Behind Your Beach Vacation

A Review and Evaluation of EIAs as a Legal Framework to Regulate the Environmental Impacts of Tourism in Zanzibar

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Abstract:

Environmental Impact Assessments (EIAs) and related legislation in Zanzibar were examined, and their implementation by hotels in the coastal villages of Nungwi, Kiwengwa and Uroa were studied. Interviews were conducted with relevant government agencies and legal documents were examined in order to understand the current framework within which hotels operate. Hotels in the study area both with and without EIAs were questioned about their environmental and social impacts. The environmental management plans of those hotels with EIAs were considered in light of their current practices in order to gage the effectiveness of the EIA process in regulating the environmental impacts of hotels. NGOs, villagers and Shehas were interviewed to understand local perspectives on environmental and social issues related to hotels and tourism. Analysis showed that there were no significant differences in environmental impacts of those hotels with EIAs and those without. The EIA process was thus found to be largely ineffective at maintaining environmental standards for developments in Zanzibar, and several possible reasons for this shortfall were considered through comparing Zanzibar's EIA procedure with that of mainland Tanzania. Recommendations on improving the EIA process in Zanzibar were made based on the study's findings.

Introduction:

'The EIA concept is rooted in the common sense wisdom that it is better to prevent a problem than to cure it.' – Kozlowski, 1989¹

Although the benefits of predicting future consequences of a given activity are readily apparent, we have not considered this in our development approach until recent decades. Since their inception in the U.S. in 1970, however, Environmental Impact Assessments (EIAs) are increasingly being used to calculate how development activities might affect the natural and social environment. Conducting an EIA serves to minimize negative impacts and maximize benefits of given projects and can be used both as a planning tool for developers and a means of involving stakeholders in decisions that may affect their environment. Though the EIA process has now been evolving for forty years and has been adopted the world over, it is often illunderstood and misapplied. There remains a great deal of room for improvement in its implementation, particularly in developing nations where the concept is still relatively new and the process encounters more financial, political and technical obstacles.

What is an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA)?

In order to assess environmental impacts of a project, effects on the natural eco-system as well as the socio-cultural environment must be considered. After establishing all of the potential areas that may be impacted by the development, the EIA will offer avenues for mitigation measures, guidelines for sustainable management, and an evaluation of possible alternatives for the proposed plan.² EIAs are generally required for specific types of projects, of which hotels are one good example, as they are often high-impact developments built in areas that are ecologically and culturally significant and can have a detrimental effect on the natural environment and local cultures.

History of EIAs:

The United State's government first introduced EIAs into their policy as a way to bring long and short-term environmental effects into consideration when making federal decisions on development. They were soon recognized as an effective tool to control environmental impacts

¹ C.J. Barrow, Environmental and Social Impact Assessment: An introduction- 1997, Arnold publishing, London, co-published in US, Central and South America by John Wiley and Sons Inc. New York

² Kaplan, Taylor. Environmental Impact Assessment and Coastal Erosion: An Investigation of Hotels in Nungwi. SIT Zanzibar Coastal Ecology ISP. 2007, p.6

of development and were adopted by state governments and eventually by other countries. The laws requiring EIAs were integrated into both national and state-level environmental legislation as a way to lay-out potential environmental effects during the early stages of a project. These laws ensured that both developers and decision-makers were fully aware of the environmental consequences of said project prior to its execution.

African nations were officially introduced to the EIA process at the Africa Environmental and Development Agenda meeting at Abidjan in 1991³. They were encouraged to adopt a preventative approach to protecting the environment by considering environmental issues at the earliest stages of policy formulation, decision-making and development planning.

Environmental Policy and Law in Tanzania and Zanzibar:

Shortly after Zanzibar was granted independence by Britain in 1963, a revolution took place to overthrow the government and establish a People's Republic of Zanzibar under President Karume. In April 1964, Karume and Tanganyika's President Nyerere united their countries to form the United Republic of Tanzania. Certain issues were considered to be 'union matters' such as international affairs and homeland security, while mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar were to retain autonomy over certain issues, known as 'non-Union matters', which included environmental issues.⁴

That mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar have different environmental policies and legislation has important implications for this study: their EIA processes have evolved separately and quite differently. While the focus of this study is on the EIA process in Zanzibar, a comparison will be made with the EIA process in mainland Tanzania in order to understand how their differences have influenced the effectiveness of EIAs in maintaining environmental standards of hotel developments.

The EIA process within Zanzibar's principal Environmental Policy and Legislation:

The National Environmental Policy and Programme for Zanzibar was created in 1992, its purpose being to ensure that proper environmental management accompanies economic development so that Zanzibar's natural heritage can be sustained for future generations. It

³ R.I. Msellem, Legal Aspects of Environmental Impact Assessment: Case Study of the Zanzibar Investment Promotion Centre. University of Dar es Salaam: I.I.B Dissertation, 2003

⁴ Majamba, Hamudi. 'An Assessment of the Framework Environmental Law of Zanzibar', 1/1 Law, Environment and Development Journal (2005). P. 18, available at http://www.lead-journal.org/content/05018.pdf. P. 20

specifically aims to provide guidance for those involved in land use planning and development, insisting that each sector adhere to relevant procedures to uphold environmental standards. Statement 19 in the Policy document recommends that EIAs should be "incorporated into the design of both government and private projects." It also designates the Department of Environment as the institution responsible for actively promoting and implementing environmental law and policies.

In 1996, the House of Representatives enacted the Environmental Management for Sustainable Development Act, which is the main legislation that regulates environmental systems in Zanzibar. It declares the right to a clean and healthy environment, as well as the duty of every person to maintain and enhance the environment. Part V of the Act describes requirements for EIA activities in Zanzibar: section 38(1) stipulates that "no person shall undertake any activity which is likely to have a significant impact on the environment without an EIA certificate issued under this Act." Part V also specifies the stages of EIA, including screening, scoping, preparing an environmental impact statement (EIS) and the review process. Schedules 1 and 2 of the Act indicate which types of activities require an EIA certificate and which do not.

Tourism in Zanzibar and its Environmental Impacts:

Up until the 1980s, Zanzibar had a monoculture economy based on cloves. Following a fall in world clove prices and a decline in local production, however, the government rushed to diversify the island's economy, making investments in several other sectors, including tourism. This was aided along by the enactment of the Investments Protection Act No. 2 in 1986, which provided incentives and protective measures for foreign investment in Zanzibar. Tourism is now the fastest growing sector of Zanzibar's economy, with foreign earnings at US\$ 117 million⁷ in 2005. In the same year, tourism accounted for 20% of Zanzibar's GDP, there were 125,443 visitors to Zanzibar that year and tourism accounted for over 60% of all approved foreign direct investment. Beach tourism is the most prominent type of tourism in Zanzibar (of which most development is on Unguja Island), and new tourism developments are springing up rapidly,

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⁵ "National Environmental Policy for Zanzibar", 1992

⁶ "Report on the Development and Harmonization of Environmental Impact Assessment Regulations" p. 53

⁷ Interview: Dr. Ahmada, April 21, 2009

particularly along the Northern and Eastern coasts of the island. There are now well over 230 tourist accommodations in Zanzibar.⁸

The sudden influx of tourists and the haphazard development of hotels in Zanzibar since the 80s has placed pressure on the natural resources of this small island, and is threatening its fragile coastal ecosystems. Unsustainable practices displayed by hotels include a lack of sewage treatment, poor solid waste management, inadequate hotel construction on sensitive beach land, depletion of mineral resources for construction materials, overuse of limited resources such as water, the unnecessary removal of trees and vegetation on hotel construction sites, pressure on marine resources and destruction of coral ecosystems by tourists partaking in leisure activities.

There is also concern about the social impacts of tourism in Zanzibar: many hotels have set up in and around traditional coastal fishing villages, where the populations strictly adhere to the Islamic faith and harbour negative sentiments about tourists' behaviour and dress. Hotel developments now take up the lion's share of the coastline, making village displacement, access to beaches and artisanal fisheries along the coast a problem. Also, local communities may not be benefiting from this sort of tourism development, as benefit sharing is not required and hotels may hire mainlanders or foreigners rather than locals.⁹

All these issues have led to a desperate need for regulation of environmental standards upheld by hotel developments in Zanzibar through EIAs.

Tourism in Zanzibar and EIAs:

Currently, as per schedule 2 of the 1996 Act, hotels with over 100 beds, or any developments in ecologically sensitive areas, are required to undertake an EIA in Zanzibar. ¹⁰ There are two main government institutions dealing with EIAs in Zanzibar: the Department of Environment (DOE) and the Zanzibar Investment Promotion Agency (ZIPA). Under the 1996 Act, the EIA process was formally designated as the responsibility of the DOE. The DOE has theoretically been vested the power to issue stop orders on developments or administer fines in response to developments not complying with EIA regulations. ZIPA, which was established in 1997 as a one-stop center for prospective investors, is responsible for making sure that hotel developers, as investors, do not begin to build hotels without consulting the DOE and if needed,

⁸ "Ecotourism Sub sector Analysis in Zanzibar", 2006, sec. 2.4

⁹ "State of the Environment for Zanzibar", 2004, p.20

¹⁰ "The Environmental Management for Sustainable Development Act", 1996, Part V

undertaking an EIA. Any project proposed under schedule 2 of the 1996 Act is required to carry out an EIA in order to get a permit or license from ZIPA.

The various stages in the EIA process as carried out in Zanzibar are:

- 1. Screening- whether or not to subject a project to EIA
- 2. Scoping- involving relevant authorities and affected parties, considering possible alternatives and identifying significant environmental issues to be examined
- 3. Preparation of Terms of Reference
- 4. Submission of CVs of teams of experts
- 5. Preparation of an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS)
- 6. Review of EIS by the DOE
- 7. Decision on whether to issue an EIA Certificate or a final letter of refusal

*See Appendix A for a detailed description of the Zanzibar EIA procedure

The EIA process in Zanzibar requires the involvement of all stakeholders of a proposed project, including various governmental institutions, surrounding communities and their Shehas (liaisons between government and villages), hotel owners, engineers, consultants who are executing the EIA and anybody else who might be involved or affected by the construction and operation of the hotel development. The consultant is to consider environmental impacts, such as sewage, waste, beach erosion and so on. In order to assess the social impacts, the consultant must consider local traditions and cultures of surrounding villages, employment policies of the proposed project, issues of short and long-term migration of tourists and employees to the new development, and any other social effect the project might have on the local population. ¹¹

Summary:

Although the Zanzibar government has frequently expressed its commitment to environmentally conscious tourism, and even proclaimed it as the national tourism development strategy, environmental and social concerns have largely been ignored. ¹² Given the fast pace at which tourism is growing in Zanzibar and the significance of the tourist industry to the economy,

^{11 &}quot;Report on the Development and Harmonization of Environmental Impact Assessment Regulations," p.20

¹² Stefan Gossling, "The Political Ecology of Tourism in Zanzibar" in Gossling ed., *Tourism and Development in Tropical Islands: Political Ecology Perspectives*, Cheltanham UK: Edward Elgar Publisher, 2003, Pg 179-180, 186, 192.

it is important to ensure that environmental impacts of hotels and tourist developments are controlled and monitored and natural resources are used in a sustainable way. Zanzibar's fragile ecosystems and environmental health are already under threat from haphazard development: the tourist industry in particular has noticeably impacted the coastal environment in Zanzibar and is poised to have even greater adverse effects in the future. It is therefore crucial that there be laws in place to control the environmental impacts of tourism developments in Zanzibar, and that these laws be correctly implemented.

While the EIA process has the potential to effectively limit the impacts of developments on the local environment, as has been proven in other countries, its execution in Zanzibar has not yet been fully successful. Despite EIAs being made mandatory by law in 1996, in 2002, fewer than 10 EIAs had been completed in Zanzibar, and considerations of environmentally sustainable measures by hotels and other developments were still effectively voluntary. ¹³ To date, there have still only been 35 EIAs carried out, all of which have been undertaken by hotels ¹⁴. As such, studying the EIA process in relation to tourism developments in Zanzibar is contextually relevant.

There seems to be little awareness of the EIA process amongst developers and limited knowledge of how best to implement the EIA process amongst the government agencies responsible. Understanding the loopholes that developers may encounter while conducting an EIA and the barriers that government agencies may face in implementing this process is crucial to ensuring that Zanzibar's fragile ecosystems are protected and its limited natural resources are sustainably managed. There are few formal studies conducted on EIAs in Zanzibar, none of which have involved gathering information from hotels on EIAs and their environmental practices, or comparing Zanzibar's EIA process to that of mainland Tanzania. This information would thus importantly assuage the current lack of analysis and evaluation of the EIA process in Zanzibar and would be useful to government agencies, hotel developers and local communities alike.

