fair 2001: 33-34)

Based on British influenced gender ideologies, women experienced employment and wage discrimination, while men became the dominant workers in particular sectors such as the Public Works Department (PWD) (Fair 2001: 34). In addition to British imposed gender ideologies distinguishing between "men's" and "women's" work,

> many women consciously *chose* [italics mine] not to look for jobs in the PWD or Harbor Works specifically because such jobs were associated with servility. Instead, many women sought to withdraw their labor from public view and refocus their energies in more "respectable" and independent forms of employment historically associated with free Swahili women, such as trade, entertainment, or the production and sale of food and crafts. Trade and home-based manufacturing gave women control over their own work rhythms and allowed them to combine domestic, child-rearing, and social obligations with income-generating activities. (Fair 2001: 34)

While at the same time influenced by hegemonic gender ideologies, Fair highlights that many women made choices not to participate in certain kinds of work that they considered to be less "respectable." This is a theme that has permeated through today's social and political spheres in Zanzibar.

While Fair's research focuses on the late nineteenth to mid twentieth century Zanzibar, her discussion shapes our understanding of how gender relations and

ideologies are interpreted today. As she explains, while being faced with structurally imposed barriers such as employment and wage discrimination, women navigated within those sets of constraints, making choices regarding which kind of work they wanted to participate in. Women's strategic navigation within these constraints influenced their opportunities to participate in income-generating activities while at the same time balancing domestic, child-rearing, and social obligations (Fair 2001: 34). As Fair explains, "While the profits earned from such enterprises were often fairly marginal, they nonetheless contributed to women's growing sense of economic and personal empowerment" (Fair 2001: 34). While cultural dynamics continue to shift over time, Fair's analysis is reflective of the themes in the data and analysis section of this thesis, providing context for how we can interpret women's stories in the following chapter.

Over time, gendered systems have influenced women's accessibility and choice to become involved in certain kinds of work. Specifically relating to women's participation in tourism related work, Demovic explains that "Women's roles in the social structure, in marriage as wives and in kinship as daughters, motivate them to limit their role in service industry work that would bring them in contact with tourists." (Demovic 2016: 2). This exemplifies some of the dominant systems in place that can hinder women's opportunities to *choose* what kind of work to participate in.

The UNWTO suggests that "tourism is a strong vehicle for women's economic empowerment" (UNWTO, 2011). However, I argue that there are much deeper issues in relation to tourism and gendered systems of power that conflict with this statement. In the following chapter, I portray some of the stories shared with me by the people I

spoke with in Zanzibar. Their stories are reflective of the ideas and concepts discussed

in the previous chapters, and contextualize the ways in which women specifically

navigate within and experience tourism as a gendered space in Stone Town, Zanzibar.

Chapter 3: Data and Analysis

The interviews and ethnographic observations made while I was conducting research abroad serve as the primary data for this thesis. Throughout the research process, I have aimed to highlight people's stories and lived experiences to better understand the intersection between tourism development and, gender and development as a discourse. Each person I spoke with came from different backgrounds, and held varying opinions regarding tourism, development, gender ideologies and culture. In the pages that follow, I retell and interpret some of those stories to better understand how women experience tourism effects in different ways, and how the industry can be viewed as a gendered system in Stone Town, Zanzibar.

Farida

Through the *vichochoro* on the northern end of Forodhani Gardens, a small Bed and Breakfast welcomes guests from across the globe to enjoy a comfortable and affordable vacation experience. The open-air B&B brings in the sounds and smells of the island and the shared rooftop dining space offers extended views of the city along with a cool, refreshing breeze. Unlike the large hotel chains standing shoulder to shoulder on the beachfront, this quaint B&B offers tourists the opportunity to explore the island outside of their hotel room and "get lost in the city," while still offering a comfortable place to rest when the day is done. On the short walk from my taxi to the B&B entrance, my driver told me that "It's good you will stay [here], because you get a local feel for Zanzibar," explaining to me that staying in the larger luxury hotels can often distract guests from engaging in the culture of the island and offer less of a chance to "get lost in the city."

Farida is a Zanzibari woman who has been running the B&B since 2006 and, as she points out to me, is the first Zanzibari woman to own and operate a hotel on the island. Her experience working in the tourism industry has posed many positive and challenging experiences, and she was kind enough to share some of her stories with me. Farida grew up in a family of sixteen children,[2] where competition to perform well in school was prominent. Nearly all of her siblings are well educated and have earned Master's and doctoral (Ph.D.) degrees. As a young girl, Farida attended school on the Mainland and returned to Zanzibar after completing high school, where she volunteered with a local tour company and grew more interested in the profession. She was able to attend college in Zanzibar, where she studied to become a tour guide and to learn the ins and outs of the tourism industry. Now, Farida is the owner of a successful B&B, and also organizes tours for a local tour agency.

Farida shared a unique perspective as she was not only the first Zanzibari woman to own and operate a hotel on the island, but she was also the second woman registered and working as a tour guide in 1997. It was clearly important for Farida to distinguish herself as holding these prominent titles, to leave me with a certain perception of the kind of person she is. Identifying as both the first Zanzibari woman to own and operate a hotel in addition to being the second female tour guide is notable. This speaks to the relatively recent shift of more women becoming increasingly involved and visible in this male-dominated industry. Her description of herself and how she portrayed her life story reflects a sort of "trailblazer" attitude and sense of

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[2] It is common in Zanzibar that a husband will have up to three wives and children with each of them. Farida's father has eight children between his two wives, and all 16 children grew up together between both of the mothers' homes.

accomplishment in navigating the various barriers to becoming a successful woman in the tourism industry.

We spoke about the complexities regarding gender ideologies in Zanzibar and how they have influenced women's participation and visibility in tourism related work. Farida told a story about one of her earlier experiences as a tour guide, describing a distressing encounter with a group of beach boys[3] at the ferry where she was picking up a tour group arriving from the Mainland:

> When I was a tour guide, one time I had conflict with the beach boys. I went to pick [up] my groups from the ferry, groups from the Mainland [who were traveling] from Germany, and [when] I went to pick them [up] from the ferry […] there [was] a lot of harassment from the beach boys because they want[ed] to [dis]rupt my guests and I was [thinking:] "Okay, these are my guests and I want to give them good care." So, I didn't want anyone to interfere, and then they came with bad words to *me* and I was [thinking:] "Why do you come with bad words like this to me?" I was not happy. So, I can say that it is also harassment to the women tour guides. I think most [women] can realize that there is harassment for the female tour guides, so it's a concern. So, from today, I don't think I can go to the ferry to pick up clients, I am ready to go to the airport, but not to the ferry. I was disappointed. I was so angry.

I could see and feel her frustration as she shook her head and banged her fist on the table, re-living the situation that she had little control over. Picking up tourists is a daily activity expected of tour guides, an activity which *male* tour guides do not have to consider the possibility of being harassed on the basis of their gender identity. Not being able to go to the ferry affects Farida's ability to perform her job as a guide, but also clearly affected her level of comfortability, safety, and autonomy.

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[3] Based on my observations and conversations in Zanzibar, Beach Boys can be distinguished as young men who work as vendors, boat operators, romantic companions for female tourists, or are simply groups of young men who "hang out" around the beach.

Not only did her encounter with the beach boys affect her professional capacity and ability to perform her job, but her sense of personal agency and safety were also shaken in that particular situation. Being questioned on the basis of her gender identity in relation to her professional career threatened her ability to maintain primary control of her body, her autonomy, and her power. Farida was visibly frustrated with the way she was treated, that this harassment had impacted her so much so that she can no longer go to the ferry to pick up tourists. Despite her tenacity and trailblazer attitude, Farida clearly identified that picking up guests from the ferry was not an issue that she would challenge—at least for the time being. We can interpret her actions as reflective of the patriarchal bargain concept. Farida clearly chose to push through many social and cultural barriers to hold the titles she has now. However, she also made choices within those constraints to maximize her power and agency. Farida strategically navigates the ways in which she can maximize her power and agency, choosing to challenge the dominant idea that tourism is a male-dominated space, but not to challenge certain constraints like the consequences of going to the ferry to pick up tourists. Farida's story exemplifies how many women bargain within certain sets of constraints and systems of power to maximize their sense of power and agency.

Drawing on her personal experience, she explained that "most [women] can realize that there is harassment for the female tour guides." Suggesting that "most [women]" understand that harassment is inherently tied to being a female tour guide exemplifies the deeply rooted gender power relations within Zanzibari culture and specifically within tourism. Male tour guides are presumably not confronted with harassment on the basis of their gender identity, enhancing their opportunities and

choice to participate in this line of work. Farida's story points to how women's lived experiences with and/or general knowledge of this kind of harassment is just one of the ways which hinders their opportunities and choice to enter the field.

In addition to the direct public judgement and harassment she experienced, Farida explained to me that "maybe it's also due to the culture. Most of the local women, if they get married, sometimes the husbands are too *jealous* [italics mine] and they can't *allow* [italics mine] them to work with tourists." What Farida identified as "jealousy" seemed to reflect a struggle with gender relations and a socially constructed understanding of gender ideologies. This was a point that recurred in future conversations I had with other women in the field, discussing how Zanzibari culture heavily influences and shapes gender dynamics, which then affect gender-related work opportunities. "Jealousy" can be interpreted in a multitude of ways, but as Farida explains, "Maybe they think that at some point you [will begin] to copy the Western style or you [will] change or whatever," suggesting that husbands see this change as strictly negative, questioning embedded familial structures that keep men, as I interpret it, "in control." Perhaps husbands fear that their wives will become more autonomous or financially self-sustaining, threatening their dominant role in the family structure. Familial power relations heavily influence women's opportunity and choice to be involved in certain kinds of work.

Farida mentioned that the first woman registered and working as a tour guide on the island was married to an *mzungu* (white man), and implied that she must have received much support from her husband to work in the field because of their "less traditional" relationship at the time. This was perhaps a significant cultural shift for the

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area. As Farida noted, perhaps husbands (in general) are less comfortable with their wives interacting with tourists on a daily basis, considering how their familial roles will be influenced. However, a shift in the *visibility* of women in the field is perhaps a significant contributor to a change in opportunities for women to *choose* to be more involved. Our conversation suggested that gendered expectations and relations heavily influence women's opportunities, desire, choice, and experiences working in the tourism field.

Farida highlighted that culture is constantly changing, that there are various trade-offs that are always evolving as opposed to the idea that there are inherently "good" and "bad" parts of culture that remain static. She explained this idea further, specifically referencing women's opportunities to become involved in tourism related work:

> I can say that before, it was hard. But now, most women are working so hard and they are depending [on themselves] for everything. So then according to the change [happen]ing now, now we have some women tour guides, not like before. Before it was really tough. Even when I used to walk around the market and then people [would] look at me and say: "Oh, woman tour guide, oh!" So sometimes I can get disappointed [with] the way they are talking about [me], but I was like: "Okay, I don't care!" […] I really like my job. You meet different people and exchange ideas.

Farida spoke about a relatively recent cultural shift where more women have become increasingly involved in tourism related work. Her discussion suggests that the idea of "respectability," gossip, and stereotypes are yet additional constraints that influence women's participation in this kind of work. Farida is not only "brushing off" those comments rooted in gendered interpretations of what is considered "respectable" work, rather, she is choosing to navigate through those constraints in order to maximize her power within the field, as well as her sense of personal agency. As more women

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challenge these types of barriers, more women have become increasingly visible in the industry, subverting those gendered stereotypes and continuing to challenge those systems of power to maximize their agency.

Nearly every person I spoke with referenced cultural factors as significant contributors to women's visibility in tourism related work. However, there are other contributors that factor in such as personal background, identity, education, socio-economic and familial status etc. All of these factors (including cultural shifts) are not linear, but a complex web, intertwined identity components that work together to help shape individual experiences and opportunities. For example, Farida's background perhaps influenced her current position as she came from a presumably more well-off familial background and had opportunities to travel to complete her education. She also explained to me that she did not marry until *after* she began her professional career, and then was perhaps less influenced by dominant marital-cultural expectations that could have limited her opportunities to participate in the work she does now. Farida's story exemplifies the point that differing identities and personal backgrounds influence an individual's opportunity to get involved the tourism industry. Her strategic ways of navigating the systems of constraints she is up against in the field, how she chooses to challenge certain power structures and where she makes compromises, help to maximize her sense of agency.

Mama Akida

Not far from Farida's B&B, just on the edge of the city center is Mama Akida's textiles shop. I stumbled upon this "hole-in-the-wall" shop on a leisurely walk through the city as I did most mornings, and I would have missed her store if Mama Akida had

not encouraged me to "be free" and welcome me inside. The narrow doorway is wedged between two larger shops, and there are no eye-catching trinkets that flood out of the store to draw customers in. "*Karibu! Karibu!*" Mama Akida exclaimed, welcoming me through the narrow doorway and into the shop, which she was still decorating at the time. The shop is a small hallway, no longer than 20 feet in length with a spiral wooden staircase at the end. As I peered through the few *sketi* (skirts) made of *kanga* (East African fabric) hanging on the wall, Mama Akida wiggled her way past me to act as a gentle barricade between myself and the exit, a technique I was familiar with from entering many shops and being encouraged to stay and purchase something.

Mama Akida has owned and operated her shop for the past fifteen years and raises six children with her husband, a fisherman in Malindi, a small town just a short walk from the shop. Her two youngest children, nieces and nephews run around the back of the shop, up and down the stairs, giggling and whispering "*mzungu, mzungu*" as we converse in Swahili. Relatives come in and out throughout the duration of our conversation, introduce themselves, and we exchange the usual, somewhat lengthy greetings customary in Swahili culture: "*Hujambo, habari yako? Habari za familia? Habari za Merikani? Habari za Zanzibar? …*" ("Hello, how are you? How is your family? How is America? How are you enjoying Zanzibar? …). Mama Akida swoops up her baby (who has been resting beside her) to nurse while she elaborates on her life experiences.