The purpose of this study is five-fold:

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¹³ Honey, Martha "Zanzibar; Ecotourism on a Muslim Island" in *Ecotourism and Sustainable Development*, Island Press, 2008, p. 256-294

¹⁴ Interview: Mr. Hamza, April 27, 2009

- 1) To review the current legal framework and environmental legislation related to tourism developments.
- 2) To gage the awareness of people working in the tourist industry on the subject of EIAs, to examine how hotels both with and without EIAs manage their environmental impacts and to consider environmental management plans of those hotels with EIAs in light of their current practices in order to gage the effectiveness of the EIA process in regulating the environmental impacts of hotels.
- 3) To gain multiple perspectives on the impact of the tourist industry on the coastal environment in Nungwi, Kiwengwa and Uroa including those of local community members, NGOs and government officials.
- 4) To compare EIA legislation and implementation in Zanzibar with that of mainland Tanzania.
- 5) To use the information collected to make recommendations on ways in which the current Zanzibar EIA process can be improved, more rigorously enforced and made more compatible with the needs of developers and local communities.

Study Area:

The Zanzibar archipelago consists of two major islands, Pemba to the north and Unguja to the south. (Note: for the purpose of this study, Unguja will be referred to as 'Zanzibar'). Both islands lie approximately 40 km off the coast of mainland Tanzania. A large portion of the study was conducted in Zanzibar in both the capital, Stone Town and the coastal villages of the Nungwi area, Kiwengwa, and Uroa. A small portion of the study was also done in Dar es Salaam, the center of government for the Tanzania mainland. ¹⁵

Unguja Island- Stone Town:

Stone Town is the capital of Zanzibar and is located in the central district along the west coast of the island of Unguja. As government offices are present in the vicinity, interviews with government officials were conducted in and around Stone Town. Additionally, government legislation and policy as well as other necessary literature such as EIAs and government documents, will be gathered in the capital city.

Nungwi and Kendwa:

Located on the northern tip of Unguja Island and about 60 km north of Stone Town, lies the coastal village of Nungwi. The Nungwi area is made up of three fishing villages, Nungwi, Kendwa, and Kilindi. In recent years, the economy in Nungwi has transitioned from one of fishing and boat building to one of a rapidly growing tourist industry, and now has approximately 50 hotels among other tourist activities. ¹⁶ Nungwi is home to 7,500 villagers and a large number of immigrants from other areas of Zanzibar, Tanzania mainland and foreign countries who work for various tourism developments in Nungwi. The beautiful white sand beaches and diving opportunities offered on Nungwi's coral reef areas attract a great deal of tourists to the area, and in fact, Nungwi was the first tourist destination within Zanzibar to develop outside of Stone Town. The increase of hotel structures along the coast in Nungwi has expedited the process of coastal erosion in Nungwi and has led to other negative environmental effects. The large demand on the limited resource of water is also a cause of major conflict in the

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¹⁵ Kaplan, Taylor. Environmental Impact Assessment and Coastal Erosion: An Investigation of Hotels in Nungwi. SIT Zanzibar Coastal Ecology ISP. 2007, p. 9

¹⁶Waggoner, Andrew. The Status of Water in Nungwi, SIT Zanzibar Coastal Ecology ISP. 2001. p.10

area. Due to the mix of old and new hotels in Nungwi owned by foreigners and locals alike, Nungwi is an ideal location to conduct interviews with hotels both with and without EIAs.

Kiwengwa:

Kiwengwa is located about 50 km North East of Stone Town. The area is characterized by its white sand beaches and coral rag structure. ¹⁷ While the village of Kiwengwa is traditionally reliant on fishing as its main economic activity, it is quickly developing into a tourist zone. Recent years have seen an increase in the number of hotels in Kiwengwa, however, these hotels are mostly large, all-inclusive developments that are reputed for having little interaction with the local, surrounding communities and under certain circumstances have even been known to block locals from entering the beach and partaking in fishing and other economic activities. As in the other villages that were visited, few hotels have EIAs, but many do not. Assessing the hotel management plans of big, foreign-owned hotels in particular, both with and without EIAs, served to enhance the study.

Uroa:

Uroa is located in the central district of the east side of Unguja Island, approximately 30 km from Stone Town. The village is located within the Mnemba Chwaka Bay Conservation Area and hosts a great diversity of ecosystems, such as coral reefs, mangroves, and coral rag forest. ¹⁸ While Uroa is also still considered to be a fishing village, tourism is slowly developing in the area. Despite the low tourist density, Uroa is still experiencing coastal erosion and other environmental affects. ¹⁹As of yet, there are only three large hotels, one of which has an EIA. As an upcoming tourist location with few developments as of yet, interviews with hotels gave a good indication of the new environmental management approach.

Dar es Salaam:

Dar es Salaam, the commercial capital of Tanzania mainland about 40 km across the channel from Stone Town was visited in order to draw a comparison of the EIA process between Zanzibar and Tanzania mainland. As the largest city in Tanzania with a population of 2,497, 940,

¹⁷ "An Environmental Analysis for Blu Marlin Village", 2008

¹⁸ "An Environmental and Social Impact Assessment Report for Palumbo Reef Hotel", 2008, p.22

¹⁹ Interview: Tamarind Beach Hotel, April 16, 2009

²⁰and the center of permanent government bureaucracy in Tanzania, it hosts a great number of government offices and the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), the largest university in Tanzania. Meetings with the government officials, professors and consultancy groups were held in the city.

Figure 1.1—East Coast of Tanzania

Figure 1.2—Unguja Island, with Stone Town, Nungwi, Kiwengwa and Uroa marked





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²⁰ Interview: Abel Sikaona, April 24, 2009

Methodology:

The study was predominantly based on information collected from interviews and relevant documents. In general, interviews were scheduled ahead of time where possible, ranged between half an hour and an hour and a half in length, and format of the interview was based on what was deemed appropriate for each situation: where the aim of the interview was to learn more about a certain issue, for example, a semi-structured format was chosen to allow freedom for the interview to evolve based on new information, and where there was set quantitative and qualitative data to be gathered for the purpose of comparison, a more rigid, questionnaire-based interview was planned. Interviews were generally conducted so that one interviewer was asking questions and the other was taking notes. At the end of each interview, questionnaire-based or informal, a five-minute 'pens-down' chat with the interviewee was attempted in order to allow them to talk freely on relevant issues.

The following is a step-by-step description of the methodology pursued in this study, in chronological order:

1) Document Investigation- Stone Town:

Documents including environmental legislation and policy for Zanzibar, the Zanzibar Tourism Zoning Plan, ZIPA Guidelines for Investors, etc* were obtained from various government agencies for the purpose of understanding the legal and political framework within which EIAs are situated in Zanzibar. A total of 6 EIAs for hotels in Zanzibar were obtained from the DOE: several attempts were made to find more EIAs, but the DOE had difficulty locating these documents, and the other government agencies claimed not to have had copies. A letter of introduction from the SIT Academic Director facilitated access to these materials.

* For a full list of documents obtained relating to EIAs and tourist developments in Zanzibar, see Appendix B

2) Semi-Structured Interviews with government officials- Stone Town:

Interviews were conducted with government officials in Stone Town with a view to gaining a thorough understanding of the EIA process and investigating the current status of EIA implementation in Zanzibar. Government officials at several government agencies, including

Commission for Tourism, Department of Land and Survey, Department of Environment, Zanzibar Investment Promotion Agency and Ministry of Tourism were interviewed in order to gain a holistic perspective on the role of these different government agencies in the EIA process.

* For a list of interviewees across the full study area, see Appendix C

3) Questionnaire-based Interviews with hotels- Nungwi, Kiwengwa and Uroa:

A set of 50 questions was prepared to pose to hotel managers or owners. These questions were based on EIAs, potential environmental and social impacts and efforts by the hotels to mitigate these impacts. They were designed to cover the topics that an EIA would have dealt with, whether or not the hotel being surveyed had had one conducted. These topics included water, sewage, solid waste, beach erosion, social issues and so on. Questions were specific and some were quantitative in nature, for example "How much solid waste do you produce per day?" The hotel managers were not expected to know all the answers, but were requested to divulge as much information as possible.

A total of 11 hotels were visited across the coastal tourist villages of Nungwi and Kendwa, Kiwengwa and Uroa. A list of all of Zanzibar's hotels obtained from the Commission for Tourism was consulted. A specific procedure was followed in the selection of hotels to interview: hotel location, hotel size and whether or not their EIAs were accessible were the key factors considered. Hotels that best overlapped these criteria were chosen, though of course, the final selection was also subject to availability of managers during the low tourist season and time constraints. In terms of location, hotels in Nungwi and Kendwa were chosen because they represent a mix of old and new (those built before the 1996 Act and others much more recently) and vary significantly in size, with at least 2 hotels with over 100 beds. Also, Nungwi is known for its history of water conflicts between hotels and the village and for its problems with beach erosion due to hotel developments²¹, both issues that are pertinent to and would have been considered in EIAs. Kiwengwa is known to have several large, foreign-owned 'club' hotels and there have been conflicts between hotels and locals over access to the beach, another issue that would be addressed in an EIA. Finally, Uroa is a relatively new tourist destination, with few

²¹ Kaplan, Taylor. Environmental Impact Assessment and Coastal Erosion: An Investigation of Hotels in Nungwi. SIT Zanzibar Coastal Ecology ISP. 2007, p. 8

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hotels of varying sizes. Of the 6 hotels for which EIAs were at hand, three were surveyed. The remaining 8 hotels were a mixture of large (4) and small (4) hotels across the three locations.

Upon collection of results from these surveys, a point system was derived using criteria that would have been considered in an EIA and the hotels were ranked according to their level of negative environmental and social impacts. The degree of negative impact was compared to the size of the hotel and also to the year it was opened to judge whether there was a correlation between these factors. Finally, the environmental management plans of those hotels with EIAs were considered in light of their current practices in order to gage the effectiveness of the EIA process in regulating the environmental impacts of hotels.

- * For a list of questions asked to hotel managers/engineers, see Appendix D
- 4) Informal Interviews with NGOs, Shehas and Local Community Members- Nungwi, Kiwengwa and Uroa

Interviews with third parties affected by or involved in the environmental and social impacts of tourism provided a new perspective, beyond that of government or developers, on issues that the EIA process is supposed to deal with. These interviews also served to assess the level of awareness of the EIA process amongst the general population of Zanzibar. The director of the Labayka Fund (an NGO based in Nungwi aiming to protect and preserve Nungwi's natural environment and historical and cultural assets) was interviewed: having lived in Nungwi all his life, the informant provided first-hand experiences of the ad hoc tourism development in Nungwi, and the effect it had on the natural environment and local culture. He was also able to arrange interviews with 3 Nungwi villagers: a village elder, a school teacher and an elderly housewife and former fisherwoman. The first and third interviewees were most comfortable speaking Kiswahili and the Labayka member acted as a translator during these interviews.

A workshop on Coastal Communities and Land Rights in Kiwengwa was attended and information on problems with beach access was collected. An interview was conducted with the Sheha of Kiwengwa village: questions relating to EIAs and tourism's environmental impacts were posed in English and answered in Kiswahili, and answers were recorded digitally and later transcribe with the help of a translator. Attempts made to contact the Sheha of Nungwi village were unsuccessful. The head of the Zanzibar Association of Tourism Investors (ZATI) was also interviewed for another NGO perspective.

5) Structured Interviews with government officials- Stone Town:

A structured interview with a more rigid format was constructed for the same set of government officials dealing with EIAs in Zanzibar: now with a detailed understanding of the EIA process, more specific questions relating to EIA implementation, enforcement and monitoring were posed, and suggestions on how to improve EIA compliance were solicited. These interviews were valuable as they allowed for a more informed discussion about the problems of EIAs in Zanzibar nearer the end of the course of study. Unfortunately, due to schedule clashes, representatives from the DOE and Ministry of Tourism could not be reinterviewed.

* For a list of questions asked to Zanzibar government officials regarding EIAs, see Appendix E

6) Document Investigation- Dar es Salaam:

Documents including environmental legislation for mainland Tanzania, a Guide to the EIA process in Tanzania, Application Forms for developers, a list of EIA consultancy agencies, an Annual Report on EIA Certificate Issues etc*, were obtained from the National Environmental Management Council (NEMC) and from the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) library section dedicated to EIAs (located in the Institute of Resource Assessment (IRA) building). In addition, many dozens of EIAs were available to look over at both these locations. These documents were relevant not only in comparing the EIA processes of Zanzibar and mainland Tanzania in terms of differences in legislation and configuration but also in indicating how well-established the EIA is in legal and political processes is in the two locations.