Mama Akida grew up in Zanzibar and currently lives directly above her textiles shop. She completed secondary school and explained that she did not attend college because she "had finished school," her laughter indicating that she was not interested in

pursuing further education. Swahili is her native language, and although she did not learn English as a student, she continues to learn English (among other languages) "*kidogo kidogo*" ("little by little") from tourists who visit her shop. She explained that it is difficult to find work if you do not speak English, as many jobs require working directly with foreign tourists, many of whom speak English as either a first or second language and often expect to be accommodated in this regard. However, she did not seem to equate her business's success to her language ability, noting that she has learned many English phrases that have helped her to communicate with tourists, and that many tourists can speak some Swahili as well. She explained that she enjoyed this kind of work because it allowed her to interact with people from all over the world, building her cross-cultural communication skills and friendships. Unlike Farida, Mama Akida did not explain in detail *how* she became involved in the work she does now, a common theme exemplifying how tourism is one of the main employment opportunities to be involved in on the island.

Mama Akida's shop is open from 8:00 a.m. until closing at 6:00 p.m. when she retreats upstairs to her home. Just from spending a brief period of time with her, I got the sense that although "home" may be a (relatively) physically separate space, her work and home life are somewhat converged. Her children, nieces, nephews, sisters, brothers, and in-laws walked in and out of the shop countless times to request something of her. I could hear footsteps and different movement happening in her home above us, sometimes she would peek around the corner to check-in on what was happening, but most often ignored the commotion. After we spoke, she led me on a walk through a part of Stone Town that I was less familiar with and introduced me to

more family members and friends who lived or worked nearby. Her work day is regularly interspersed with family and community interaction, an occurrence which can be interpreted as generating different trade-offs.

Mama Akida explained that she was primarily responsible for caring for her children and other household related activities. Being in such close proximity between work to home allows her to maintain her role as a caregiver, but also limits her ability to clearly distinguish her work and home life. Being constantly available to care for her children can be interpreted as an opportunity to assist her role as a caretaker. Her job is flexible enough to where she is able to manage both her professional and reproductive duties simultaneously. However, not having more of a divide between home and work requires Mama Akida to be "on duty" constantly. Not only is her living situation reflective of the second shift, but her "shifts" are intertwined, simultaneously demanding her attention and energy as she helps a customer, nurses her baby, and thinks about her tasks for home. While in some ways Mama Akida's work and home boundary (or lack thereof) can be interpreted as beneficial for supporting her role as a caretaker, it can also represent a barrier to having equal access to the opportunities and benefits of working in the industry. Mama Akida is navigating her way through this male-dominated field, working through gendered constraints by making compromises such as participating in the industry from *home*, balancing her professional and reproductive activities.

When I asked if there were any other activities that she would do after she finished working, she responded in a similar way to nearly all of the women I spoke with: "*Baada ya kufanya kazi, ninafanya kazi za nyumbani, [kama] kupika, kufua,*

kusafisha. Lakini nina watoto wakubwa sasa (ishirini na tano, ishirini na mbili, na ishirini), na wanaweza kumalizia kidogo" (After I work, I do house work, like cooking, washing clothes, cleaning. But I have older children now (twenty-five, twenty-two, and twenty), and they can help a little bit"), noting that it is not so difficult because she has "practiced" balancing working in her shop and working in her home for a long time. The idea of "practicing" became a recurring theme in many of my conversations, specifically in describing types of gendered work. This idea is reflective of the patriarchal bargain concept. Mama Akida actively navigates her way through gendered constraints to participate in this industry by balancing her workload, her multiple "shifts." She *chooses* to challenge the idea that tourism is a male-dominated industry by employing the power and physical space she has (her home) to actively participate in the field, while also *choosing* to make compromises within that space to maximize her sense of agency.

Angela

Just around the corner from Mama Akida's textiles shop, Angela's boutique is located on a more bustling street, where many passersby leisurely peruse the space. Walking into Angela's boutique is unlike many of the shops I had visited in Stone Town. The walls are painted a glossy aquamarine and American country music plays from the stereo. Products are neatly laid out and modestly distributed, as opposed to many other shops where all items for sale are stacked on top of each other and out on display, requiring a patron to sift through all of the treasures to find what they are looking for. Dresses, skirts, and other garments hang on small racks and there is even a dressing room in the corner for guests to use. Every item is labeled with a set, USD

price, one of the few stores that haggling the price is neither implied nor encouraged. While many of the products resembled those sold in other shops, the essence of the boutique is unlike any other locally owned store that I had entered in Stone Town.

Angela was born and raised on the Mainland and came to Zanzibar in 2002 "for the life and to find a job." She explained that she decided to move to Zanzibar because of her love for the *utamaduni* (culture/environment), not because she thought there would necessarily be better opportunities to find work compared to the Mainland. She exclaimed how easy it was for her to find work almost instantly. She explained that "[In college,] I didn't study about tourism, but I did study […] something else. But you know, when I came here, [I noticed] Zanzibar [has] many tourists, so I studied a little bit in the hotel. I was a trainee, [and] after that, I worked a little bit there." Angela continued to learn about tourism in Zanzibar through the hotel she worked in as an apprentice, and eventually moved on to work for the woman who owned the boutique before her. She explained to me that "[after the previous owner] moved to another door bigger than this door, […] I said it is better to employ myself now, I want to do my own business." Angela explained that she loves working in the boutique, that she wants to continue to grow by reaching out to new designers, creating a "more fashionable" environment, and using email and webpages to boost her business "when there is money."

Throughout our conversation, patrons would come in and out and we would pause so that she could properly welcome them and show them the different treasures on display. "Yes! You are welcome! *Karibu*! *Jambo*! Come, be free!" she would exclaim in a very enthusiastic voice and demeanor. Watching her interactions with

tourists was similar to what I was familiar with as a tourist myself, offering item after item in the hands of her guests if they appeared less interested in the one they were previously looking at. Her ability to hold a conversation with her guests kept them engaged and she was often able to encourage a purchase because she was so attentive. Her guests would admire her "unique" products that they noted were "unlike any other" they had seen in other shops. While this was true for a few of her products, the majority of the items that Angela sold were items that could be found in many other shops, often packaged or presented differently, which give the items a more "elegant" feel. I noticed that, overall, her guests seemed more comfortable with knowing the set price of an item, even if it were up to ten times the cost of the same product found next door. Perhaps this was because it was more reflective of a "Western shopping experience," where there is no expectation or obligation to go through the haggling process, which is often a more intensive and sometimes uncomfortable practice for those less familiar with it. In addition, Angela's high level of English fluency kept guests engaged. She would often inquire about their lives, asking where they came from, about their family, how they are liking Zanzibar etc., as opposed to only speaking about the products and what she can help them find. Angela's boutique seemed to excite and engage the guests that came to the store in a way that I had not seen before, as it offered a "different" feel from the majority of shops in Stone Town, but also a sense of comfort that more closely resembled a "Western shopping experience."

Angela highlighted that her tenacity and independence were important components of her identity, and assisted her in fostering good business. As a woman from the Mainland, Angela was very willing to share her opinions, often comparing

herself to Zanzibari women to exemplify her points. She explained to me that before she had decided to move to Zanzibar: "I just came [to Zanzibar] and when I saw the environment, I liked it and I said: 'Ok maybe I can live here.' [Now,] I have only me here [with] my husband and my kids." She describes her decision to move to Zanzibar as a very independent choice, explaining that she alone decided that she could make a life for herself there. Unlike Farida who returned to Zanzibar in part because of the growing opportunities in getting involved in tourism, Angela mainly highlighted her more personal reasons for her transition. When I asked her if she was able to find employment when she arrived, she replied:

> Yes! Yes, it was easy, first I was working at the hotels and then I worked at the boutique for somebody else and then, when she moved [out,] I rented it myself. So, I started to own my own business […] I like more to work in the boutique because I get more experience to talk with the clients and know this client from this country and this country. So, I'm friendly. It's good for me. You are able to know more [people and] languages.