* For a full list of documents obtained relating to EIAs in mainland Tanzania, see Appendix F

7) Semi-Structured Interviews with government officials-Dar es Salaam:

Interviews were conducted with government officials in Dar es Salaam in order to learn about the status of EIAs in mainland Tanzania, and to compare the configuration of the EIA process, the institutions dealing with EIAs and their success in implementation, with Zanzibar's. Government officials at the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism and at NEMC were interviewed and questions about the strengths and weaknesses of the EIA process and its pervasiveness in the mainland were posed, with particular emphasis on EIAs in the tourist sector

and within that, a focus on those hotels constructed in National Parks and along the beaches on the East Coast.

8) Semi-Structured Interview with environmental consultant- Dar es Salaam:

A licensed environmental consultant and EIA practitioner conducting her PhD on EIAs in Tanzania was interviewed to gain detailed information on the actual procedure of conducting an EIA. Questions on the practical aspects of EIAs (such as the costs and duration of the EIA process, and how environmental consultants are trained in Tanzania) were posed. The interviewee was also knowledgeable on the obstacles to the successful implementation of EIAs in Zanzibar and in Tanzania. Ideally, participatory observation would have been conducted through following an actual EIA process being carried out for a hotel development, but due to time constraints this was not possible.

Results:

1) Document Investigation- Stone Town:

Legislation, policies, guidelines, and the land lease agreement draft concerning EIAs in Zanzibar were collected from the DOE and ZIPA. Although it was difficult to access certain acts, such as Zanzibar's Environmental Management for Sustainable Development Act of 1996, it was eventually obtained from the Department of Environment.

Zanzibar's Environmental Management for Sustainable Development Act of 1996:

Zanzibar's Environmental Management for Sustainable Development Act of 1996 is the main legislation dealing with EIAs. The act offers basic guidelines on how to complete an EIA and the particular steps that it requires of developments. ²² The conclusion of the act classifies different requirements for developments based on their size, potential impact and any other factor that might pose environmental threats to a given area. In terms of hotels, any proposed project with over 100 beds must complete an EIA. Hotels with less than 100 beds must still complete an Environmental Report, which is a less detailed version of an Impact Assessment.²³ The Act does not provide any information about who is eligible to conduct an EIA for hotels. Although the law states that there is a fine in place for those who are not compliant with the law, there is no specification as to what the fine is.

National Environmental Policy for Zanzibar of 1992:

The objective of the policy is to ensure that Zanzibar's natural environment is sustainably managed. The policy notes that the EIA process is a major tool that should be used by the government in deciding whether a new development should be accepted or rejected. As the policy document states, "it is the policy of the Zanzibari government to incorporate Environmental Impact Assessments into procedures for design of development projects."24

ZIPA Investor Guidelines, Requirements for the Approval for the Establishment of Hotel Project, and Land Lease Agreement Draft:

Draft EIA Manual and Guidelines, p.3
 Interview: Mr. Hamza, April 3, 2009

²⁴ National Environmental Policy for Zanzibar, 1992, p.16

The ZIPA Investor Guidelines, the Requirements for the Approval for the Establishment of Hotel Project, and a Land Lease Agreement Draft were all obtained from the ZIPA office in Stone Town. The ZIPA Guidelines promote "up market hotels/resorts especially chain hotels." In stating the objective, the Guidelines state that a main goal of tourism is "to exploit and to develop natural resources and to develop human resources." They also state that "plenty of water is available in Zanzibar" The Requirements for the Approval for the Establishment of Hotels in Zanzibar states that investors must contact the DOE and subsequently follow procedures to complete an EIA. Additionally, it states that the investors must submit "Quarterly Progress Reports" to ZIPA. Lastly, The Land Lease Agreement Draft contains particular points relating to environmental impacts and hotel management, requiring hotels to invest in a liquid waste treatment plant and an incinerator. It also prohibits hotels from building within 30 meters of the high tide mark and requires them to retain healthy trees on hotel property whenever possible. The guidelines also state that government officials are allowed to inspect at any time. As in the other two documents obtained from ZIPA, investors are required to consult the DOE for further environmental procedures.

Key take-home points from legislation:

- It is reiterated time and again that all investors must go through DOE before building, either to initiate an EIA or for general consultation
- The ZIPA guidelines appear to mislead investors on the point of water availability
- The guidelines also seem to show little concern for sustainability and environmental issues, as it states one of the goals of tourism as being "exploiting and developing natural resources..."
- 2) Semi-Structured Interviews with government officials- Stone Town:

These interviews were aimed at developing an understanding of the EIA process in Zanzibar and the relevant government institutions involved.

²⁷ The Approval for the Establishment of Hotels in Zanzibar, Z.I.P.A, p.2

²⁵ Zanzibar Investment Promotion authority: Investor Guidelines, p. 3

²⁶ Zanzibar Investment Promotion authority: Investor Guidelines p. 6

Commission for Tourism:

Two semi-structured interviews were conducted with Dr Ahmada, the Executive Secretary of the Commission for Tourism in Zanzibar. As Executive Secretary, he explained he was in charge of overseeing the smooth running of the Commission, which includes, among other things, monitoring finances, organizing funding through government budget allocation and grants, planning and implementation, training and recruitment, and marketing Zanzibar as a tourist destination. The Commission is also responsible for monitoring and controlling of projects they approve. They are also responsible for collecting taxes and any information/data concerning tourism in Zanzibar. While they do not deal directly with EIAs, the Commission is invited by ZIPA to work in conjunction with the DOE and any other associated ministry in reviewing the EIA reports submitted to the DOE. Together, all the necessary agencies are responsible for monitoring, which is carried out when they are concerned that certain hotels are not complying with certain laws or legislations.²⁸

When asked about who is responsible for conducting an EIA, Dr. Ahmada noted that because most hotels are incapable of producing an EIA on their own, many hire consultants to carry out an EIA for them. The consultants hired are required to register themselves, however, they have no obligation to go through a training process nor do they have any other credentials to get registered. Dr. Ahmada also expressed that as of now there are no penalties in place for those hotels that do not complete an EIA or comply to the standards set out in the EIA.²⁹

Zanzibar Investment Promotion Agency:

As Senior Planning Officer at ZIPA, it is Mr. Aziz's responsibility to plan for meetings, make appraisals for applications when they come in, make presentations before the technical committee and get feedback on the project. When ZIPA receives a feasibility study, he conducts an economic analysis of the project and presents it to a team. ZIPA's role in the EIA process, he explained, is to facilitate the approval of projects. He stressed that every investment proposal that passes through ZIPA is immediately sent to the DOE to conduct an EIA. In addition to conducting an EIA, hotels must also comply with the ZIPA guidelines that insist on local employment and other social responsibilities. When asked about the approval rate for hotel proposals in Zanzibar, Mr.Aziz responded that there is a 90% approval rate for hotels and almost

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²⁸ Interview: Dr. Ahmada, March 31, 2009 ²⁹ Interview: Dr. Ahmada, April 22, 2009

all hotels are accepted because they meet the standards required. With respect to enforcement, Mr. Aziz admitted that there are currently no penalties in place for not complying with the law, but that they are in the process of setting a fine.³⁰

ZIPA acts as a middle man of sorts: any communication between the government and hotels usually passes through ZIPA, and they then disseminate information to the relevant authorities, for example, if a hotel is experiencing an environmental problem, they inform ZIPA, who then would relay it to the DOE. Mr. Aziz explained that ZIPA does conduct monitoring of its projects from time to time which are not specific to EIAs but they do invite DOE officials to view the site and take action on issues if necessary. They also receive quarterly progress reports from all hotels as a way to keep their department up to date. Most of the time he notes that hotels struggle to get their reports in on time, but they all do eventually. ZIPA is thinking of enforcing a penalty for delayed reports.

Department of Environment:

In two semi-structured interviews with Mr. Hamza, the Senior Ecologist and Chairperson of the Regional Task Force on EIAs, he described the role of the DOE in the EIA process. Mr. Hamza expressed that the entire EIA process is the responsibility of the Department of Environment. After the developer receives permission to obtain the land under the conditions that they comply with the necessary legislation relating to land allocation, such as the "Tourism Zoning Plan" and the "Land Tenure Act" and appropriately purchase land, a representative from the Department of Land and Surveys is then required to conduct a feasibility study in which the land and the management plans of the proposed development will be assessed. At the conclusion of the feasibility study, the representative from the Department of Land and Survey will then submit the study to Z.I.P.A. Once approved by Z.I.P.A, the proposal will be sent to the Department of Environment and a proper EIA will be conducted.

When completing an EIA, the Department will consider factors, such as the flora and fauna of an area, beach erosion, waste management, and potential social conflicts of an area. The production of the EIA must first go through a screening and scoping stage and then submit a Terms of Reference. Once approved after the initial three stages, the hotel will choose a consultant who will then carry out an EIA. Once the report is completed, the consultant is

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³⁰ Interview: Mr. Aziz, April 2, 2009

required to write an executive summary in both English and Kiswahili to serve as an overview of the report. After the final report is submitted to the government, it is made accessible to the public to receive comments and criticisms. A certificate of approval will be given to the development upon acceptance. During construction, the DOE should monitor the project and has the right to place a stop order on the construction if there is a lack of compliance with the EIA. Mr. Hamza concluded the interview by stating that despite the law, there remain large hotels with over 100 beds built after 1996 that never completed an EIA. ³¹

Ministry of Tourism:

Mr. Mlingoti, the Principle Officer of Policy for the Ministry of Tourism was interviewed and described the role of the Ministry of Tourism and their relationship with the EIA process. Although the Ministry of Tourism does not play a main role in the EIA process, they are still included in the team of ministries involved in the approval process for new hotel proposals. In contrast to the Commission of Tourism, the Ministry of Tourism is the leading institution on Tourism, Trade and Investment. Mr. Mlingoti told the story of a mid-sized hotel in Jambiani, explaining that one of the issues covered in policy was that no development of hotels would be made within the village itself-should be at least 4-500 meters from the village to protect it from cultural deterioration. The hotel had, however, bought a piece of land in the village and submitted an application to build to ZIPA, who decided the project should not be approved. ZIPA tried to convince the developer to build a residence hall instead of a hotel, but he refused, and went to the top government to get the project approved. He cited this as an example of how difficult it can be to implement policy given that it can be blocked by an influential investor.

Department of Land and Surveys:

Three semi-structured interviews with Mr. Azzan, Land Use Planner at the Department of Land and Surveys included a description of the role of his sector in providing information for the EIAs and assisting in the procedure of approving or rejecting a proposed development. The Department of Land and Surveys supplies the process with aerial photos and digital maps so the DOE is readily prepared with the necessary tools to make informed decisions on development proposals. The Department of Land and Surveys is now looking at ways to identify scientific or

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 ³¹ Interview: Mr. Hamza, April 3. 2009
 ³² Interview: Issa Mlingoti, April 3, 2009

topographical problems with developed areas. In addition to their role as informants for the EIA process, the Department also collects development leases, in which they directly interact with hotels. ³³ They also make land allocations- whenever projects are being approved they have to get a land title, and must do so through the Department of Land and Survey. Another of Mr. Azzan's official responsibilities is working on a project called SMOLE (Sustainable Management of Land and Environment). He works to coordinate with his department and the Finnish government, which is the donor behind this project. He works to prepare plans and budgets, and does monthly reporting on implementation and any problems and deviations encountered.

Key take-home points from semi-structured interviews:

- DOE is responsible for reviewing the EIA process at every stage, however this is scarcely implemented
- ZIPA acts as a liaison between government and hotel developers, but has no mandate to act upon issues brought up
- Other government departments are invited to be involved in the EIA process and they give their input during the process of evaluating a project proposal when possible
- 3) Questionnaire-based Interviews with hotels- Nungwi, Kiwengwa and Uroa:

See tables of results of hotel questionnaires, saved separately as Excel document 'ISP PROJECT TABLE'

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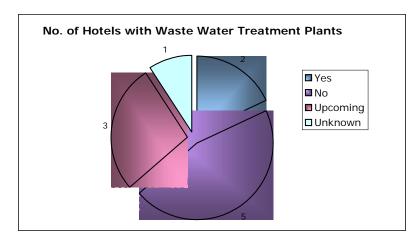
³³ Interview: Mr. Azzan, April 21, 2009

3) Questionnaire-based Interviews with hotels- Nungwi, Kiwengwa and Uroa:

<u>Degree of implementation of measures to reduce environmental impact by hotels surveyed:</u>

Based on the data tables, graphs showing key findings are shown below-Figure 2.1--

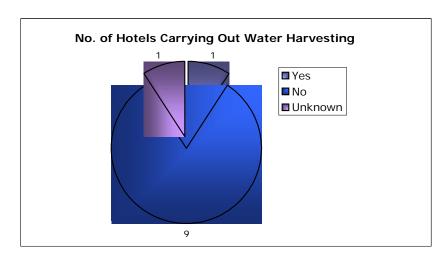
Of the 11 hotels, 2 of them- La Gemma dell'Est and Going/Bravo Club, already had waste water



treatment and were recycling their sewage water for plumbing and irrigation of gardens. It is practical for these hotels to recycle their sewage water because they have critical mass and require a lot of water for their grounds. 3 more large to medium-sized hotels- Royal Zanzibar, Ras Nungwi and and

Palumbo Reef Hotel, are planning to or have begun to set up these plants.