Angela spoke of her interest in continuing to develop her business as well as her personal relationships through cross-cultural communication, a recurring theme that many women explained attracted them to working in this sector. It was clear that owning her own business was very important to her as it generated opportunities for both personal and professional development, and fostered her sense of autonomy and agency.

In addition to her growing business, she was also proud to tell me about her other responsibilities, explaining: "I cook, I wash my clothes for myself and my daughter, clean my house. [I] wake up at 5:00 a.m. to prepare kids for school. I am a strong woman. [I] work until 7:00 p.m., go home, and do more work." She owns the

work that she does aside from her profession, her unpaid "second shift," explicitly

stating that she is "a strong woman" for being able to perform and balance all of these

tasks on a daily basis. Her descriptions highlight how much she values her sense of

independence and tenacity, and began to compare herself to Zanzibari women in this

regard.

Angela was the only woman I spoke to who was originally from the Mainland,

and from this, she actively distinguished herself when speaking about culture, tourism,

and gender ideologies in Zanzibar. She explained to me that there are many people

coming from the Mainland to find work in Zanzibar. When I asked her about her

experience working in the hotels and why she thought there were so many women from

the Mainland working there, her reply was unlike any of the responses I had received:

> [in Zanzibar], the women think that working in the hotel is a bad job for
> them, they think it's like prostitution, but it's not true. You know
> Zanzibari people are very lazy. Not just the women, even the men, they
> don't want to work. They are just sitting on their *baraza* [a social
> gathering place], [and] you can see maybe a man who has thirty years
> but he's still at home, still depends on his parents for his life. It's not
> good. He doesn't want to work, [he is] just sitting and eating at home,
> nothing to do. This is the tradition of Zanzibar, they don't want to work,
> they are just sitting. They are LAZY PEOPLE!

Angela spoke with passion, slapping the back of her hand to her opposite palm as she

told me about her interpretations of "the tradition of Zanzibar," leaving a lot of points to

unpack. She explained how culture shapes people's views toward certain kinds of work,

specifically speaking to the issue in a gendered framework. She says that there are

certain connotations and stereotypes associated with specific kinds of work (such as

equating female hotel staff to prostitutes), which Zanzibari women in turn view as "less

respectable" jobs. From her perspective, Zanzibari women fear the stereotypes that

might be assigned to them if they pursued certain kinds of work. This is reflective of Farida's analysis of why there are not many women tour guides. Just as women may associate working as a tour guide with being harassed, they may associate working in a hotel with being perceived as a prostitute. In this context, gendered stereotypes and the concept of "respectability" act as additional barriers to women's participation in certain kinds of work.

In addition to her interpretations of how Zanzibari women view certain kinds of work, Angela argues that Zanzibaris as a cohesive group simply "don't want to work," that they are "lazy people." We can consider her interpretations as reflective of the tensions between the Mainland and Zanzibar, specifically surrounding the idea that Zanzibari people "don't want to work," and are inherently "lazy." From a Zanzibari perspective, Issa, one of the few men who I spoke with, touched on this point stating that, "*Jumamosi, ninaweza kupumzika. [... Lakini] Kupumzika kwa siku moja ni kudogo sana*" ("On Saturday, I can relax. But relaxing for one day is very short). Issa spoke about *needing* to work to provide for his family (as opposed to *wanting* to or being fulfilled by his work) because living in Zanzibar is very expensive, but also noting that to only have one day of rest is unacceptable. Based on my observations, social activities and events in Zanzibar are considered social *obligations* as opposed to what other cultures may consider leisure activities. This is just one example of how cultural difference and tensions between Zanzibar and the Mainland is an important factor to consider in this context.

In contrast to these interpretations, however, Angela, perhaps influenced by her independent, strong willed personality, reads this as "laziness." She explained that "they don't want to work, they are just sitting," arguing that even if they do have the opportunities to go out and work, Zanzibari people (as a unified group) don't *want* to participate. What Angela did not consider, perhaps, was that there are social, familial, financial, and cultural obligations that need to be considered before making these overarching claims about a group of people.

Here, Angela clearly distinguishes herself as a Mainlander, and holding opposing qualities: hardworking, independent, strong. Her views on Zanzibari culture are reflective of the tensions between the Mainland and Zanzibar, and it was clearly important to her that I came away from that conversation with a distinguished perception between Mainlanders and Zanzibari peoples.

Angela followed this up by explaining that "People from Mainland, they work very hard to grow up," directly contrasting her interpretations of Zanzibari people as inherently lazy and non-hard-working. This was a recurring theme that those who were hiring employees (like Farida and Imani) recognized as well, that Mainlanders, in general, tended to be "more hard-working." Overall, her description implied that because Zanzibari people are inherently lazy, hardworking Mainlanders *need* to come to Zanzibar to fulfill the work that needs to be done. Angela was not the only person to describe Zanzibari people as "lazy" and Mainlanders as "hard-working," but she was particularly adamant in using this description to generalize *all* Zanzibari people, clearly distinguishing herself and other Mainlanders from that description.

Angela continued to discuss her observations and interpretations of gender

dynamics in Zanzibar, specifically highlighting women's visibility in the tourism

industry. More specifically, she spoke about how there are not many (if any at all)

women taxi drivers in Zanzibar "because they think this job is only for men. In

Mainland, there are women driving car[s], but [in Zanzibar] they can't do it, they feel

ashamed. It's not a quality job for them they feel." Again, Angela distinguishes herself

from her general assumptions about Zanzibari women and culture as a whole. She says

that Zanzibari women "think this job is only for men," that they "*can't* do it." Again,

she draws on the point of "respectability," explaining that certain kinds of work are not

considered "respectable" for women. Whether or not this statement is inherently true, it

speaks to how prominent gender ideologies are in shaping the opportunities that women

have to participate in certain kinds of work. She then claims that driving a taxi is

perceived as *shameful*, that "It's not a quality job for them they feel," relating back to

the idea of stereotypes and gossip as barriers to women's participation in certain kinds

of work.

She continues to explain how gender ideologies influence women's lives in

particular, elaborating on a point that Farida had previously highlighted:

> [Husbands] are jealous. Here, [the] tradition of Zanzibar, they say
> women can't even go to the market, it's only men doing all the shopping
> and [they] just tell her [that] the woman is just to do dinner and wait for
> her husband. Nothing else to do. But now life is changing, you see
> women starting to work a little bit. Maybe your husband doesn't have
> enough money to send kids to school, to eat. So now they start to work.
> They see women from Mainland working and they are jealous and see
> that they can do it. because life is very difficult right now.

Jealousy became a recurring theme that multiple women spoke to or at least hinted at in

our discussions pertaining to women's opportunities to participate in tourism related

work. Whether or not her interpretation of the "tradition of Zanzibar" is inherently true, she articulates the recurring theme of male-dominance and control.