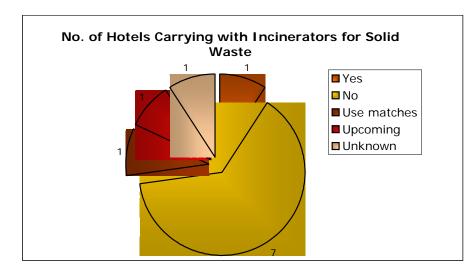
Figure 2.2-Only one of the hotels- Ras Nungwi- was successfully carrying out water harvesting. They



collect the water in a big trunk and use it for watering plants, washing cars and cleaning outdoor areas of the hotel. It is an inexpensive option for them given that the hotel regularly faces problems of water shortage: they explained that the pipes coming from Chaani, Matemwe and Bububu are often out of

service and they otherwise have to pay for an environmentally unfriendly diesel truck to carry water to the hotel.

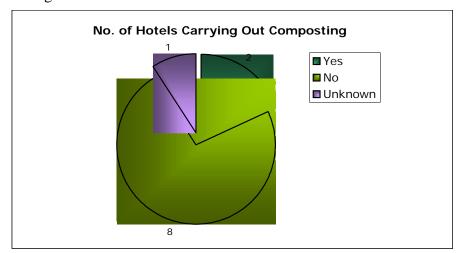
Figure 2.3—
Ras Nungwi was once again the only hotel that had installed an incinerator to responsibly



dispose of its solid
waste. Many other
hotels see the local
groups that pick up
waste and carry them to
dumpsites as the most
efficient and
inexpensive method of
waste disposal, but
often the dumpsite is

not taken care of in an environmentally sensitive manner. It is surprising that more of the larger hotels had not installed incinerators, given that it is technically a requirement under the Land Lease Regulation of 2006 and officials had recently been around assessing the feasibility of requiring all hotels in Zanzibar to use an incinerator for their waste (as per interview with La Gemma manager).

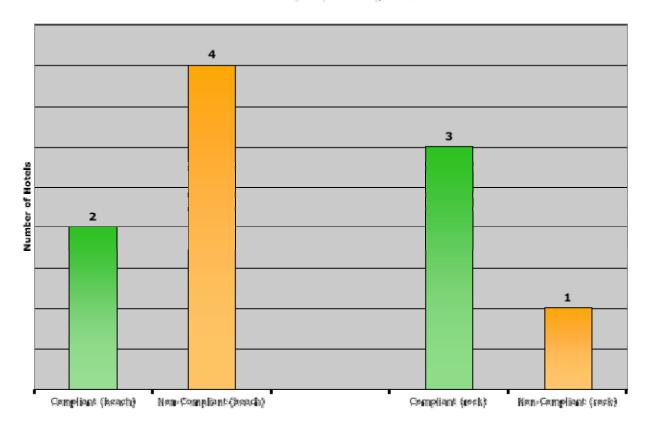
Figure 2.4—



Mnarani Beach Cottages
was the only establishment
to be actively composting its
food waste. Most other
hotels stated that they had
considered the option but
had not followed through
due to concerns about
hygiene and smell around
the hotel area. The smaller

hotels did not have gardens large enough to justify composting their food waste. La Gemma dell'Est does composting, but only of plant material.

Figure 2.5-
Compliance with Regulation requiring Minimum Distance of 30 m (beach) and 10 m (rock) from High Water Mark



From these results it is apparent that beach hotels have a more difficult time complying to the 30 meter rule than cliff hotels do to the 10 meter rule: this may be because there is more temptation to build further down the beach during the actual construction phase. Also, there is a more noticeable boundary on cliffs that discourages building too close to the edge, but this is not the case on the beach. The building of seawalls, for lack of better knowledge, could perhaps be considered a way around the logic of the 30 meter rule by developers.

Comparison of environmental impacts of hotels surveyed:

A point system was designed to rank hotels based on 'environmentally and socially friendly practices' accounting for a variety of issues included in the questionnaire posed to hotels (Appendix D). The maximum number of attainable points is 12. That smaller hotels may have less reason to have incinerators and waste water treatment plants was considered and offset by their higher likelihood of having 20% + local employees and a garden area requiring less water.

Note: this is not a formal ranking or grading system and is only used for the purposes of this study in order to analyze correlations between various factors and environmental impacts of hotels

Table 2.1:

Practice	Points
Waste water treatment and recycling	+1
Water-harvesting	+1
Water-conscious design and upkeep of garden/landscape	+1
Use of incinerator	+1
Responsible disposal of waste at dumpsite	+1
Active recycling by hotel	+1
Composting	+1
Acceptable distance from high-water mark	+1
Over 20% employees from local village	+1
Easy access to beach provided	+1
Socially responsible and contributing to the local community	+1
Bonus point for other notable practices, such as keeping	+1
natural vegetation intact during building, sourcing building	
materials locally, using environmentally-friendly agents in the	
hotel etc	

If there was a waste water treatment plant, water-harvesting plan, recycling plan or incinerator in the works, 1/2 a point was awarded.

The hotels ranked as follows:

Table 2.2:

Hotel (names excluded)	Points awarded/12
Nungwi hotel with 64 beds	10.5
Nungwi beach cottages with 64 beds	8
Kiwengwa hotel with 16 beds	7
Nungwi hotel with 47 beds	6
Uroa hotel with 36 beds	6
Nungwi bungalows with 118 beds	5
Nungwi hotel with 300 beds	5
Kiwengwa hotels with 106 and 200 beds	4.5-5.5*
Uroa hotel with 200 beds	4.5
Nungwi hotel with 200 beds	2.5
Kiwengwa hotel with 220 beds	1**

- *Some missing information
- **Little information was gathered from this hotel as the interview had to be stopped short due to an uncooperative informant

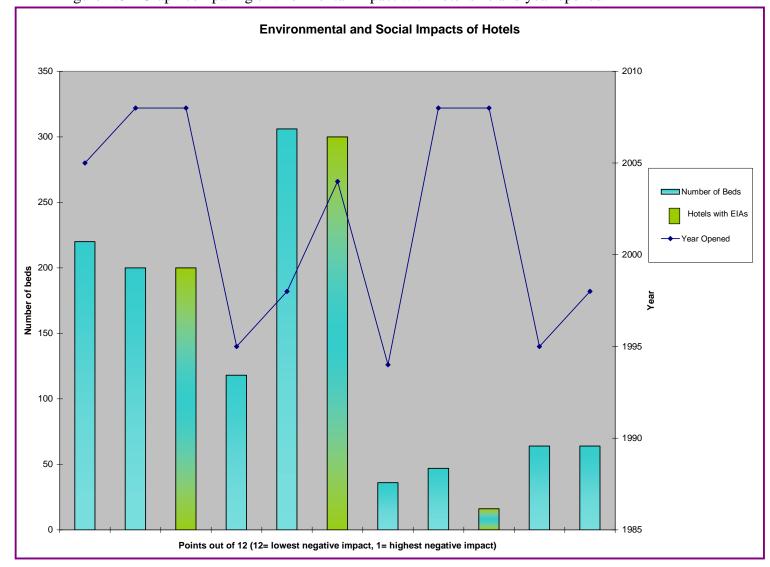


Figure 2.6-- Graph comparing environmental impact with hotel size and year opened

It was found that in general, there was a great discrepancy between the environmental standards of these hotels, and as per Figure 1 above, there was no correlation between whether the hotel had initially conducted an EIA or not and its current environmental practices: both these findings suggest a lack of enforcement of environmental standards by the government. In terms of hotel size, those hotels with fewer beds tended to score more points for upholding high environmental standards. There was no significant correlation between the age of the hotel and its implementation of environmentally and socially conscious practices- the top 3 were a mix of old (1995) and new (2008) hotels, and this factor appears to overridden by the correlation with hotel size.

Comparing pledged environmental practices with current practices of hotels with EIAs:

Out of the 6 hotels for which EIAs were at hand, visits were made to 3 of them during the study: a 300 bed hotel in Nungwi, a 16 bed hotel in Kiwengwa and a 200 bed hotel in Uroa. Only 1 of the managers was knowledgeable about the EIA process (Kiwengwa hotel) and understood what it entailed. Surprisingly, the managers of the other two hotels were not fully aware of what an EIA was and that it had been conducted prior to their hotel's development. This is indicative of there being no reminders from the government in the form of environmental impact monitoring or enforcement of mitigation measures. It was noted at each of the three sites that the pledges made in the EIAs were not adhered to fully, and the mitigation measures designed to reduce environmental impact during the operation stage had not been implemented. Some of the deviations found are outlined below, along with examples of compliance:

1) Nungwi Hotel

This EIA is particularly noteworthy given that it is carried out by the developer itself in consultation with government "specialist consultants" from various departments. As such, the developer can be assumed to have been fully aware of the environmental concerns surrounding its development and the fact that the author of the report would be strongly biased towards the development's continuation was kept in mind.

Deviations:

- ❖ The EIA expressly states that fishing in the region "will not be influenced by the development, but as noted in detail in the next results section [4) "Informal Interviews…"], a serious conflict arose between fishermen and the hotel developer regarding the jetty construction interrupting fishing activities in the area.
- ❖ The developer states in the EIA that the hotel is to be set back more than 50 meters from the high water mark line- in reality, however, the distance is about 15-20 meters at most.
- ❖ The EIA claims that the "shoreline will not be modified" and "sand excavation will be strictly prohibited, with the developer monitoring the implementation of this policy closely." However, the hotel has recently been facing severe beach erosion, and in response it has significantly modified the shoreline by inserting 1000 pillars into the sand and laying down sandbags. It also plans to dredge sand and install a sand canon 30 meters

- out to sea that would dig up sand and shoot it onto shore at a speed of 45 cubic meters of sand per hour. The canon would run for 2-3 weeks to restore the beach.
- ❖ Fertilizer for the vegetation on the property is to come from composted biodegradable waste, as stated in the EIA, however according to the manager, the hotel does not compost its food waste at all: only plant waste is composted.
- The developer pledges that "solid waste will be collected on a regular basis...and sorted according to degradability and its reusability in four main groups: reusable or recyclable waste, biodegradable waste, non-toxic combustible waste and other waste." The developer to sell off the recyclable material to companies or to the local community, compost the biodegradable waste for use in the resort's gardens or give it to the local community, burn the combustible waste in an on-site incinerator, which apparently was included in the design for the project, and dispose of the rest of the waste ('other waste' in an approved dumping site. Speaking to the manager, though, none of this has been implemented, an incinerator has not been built, and currently, all of the waste goes to a dumping site.

Compliance:

- ❖ A wastewater treatment plant has been built and is being used for irrigation as specified in the EIA.
- ❖ The developer has, as promised, planted many thousands of trees to replace and supplement the original flora, though very few of these are indigenous to Zanzibar.

2) Kiwengwa hotel

Deviations:

While composting of biodegradable materials into organic fertilizer is rejected as an option for solid waste management due to "absence of enough land and garden where compost can be applied," the EIA suggests that while incineration is costly, the hotel should adopt this procedure, potentially through sharing a common incinerator with other hotels. This plan has not materialized.

- ❖ Despite the EIA expressly stating that swimming pool water would be treated before disposal, and water would not be discharged into the marine environment, the former is not occurring and the latter is.
- ❖ The EIA recommends the hotel undertake rainwater harvesting, given that it is a "low cost option that requires only the construction of a storage and collector system." The hotel currently does not harvest rainwater, however.
- ❖ The EIA identifies a trend of "increasing non-biodegradable materials", especially plastics, and demands proper measures to deal with plastic bottle waste, but no such measures have been designed or implemented.
- ❖ It is recommended in the EIA that measures be taken to minimize beach erosion, which is "accelerated by loss of coastal vegetation and creping of topsoil as a result of fixed structures such as hotels on beaches." No such measures have been undertaken, however.

Compliance:

- ❖ The EIA does, however, explain why a waste water treatment facility would not be feasible for this project.
- ❖ The EIA predicts that there will not be any serious impact in terms of loss of flora and fauna in the area as it is dominated by coconut trees and scrub, and as per the site visit, it appears the hotel has taken measures to preserve some coconut trees and the natural look of the landscape.
- ❖ Access to the beach by women farming seaweed appears to be unrestricted, as recommended in the EIA.
- The beach in front of the site continues to be used as a fish landing site by fishermen, as recommended in the EIA (see digital Appendix).