Seeing an increase in women working in the field is another recurring point that was brought up in many conversations. Angela specifically suggests that women from the Mainland working in the field "set an example" for Zanzibari women to become more involved in tourism related work. It is important to consider how her expressed pride as a Mainlander, "hardworking" woman shapes Angela's interpretations. We can draw from her discussion to identify that seeing more women actively participating in this kind of work can generates more opportunities for women to "see themselves" working in the field. While Angela posed very different viewpoints and interpretations in comparison to other Zanzibari women I spoke with, many of the underlying themes surrounding women's visibility within and barriers to participating in the tourism industry were reflective of the main themes drawn out of other interviews.

Adiha and Nafisa

I met Adiha and Nafisa at Farida's B&B, where the two were taking their lunch break from their housekeeping jobs. Adiha, Nafisa and I spoke together as a group, creating a more dynamic conversational setting. Our group conversation was particularly interesting because it allowed Adiha and Nafisa to build off of each other, highlighting the issues that they felt particularly passionate about, where there was crossover in their ideas, and also where their experiences and interpretations differed. Adiha is 70-years-old and was born and raised in Zanzibar. She is a mother of three, and briefly mentioned that her husband and two of her children had passed away years earlier. She currently lives by herself outside of Stone Town. Nafisa, 40-years-old, was

born in Pemba, and lives with her five children and her husband just outside of Stone Town. The two of them have been working at Farida's B&B since it opened in 2006, prior to which, Adiha worked in other beach towns and hotels on the island while Nafisa did housework for other families. Adiha is somewhat of a comedian, making subtle jokes about gendered work—of which she speaks very passionately about—which I interpreted as her conscious understanding of and lived experience with gender relations and ideologies over many years. Nafisa is quieter, nodding along to the conversation and agreeing with many of the points that Adiha is so passionate about, adding her interpretations and input more modestly.

Adiha and Nafisa gave shorter responses than others I had spoken with in regard to their past and present desire to participate in different kinds of work. When I asked if they would potentially be interested in doing different work now, Adiha sighed and responded, "*Eh, ndiyo. Kubadilisha*" ("Eh, yes. To change"), as if she were exhausted by the question. She noted that she has worked in this field for many years and would not mind learning something new or "switch up" the routine. Nafisa said that she *did* want to explore other fields in the past, but didn't have any specific ideas about what she might have wanted to do, nor does she consider actively pursuing another career path currently. Adiha spoke with more passion when she began to talk about some of the reasons for *why* she did not go into other fields, explaining that "[*Kutafuta kazi*] *Sio rahisi, ngumu kutafuta kazi. Kwa sababu, matajiri unaweza kuenda kutafuta kazi, ukaambiwa kesho utaitwa*" ("[Finding work] is not easy, it is difficult to find work. Because, the rich can go and search for a job and tomorrow you will be called"). She spoke of a socio-economic divide that can influence an individual's opportunities to

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find work, implying that this divide has affected her personally. Financial status can heavily influence an individual's opportunity to raise a family, keep their family and themselves healthy, send children to school etc., components which can in turn affect a person's opportunities to pursue a certain career path. Adiha recognized that this issue has made it difficult for her to even consider looking for other employment opportunities.

Both Adiha and Nafisa were passionate and quick to respond when I asked them if there were any other activities that they did outside of their profession. The two of them looked at each other wide eyed, as if they knew exactly what the other was thinking when they both exclaimed, laughing: "*Nyumbani!*" ("Home!"). Adiha elaborated, saying that: "*Nyumbani shughuili nyingi! Shughuli ya kufua, kupika, shughuli ya watoto, shughuli ya bwana*," ("In the home, there are *many* activities! Clothes washing activities, cooking, children activities, sir activities") counting on her fingers as she listed each task. At this point, Nafisa interjected, adding "Massage husband!" to the list, both of them laughing at this remark. Adiha concluded "*Pumzika kidogo*" ("There is little rest"). These comments left a lot to unpack, both in the actual content they referred to as well as *how* they relayed the information.

All of the activities that Adiha and Nafisa highlighted are related to the home, reproductive unpaid labor that is traditionally considered "women's work." The way that both of these women were quick to respond to my question, laughing as if the answer was a given, exemplifies this point, that women in many communities are often expected to perform household related duties. Adiha clapped two times dividing the word *nyin-gi* (man-y) to emphasize just how much work there is waiting for them at

home. Additionally, the way that she spoke suggests that these activities are not simple, but that there are many associated activities that go into each specific task. For example, she lists *shughuli ya watoto* (activities of children), which comprises of general caring for, feeding, keeping healthy and safe, helping them with homework, offering financial and emotional support and much more. Each of these components are time consuming, unpaid, laborious activities, which Adiha and Nafisa agreed are primarily "women's responsibility."

Adiha and Nafisa highlighted their unpaid working experiences to continue to explain the prominence of gendered labor in Zanzibar specifically. *Shughuli ya bwana* I found particularly interesting, as the direct translation refers to "sir/master activities," noting that there are specific duties associated with caring for a woman's husband or partner. *Shughuli ya bwana* is a complex term, and (as the term suggests) incorporates a variety of activities and significance including: food preparation, maintaining an attractive physical appearance, sexual favors etc. The term is complex, and does not necessarily hold strictly negative connotations; rather, women can hold a sense of pride and respectability in being responsible for these "duties."[4] Listing this activity alongside all of the daily chores exemplifies the gender power relations and ideologies that other women spoke to as well.

When I asked if their husbands did or do help with some of these tasks or other house-related activities, Adiha replied, slowly, "*Wanaume wavivu. Kwa sababu mazoea sio ngumu. Kazi ya kila siku. Kama wanafunzi, wanaenda skuli, halafu wanarudi nyumbani na kufanya*" ("Men are lazy. Because practice is not difficult. Like students,

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[4] I am grateful to Dr. Mokaya Bosire and Dr. Graboyes for their insights and interpretations aiding my analysis of *shughuli ya bwana*.

they go to school, then they come home and do homework"). She did not reply with a simple "yes" nor a simple "no" to my question, because it is more complicated than that. There are deeply rooted gender ideologies that distinguish what is considered men's and women's work and expectations. The comparison she makes suggests that housework is something that is *practiced*, and *if* you practice, it becomes almost second nature. Not only does this speak to the amount of time and effort that goes into reproductive work, but it also shows how much women take on, as men are, as Adiha puts it, "less willing" to learn to perform these tasks. It points out that (generally,) reproductive work is *socially* assigned to women. It is work that is *learned* rather than inherently assigned to women and not men.

As we have seen, women strategize within these gendered sets of constraints in different ways. For Adiha and Nafisa, they actively choose to work in the industry, perhaps challenging dominant stereotypes and concepts of "respectability" associated with working in a hotel, while also choosing to balance this with their unpaid "second shift." However, as Adiha explained, there are a variety of barriers that influence women's ability to participate within the tourism industry, and as we have seen, women navigate within these constraints in different ways.

Imani

Imani is the owner and operator of a local tour agency in the heart of Stone Town. Imani was born and raised in Zanzibar, and lives outside of Stone Town with her husband and two children. She attended college in Zanzibar, where she studied tourism, airfares and ticketing, and business administration. After she graduated, she held a position at a local airline company as an office manager, and in 1997, opened her tour

company with her brother and husband. Much like Farida, Imani spoke about Zanzibari culture in conjunction with gender ideologies, and how these complexities have specifically affected women's experiences and participation within tourism related professions.

Imani began speaking about her personal experiences, noting how she came into the position she currently has. She said that "When I was a kid I wanted to be a pilot. Then I said: 'okay, let me start with ticketing and other things.' But it was maybe because I was only a kid. And also, most members in my family, they were nurses [and] doctors and I said I didn't like those kinds of jobs, I wanted to start my own business." She suggested that her original interest in becoming a pilot was "only a dream," temporarily put on hold when she became more aware of the growing tourism industry and the potential opportunities for getting involved in that kind of work. Like some of the other women I spoke with, Imani highlighted her determination in pursuing the kind of work that she wanted to do. Starting her own business was clearly important to her, as it provided the opportunity to be self-sufficient, to be proud of the work she does, and maintain a sense of autonomy and agency.

When I asked about what her experience was like opening a tour agency she said that "It was not *that* easy, but for me it was easy because before that, I had worked with a man and woman, so I had experience. Experience working with different genders." Her "experience working with different genders" suggested that she was aware of how gender relations within the work place are prevalent, and that her experience in the field helped her to navigate those power dynamics. Additionally, unlike Farida, Imani started her business with two male relatives, her husband and her brother. In comparison to

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Farida's analysis, this suggests that perhaps she received more support from her husband than other Zanzibari women may have in terms of seeking certain kinds of employment. In addition, her description of her family and their backgrounds as nurses and doctors implies that perhaps her family's socio-economic status influenced her ability to attend college and ultimately pursue this kind of career. Although her original professional interest was to become a pilot, like Farida, Imani saw the existing opportunities to become involved in Zanzibar's growing tourism industry and took advantage of them. While Imani's background most likely assisted in shaping her opportunities to enter the field, she clearly recognized and continues to navigate within barriers to her participation in the tourism industry.

As someone who is very well aware of the more logistical operations of tourism on the island, Imani clearly outlined just a few examples of how the industry overshadows local community needs and considerations. Specifically, she described the hotel amenities available to tourists in comparison to local access to basic needs:

> People from the hotel, they have their own well. And electricity, if we have power cut, they have automatic generators, so you won't notice if there is no electricity. Tourists can stay nice and comfortable. Now, [power outages] only last for two to three hours, but before it was sometimes two to three *days*. It was a big problem. There was one that [lasted] between two to three months a few years ago […] The government has to change the way that we are living. [We need access to] running water, reliable electricity, education, and also health.

Imani highlighted some of the inequalities stemming from tourism, inequalities which often affect local communities in more costly ways in comparison to foreign tourists. She explains that tourism prioritizes tourists' accommodation and comfort, often at the expense of local communities, an outcome which resembles that of a more *conventional* development approach. Imani's

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description exemplifies that while it is often argued that infrastructure implemented for the purpose of tourism development *can* offer more accessibility to necessary resources for local communities, there often remains an unequitable distribution of those resources, which disproportionately affects local people.

The specific example Imani gives describes the prevalent issue of water and electricity access. Power outages and water shut-offs are regular occurrences on the island. While living with my host family, we experienced water shut-offs and power outages on a weekly basis, sometimes for multiple days at a time. Some households are able to afford property that can accommodate a private well, but many families are reliant on the public water resource. On the other hand, large hotels and other private entities most often have private wells and automatic generators that can be used when such depletions occur, making sure that their guests remain comfortable, able to access hot showers, freshly watered gardens, and electricity to power their air-conditioning units. While access to these public utilities are not directly skewed to support these private entities, this situation exemplifies how local communities are often disproportionately and indirectly affected by these circumstances.

Not only are these occurrences inconvenient for all local people, but women are often particularly affected as the primary people responsible for household related activities. Based on my observations, when water shut-offs and power outages occur, women find alternative ways of performing their daily

duties. Many families have water barrel reserves that can be used for a time being, but if there is no running water for multiple days, this forces families to drastically conserve water usage for drinking, cleaning, cooking, bathing etc. This is a specific example of how tourism fosters gendered effects for local Zanzibari communities, effects which are often more costly for women.

In addition to the gendered effects that stem from private entities valuing tourist amenities over local communities, Imani shifted to speak more directly about gender ideologies in Zanzibar and how they influence women's visibility in tourism related work. In speaking to me about her personal experience being involved and growing in the field, Imani explained that "for other people, when they were seeing me do this job, they thought that it was very hard. That it was only for men, not for women. '[A] woman can't be a tour operator or tour leader and can't be a guide.' That's what they think." She was very direct in her response, highlighting the deeply rooted gender ideologies that seemingly define men's and women's work. More specifically, she spoke about how women are particularly excluded from certain kinds of work, how the idea that "a woman *can't* be a tour guide" is internalized by both men and women, and in turn, creates more opportunities and entry points for men to participate in the field. Again, Imani did not portray her experience getting involved in the industry as being "*that* difficult." While her particular circumstances most likely influenced her ability to progress through the field (including her family and socio-economic background, education, and marital relationship), Imani strategically navigated within certain gendered barriers and constraints to work as a tour

guide, subverting hegemonic gender ideologies that say that women *can't* do this kind of work.

When I asked her why she thought there weren't many women visible in certain kinds of tourism work, she was quick to respond "[It is] because of our culture. [In] Swahili culture, women are [never] in front, they are supposed to be behind. Men always lead, women, they follow. But when tourism came to Zanzibar, this has changed." Her immediate response accompanied by a brief sigh exemplified that this is a widely understood, and lived experience in Zanzibar. She explained that gender ideologies are deeply engraved in Swahili culture and foster dominant gendered expectations that specifically influence women's opportunities to participate in certain kinds of work. Imani's comment speaks to the idea of "jealousy" that Farida had brought up earlier, suggesting that because the dominant narrative says that "men lead and women follow," men *should* or are *expected* to be more active in one of Zanzibar's leading industries. If their wife is taking on more of a leadership or autonomous role that threatens this relationship, this can make a husband "jealous" as it challenges the concept of male-dominance in the field.

In addition to the concept of jealousy, Imani highlighted additional cultural and gendered barriers to women's involvement in the industry. She spoke about how stereotypes and gossip were additional factors that contributed to women's participation, points that were also highlighted by Farida and Angela. Imani suggested that, "If you went to tell your parents: 'I'm going to find a job at the hotel,' they will say: 'no, don't work at the hotel, it's not a good

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place because of this, because of that, you are a woman, people will misuse you [and so on].'" While she did not specify the reasons for why working at a hotel was not considered "a good place," it is reflective of the importance of maintaining a sense of "respectability" in both personal and professional capacities. She highlighted this point more by relating this concept to her one female employee, explaining that:

> She's very shy. I've been telling her to go outside, to be with the tourists, try to learn city tour, at least one city tour, and you will do it by yourself. Before she was telling me that she was not good in English, but now she is good from working with tourists and she speaks fluently. But I have come to realize that she is shy. She doesn't want to be seen on the road working with tourists.