3) Uroa hotel:

Once again, this EIA has been prepared by the developer themselves, taking advice from the DOE, ZIPA etc. Interestingly, the entire section on 'mitigation measures' in this EIA is the same (word-for-word) as the EIA for the Kiwengwa hotel, with some small changes accounting for the differences in the size of hotels (i.e. incinerator is not recommended to be shared, composting is suggested etc). This severely discredits the EIA process in Zanzibar as it shows

that a generic EIA is applied to every hotel and implementation of mitigation measures is not generally taken seriously by the developer.

Deviations:

- ❖ The EIA states that the hotel will hold 120 guests at full capacity: in reality, there are 200 beds available.
- ❖ The EIA recommends composting of biodegradable materials into organic fertilizer for the landscape and small-scale crop production. It also suggests that the developer can give excess fertilizer to the local community. Currently, no composting activity is taking place on the property.
- ❖ Despite an incinerator being advised as "the best option for this development", there is no incinerator for the combustion of solid waste installed by the hotel.
- ❖ The investor "has to use waste water treatment facilities" to treat sewage, however to date there has been no treatment plant installed on site, although the developer is in talks with companies about installing a water treatment system. The EIA recommends that the final effluent be used for gardening.
- ❖ Rainwater harvesting is recommended as a low-cost option in the EIA, as in the Kiwengwa hotel's EIA, but it has not been implemented.
- ❖ The EIA states that "the regulations of leaving 30 meters from high water mark will be fully observed so as to protect it from any inconveniences and damage." In reality, there are hotel structures built as close as 10-15 meters from the high water mark.

Compliance:

The swimming pool wastewater is not emptied into the sea untreated, as specified in the EIA.

Comments and complaints from managers about government procedure on regulating environmental impacts:

In general, it appeared from these hotel interviews that there was little interaction between the hotels and the government regarding environmental issues, and when there was, it was reactive rather than preventative: most hotel managers said the only time the government would get involved would be when a noticeable environmental problem had arisen. The

universal consensus across all interviewees was that the government does not conduct monitoring very often at all, and that they as hotels are allowed to do almost anything they want as long at it does not cause obvious damage to the environment. Several managers expressed a desire to see tighter environmental standards being enforced by the government: one suggested that particular hotels in Nungwi should not have been allowed to have so many large swimming pools in a region where water is a scarce commodity. Many managers put forth their frustrations about the occasions when they do try and work with the government, saying they are directed from one officer to another and eventually one department to another without being able to get the information or approval they need. Another common complaint was about the poor infrastructure provided by the government: the hotels said that they are paying a heavy hotel levy, per guest per night, only to see no improvement in water provision, waste and sewage management, or reliability of electricity. The hotel managers also stressed that much as they would like to have hired more local labour, the lack of education and training in the local labour pool meant that they had no choice but to hire from the mainland or to hire foreigners. As mentioned earlier, most managers did not know what an EIA was and whether their hotel had had one conducted at all. After the concept was explained to them, some mentioned that if the government had come to monitor the status of the hotels in terms of their environmental impacts, perhaps they would have given their EIAs more consideration.

4) Informal Interviews with NGOs, Shehas and Local Community Members- Nungwi, Kiwengwa and Uroa:

The Labayka Fund NGO:

In an informal interview with Hassan Usi, the director of the Labayka Fund, (an NGO based on Nungwi) he gave a third-party perspective on conflicts between hotels and villagers as well as information on the implementation of the management plans of hotels. When asked about major problems relating to the hotels, the community, and the environment in Nungwi, he first expressed his concerns over the lack of dumping sites in Nungwi, which has led to improper disposal of waste by hotels. While initially the problem of waste was very bad because local collectors would gather the waste and simply dump it into the bushes nearby, the situation is improving because they now have a large dumping site for their waste.

According to Mr. Usi, water availability is another source of conflict in the Nungwi area. Originally, both the hotels and the locals were using water from a well, which resulted in major conflicts because of high demand for the limited resource. Now, however, the hotels in Nungwi have started finding their own sources of water, which has helped decrease the pressure on the public water source and alleviate the conflicts.

When asked about the government involvement in regulating environmental impacts of hotels, Mr. Usi responded by saying that the government legislation is written well, but it is really kept within the confines of the government offices and is yet to be enforced and widespread. While the government will approach hotels once in a while, the visiting representative will usually ask questions relating to waste disposal in the context of health and sanitation, and nothing more.

During the interview, Mr. Usi referred to two instances in which there were major conflicts between the locals and the hotels. In one notable situation, several fishermen were jailed because they broke down the jetty belonging to a Nungwi hotel out of frustration about the fact that the jetty blocked their access to the market via boat. In another case, fighting broke out between the security guards at another Nungwi hotel and locals who were refused access through the hotel during high tide when there was no other accessible pass.

Mr, Usi concluded the interview by describing the landscape of Nungwi prior to hotel development. Before tourism, there were many large trees by the beach and they assisted in preventing beach erosion. However, now that there is so much beach erosion, the high tide mark is pushing in closer to building structures, which is causing a major problem in Nungwi.

Zanzibar Association of Tourism Investors (ZATI):

In an interview with Julia, the director of Z.A.T.I, she briefly described that the aim of the organization was to privately assist tourist development is attaining high standards of business ethics, corporate social responsibility and environmental awareness. While environmental standards are mainly the responsibility of the government, she points out, the NGO has worked with the government on several occasions towards creating an award system for hotels with the best environmental and social standards (Dr. Livingstone Best Practice Awards). In the past, the organization has worked with the DOE on campaigns such as a cleanup Stone Town volunteering day for school children. As far as representing hotels to the

government goes, Julia informed us that the most common environment-related issues that hotel owners bring up are waste collection, unstable water and power supply, and beach erosion.

While at the Z.A.T.I office, an interview between Julia and an Irish investor is in the process of building an eco-lodge in Pongwe, a village next to Kiwengwa, was observed. During the interview, Julia asked the investor basic questions concerning the hotel plan and different pre-construction procedures that he underwent in order to receive Z.I.P.A approval. Coincidentally, he had just completed an environmental report that had been accepted by the government (Because the hotel will only contain 35 beds, he was only required to complete an environmental report and was not obligated to complete an EIA.). Although the report was organized and completed through a lawyer, the investor was well aware of the requirement and stated that Z.I.P.A was forceful in ensuring that his proposal undergoes an Environmental report.

Interviews with 3 Locals in Nungwi:

Three interviews with local community members were conducted in Nungwi. Both Mr. Maulid, a village elder and Mr, Ahmed, a local school teacher expressed their frustration with the waste in Nungwi and the fact that tourism had introduced new types of waste that the villagers were previously unfamiliar with, such as plastic bags and plastic bottles without proper disposal plans. Mr. Ahmed described how drop-out school children were collecting waste from the hotels for a little money and without any knowledge of how to sort it, were dumping it in the area behind the school (see images in digital appendix). In order to resolve this waste problem, the Labayka fund set up a school program in which the children learnt how to separate garbage and use biodegradable waste as compos. Mr. Maulid also spoke of the lack of financial support and assistance given by hotels to improve the water system in Nungwi. Although all the hotels claim to provide water pipes for the local village, in reality they do not help very much, he stressed. Though some have dug their own wells, many still rely on the main village pump. Little is being done to conserve water and evenly distribute it among community members and hotel developments. Attempts have been made by the Sheha at organizing a system so that if the hotels use the water for 2 days, the village must get it for 3 days, but this has not been well-enforced.

In reference to land allocation, Dawa, a local elderly woman and former fisherwoman, and Mr. Ahmed both expressed concern over the small compensation that they received by the government when they decide to allow hotel development on their farmland. They merely count

your crop and compensate the traditional resident with what they believe is the value of that crop Both interviewees understood the plants to be worth much more than they were actually receiving. There is also no real consultation with the village elders about the prospects of new developments being built in the area: it is assumed that if the government has given the go ahead, the locals will have to hold their peace.

Dawa and Mr. Ahmed expressed that hotels have disrupted the local access to fisheries. In the interview with Dawa, she expressed that women octopus collectors were restricted from gathering octopi in hotel areas. Mr. Ahmed noted that the fishermen were also restricted from fishing in certain places like Kendwa, the village adjacent to Nungwi. He also noted that certain hotel structures block the fishermen from their regular route and landing sites, such as the location of the Nungwi hotel's jetty, which was once a center for fish landing and dhow parking. After the investors won the court case regarding the jetty, the fishermen could not fish in this area anymore. To exacerbate this, Dawa explained, is that the noise and commotion from the cruisers and tourists boats have driven fish out of the shallow areas, so the fishermen have had to go much further to find fish.

In terms of local employment, Mr. Ahmed claimed that there are few locals that are being hired by hotels due to lack of education. As a result, many foreigners and mainlanders migrate to Nungwi in order to work in the tourist industry. In order to increase the number of local employees in Nungwi, the Labayka Fund NGO started a program to educate community members on service sector topics.

Mr. Ahmed shared his view that the government does not show itself in Nungwi except in the form of tax collectors for hotel levys and the occasional health inspector. The villagers are not able to voice their concerns to any official other than the Sheha. He also claimed that while a proportion of the tax collected from hotel levies is supposed to be retained in the village, all of it ends up disappearing into government coffers and is never seen again by the Nungwi residents.

Stakeholders Workshop on Local Access to Coastal Resources in Kiwengwa

A day-long Stakeholders Workshop was held in early April, and aimed at empowering locals in Kiwengwa and educating them on negotiating land rights and access to coastal resources. Diane Dumashie who led the workshop addressed issues of pressure being placed on the land traditionally owned and used by local communities due to the rising tourist industry in

Kiwengwa. The workshop educated the attendants on how to properly conduct a land agreement and the rights of all people to access the beach. There are clear ties between the topics covered in the workshop and those in the EIA process in that issues such as access to traditional resources would have been considered in an EIA and the locals consulted on possible disruption by hotel development, Given this, there was surprisingly little knowledge of the legislation among the locals and experts spoken to, each with a different association to the tourism sector in Kiwengwa.

Kiwengwa Sheha:

In an interview conducted with the Shehia of Kiwengwa, positive and negative affects of tourism in Kiwengwa were discussed. Although he expressed that at one point in time there were many conflicts between the villagers and hotels concerning waste, water, and beach access, many of those issues have been resolved. For example, when tourism first came to Kiwengwa, the waste was being dumped in the village, causing a great deal of pollution. Now, however, the hotels send their waste over to another dumping site some distance from the village. In terms of community involvement, he did mention that there was not much community participation in matters relating to the environment and he would like to see more cooperative planning surrounding such issues.

The Sheha explained that currently, the greatest issue relating to tourism development in Zanzibar is the lack of cultural respect for surrounding communities displayed through dress and other tourist behaviors. However, he does believe that tourism has improved the quality of life for residents of Kiwengwa. In terms of economic activities, more and more locals are becoming employed by the hotels, creating a variety of economic opportunities for the residents. While traditionally the residents of Kiwengwa were mainly fishermen or seaweed farmers, the tourist industry has diversified the economic development in the area. While there were no major conflicts relating to issues of beach access at the time, he did mention that there are occasionally issues relating to hotels prohibiting seaweed farming on their beach area because of the aesthetic disruption that the poles cause to the serene ocean landscape.

When asked about his knowledge of EIAs he was aware of the process and noted that most hotels in the area had completed the assessment. Additionally, he was informed of the fact that small hotels were not required to complete an extensive EIA. He did stress that the hotels did

not consult the Sheha or the locals enough during this process, and he would encourage them to approach the village more.

Key take-home points from informal interviews:

- Environmental impacts of tourism is very much a concern shared by the general public, though there is no awareness of the EIA process and how it could benefit the village if it were more universally applied and more rigorously enforced
- Residents in coastal tourist villages express some degree of resentment towards the hotels
 because they are ruining the environment and not creating much of a positive impact, but
 also agreed that tourism brought some economic benefits to the village.
- NGOs can play an important role in liaising and creating good communication between hotels and government (ZATI), or hotels and locals (Labayka).
- There have been several conflicts between hotels and locals in the last few years, suggesting possibly unhealthy relations.

5) Structured Interviews with government officials- Stone Town:

The purpose of this section of the study was to re-interview government officials to gain a more in-depth understanding of the EIA process in Zanzibar, and in particular, solicit their opinions and suggestions on what they think the key shortfalls are and how best the process could be improved. The interviews were structured around a list of specific questions asked of the government officials, attached as Appendix E.