Imani was very passionate in explaining that she knows that this woman is *capable* of doing this job and doing it well, but that she is shy and "does not want to be *seen* working with tourists." This is reflective of prior conversations I had with other women, suggesting that being a tour guide is not a "respectable" job for a woman, and to be *seen* working with tourists may generate social consequences for her. Respectability and gossip are influential social barriers to participating in certain kinds of tourism related work.

Imani continues to describe how additional constructed systems rooted in gender ideologies act as barriers to women's opportunities to participate in the field. She explains that:

> Women, when they reach age fifteen to sixteen, most of them get married. So, if you are married and you stay in for four or five years and then you go out and ask for a job, when your education is not good [and] other people go out to study, you have no knowledge. So, when you ask for a job, you will have no chance. Those who have experience, they will get [the] job first, before you. So, if you are talking about women only, that's the problem. But for men, most of them get enough time to finish

their education if you compare with women. The majority [of women], they don't finish school. Whether they like it or not. Some families [still practice] the older culture. But [women] are also very clever, they learn very quickly, but they don't have self-confidence.

Her description of marital expectations and education are intertwined issues upheld by dominant gendered systems. While not everyone marries at age fifteen or sixteen, Imani suggests that this expectation inhibits women's access to equal education opportunities, as they are considered primarily responsible for house-related tasks. Not having equal access to complete their education influences their ability and competitiveness to become employed.

Additionally, Imani highlighted the Zanzibar/Mainland tensions brought up in previous conversations, tensions that influence employment opportunities in the field more generally. She explained that:

Yes, it is true, [Mainlanders] are coming. They do come here and always ask for the job and they always *get* the job because they are very hard-working, if you compare them with Zanzibari people. The majority of Zanzibari people are very, very lazy, very slow, slow learners, and they're not punctual. If you deal with tourists you must be very punctual, very hardworking, you must be very tough. And they also speak very good English because they study hard. So maybe after five years, Zanzibari people will be like Tanzanians because they've started to realize that they're losing their chances. So [now] they are studying very hard, they practice, they are willing to learn now. So, between five and ten years, there will be no more jobs for Tanzanian men and women.

We can compare and contrast Imani's statement with that of Angela's. I found it particularly interesting that Angela (a Mainland woman) and Imani (a Zanzibari woman) used similar language in describing Mainland and Zanzibari people as cohesive groups. While the two interpreted Mainlanders as "hard-working," in contrast, they both considered Zanzibaris to be inherently "lazy." Imani makes this distinction as an employer, noting that foreign (and primarily Western) tourists have certain expectations

that conflict with the pace and practices of Zanzibari culture. She recognizes that while Zanzibaris are "slow," Mainlanders are "hardworking" and "tough," making them more competitive candidates when being considered for employment. In contrast to Angela, Imani shifts to suggest that while tensions and job competition between Mainland and Zanzibar are still prevalent issues, that there are cultural shifts happening that are beginning to increase the Zanzibaris' participation in the field.

Imani spoke about this cultural shift in relation to women's level of "confidence,"—or lack thereof—specifically in terms of women's visibility in certain kinds of tourism work. She explained that "when [women] saw me doing it, everybody started to get confidence, [Now] there are a few more [women] around, but before there were none. When I started, [there were] only men. But now we have few women." Imani continued to highlight that when more women become visibly present in the field across time, then more women will "gain confidence" and begin actively pursuing this kind of work. For Imani, having female role models in this dominantly male field can make this kind of work seem more attainable. As Imani notes, the dominant ideology suggests that women *can't* do this kind of work, limiting their opportunities to choose to be involved or not. However, as more women actively navigate and make choices within these constraints, many women are slowly becoming more visibly present in the industry, actively working to subvert the dominant narrative to increase women's opportunities to *choose* to be involved in this kind of work.

Imani argues that "all women are working now. They go out, they mix with other people, so they learn, they understand, they see that: 'okay, I can do this, I can try, it's *okay* [italics mine] for me to [do this].'" Imani suggests that there are various

reasons that women specifically desire to be involved in this kind of work, and that

those reasons have helped influence this shift. She argues that:

> Now, all women are outside, there are no women inside the house now.
> They all want to go out and work. Life is very difficult. It is a very
> expensive life [here in Zanzibar]. You can't wait for your husband to
> give you money for everything, it's impossible while you have six or
> four kids plus yourself. So, it's really *necessary* [italics mine] now to go
> out and look for a job or to go and study again. You go and study in the
> evening, you work during the daytime, study to get a certificate and
> diploma, then you go back to the college again.

Imani suggests that women *want* to participate in this kind of work for various reasons,

her own motives being related to the opportunities to build cross-cultural

communication skills and relationships, as well as a sense of autonomy. While working

in the industry may offer a sense of autonomy and agency, Imani also highlights some

of the more economic considerations for becoming more involved in this field. As

Imani notes, living in Zanzibar has become increasingly expensive, and it is no longer

viable for women to not participate in income-generating activities. As one of the

primary economic drivers in Zanzibar, tourism is an attractive option for becoming

involved.

While economic attractions certainly influence women's desire or—as she puts

it—"necessity" to work in the industry, Imani offers some of the more nuanced reasons

for becoming involved. She suggests that:

> being a guide as a woman is very nice. Because you can fix the time.
> You only guide for one or two hours. So, you can have your own life and
> you can still do work. In the morning, I am busy with my kids, and in the
> afternoon, I am free at this time and this time. Especially when you are
> married. You can fix your time with the husband and kids and free time
> for your job because you only get paid when you go out and work. So,
> it's a good job for women, they just don't want to listen. It's a good job.

Being able to balance professional and house-related work activities are clearly important components in considering becoming involved in a particular profession. Imani highlights the idea that tour guides are capable of "fixing their time" to support this balance. We can interpret her description as reflective of strategically navigating the "second shift," that women make compromises to balance their work and home responsibilities, and that being a tour guide can support that balance. Imani argues that the dominant narrative is shifting. This shift is not happening in a passive way, rather, women are actively navigating and making choices within sets of constraints to become more involved in the tourism field, and also to maximize their autonomy and agency.

The combination of the barriers and desires to work within the tourism industry that Imani highlights incentivizes women to make active, strategic choices and compromises to become involved while maximizing their personal power and agency. Following up on this idea, Imani explains that:

> it's hard, but at the end of the day, you get good salary. You have to arrange for something. Take your kids to your mom before you go to the class! And then pick them up and go back home, that's how they do it. I have 2 kids […] I do [all of the housework]. I have to be there all the time because they are still young. Some husbands help and some do not. But my husband helps me, I teach him how to help. I tell him all the time, please do this, that, don't forget… You have to ask them nicely. If you ask them nicely they [will] do [it]. But if you don't ask them… well, they were not taught to be like women, they don't like being told what to do. And now all men and women are well educated, so they know if you don't do this for your wife then it's not fair. But still, you have to talk to them nicely.

Imani's statement speaks to how gender relations and ideologies shape women's opportunities to participate in certain kinds of work. She explains that because women are primarily responsible for caregiving, that they make active choices such as taking their children to their mother's home or "teaching" their husbands how to take on some

of the household duties so that they can participate in other types of work that they want to do. These choices are strategic both in terms of *how* they are carried out (such as asking your husband "nicely" to help out) and the *outcomes* that they attempt to generate (being able to choose to participate in certain types of work). Through these strategic means of compromising within sets of constraints, women are fostering a cultural shift in women's visibility in the tourism industry.

While there are various gendered barriers that influence women's employment opportunities, Imani says that the dominant narrative has been changing since "tourism came to Zanzibar." She argues that this introduction has generated a cultural shift in how gender relations and ideologies are understood, practiced, and experienced, specifically in relation to the tourism industry. She explains that "Now we have women tour guides, maybe next year we will have women taxi drivers!" a reminder that perhaps twenty years ago, this statement would not be relevant, but now, women are becoming increasingly visible in the industry, and that this may influence their visibility in other professions and sectors in turn. Imani concluded with a more positive outlook in the context of our conversation, suggesting that cultural dynamics and dominant ideologies are constantly being shaped and shifted, increasing opportunities for positive change.

Conclusion

In the context of international development, tourism is best understood as a gendered system, and the distribution of costs and benefits of tourism may also be gendered. As a development strategy, tourism is not independent of external power structures; rather it is intertwined with gendered systems of power that heavily influence women's lived experiences in particular. Within this gendered system, gender relations and ideologies help shape what kinds of work men and women are expected to participate in, as well as what areas they are more often excluded from. In the case of Stone Town, Zanzibar, tourism is a heavily male-dominated field, with minimal entry points for women to choose to participate in certain kinds of tourism related work. In addition, women often experience the trade-offs stemming from tourism in different ways. However, women are not passively accepting this reality as static, rather they strategically navigate within a male-dominated field, actively choosing to subvert hegemonic gendered systems, while also making compromises within a set of constraints to maximize their sense of power and agency.

Throughout this exploration of tourism as a gendered space in Zanzibar, I have identified some of the specific ways in which gendered systems of power work in conjunction with the dominant tourism industry, influencing women's opportunities to *choose* to become involved. As we have seen, dominant gendered systems in Zanzibar have been shaped and evolved over time by a variety of influences. However, as many of my interviewees suggested, the dominant narrative today seems to portray women, as Imani puts it, as "followers" while men are more often considered "leaders." Most of

the women that I spoke with understood that hegemonic gender ideologies relating to this idea acted as barriers to participating within tourism related work.

While dominant gender ideologies assist in shaping women's experiences with tourism, as my interviewees shared with me, there is both a clear *need* and *desire* to work in the industry. As Imani highlighted, living in Zanzibar is expensive, and it is no longer an option, but a *necessity* to be involved in income-generating activities. In addition, many women alluded to the idea that they *want* to be involved in certain professional work activities because it fosters a sense of *autonomy*. Many women specifically highlighted that they enjoy this kind of work because they get to interact with people from all over the world, building meaningful, cross-cultural communication skills and relationships. Because tourism is one of the dominant industries on the island, tourism related employment is considered a "good option" for many of these women. However, as we have seen, women are faced with a variety of social and structural barriers to participating in these activities and extracting benefits.

Concepts including the "second shift" and notions of "respectability" were recurring points regarding barriers to participation that women expressed, themes that centered around dominant gendered systems of power. Every woman I spoke with referred to the idea of the "second shift," a gendered norm that reflects the "balance" of women's work as both caretakers and income-generators (Hochschild, 1989). Being expected to work as the primary caretaker in the home, while also wanting (or perhaps needing) to engage in professional employment outside of the home is a time-consuming juggle that women often have to navigate. In this regard, the "second shift" is viewed as a barrier to women's participation in certain kinds of tourism related work.

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Constructed ideas surrounding what is considered "respectable" work for women to engage in act as additional barriers to women's participation in the tourism field. Cultural norms in conjunction with other systems of power such as gender, shape understandings of what type of work is considered "respectable" for particular groups of people. In this context, many women expressed that there are certain types of jobs (such as hotel staff or tour guides) that are considered "men's work," or "less respectable" jobs for women. The social stigmas surrounding these types of jobs, the unwanted "gossip" or "stereotypes" that might be directed at the women who choose to participate in that kind of work can be viewed as additional barriers to women's participation in the field. Again, this concept is upheld and rooted in hegemonic gender ideologies that shape and distinguish between what is considered men's and women's work, an underlying theme that crossed over each of my conversations, a constructed idea that women strategically navigate within.

In addition to the ways in which gendered systems of power shape women's lived experiences and opportunities to become involved in tourism related work, I have identified various ways in which women navigate within these sets of constraints. In this particular context, we can interpret the patriarchal bargains concept as a critique of tourism. As we saw, every woman whom I spoke with shared different ways in which they make choices within gendered systems of constraint to maximize their power and agency. For Farida, she made choices that challenged the dominant narrative that said that women "can't be a tour guide" by doing just that, but she also made the choice to no longer go to the ferry to pick up tourists. For Mama Akida, she chose to own and operate her own shop, but also compromised within a set of constraints by being in

close proximity between work and home to support her "second shift." In this particular discourse, each of the women I spoke with were navigating their way through this gendered system to become more involved in the field, while also making compromises within these sets of constraints.

Because tourism is considered a gendered space in the context of development, development initiatives need to be more inclusive of gendered frameworks. More specifically, because women are often disproportionately affected by tourism development programming or men may be best situated to benefit from tourism for example, women's voices and considerations need to be more heavily valued within this discourse to better meet their needs. The argument I am making is not to say that the "only" or "best" way for women to find a sense of agency is to actively participate in the tourism industry, but rather to suggest that development planning and processes need to be more thoughtful and community-oriented to offer women the *opportunities* to become involved. A more community-oriented development framework that is sensitive to considering systems of power including gender may be a more inclusive, holistic, and representative strategy that includes more women in development planning and process, with the overarching goal of fostering more community-oriented global change.

While my arguments contribute to the further understanding of international development discourses, it is important to consider the limitations of this research and the opportunities they pose to expand on it. While my interviews were dynamic, rich, and provided insight into how women working in the tourism industry experience and navigate within this sector, the scope of this research did not consider those less or

unaffiliated with the tourism industry. Future research would be beneficial for considering how tourism in Zanzibar affects local communities who are *unaffiliated* with the industry. Conducting further research with a larger sample size would allow for an even more in-depth analysis of intersectional systems such as class, religion, and generation, and how those structures are interconnected with gendered systems of power. Because the majority of the Zanzibar population identify as Muslim, considering how religion may influence the ways in which different people interpret and navigate within gendered systems in this context is another important consideration for future research. In addition, while my research aimed to focus on and highlight women's voices and experiences, future research sensitive to men's and LGBTQA people could aid this conversation by bringing in a variety of voices to compare and contrast, and to better understand the complexities within gendered systems of power. Considering these points in future research endeavors could significantly support, shift, and add to the conversation around tourism as a gendered system.

Nonetheless, highlighting and learning from women's lived experiences working directly in the tourism industry in Zanzibar has proven to add to international development discourses. Focusing on a particular community and their experiences and, centralizing local narratives can help us better understand and weigh the costs and benefits that development programs generate. Ultimately, considering local experiences can help foster more holistic, productive, and positive community development that focuses on specific community goals with sensitivity to larger systems of power, including gender.

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