Department of Land and Surveys:

While Mr. Azzan was optimistic about the change in environmental awareness in Zanzibar over the last 10 years, pointing out that most hoteliers are now willing to follow guidelines and procedures to limit their environmental impact, he thought the EIA process itself needed a lot of improvement. When asked about how often he thought monitoring is carried out, Mr. Azzan said it happened too infrequently to estimate, but that it should ideally be being carried out every 6 months or so, and that it should include monitoring of social impacts of hotels in addition to environmental impacts. Mr. Azzan identified weakness in coordination between different government departments and between government and hoteliers as the biggest challenge facing effective EIA implementation. He also added that there is a severe lack of qualified professionals working on the EIA process in Zanzibar, both in government and in terms

of bonafide independent consultants able to conduct EIAs. In fact, there is no strict requirement for the 'consultants' conducting EIAs to be certified in Zanzibar, and as it happens, they are often not. A lack of manpower would be an obvious reason why the EIA process was not very effective in Zanzibar: with only 1 environmental officer in each district and only one expert on EIAs at the DOE (Mr. Hamza), there is too much to be done by too few people. He pointed out that the cause of this lack of environmental professionals could be that there are no higher-level academic courses in Zanzibar teaching environmental issues. Mr. Azzan would recommend an independent body be established to deal with EIAs and SIAs, and more resources be allocated to implementation and monitoring of mitigation measures. He also put forth the idea that a set of environmental guidelines specifically for hotel investors would prove useful to clear any confusion they may have.

Zanzibar Investment Promotion Agency:

Mr. Aziz believed that some noticeable improvements had been made since the enactment of EIAs as part of Zanzibar's environmental legislation: he gave the example of sewage being managed better: the hotels used to dump it into the sea but are now required to deal with it more carefully. He thought the biggest challenge to effective EIA implementation was monitoring: if a building permit is issued and officials do not monitor every step of the construction process, he explained, it is difficult to ask the developers to change things once the project is complete. He gave the example of a hotel in Southern Unguja: the developer was building on the beach, but were warned in time not to build permanent structures less than 30 meters from the high water mark, and they abided by the order. Mr. Aziz also revealed a loophole in the investment system that may have affected the prevalence of EIAs being conducted on the island: before they made an amendment of the law in the Investment Act of 2004, the Commission for Tourism was allowed to facilitate project establishment as far as local investors were concerned. ZIPA, on the other hand, was considered to be only for foreign investors. According to Mr. Aziz, the Commission for Tourism did not enforce the 1996 EIA legislation, or any sort of environmental guidelines for that matter, so there was a gap between 1996 and 2004 when EIAs were not being conducted by any local investors.

Commission for Tourism:

Dr. Ahmada confirmed that local projects had the option of getting approval from the Commission or from ZIPA, so even some of the big local owned hotels have been approved by the Commission. When asked about the lack of environmental guidelines, he agreed that they give environmental 'advice' rather than mandatory requirements as ZIPA might do via the DOE. Dr. Ahmada explained that the Commission is involved in the EIA process through ZIPA, to whom an officer from the Commission is permanently attached and advises on the process throughout. In his opinion, the EIA process is still in its infancy- people are still not realizing the weight of the EIA- it is just being prepared purely for the purpose of fulfilling the requirements, and then letting it lie, instead of seeing it as a practical tool for sustainable development. Dr. Ahmada sees the lack of understanding about EIAs amongst investors as the biggest challenge to effective EIA implementation: he suggested that they try to avoid costs and do not prioritize environmental issues. To improve the process, he suggested that it was important to prepare the officers in charge of reviewing the EIA process and reviewing the regulations themselves to make them more practical: he thinks that it the regulations are too difficult to understand, hotels will just try and avoid them.

Key take-home points from structured interviews:

* The same few problems relating to EIAs crop up all the time: lack of expertise, manpower and funds, a centralized institutional structure ineffectively trying to deal with what is a very broadbased task, weakness in the enforcement of EIA regulation, loopholes in the actual legislation and a lack of organization on the part of and communication between different government agencies all seem to have contributed to the poor implementation of the EIA process in Zanzibar today.

6) Document Investigation- Dar es Salaam:

Comparison of Legislation and Institutional Structure Between Mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar

After spending some time in Dar es Salaam conducting interviews and researching EIAs on the mainland, a comparison was made between government legislation and institutions relating to EIAs for mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar. Several noteworthy differences were identified: the government institutions responsible for enforcing the policy differ in their structure and responsibilities, the Acts requiring an EIA vary in the quality and quantity of detail

they provide; and the regulations concerning who is eligible to carry out an EIA also differ between the two governments.³⁴ In terms of responsible government institutions, the Department of Environment in Zanzibar is delegated to carry out all issues relating to the environment on the island, from waste to agriculture to air pollution to EIAs, Tanzania has established a separate council called the National Environmental Management Council (NEMC) which acts as a regulatory authority on matters related to environmental management and planning, and deals with EIAs. A comparison of the texts of the Environmental Management Act for Sustainable Development Act of 1996 for Zanzibar and The Environmental Management Act of 2004 for Tanzania mainland indicated that Zanzibar's act lacked the detailed and thorough description of required EIA procedure that was present in Tanzania's act. 35 Lastly, there is a solid network in place in mainland Tanzania for developers to access consultancies to carry out EIAs. There is a list of registered consultancy firms that were well established. In Zanzibar, it was much more difficult to ascertain who exactly was carrying out the EIAs, and whether these were bonafide consultancy companies at all. Neither the DOE nor ZIPA could provide a clear idea of who was authorized to conduct an EIA in Zanzibar and how, and there is no list of registered firms that one can obtain easily. As a result, many developers have been seen to have registered themselves to carry out EIAs in consultation with 'government specialists'. This makes it highly unlikely for an EIA to be critical because the developer has vested interests in the project being approved, and it also makes the EIA unlikely to be rejected, considering government expertise has gone into the process. In Tanzania, on the other hand, unaffiliated, third-party consultants are required to carry out the EIA process, allowing for findings to be less biased.³⁶

Table 3.1—Quick Comparison between Tanzania and Zanzibar EIA processes

	Tanzania Mainland	Zanzibar
Government Agency involved	National Environmental	Department of Environment
in EIA	Management Council	
Number of EIA Officers	22 Officers	1 Officer
Ready Availability of EIAs	Yes- organized in shelves in	No- only able to access 6 EIAs,
	both NEMC and IRA	after a lot of effort
	(consultancy) offices	
Contact Information for	Required	Not required

³⁴ Environmental Management Act of Tanzania

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³⁵ Interview with Beatrice, 22/4

³⁶ Interview with Majamba 22/4

Stakeholders Involved in EIA Process		
Signatures Of EIA Participants	Required	Not Required
Hotels Required to Conduct an EIA	Contains over 100 beds or is in a sensitive area (both enforced)	Contains over 100 beds (enforced to some extent) or in a sensitive area (not enforced along coast)
Penalties	Fines between 50,000 to 50,000,000 TSh or jail37	Fine not specified
Qualifications for Registration of Consultants	A degree Relevant qualifications in the environmental or EIA field Relevant coursework in the environmental or EIA field Experience in the environmental field Experience with EIAs (+ CV, academic transcripts and TSh 100,000 to submit registration)	No specified requirements
Government Participation in Actual EIA Procedure	Prohibited 38	Willingly received

7) Semi-Structured Interviews with government officials-Dar es Salaam:

Department of Tourism and Natural Resources:

Senior Tourism Officer at the Department of Natural Resources and Tourism, Ernest Mwawaja, explained that the key role of the ministry was to regulate and support new tourism developments in Tanzania. Similar to the Zanzibari system, once a development proposal is submitted to the Ministry, they immediately refer them to NEMC to complete an EIA as needed. When asked about the differences in EIA law between Tanzania and Zanzibar, he replied that the structure in mainland Tanzania is very intricate- there is the Ministry of Environment, but they have also gone further to establish councils, which are regulatory authorities with a lot of power. These councils are better off in terms of resources, can reach out beyond Dar quickly and have an elaborate network through the country. In each of the district councils, there are Environment and Natural Resource offices, so that when a minister makes an announcement in Dar, each of these districts can respond. He suggested that this was thanks to ample manpower in the mainland as compared to Zanzibar.

³⁸ Interview with Beatrice Mchome 22/4

³⁷ Interview with Abel Sikaona, 24/4

Asked about what the status of EIAs is in protected areas such as the National Parks in the Northern Circuit, Ernest was full of praise and optimism: he described TANAPA (Tanzanian National Parks) as being the authority that acts as custodian of all 15 parks. One of the key functions of TANAPA to develop a General Management Plan, which zones the land from high use to no use areas depending on fragility of ecosystem and carrying capacity in terms of natural resources, acting as a checking instrument on uncontrolled development. For any development in this area, an EIA is mandatory and all recently built hotels have complied: they are also regularly monitored by government officials. Thus this assures that they meet the highest environmental standards. TANAPA also enforces a requirement that investors organize an agreement with the villagers on what the investor would bring in for community development-typical projects include school and water projects, and farm implements.

NEMC does conduct monitoring exercises, according to Ernest- he said you can often read in the papers that they visit a certain factory and find malpractice, or go in with a TV crew to document a factory emptying sewage in the streets and make the film public. It does not happen much for hotels, but for developments like textile factories, it does. Even though the EIA process is relatively new, he believes it has started off strongly in Tanzania.

National Environmental Management Council (NEMC):

In an interview with Abel Sikaona, a Senior Environmental Management Officer working in the EIA directorate at NEMC, he described the different stakeholders involved in the EIA process, making it clear that a separate group had to conduct an EIA and the government was prohibited from executing an EIA on its own. In order for a company to register as a consultancy they must fulfill certain criteria: having a university degree is mandatory, and having experience and qualifications in the environmental field and in particular, being familiar with the EIA process is preferred (see table 3.1 for more details).

Abel described the history and structure of NEMC briefly: it was established in 1983 as an advisory board to the government on matters related to the environment, but under the 2004 Act it was given the powers of a regulatory authority, and is able to sue, issue stop orders and uphold environmental standards. EIA is one of the four directorates that make up NEMC, and within the EIA department there are 22 officers. When asked about the role of NEMC in the EIA process, he explained that they are in charge of enforcing that all undertakings are subject to an

EIA, and that they must review the development at each stage of the EIA, finally making recommendations to the Minister issuing EIA certificates. He then went on to explain the process in detail and describe the basic procedures, such as the screening, scoping, and subsequent steps to complete the procedure. When asked about challenges and issues concerning EIAs in Tanzania, he pointed to insufficient equipment (vehicles, cameras, pH meters etc) as hindering the Council's ability to monitor environmental impacts of operational developments.

University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM):

In order to get an academic, third party perspective of the EIA processes in Tanzania and Zanzibar, Professor Majamba, a Senior Lecturer of Law with a concentration in Environmental law, was interviewed. During the interview, he expressed areas in which he thought there were loopholes and conflicts within the law of Zanzibar and Tanzania. The three major concerns expressed were lack of translation of the EIA reports in Zanzibar, poor record keeping in the Zanzibar offices, and lack of expertise on the island limiting enforcement and monitoring in Zanzibar. Lastly, he shared his belief that the law, which is in place in both Zanzibar and mainland Tanzania that exempts hotels with under 100 beds from completing an EIA is poorly designed and can easily be manipulated by hotels. For example, a contractor might design a hotel with 99 beds in order to avoid paying for an EIA.

Key take-home points from semi-structured interviews:

- The EIA process in Tanzania, despite being regulated by a much more recent Act, appears to be more well-established, at least in comparison to Zanzibar
- An important difference is that there is a semi-autonomous body (NEMC) dedicated to
 environmental management that deals with EIAs in Tanzania, whereas the DOE in
 Zanzibar has many other responsibilities
- EIAs have been very rigorously enforced in the National Parks in particular
- The Tanzanian government agencies are well-connected with consultants, and have a newly established screening procedure for consultants: this is entirely lacking in Zanzibar
- The NEMC office had EIAs stacked up by the hundred in shelves, whereas at the DOE office it was very difficult to access EIAs
- 8) Semi-Structured Interview with environmental consultant- Dar es Salaam:

Institute of Resource Assessment (IRA)- UDSM:

In an interview with Beatrice Mchome, an EIA practitioner at the Institute of Resource Assessment (an environmental consultancy based on UDSM campus), she relayed the methodology of conducting an EIA in Tanzania and explained the intricacies involved in undertaking the process from the perspective of a consultant. While she had never produced an EIA in Zanzibar, she knew basic information about the Zanzibar law and was thus able to make certain comparisons. In writing an EIA, she explained that the cover page of the EIA requires the names and contact information of all the stakeholders involved in the study, namely the developer, the consultant, and those government officials receiving a copy. Additionally, on the first or second page of the document, there must be a page of certification, with the signatures off all the parties involved in the process. These details are lacking in Zanzibar's EIA process, but are necessary in creating transparency and maintaining professionalism. Finally, there is no decommissioning section in any of the Zanzibar EIA reports, but this is a required step in the Tanzanian procedure.

Beatrice told the story of a hotel investor in Dar who also has investments in Zanzibar: in Tanzania mainland, he was required to go through the EIA procedure, but in Zanzibar, he is almost finished with a similar construction (a beach hotel) but has managed to get past the EIA requirement. She also informed us that she was aware that in Zanzibar some government officials undertake EIAs themselves, but she does not see how that is rational, since it is not reasonable to expect them to monitor and review themselves in an unbiased fashion. In Tanzania, it is illegal for any government official employed by the central or local government to undertake an EIA.

On the subject of monitoring, she explained that it is NEMCs obligation to monitor developments, though they as consultants do advise developers to have special units within the facility to do monitoring of waste, noise etc. In this respect, she admits, resources have always been a limitation, although if you go through EIA reports, they do explain how much money is required for each type of follow-up procedure. She believes it would be better to instead estimate a total amount monitoring would cost, ask the developer to shell it out initially, and then give NEMC that money to conduct regular monitoring. She shared the recent example of one hotel stating in its EIAs that it would have 80 beds, but IRA discovered later that it had 183 beds, though it did not have any power to act on it, and could only refer it to NEMC.

When asked about community involvement in the EIA process, she offered a detailed description of the process that begins with communication with the District Commissioner, who is required to approve the development before the consultant is able to proceed with the EIA process. After approval by the D.C., the consultant goes to the village and sets up meetings with the local villagers to gage their opinion on the proposed development. The village concerns are taken into consideration and placed within the final EIA report. Such thorough regulations for community inclusion are not included within the Zanzibar EIA process, though they are very much needed to avoid conflict with local communities.

Key take-home points:

- There is much more transparency and rigid structure in the Tanzanian EIA reports than in the Zanzibar ones
- Monitoring is NEMC's greatest weakness when it comes to the EIA process: it is difficult for the central government agency to send teams out all over Tanzania
- Community involvement appears to be the norm in the EIA process in mainland
 Tanzania, but not in Zanzibar, from speaking to locals and the Sheha

Discussion:

Results from interviewing hotel managers on issues related to environmental impacts showed that there is no set environmental standard that hotels built in coastal zones in Zanzibar must meet, and aside from a few basic regulations that are generally followed, such as not pumping sewage out to sea, hotels are granted a lot of liberty in how they deal with waste, how much they give back to the community, and even how close their permanent structures are to the sea. While some of these hotels were built before the EIA legislation was enacted, they would still have had to technically abide by certain environmental regulations as per the Land Lease Agreement, and those built after 1996 would have had the added EIA requirement.

In an effort to determine whether the introduction of the EIA requirement positively affected the level of environmental impact hotels were having, the year the hotels were built were plotted against their level of 'environmental impact' in Figure 2.6, but there was no noticeable correlation. This substantiates the observation that the EIA requirement has been unsuccessful in its aims. Figures 2.1-2.5 suggest that by and large hotels do not attempt to minimize their environmental impacts unless a certain environmentally friendly procedure happens to also be more economically sensible. Environment is not a top priority for the majority of hotels, and without pressure from the government to adopt certain minimum standards, they have no good reason to actively pursue more environmentally friendly practices. The larger hotels surveyed tended to have wastewater treatment plants because they were a worthwhile investment for them given the difficulties the hotels would otherwise have faced in bringing in enough water maintain their large gardens, especially in areas such as Nungwi that suffer from chronic water shortage. Similarly, a lot of the smaller hotels mentioned that they would have considered composting and wastewater treatment if they had a demand large enough to justify the scheme.

The size of hotels was indeed linked to the level of environmental impact, as one would predict: the smaller hotels, as shown in figure 2.6, show lower levels of environmental impact, whereas the largest hotels all had a score of 5 or lower (with 1 being the highest environmental impact). The specification of hotels over 100 beds requiring an EIA may seem to be reasonable given this finding, especially seeing as ZIPA is targeting investment in large, chain hotels in Zanzibar. The problem with this legislation is that it creates a loophole for investors: it gives hotels the liberty to construct a hotel with 99 beds thereby avoiding the obligation to complete an

EIA. Furthermore, many environmental issues such as beach erosion are not size-specific and many of the hotels partaking in activities that could enhance beach erosion might not have been obligated to complete an EIA. The only reasonable approach to this dilemma would be that all hotels, no matter what size, be required to carry out an EIA before construction.

From there, the question becomes how to enforce the EIA so that hotels are constructed with lower environmental impact and mitigation measures are carried out to ensure continuing sustainable practice. After all, to date the EIA process is not enforced widely enough in Zanzibar for a significant positive impact to be made: only 35 have been carried out so far, and as pointed out in the structured interviews, hotels see them only as a tedious requirement to get through and do not take it seriously. The EIAs themselves are not up to the standard of those viewed in Dar es Salaam, conducted by consultancies for projects on the mainland. It appears, then, that Zanzibar is caught in a vicious cycle of lack of government guidance, inadequate EIAs, lack of monitoring and non-compliance. Given that the legislation has been in place now since 1996, though, there is still very small number of hotels that have actually conducted a professional EIA in the correct fashion, and have been monitored by DOE at every stage. As learnt from interviews, developers have been known to pay-off officials and have an advantage in the courts as they are huge investors. Corruption leads to ineffective enforcement of standards, because developers think they can pay their way to rise above the law. Unless this issue is addressed, EIAs will not be successfully implemented on the island.

As previously discussed, results from surveying the environmental management by hotels built along the coast indicated that there were no minimum standards adopted across the board, and that having completed an EIA made no noticeable difference to the hotel's environmental impact. There was also a notable lack of awareness about EIAs amongst both hotel managers and the local community. After a thorough evaluation of the EIA process in Zanzibar through investigations of various government documents and interviews conducted with multiple involved parties, it was found that several major factors, such as lack of funding, lack of manpower, and the vague wording in the actual legislation are hindering the forceful implementation of EIAs on the island. Based on the varying and often inconsistent opinions and information received from interviews, it became clear that a lack of knowledge and enforcement of EIAs has led to ineffective regulation of the environmental impacts of developments, which reflects poorly on government organization and administration Zanzibar. Of course, funding is a

major impediment in enforcing the law, however, the vague wording in the actual legislation and non-specific guidelines on conducting EIAs has given hotels the liberty to modify their EIAs according to their needs or to evade the procedure altogether without facing consequences. The lack of monitoring on the part of the government has allowed hotels to do as they please and this has rendered the EIA process in Zanzibar as of now essentially ineffective. The rapid growth of tourism in Zanzibar has proved to be unmanageable by the government and the Department of Environment is too weak to properly implement environmental management of hotel developments.

A comparison of the legal framework and government structure between mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar demonstrated that while both governments suffer from a lack of funding, which translates into a lack of enforcement and monitoring, the establishment of NEMC in Tanzania mainland as a regulatory authority dealing with environmental issues has allowed for the mainland to have relatively more successful enforcement of the EIA process and have greater control of environmental management by hotels. While the DOE has only one EIA officer who must review all of the EIAs in Zanzibar, NEMC has 22 EIA officers, though it is still lacking the necessary manpower and tools to really effectively enforce EIA procedures in Tanzania. Given that since 1996 when the law was enacted in Zanzibar only 35 EIAs have been conducted when it is obvious that far more than 35 large hotels have been built since then is a testament to the lack of enforcement by the Zanzibar government. Additionally, out of those 35, the DOE was only able to retrieve 6 EIAs for this study, indicating poor administrative organization. Tanzania mainland, on the other hand, has at least several hundreds of EIAs available (66 carried out just in 2008)³⁹ and has an entire office dedicated to EIA enforcement at NEMC.

Several loopholes in EIA legislation were explored in this study and are possible explanations for the lack of compliance by hotels. Comparisons of Zanzibar's Environmental Management for Sustainable Development Act of 1996 with that of Tanzania's Environmental Management Act of 2004 showed the vague terminology of Zanzibar's Act in contrast to the specific procedures and detailed regulations set out in Tanzania's Act and indicated that this may be a cause of weak enforcement in Zanzibar. While Tanzania's Environmental Management Act gives a thorough outline of how to produce an EIA, Zanzibar's Act only offers basic guidelines. For example, while the Zanzibar Act states in one place that *only* hotels with over 100 beds are

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³⁹ Pie Chart Presentation of the EIA Certificates 2008-2009

required to complete an EIA, it states elsewhere that hotel developments being built in a sensitive area must also complete an EIA. The loopholes in this Act thus allow developers in Zanzibar to interpret it how they like and carry out their EIAs in a manner that best suits their convenience, ultimately resulting in an ineffective process.

In order to create a fair and balanced EIA procedure, the Tanzanian government has a specific regulation that prohibits developers from consulting government officials or government specialists as part of their EIA. As was learned through several interviews, the government in Zanzibar is very involved in the EIA process of hotels, making the government's role as the reviewer of the EIA more prone to bias because of their involvement in the writing of the EIA. A law prohibiting government involvement during the procedure would greatly benefit the legitimacy of the EIA procedure in Zanzibar.

Through interviews conducted with stakeholders in the EIA process such as community members and NGOs, it became clear that a general lack of communication between the community members, the hotel developers and the government is one of the greatest factors impeding full implementation of the EIA process. Interviews suggested that while the DOE lacked the appropriate funds to properly enforce sustainable development of hotels in Zanzibar, the hotels believe the government to be inactive, uninvolved and difficult to deal with. On the other hand, government officials saw hotels as actively avoiding their environmental and social responsibility as investors on the island. In terms of the relationship between the community and the hotels, there is generally very little consensus on how involved hotels are with communities: while all the hotels claimed that they were funding and helping many different community projects and there was little to no conflict with the villagers, the locals, in multiple interviews, expressed resentment towards the hotels for encroaching on their lands, offending traditional cultures and interfering with traditional economic activities of the village, imposing their environmental problems (e.g. waste disposal, beach erosion) on the village through careless development and management, and placing added pressure on the limited supply of water available in the village. The conflicting opinions that persist amongst these stakeholders are a symptom of lacking communication between these groups, which itself can only lead to difficulties in carrying out and enforcing EIAs, which are by nature multi-faceted and require cooperation between all three groups.

Finally, it is clear from interviews that is important for Zanzibar to establish an education and training system that will act as a support network for the EIA process: this should include training of EIA staff at the government level, educating government officers in relevant agencies about the process, offering courses related to environmental management and law at the university level, and raising awareness amongst community members in and around tourist destinations about their right to a clean environment and how the EIA process can benefit them.

Sources of Error:

Several areas in which possible errors might have occurred were identified throughout the project. Due to the study's reliance on interviews as the sole source of information from hotels, government officials and locals, certain responses were inconsistent and due to time conflicts, the low tourist season, and lack of contact information for certain hotels in Zanzibar, it was impossible to meet with as many hotel manager as was hoped for. During the interviews, it is likely that the government officials did not give accurate information concerning the implementation of the EIA process. As most of the hotel representatives were managers, it is likely that they were unaware of the EIA process because in most cases they were not working for the hotel during the planning and construction phase of the hotel when the EIA was carried out. During the interviews it was likely that the hotel representatives glorified their hotels and failed to give accurate information concerning their environmental management. Questions requiring numerical data from hotels were not always known by the interviewee so at times they were forced to guess or estimate, which might account for inaccurate information. In interviews with locals, the questions asked as well as the purpose of the study might not have been fully understood due to the language barriers.

Recommendations:

Much as this is a preliminary study into an issue of great complexity and depth, and there is no legal expertise behind these recommendations, listed below in light of the above findings are some ways in which the EIA process in Zanzibar could be improved and made more effective: hopefully they will come to some use.

- 1. Establish a semi-autonomous body for the enforcement of EIAs based on NEMC
- 2. Require hotels to set aside an appropriate amount of funding for environmental monitoring by this body

- 3. Treat coastal zones like national parks: require all developments that build in the region to undertake an EIA
- 4. Make known the penalties for not completing an EIA and executing mitigation measures a promised in investor guidelines themselves
- 5. Create a simple, step-by-step guide for investors on how to carry out an EIA in Zanzibar, update this document regularly and circulate widely amongst all relevant government offices and institutions
- 6. Make available a list of consultancy firms for investors to choose from, and eventually establish a screening procedure
- 7. Disallow government officials from partaking in the EIA process for developments
- 8. Tailor the EIA guide and list of consultancies mentioned above specifically to hotel developers and investors in the tourism industry
- 9. Translate all legislation and guidelines into Kiswahili, and make these documents accessible to the public and at a local level
- 10. Require all hotels built before 1996 to carry out an environmental audit as a baseline for monitoring
- 11. Introduce and enforce legislation requiring SIAs (Social Impact Assessments) to complement EIAs

Conclusion:

Although Zanzibar has come a long way in creating a legal framework for protecting its unique and fragile environment, the EIA process has not been effectively integrated into hotel development practices. This study found significant differences between written EIA legislation and the practical application of this legislation in the context of hotel developments in Zanzibar. In examining the environmental management of a selection of hotels, the ineffectiveness of EIAs as a regulatory measure became readily apparent. When set in contrast to the EIA process in mainland Tanzania, several aspects of the Zanzibar EIA process were found to be lacking. Reasons for this lack included limited manpower and funding, little cooperation between stakeholders, and poor institutional structure. Recommendations to the government were made based on the findings of this study. With coastal hotel developments in Zanzibar burgeoning as they are, it is critically important for environmental standards to be maintained, and EIAs are the most appropriate tool for this. If implementation of the EIA process can be improved, there will be notable benefits not only to Zanzibar's environment but to its people, who will live a better quality of life as a result, and to its economy, which is reliant upon the continuing flow of tourists who come to enjoy the very same pristine environment that uncontrolled hotel developments are threatening to destroy.

Recommendations:

Further studies relating to the impact of tourism on the environment would be beneficial for a future of sustainable management of hotels and other tourist developments in Zanzibar. Perhaps a more thorough review of EIA procedures in Zanzibar and the compliance of hotels to environmental standards would be valuable for government implementation strategies and in considering amendments that should be made to Zanzibar law. A particular section of environmental management, such as beach erosion or waste, could be chosen to assess how the impact was being alleviated through EIAs and environmental monitoring. A more detailed comparison of the environmental legal framework in Tanzania mainland and Zanzibar could also serve as a valuable tool and reference for both governments. As environmental issues come under non-union matters, there is little interaction between the environmental government agencies in Tanzania mainland and that of Zanzibar. EIAs are also not the only piece of legislation relevant to environment in Zanzibar: a similar study to measure the effectiveness of the Marine or Forestry Acts could be conducted. Social Impact Assessments, or SIAs, are an even newer concept to Zanzibar, but are increasingly being conducted alongside EIAs and are extremely appropriate to study in the context of the 'coastal tourist village' phenomenon that occurs all along the North and East Coast of Unguja Island.

A survey on ecotourism and community-run tourism would be an interesting study to supplement this study. Several eco-tourism developments are currently operating in Zanzibar and are leading the way in community development and environmental sustainability. In particular, studying the way these hotels run their enterprises and work around the typical environmental problems faced by developers in Zanzibar could be very helpful to a developer wanting to pursue a similar project in Zanzibar or someplace similar. A survey of the success of these projects could serve as a model for future undertakings in Zanzibar. A study could also be conducted on Pemba Island's potential as an eco-tourism destination, and the feasibility of developing more hotels on the island.

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Zanzibar Investment Promotion Authority (ZIPA): "Investor Guidelines"

Zanzibar Investment Promotion Authority (ZIPA): "The Approval for the Establishment of Hotels in Zanzibar"

Appendices:

Appendix A: Procedures for Conducting EIA in Zanzibar

No	Step	Timeline	Responsibility
	Registration for EIA This compulsory step gives notice to the DoE of the intent of the proponent to embark on the EIA process, and enables both the proponent and the Department to keep track of timelines as set out in this	At the start of the process	Proponent
2	document Screening is undertaken The decision reached will be one of the following Full EIA required Preliminary Assessment Required	Will be conducted within ten working days of registration for EIAs	Department of Environment undertakes Screening and invites the proponent or his/her representative to be present.
	EIA not requiredProject Proposal Rejected (Stop)		
3	If an EIA is not necessary, a Letter of Approval will be issued with conditions if there are any, or the Project may be refused in a Letter of Refusal that briefly lists reasons for refusing permission for the project to proceed. If the project can proceed pending an EIA, this will be stated in a letter titled Results of Screening	Will be produced within 10 working days after Screening	Department of Environment
4	If an EIA is determined to be necessary, then a Scoping will need to be undertaken, which culminates in a Scoping Report	Will be done between 10 and 20 working days after issuance of the Screening Statement, depending on the size of the project	Department of Environment undertakes Scoping where the applicant is present; specialist consultants may be invited to undertake the Scoping at the cost of the Proponent. DoE or specialist consultants produce the Scoping Report
5	Preparation of the Terms of Reference	Will be done within 10 to 20 working days after Screening	DoE can collaborate with others stakeholders to complete the ToR; in cases of large projects DoE may require expertise at the cost of the proponent to assist, but the DoE still has the final say in the design of the ToR
6	Submission of ToR to Proponent (applicant)	Upon completion of ToR	DoE
		Within working 10 days after No 6	DoE
7	Submission of CVs of Team of Experts Data information of EIA expertise or company chosen to conduct the EIA to be	Will be done within 10 working days after receipt of the ToR	Proponent to the DoE; DoE approves the company

	provided by the proponents to the DoE, and the DoE approves		
8	Letter of Approval of Experts	Will be done within 10 days after receiving the submission of team of experts	DoE
	Production of EIS	Should be done in a period of between 2 and 6 months	Proponent to the DoE
	Display and Circulation of EIS to the Public and other institutions	Should be done within 10 working days after submission	DoE
10	Review of the EIS	Within 20 working days after submission of EIS	DoE submission should be done not less than 20 days and not more than 30 working days from the time of effective notice
11	Further information may be requested	Within 5 working days after the review	DoE
12	Further information is supplied as requested	Within 20 days of the request	Proponent
13	Decision whether to issue EIA Certificate and issuance of certificate, perhaps with conditions, or a Final Letter of Refusal	Within 14 working days	DoE

Appendix B: Documents obtained relating to EIAs and tourist developments in Zanzibar

- Forms for EIAs in Tanzania- submission of project brief application form
- ZIPA application procedure
- ZIPA guidelines to investors
- Approval for the establishment of hotel project
- Land Lease agreement draft
- Act no. 2 of 1996- Act to manage the environment for the sustainable development of Zanzibar and matters related thereto
- Review of the environmental statement
- EIA Vol 1 Environmental Impact Assessment Procedure
- Draft EIA Manual and Guidelines (UNFINISHED)
- Planned Uses for Tourism Development Areas- Year 2015 (Zoning Plan for Unguja island)
- Screening and Scoping guidelines from DOE in Zanzibar
- Indicative Tourism Master Plan for Zanzibar and Pemba

Appendix C: List of Interviewees

Interviewee	Affiliation	Positions	
			Date/s
Dr. Ahmada	Commission of Tourism	Executive Secretary	4/1, 4/8, 4/21
Mr. Azzan	Department of Land and Survey	Land-use Planner	4/1,4/8, 4/9, 4/21
Mr. Aziz	Z.I.P.A	Senior planning Officer	4/2, 4/20
Mr. Hamza	Department of environment	Senior Ecologist/Chairperson of the Regional Task Force on EIAs	4/3, 4/6, 4/9
Mr. Mlingoti	Ministry of Tourism	Principle Officer of Policy	4/3
Mr. Andreewitch	La Gemma Dell'est	Manager	4/13
Mr. Kadir	Amaan bungalows	Assistant Manager	4/13
Nassor	Mnarani Beach Bungalows	Owner	4/13
Bapu Bhosle	Royal Zanzibar	Engineer	4/14
Hassan Usi	Labayka Fund	Director	4/14
Kristen	Kempinski Hotel	Human Resource Manager	4/15
Eddie	Blu Marlin Village	Manager	4/15
Abud	Bravo/Going	Human Resource Manager	4/15
Sheha Kiwengwa	Kiwengwa	Sheha	4/15
Marco Pogliaghi	Palumbo Reef Hotel	Manager	4/16
Saidi	Tamarind Beach Hotel	Manager	4/16
Rath and Angie	Ras Nungwi	Managers	4/17
Mr. Maulidi	Nungwi	Village elder	4/17
Ahmed Jani	Nungwi Primary School	School Teacher	4/17
Dawa	Nungwi	Village Elder/Ex- fisherwoman	4/17
Keith	Z Hotel	Manager	4/17
Ernest	Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism	Senior Tourism Officer	4/22
Professor Majamba	University of Dar es Salaam	Senior Lecturer in Law	4/22
Dr. Beatrice Mchome	Institute of Resource Assessment	EIA Practicioner	4/22, 4/23
Abel Sikaona	NEMC	EIA Officer	4/24
Julia	ZATI	Director	4/29

Appendix D: Interview Questions For Hotels

I. Introductory questions:

- 1. When was this hotel built?
- 2. How many beds are there in your hotel?
- 3. What rate do you charge per bed per night?
- 4. Do you have an EIA? (Do you have a copy available?) [Yes, go to part II a) No, go to part II b))

II a) Hotels with EIAs:

- 5. Did the government require you to or was it of your own initiative?
- 6. Who conducted your EIA? (Consultant? Investor himself?)
- 7. How long did the EIA procedure take in total and how much the whole procedure cost you?

II b) Hotels without EIAs:

- 5. Were you aware of the EIA requirement during the construction of your hotel?
- 6. If you were aware, for what reason did you choose not to conduct an EIA for your hotel? (Prohibitive costs?)
- 7. If you were not aware, what in your opinion would be the best way for the government to communicate these laws to developers?

III. Government involvement:

- 8. Have you had any communication with the Department of Environment regarding EIAs?
- 9. How often does the government come to monitor your environmental impact?
- 10. Has the government ever asked the hotel to make changes to your environmental management or comply with certain regulations?

IV. Water:

- 11. What source do you get your water from? (Drinking water? Tap water?)
- 12. If it comes from a public water source, is there or has there been conflict with the community over your water usage?
- 13. On average, how much water do you use per day/week/month? (Estimate between 250 and 300 litres per guest per day)
- 14. Do you have a swimming pool?
- 15. How big is it? (area/volume)
- 16. Have you consulted the Zanzibar water authority for technical advice? Have they contacted you?
- 17. Do you/ have you considered harvesting rainwater to be used as a water source for your hotel (for plumbing, laundry, gardening)?
- 18. Do you implement any water conservation measures and/or raise awareness about water conservation among guests? (laundry/showers and baths)
- 19. How much water do you use in landscaping/gardening?
- 20. Generally, do you have difficulty managing water resources?

V. Waste:

- a) Sewage:
 - 21. Do you have a sewage water treatment plant?

- 22. Do you have a septic tank system for sewage?
- 23. Do you use the sewage for irrigation of garden areas in your hotel?
- 24. If you have a pool, how do you discharge the water from the pool?

b) Solid Waste:

- 25. On average, how much solid waste do you produce per day/week/month?
- 26. What source generates the most solid waste? (Food waste, plastic, paper, etc.)
- 27. Do you reuse or recycle any waste? (Aluminum/glass/paper etc)
- 28. If yes, how do you so?
- 29. Do you compost any of your biodegradable waste?
- 30. Do you use an incinerator for your solid waste?
- 31. Is there a dumping site that you use? Where?
- 32. Who collects this waste to bring to the dumping site?

VI. Beach erosion and shoreline:

- 33. What is the distance of your hotel from the high water mark? (Should be >30 m on beach, >10 m on cliff)
- 34. Did you take beach erosion into consideration when building your hotel?
- 35. What measures have you taken/are currently to protect your property from beach erosion?
- 36. Since the hotel was built, have you seen more or less sand on the beach?
- 37. Have you built a seawall?
- 38. Do you prohibit sand excavation and coral mining?

VII. Flora and fauna:

- 39. Did you need to clear vegetation to build the hotel? (Mangroves? Brown-field site?)
- 40. Did you plant new vegetation at the site of construction to replace cleared vegetation?
- 41. Do you have any big trees on your property and what measures are you taking to protect them?

VIII. Social impacts:

- 42. Do you have a Social Impact Assessment?
- 43. How many staff do you employ? How many are from (village name here)? How many from Stonetown? How many from the mainland? How many from outside East Africa?
- 44. Do you have education facilities and on-the-job training for your staff?
- 45. Is there an outlet for which the community can approach with their concerns?
- 46. Are there local economic activities such as fishing and seaweed farming occurring on your beach area?
- 47. Do you only allow hotel guests on to your beach area?
- 48. If so, what measures are taken to enforce this?
- 49. If not, do you provide a path or road through or adjacent to your property to allow beach access?
- 50. Are any of your profits channeled towards community development?

Appendix E: Questions for Government Officials

- 1. In the past 10 years, how has new EIA legislation benefited development in Zanzibar?
- 2. What are the biggest challenges facing effective EIA implementation?
- 3. Are there any obvious loopholes in the system that would impede the success of EIAs?
- 4. Are developers familiar with Zanzibar's EIA process?

- 5. What has happened to hotels built without EIA, even if required?
- 6. Have the penality fines (stated in part V of 'the environmental management for sustainable development act, 1996) been enforced?
- 7. What can improve the monitoring and enforcement of EIAs in Zanzibar?

Appendix F: Documents obtained relating to EIAs and tourist developments in Zanzibar

- List of EIA consultancy agencies in Tanzania mainland
- Main Steps in the EIA process in Tanzania
- The Environmental Management Act of 2004 for Tanzania
- Development Project Guidelines for Tanzania
- Pie chart presentation of the EIA certificate issues in 08/09

SEE DIGITAL APPENDIX FOR ACTUAL EIAs, SOFT COPIES OF GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS AND PHOTOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE