TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION: RHETORIC OR REALITY?

A CASE STUDY OF KENYA

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DECLARATION

I declare that this work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted for any other degree. I further declare that this thesis is the result of my own independent work and investigation, except where otherwise stated (a bibliography is appended). Finally, I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for photocopying and for interlibrary loan, and for the title and abstract to be made available to outside organizations.

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ABSTRACT

Poverty is the scourge of many developing countries, including Kenya. The World Tourism Organisation (WTO) upholds tourism as a vehicle for economic development and poverty alleviation (EDPA) in developing countries. Amongst EDPA strategies, WTO highlights small enterprise development and underscores the need for government support. Tourism is a key economic sector in Kenya, yet the tourism development model is anachronistic and colonial emphasising safari/coastal products based in the southern and coastal regions and overlooks the rich cultural resources available countrywide. Furthermore, the fact tourism is foreign-owned means that economic benefits leak from the local economy. A new model of tourism development, involving small indigenous enterprises and promoting cultural products to new markets would be an appropriate means of EDPA in Kenya. Thus, a clarification of Kenya’s capacity to promote the development of indigenous enterprises and to link tourism revenue to the local economy is essential.

This study presents a case study methodology of indigenous micro, small and medium tourism enterprises (SMTEs) in the Southern and Coastal regions of Kenya and has been developed through semi-structured interviews with owner-managers of Kenyan SMTEs and representatives of support organisations. The fieldwork reveals a typology comprising independently owned enterprises (IOEs), subdivided into formal (licensed) and informal (illegal) enterprises and community-based enterprises (CBEs). The formal IOEs are owner-managed legal enterprises in which the owners exhibit knowledge of administrative systems, have access to significant capital, pursuing second career moves, possess significant levels of skills and knowledge and are able to circumvent the bureaucratic red-tape. The informal IOEs on the other hand do not possess most of these characteristics. The CBEs are enterprises based on communal ownership of tourism resources.

The CBEs studied faced significant challenges, notably in the leadership for tourism product development, entrepreneurship, funding, infrastructure development, business and management skills. This study also critically analyses the relevant literature on the various issues and concepts of community capacity building, identifies the best practice strategies and proposes a theoretical model. These factors are tested within the Kenyan context through adaptation of constructive and choice-ordering projective techniques and in-depth semi-structured interviews with community members, community leaders, CBE managers, government officials, members academia and representatives of support organisations. The Draft National Tourism Policy favours the development of CBEs to enhance linkage and proposes raising tourism awareness in primary schools as part of its long-term strategy.

The study reaches the conclusion that formalising tourism enterprises as a vehicle for EDPA in Kenya requires significant government investment in public-sector support mechanisms to provide sustainable tourism development opportunities for Kenyan communities. It also asserts that the models of CBEs offer a progressive route for EDPA.
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Chapter one

Introduction
Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Background

1.1.1 Tourism in Kenya: An Anachronistic Model of Tourism Development

The tourism industry is very important in Kenya and is one of the leading foreign exchange earners, contributing 18% of the total foreign exchange earnings in the country and about 10% of the Gross Domestic Product (Kenya Government, 2004). Table 1.1 below shows Kenya’s tourism earnings both in Kenya pounds (1 GBP is equivalent to 20 Kenyan pounds) and US dollars between 1988 and 1997.

Table 1.1. Tourism earnings in Kenya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Kenya £ (millions)</th>
<th>US$ (millions)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>594</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>713</td>
<td>442</td>
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<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>1222</td>
<td>421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>1405</td>
<td>501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>1250</td>
<td>486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>1280</td>
<td>448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>1132</td>
<td>388</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kenya Government, 1999:52

Kenya has been a major force to reckon within the African tourism industry, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, where it is arguably the most developed tourist destination. However, this prime position has now been usurped by South Africa with Kenya now in the second position (Sindiga, 1999a). One could argue that Kenya might have maintained its position ahead of post-Apartheid South Africa had certain factors been taken into account, for example, little effort was made in the late 1980s and early 1990s towards aligning tourism global developments and, as a result, Kenya’s tourism industry began to experience a downturn in the 1990s.
One of the major factors hindering tourism development in Kenya is the extant model of development, which follows an anachronistic colonial model based on the now infamous ‘safari’ of the US President Theodore Roosevelt in the 1900s, and was developed for an elite ex-metropolitan European clientele. Legislation, during this time, saw the development of game reserves established to protect wildlife resources and promote organised recreational activities, such as hunting (Akama, 1999). This legislation clearly disadvantaged indigenous communities that shared natural resources with wildlife. The movement of indigenous people was suddenly restricted by extrinsic rather than natural forces. Local communities were, and still are, scarcely involved in tourism development, which focussed on wildlife and coastal tourism products. Today, Kenya’s prime tourist market still remains the Western European market, with real control of tourism resources vested in the hands of a few Western investors whose main interests are driven by profits.

In short, one could therefore argue that tourism development in Kenya has not been developed ‘by Kenyans for Kenyans’. The terms ‘eco-tourism’ and ‘sustainable tourism’ are regarded by some as a ‘guiding fiction’ (McCool and Moisey, 2001:3) without clear involvement of local communities and thus contravene the spirit of Agenda 21 (Mowforth and Munt, 2003). The latest thinking on sustainable tourism talks about triple bottom line sustainability, i.e. balancing economic, social and environmental issues appropriately (Ritchie and Crouch, 2003). Tourism in Kenya may meet the economic objectives but because of the incessant low involvement of local communities, it cannot be regarded as an activity that meets social obligations. Furthermore environmental objectives are an issue of debate given the oversaturation of certain ‘honeypot’ destinations e.g. the Amboseli National Park and Maasai Mara Game Reserve, and the need for spatial redistribution of tourism activity in the endeavour to minimise negative environmental impacts in these ‘honey pots’.
Notwithstanding the problems they have resulted in, safari and coastal tourism products have been instrumental in the development of Kenya’s tourism, especially in the 1980s, when arguably the industry was at its peak. However, the problem with continued reliance on wildlife and coastal tourism is that, unlike Egypt’s Pyramids, these products are not unique to Kenya and are easily substitutable in consumer destination choice sets (Goodall, 1988). Significantly, due to the failure of traditional industries, such as agriculture, most sub-Saharan countries are now turning to tourism as ‘a ubiquitous vehicle for economic development’ (Sharpley, 2002:221) and are offering similar tourism products, thereby increasing competition and challenging Kenya’s lead. It is with no surprise therefore that many countries including: South Africa, Namibia, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Botswana, and Tanzania, are now becoming serious competitors to Kenya within sub-Saharan Africa for foreign tourists.

Despite comments by the then Minister of Tourism and Information, Mr Raphael Tuju, in the Kenyan media (Orina, 2003) about the development and promotion of domestic tourism and assertions by the new government that tourism is high on the agenda, the Kenyan government has to date neither redefined its tourism policy objectives nor made its revised objectives public. Whilst the Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation for the period 2003-2007 identified tourism as a key sector for achieving economic development in the country (Kenya Government, 2004), it does not clearly address some of these crucial issues and objectives. For instance, the report recognises the need to foster linkages, promote community-based and small and medium-sized tourism enterprises but does not spell out how these can be achieved.

A Key area in the tourism industry that is relatively unexplored, is the identification of alternatives to traditional international markets. For example, the development of
regional and domestic markets are adumbrated by the apparently lucrative international tourism market. This reliance on a single tourist market makes the industry vulnerable to externalities, such as war. In developed destinations, such as the United Kingdom, the domestic market is very vibrant and its turnover exceeds that of the international market. Other countries, such as South Africa, are now emulating this approach to tourism development and have developed its domestic market considerably. The development of domestic and regional tourism markets should be enhanced in Kenya, not just to generate revenue but also because of the potential for regional integration and distribution of wealth. Needless to say, a country must have a culture of domestic tourism as a basis for international tourism as stressed by Ritchie and Crouch (2003: 24):

...generally the supply of tourism is driven by domestic or local demand that is typically stable and reliable and less fickle than demand from distant markets. Hence, solid domestic demand provides a healthy competitive environment and the critical mass of demand necessary to support a thriving tourism and hospitality sector.

1.1.2 Poverty in Kenya

Data from the International Monetary Fund suggests that poverty levels in Kenya’s leading tourist destination areas, coastal and southern (Maasailand) tourism regions (see figure 1.1), are comparatively high (Kenya Government, 2003a). This is in contrast to areas such as the Central Province of Kenya, which has comparatively low poverty levels. A simple observation to be made here in the explanation of this is that agriculture is the main economic activity in Central Province with local people exercising a considerable amount of ownership and control. However, within tourism destination areas, the local people only exercise a limited amount of control on tourism resources as ownership of these resources is vested in the hands of foreigners. There is no evidence to suggest that there is an association, positive or
negative, between tourism development and poverty levels in Kenya, but it is evident that tourism development has not alleviated the incidence of poverty in Kenya.

Figure 1.1 below provides a geographical representation of the relevant regions in Kenya.

**Figure 1.1: Map of Kenya**

![Map of Kenya](image)

Source: UNDP, 1999

Poverty in Kenya has been, and still is, a serious problem. Since independence, the Kenyan government has been committed to fighting poverty through various policies.
and initiatives. Despite these efforts, poverty has been on the increase, especially in the 1990s when the country started experiencing a decline in economic growth. Due to the increase in poverty, several multinational and local organisations have joined the government in its efforts towards poverty alleviation. One of the strategies that has been proposed, specifically by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), is the sustainable livelihoods approach (UNDP, 2002). This is an approach to poverty alleviation that is derived from people's capacity to access options and resources, and use them to earn a living in such a way as not to foreclose for others, either now or in the future. The UNDP has also developed an index to measure poverty, the Human Development Index (HDI), which is based on various criteria including: longevity (life expectancy at birth), knowledge (adult literacy levels, enrolment at primary, secondary and tertiary levels) and standard of living (GDP per capita). This index however is crude due to the fact that it is measured at the country level and consequently is unhelpful as a performance indicator monitoring small, local poverty alleviation initiatives.

1.1.3 Tourism Development and Poverty Alleviation: The World Tourism Organisation Perspective

A report produced by the World Tourism Organisation (WTO, 2002) asserts that tourism can indeed be a tool for poverty alleviation in developing countries. WTO suggests that tourism can contribute to poverty alleviation and has a number of advantages over other sectors. The WTO argues that tourism is comparatively labour intensive in that it employs more people per unit invested, it can be developed in remote areas that have no alternative viable economic activities, and that with tourism developing countries face minimal trade barriers. The report further suggests that tourism has a higher potential for linkages with local enterprises, employs a high proportion of women, and that tourism products can be built on local resources that
the poor have. This report, however, does not seem to address the issue of tourism development and sustainable livelihoods.

Owing to its contribution to Kenya's economy, it seems that the tourism industry would be the obvious tool for the government to use towards poverty alleviation. When using tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation, the emphasis of the rhetoric as expressed in Kenya's National Tourism Master Plan (NTMP) has mainly been to achieve tourism growth and hence to increase foreign exchange earnings and GDP growth (Kenya Government, 1995). However these statements are without clear guidelines to achieving the goals of poverty alleviation in Kenya. Awareness is now growing in terms of the sustainability of tourism, whereby several projects, based on very different models of sustainability, are now in place trying to increase the involvement of the local communities in tourism development. These projects include Conservation of Biodiverse Resource Areas (COBRA) and Lewa Downs Conservancy (Sindiga, 1999b).

As earlier mentioned, the tourism industry in Kenya is a highly localised and, as such, is more prevalent in the Southern parts (Maasai region) and the coastal areas, forming the southern and coastal tourist circuits, respectively. These areas have, however, experienced higher rates of poverty growth compared to the rest of the country (Kenya Government, 2005). Thus the case of tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation appears to be contradicted rather than supported by this observation. This could be related to a number of issues, such as the volume of tourism activity or much more fundamentally to the models of tourism development and, more particularly, of community involvement being deployed.
1.1.4 Obstacles to tourism development

Insecurity and bad publicity in the traditional Western tourist markets have been blamed for the decline in the tourism industry in Kenya. Indeed, while Kenya experienced limited forms of political and civil unrests in the 1990s (Akama, 1999), these were insignificant in comparison to the experiences of other tourism destinations. Most African countries are now stigmatised by incessant civil unrest, a problem that is exacerbated by bad publicity and media bias. Furthermore, Kenya’s plight has further been compounded by recent terrorist activities targeting American and Israeli interests, which make it that Kenya is perceived as a high risk destination and has resulted in travel advisories and even travel bans, as with the British Government in May 2003 (Orina, 2003). The situation obtaining in other countries, such as Rwanda, Burundi and Democratic Republic of Congo, has also resulted in bad publicity for Kenya - partly because of limited geographical understanding of Africa within the tourism source regions. It is not uncommon for Kenya to be mistaken as part of the Republic of South Africa (Orina, 2003). The problem here is two-fold - not only to make Kenya a secure destination, but also how best to respond to potential bad publicity. It is a well-known fact that countries, such as South Africa and Egypt, are potentially more insecure than Kenya in terms of crime and terrorism respectively, yet their tourism industries remain vibrant. It is therefore clear that media management strategies for ensuring that Kenya is perceived as a secure destination are developed and implemented.

The reliance on the ‘big five’ (elephant, rhino, leopard, lion and buffalo) and coastal tourism products spatially restricts tourism activity to the coastal and Maasailand regions, an areal manifestation of tourism that persists in modern-day tourism development. However, it should, at this point, be noted that the whole of Kenya has potential for tourism development. Localisation of the tourism industry has therefore
minimised and restricted tourism development, not only in terms of infrastructure and facility development, but also diversification of the tourism product and tourist markets. It is with this mind that destinations, such as Amboseli National Park and Maasai Mara Game Reserve, have experienced haphazard development that is almost near saturation point and that concern has been expressed in relation to environmental problems, such as pollution and destruction of habitat as a result of tourism development (Sindiga, 1999a).

In an interview carried out in the Daily Nation (February, 2003), the Chief Executive of the Tourism Trust Fund (TTF), Mr Zakayo Ole Mapelu, not surprisingly revealed that Kenya does not have a sound tourism policy yet the country has a NTMP. Before the Japanese Development Agency (JICA) funded the NTMP, itself a contentious document, tourism planning in Kenya seemed to rely on the tendency to 'let things just happen'. Even with the NTMP, there is no clear synchronisation of its contents with the numerous district development plans, rendering its implementation suspect. Tourism development remains a haphazard undertaking with no clear guidelines or regulations for tourism development, obviously because there is no public agency charged with the responsibility of implementing the NTMP. The suggestion, therefore, by the TTF Chief Executive Officer that the current emphasis on the formulation of a new NTMP is timely, but it must involve all stakeholders i.e. local communities, private businesses, government officials, universities and lobby groups.

Foreign individuals and organisations own the tourism establishments in Kenya skewing tourism development agenda in favour of external interests. Consequently, the involvement of the local communities in the tourism development process has continued to be minimal. WTO emphasises the importance of local linkages in reducing leakages of tourism revenue (WTO, 2002). The linkages within the tourism industry in Kenya are low, and consequently the industry experiences high leakages.
in terms of repatriation of profits, employment of foreign expatriates, purchase of goods and services from abroad and use of foreign-owned airlines. Most of these leakages could easily be minimised, for instance, raw materials for the hospitality sector are readily available in the country, yet most hospitality establishments choose to import raw materials. As a result of these leakages, very limited resources are left behind in Kenya to fuel tourism development.

The link between public and private organisations and institutions of higher learning within the tourism industry in Kenya is very weak. In Wales, United Kingdom, for example, the Wales Tourist Board is in regular consultation with higher institutions of learning in matters pertaining to tourism development in Wales. In Kenya, on the other hand, this link is almost non-existent, although institutions, such as Moi University, have a myriad of research projects that would be beneficial to tourism development. The agricultural sector has benefited greatly by knowledge exploitation and technology transfer from university researchers. Thus, in the case of tourism, the Government of Kenya relies on external initiatives by funding agencies, such as JICA and the European Union (EU), to fund tourism development projects. External agencies sub-contract foreign consultants to carry out most tourism projects that are supposed to promote Kenyan tourism development. Clearly, as for the case of the agricultural sector, the tourism industry stands to benefit enormously from a strong linkage between tourism practitioners and stakeholders on the one hand and university researchers on the other.

It is hoped, the factors that hinder tourism development in Kenya are temporary and that several measures can be undertaken to enhance tourism development. The fundamental approach to tourism development should seek to involve stakeholders in knowledge exploitation and technology transfer to achieve sustainable livelihoods
through tourism and enhance its linkage in the Kenyan economy. Effective tourism planning should embrace these concepts.

1.2 Purpose of Study, Propositions and Research Agenda

This study therefore seeks to harmonise various models of tourism development that are geared towards ensuring maximum tourism benefits for local communities. It lays emphasis on the growing problem of poverty and aims to outline how tourism can best be incorporated in Kenya's efforts to alleviate poverty. Accordingly, the main focus of this work is to contribute to an understanding of the manner in which tourism can contribute to poverty alleviation through the use of appropriate models of tourism and community development. On that account, the study strives to analyse the existing tourism and poverty alleviation policies, in order to identify the disparities in tourism development and poverty alleviation in Kenya. Ultimately, it aims to develop a model of tourism development that achieves sustainable livelihoods in Kenya, thereby promoting poverty alleviation. This model has been conceived through a case study of various models of community tourism development that have been proposed by WTO. This section discusses the study's propositions and outlines the research agenda, as below:

1. One of the fundamental aspects of tourism development in Kenya should be the integration of developmental strategies. The effectiveness of these strategies will depend on how they address the issues of local community empowerment and involvement. Local community empowerment may be achieved through ownership of resources, involvement in the decision-making process or involvement in the tourism development process through say, enhanced tourism linkages in the local economy. This will therefore require clear definition of property rights and capacity building depending on the proposed strategy.
Ownership of tourism resources may also be enhanced through the creation of cooperatives whereby a share scheme may be developed in partnership with the new or existing investors.

2. The United Nations Development Programme has developed the sustainable livelihoods approach (UNDP, 1999), which has already been incorporated into the informal (Jua kali) and agricultural sectors in Kenya. The sustainable livelihoods approach seeks to tackle the problem of poverty through empowering local communities to access options and exploit resources within the local economy. As this approach has not been integrated in tourism development in Kenya, the research will endeavour to address its integration in order to enhance local community empowerment and ownership of tourism resources.

3. WTO argues that strong and enhanced linkages within the local economy significantly imply more benefits for local communities and also reduced leakages of tourism revenue. Thus a shift from foreign ownership of tourism resources and importation of raw materials, towards enhanced involvement of local communities in tourism development through community-based enterprises and formal tourism entrepreneurship with strong links with other sectors e.g. agriculture should reduce leakages and enhance linkages.

4. The European Union promotes entrepreneurship in micro, small and medium tourism enterprises (SMTEs) as a development strategy (Matlay, 2004). Kenya’s tourism resources are largely foreign-owned with minimal involvement of indigenous Kenyans. Integration of an appropriate entrepreneurship support network amongst indigenous Kenyans should help enhance local ownership of
SMTEs and community-based tourism enterprises (CBEs), reduce leakages and consequently alleviate poverty.

5. A major impediment to tourism development in Kenya is the lack of appropriate knowledge and skills necessary to promote the understanding of, and support of tourism activity. The local communities are ill-informed about aspects of tourism development and are therefore incapable of taking advantage of opportunities that arise and are incapacitated in matters of tourism development that adversely affect them. Appropriate development strategies should therefore be developed to foster skills and knowledge of indigenous Kenyans within the tourism industry.

6. Whilst traditional tourism products (safari and coastal tourism), have been instrumental to tourism development in Kenya, the continued reliance on these products is hampering the development of the tourism industry as a whole, especially due to increased competition from other African countries offering similar products. Kenya is endowed with numerous other resources with potential for development as tourism products, yet they remain unexploited. Diversification of tourism products and markets should therefore be a key focus area. A diversified range of tourism products should help promote a tourism image that is uniquely Kenyan and should be based on the diverse natural and cultural tourism resources. This should in turn enhance the involvement and empowerment of local communities in Kenya.

1.3 Research questions

The background information, purpose of study and propositions raise key questions that study seeks to address. These are discussed below:
Chapter One: Introduction

1. How can the integration of appropriate tourism development strategies be made effective in enhancing local community empowerment and involvement, in the decision making process of tourism development and in an increased share in the ownership of tourism resources in Kenya?

2. In the endeavour to use tourism development as a tool for poverty alleviation in Kenya, how can the UNDP’s sustainable livelihoods approach be best integrated to enhance the empowerment and involvement of local communities in tourism development and also ownership of tourism resources?

3. What strategies can be put in place to ensure and foster strong linkages within the local economies that can in turn translate to maximum benefits for the local communities through a reduction of leakages of tourism revenue?

4. What is the current position, in terms of the prevailing entrepreneurship support network, of indigenous Kenyan tourism entrepreneurs, in the delivery of Kenya’s tourism product through their ownership of SMTEs and CBEs?

5. How best can appropriate skills and knowledge be integrated within the local communities to enhance their empowerment and involvement in tourism development in Kenya?

6. How best can appropriate tourism products targeting diverse markets be developed to help enhance the empowerment and involvement of local communities in the ownership of tourism resources and consequently, in tourism development in Kenya?
There has been an increase in the considerations of tourism development as a tool for poverty alleviation especially spearheaded by WTO (WTO, 2002). The tourism industry has continued to play a key role in Kenya’s economy although local communities are yet to benefit from tourism development. These research questions constitute the fundamental issues that the research seeks to address. Thus the aim of this thesis is to research these questions as outlined in the next section.

1.4 The aim and objectives of the research

The main aim of the research is to explore how the rhetoric of sustainable tourism development as a tool for poverty alleviation in Kenya can be turned into a reality through the promotion of tourism entrepreneurship amongst indigenous Kenyans. To achieve this aim, six objectives were formulated:

- Critically review the literature to develop a conceptual framework for tourism development and poverty alleviation as the rationale for the development of a tourism development model that incorporates the concept of sustainable livelihoods.

- Develop a unified model for sustainable tourism development and poverty alleviation through the integration of WTO’s considerations for tourism and poverty alleviation into UNDP’s sustainable livelihoods approach.

- Establish the position of indigenous entrepreneurs vis-à-vis the unified model in the delivery of the Kenya tourism product through the identification of owner managers of indigenous SMTEs and evaluate reasons for their success or failure in terms of nature of their products and the prevailing entrepreneurship support network.
• Identify appropriate avenues for government support of indigenous Kenyan entrepreneurship to achieve the goal of poverty alleviation through sustainable tourism development.

• Critically review literature to identify and analyse best practice models appropriate for community capacity building with a view to developing a best practice model suitable for Kenyan CBEs.

• Develop a best practice model of community capacity building to promote indigenous Kenyan tourism entrepreneurs and achieve poverty alleviation through sustainable tourism development.

1.5 Methodology and Rationale

This work adopts a multiple case study methodology of indigenous Kenyan SMTEs. This methodology is preferred as it is best suited in understanding the contemporary issues of indigenous SMTEs and has enabled a detailed investigation of these issues within their real-life contexts. In this study, a range of methods and multiple sources of evidence have been used, including participant observation, focus groups, national archives, in-depth interviews, projective techniques and document analysis. These have generated rich in-depth qualitative data that is essential to address the aim and objectives of the study.

1.6 Significance of The Study

Currently, within the global arena there is commitment, particularly by the G8 countries and United Nations (UN) through the Millennium Development Goals
(MDGs) to significantly reduce poverty by 2015 (G8, 2005c). In addition, more and more developing countries are embracing tourism as a tool for economic development (Sharpley, 2002). The WTO further asserts that tourism development can be a tool for poverty alleviation (WTO, 2002). This study is therefore timely and relevant in that it critically analyses WTO’s assertion, identifies misconceptions in making the case for tourism development and economic development, particularly amongst developing countries, and suggests potential avenues through which tourism development can alleviate poverty in developing countries, using Kenya as a case study.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

Tourism development and poverty alleviation is a relatively under researched area. This study has consequently made significant contribution to this area. For instance, the study identifies CBEs as a possible avenue through which poverty can be alleviated in Kenya in the short to medium term and through which potential independently owned enterprises (IOEs) may sprout in the longer term. The research has further highlighted a best practice model for community capacity building to support the development of CBEs. Nonetheless, there are several aspects that, given the scarce resources, the research has not sufficiently covered. For example, though of great importance, the research has not dwelt into the issue of entrepreneurship especially with regard to community development.

In addition, the WTO advocates for partnership as a development strategy for tourism in developing countries (WTO, 2002). The results however reveal that whereas the CBEs heavily rely on the partnerships, the local communities are constantly aspiring for independence in terms of running and managing their enterprises. The issue of
partnership, therefore, needs to be explored in more detail, especially in terms of the impacts of the existing models.

1.8 Overview of thesis

This thesis comprises eight chapters. This first chapter is the Introduction; and provides the preliminary background information into the key issues that the study seeks to address and thus lays the foundation for this thesis.

The second chapter is entitled Research Approach. This chapter presents an insight into the overall researcher strategy and justification for the preferred methodology.

The third chapter is the literature review and is entitled Tourism Development and Poverty Alleviation: A Review of Key Issues, Concepts and Models. This chapter provides a theoretical understanding of the relevant concepts used in tourism analyses through critical analysis of literature. This chapter also analyses various models of tourism development and poverty alleviation.

The fourth chapter, Unified Model for Sustainable Tourism Development and Poverty Alleviation, seeks to integrate WTO’s considerations for tourism development and the sustainable livelihoods approach into a unified model for sustainable tourism development and poverty alleviation.

The fifth chapter entitled An Evaluation of Indigenous Entrepreneurship in the delivery of the Kenyan Tourism Product, analyses Kenya's past and present tourism policy framework and provides an insight into the prevailing indigenous tourism entrepreneurship and support network. Through in-depth semi-structured interviews
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with owner-managers of Kenyan SMTEs and tourism support agencies, the chapter presents a case study of indigenous SMTEs in the Southern and Coastal regions of Kenya and proposes a potential tourism development strategy.

The sixth chapter, *Theoretical Model For Community Capacity Building Suitable For Kenyan CBEs*, evaluates alternative models of community capacity building and refines the best practice strategies through a review of literature. The chapter also proposes a suitable theoretical model for Kenyan CBEs.

The seventh chapter is entitled *Best Practice Model For Community Capacity Building For Kenyan CBEs*. This chapter reports the testing of the theoretical model within the field context, through in-depth semi-structured interviews and projective techniques, and concludes by proposing a unified model suitable for Kenyan CBEs.

Finally, the eighth chapter, *Conclusions and Recommendations*, sums up this study on tourism and poverty alleviation in Kenya. The chapter presents a summary of the thesis' contributions, concept and characteristics of the thesis, major findings, and implications of findings. The chapter further explores opportunities for further research.
Chapter Two

Research Approach

2.1 Introduction
2.2 Qualitative research
2.3 Research process
2.4 Methodology: Multiple case study of indigenous SMTEs in Kenya
2.5 Methods
2.6 Data Analysis
2.7 Operationalisation of Objectives
2.8 Summary
2.1 Introduction

... we need to be concerned with the process we have engaged in; we need to lay that process out for the scrutiny of the observer; we need to defend that process as a form of human inquiry that should be taken seriously.

(Crotty, 1998:13)

This chapter therefore details the research process followed in this study. The chapter presents the epistemological and theoretical perspectives adopted by the researcher, that in turn form the basis of the justification for choosing the relevant methodology and methods appropriate for addressing the aims and objectives of the research. The objectives listed in section 1.4 have been unpacked and operationalised. The chapter starts by detailing the researcher's epistemological stance underpinning the theoretical perspective. Further, the chapter highlights the case study as the preferred methodology and lastly discusses the various methods that have been used in the research process.

2.2 Qualitative research

Generally, the various approaches to research have been described either as being quantitative or qualitative in nature, with most of the research literature identifying these approaches as being polar opposites (Crotty, 1998). Quantitative research is normally viewed as that approach to research that invokes statistical analysis or some form of quantification to arrive at a conclusion (Veal, 1997). On the other hand, Strauss and Corbin (1998) view qualitative research simply as that approach to research that produces findings through means other than statistical analysis or any other means of quantification. Snape and Spencer (2003), however observe that owing to the varied approaches and methods, defining qualitative research is not such a simple task. They nonetheless argue that:
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There is consensus that qualitative research is naturalistic, an interpretative approach concerned with understanding the meaning people attach to phenomena within their social world. (Snape and Spencer, 2003:3)

In defence of their proposition, Snape and Spencer (2003) identify six key elements inherent in qualitative research summarised below as involving:

- Research aims that are directed at providing in-depth and interpreted understanding of the social world of research participants by learning about their social and material circumstances, their experiences, perspectives and histories.
- Samples that are small in scale and purposively selected on the basis of salient criteria.
- Data collection methods which usually involve close contact between the researcher and the research participants, which are interactive and developmental and allow for emergent issues to be explored.
- Data which are very detailed, information rich and extensive.
- Analysis which is open to emergent concepts and ideas and which may produce detailed description and classification, identify patterns of association or develop typologies and explanations.
- Outputs which tend to focus on the interpretation of social meaning through mapping and re-presenting the social world of research participants.

Contrary then to these elements, quantitative research is characteristically viewed by Flick (1998:3) as being concerned with:

- Isolation of causes and effects.
- Operationalisation of theoretical relations.
• Measurement and quantification of phenomena that enable generalisation of results to formulate general laws.
• Random sampling to ensure representativeness through which general statements can be made.
• Classification of phenomena on the basis of their frequency and distribution.
• As much as possible, the exclusion of the researcher's influence to ensure objectivity.

On the basis of these characteristics, qualitative research has been viewed as being inferior to quantitative research. Phillimore and Goodson (2004), for example, observe that, although gaining ground, traditionally qualitative research was viewed as somewhat simplistic mainly owing to fact that it does not produce quantified findings or have measurements and hypothesis testing as integral to the research process. As such, qualitative research was seen as 'non-scientific' and only useful when accompanied by, or as a precursor to, quantitative techniques.

Ezzy (2002) counters this view and argues that, unlike qualitative research, quantitative research is relatively easier to conduct and thus simplistic in nature. Qualitative research however, is much more difficult to conduct in terms of time and energy but results in a sophisticated way of understanding of issues, rather than just generalisations. Owing to this fact, Ezzy (2002) argues that qualitative research is a more superior tool in policy formulation. Furthermore, unlike quantitative research, whereby the researched are distanced from the researcher, in qualitative research the researcher enters the world of the participants and tries to understand it from their perspective, thereby making it more politically and ethically sensitive.
Crotty (1998), on the other hand argues that debate should not be preoccupied with further distinguishing or setting these approaches to research either as polar opposites or in terms of inferiority or superiority, because methodologies in one way or the other use these approaches such that research could either be described as qualitative or quantitative or both qualitative and quantitative. Crotty (1998) thus argues that, any attempts to distinguish approaches to research should instead be preoccupied with epistemology and theoretical perspectives in that one cannot claim, for example, to be both objectivist and constructionist. In other words one cannot claim to say that there is objective meaning on one hand and that there is not on the other.

In support of Crotty’s view on the qualitative and quantitative research debate, this study recognises the differences that exist but does not contribute to the superiority and inferiority debate. This is mainly due to the fact that the uses of a particular approach should be justified on the basis that it is best suited to address a specific research problem. In this respect, this study adopts a qualitative approach, owing to the aim and objectives that in turn call for rich in-depth qualitative data to understand the perspectives of indigenous Kenyans to the issue of tourism development and poverty alleviation in Kenya and particularly the role of indigenous Kenyan tourism entrepreneurship in poverty alleviation.

2.3 Research process

The research process generally starts with a problem that needs solving after which further questions are developed to help clarify this problem. This in turn necessitates the formulation of aims and objectives to address the problem and hence the methodology and methods to be used to achieve these aims and objectives (Crotty, 1998). Crotty observes that whilst this is what normally happens in research, the
researcher will need to systematically justify his or her choice of methodology and methods in order to enhance the respectability of a given research. In other words, the researcher may knowingly or unknowingly employ systematic processes to arrive at results and conclusions.

Crotty (1998) identifies four key elements that inform each other in the research process to help ensure the soundness of research and make outcomes convincing, and to justify the choice of methodology and methods. These elements are diagrammatically represented in figure 2.1. Crotty further observes that setting out the research process based on a sequential approach of these key elements would in turn constitute a critical analysis of the process and consequently point to theoretical assumptions that underpin the research process and therefore determine the status of the findings. These key elements are: epistemology; theoretical perspective; methodology; methods (see figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1: Key elements of research process (adapted from Crotty, 1998:4)

2.3.1 Thesis epistemology and theoretical perspective

First, following Crotty’s view on qualitative and quantitative research, it is reasonable to say that, epistemology is a central notion of research. Epistemology is derived
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from a Greek word 'episteme' which means knowledge and 'logos' meaning explanation (Miller and Brewer, 2003). Epistemology therefore is concerned with the nature of knowledge and more precisely how we know what we know (Crotty, 1998). Crotty, in addition, suggests that epistemology provides the philosophical grounding necessary to make decisions on the kind of knowledge that is possible and how these can be ensured to be both legitimate and adequate.

Considered in the same breadth as epistemology, ontology and ethics are also central notions in qualitative research. While epistemology is mainly concerned with 'what it means to know', ontology and ethics are mainly concerned with the exploration of the nature of social reality in terms of 'what type of things exist and in what way' and 'what we ought to do' respectively (Crotty, 1998; Miller and Brewer, 2003).

Crotty (1998), whilst acknowledging the existence of several epistemologies, presents three types: objectivism, constructionism and subjectivism, together with their respective variants. Objectivism is an approach to knowledge that holds that meaning and therefore meaningful reality exists as such apart from the operation of the conscious mind, implying that all meaning is out there in the world waiting to be discovered (Crotty, 1998).

Constructionism, on the other hand, acknowledges the existence of 'objects' but opposes the objectivism notion by positing that there is no objective truth waiting to be discovered in that truth and meaning come into existence through engagement with the world’s realities (Crotty, 1998). In other words, there can be no meaning without mind implying that meaning, hence meaningful reality is constructed and not discovered as explained below:
Constructionism is the view that all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context.

(Crotty, 1998:42)

In a more extreme dimension, subjectivism rejects both objectivism and constructionism by suggesting that meaning does not come out of an interaction between subject and object, but that the subject imposes meaning on the object (Crotty, 1998). In other words, unlike in constructionism where meaning is derived from the object, subjectivism ostensibly claims that knowledge is created out of nothing. However, construction of meaning from nothingness is beyond the human capabilities and in any case all meaning is created through diverse forms of interaction between the subject and object either consciously or unconsciously as observed below:

*We humans are not that creative, however. Even in subjectivism we make meaning out of something. We import meaning from somewhere else. The meaning we ascribe to the object may come from our dreams, or primordial archetypes we locate within our unconscious, or from the conjunction and aspects of the planet, or from religious beliefs, or from ...*

(Crotty, 1998:9)

Epistemology is therefore mainly concerned with ways of knowing and learning about the social world. Crotty (1998) further sees epistemology as the theory of knowledge embedded in the theoretical perspective and consequently the methodology. Thus epistemology is arguably the basis of the research process as it in turn informs the theoretical perspective that in turn informs the methodology.

Crotty (1998) observes that a research problem or issue inevitably brings about assumptions especially in the consideration of methodology, that is in turn reflected in the choice of methods, which need to be clearly stated thereby constituting the
theoretical perspective. As such, the theoretical perspective is the philosophical stance that underpins the methodology. Crotty further sees the theoretical perspective as a way of looking at the world and making sense of it and, as such, involves some form of knowledge and consequently embodies a certain understanding, that is how we know what we know.

There are several theoretical perspectives, for example, positivism, interpretivism, critical inquiry, feminism and postmodernism. Gray (2004) however argues that positivism and interpretivism (together with its strands i.e. symbolic interaction and phenomenology) are the most influential. The core argument forming the basis of positivism is that the social world exists independently and externally to the researcher, and that the properties of this world can be measured on the basis of scientific observation, hence empirical inquiry, that in turn generate generalisations referred to as scientific laws (Gray, 2004).

On the other hand, interpretivism is seen as being anti-positivism as observed below:

> A positivist approach would follow the methods of natural science and, by way of allegedly value-free, detached observation, seek to identify universal features of human hood, society and history that offer explanation and hence control and predictability. The interpretivist approach, to the contrary, looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world.

(Crotty, 1998:67)

Given then the characteristics of positivism, objectivism is inadvertently the underpinning philosophical stance (Crotty, 1998). This is mainly due to the fact that positivism emphasises the disengagement of the social world by the researcher such that the researcher construes the social world mainly through observation rather than interaction. In objectivism, this view is upheld in the sense that meaning is out there to be discovered through this type of observation rather than from interaction. On the
other hand, interpretivism is linked with constructionism as it emphasises the interaction between the researcher and the social world, such that the researcher construes the social world by engaging with it (Gray, 2004).

As already noted in section 1.4 (chapter 1), the main aim of this research is to explore how the rhetoric of sustainable tourism development as a tool for poverty alleviation in Kenya can be turned into a reality through the promotion of tourism entrepreneurship amongst indigenous Kenyans. Additionally, the research seeks to identify owner-managers of indigenous SMTEs and evaluate reasons for their success or failure in terms of the nature of their products and the prevailing entrepreneurship support network, from which it seeks to develop a best practice model for community capacity building.

Starting from the theoretical perspective, therefore, an interpretivist approach is best suited, as the research process requires that the researcher engages with the participants in order to gather in-depth, rich qualitative data, from which interpretations are made that are necessary for meeting the aim and objectives of the study. The epistemological stance of this research is constructionism, which, as already observed, is linked with interpretivism. This is mainly due to the fact that constructionism allows for the researcher to engage with the social world and to view it from the inside out to clearly understand it (Gray, 2004). In the same breadth, in order to clearly explore the aim of the research, it is prudent that the researcher actively engages with the participants and probes in detail in order to generate insights into their perspectives of tourism development and poverty alleviation. Figure 2.2 highlights the specific approaches employed in this research.
Figure 2.2: Specific approach adopted in this research

2.4 Methodology: Multiple case study of indigenous SMTEs in Kenya

Case study research, as with experiments, surveys, histories and archival information, is one of the approaches to doing social science. Case study research can further be categorised either as a single case study, i.e. an investigation of a single phenomenon or as a multiple case study, i.e. an investigation of several cases, commonly referred to as comparative case study. Yin (2003) sees single and multiple case study designs existing within the same methodological framework as variants, as opposed to their consideration as separate methodologies. In understanding contemporary issues, the case study approach is a preferred methodology and relies on direct observation and interviews of persons involved in the events under investigation. In this research a multiple case study design has been adopted as the research seeks to execute comparisons between several cases, as resulting evidence is more compelling and robust (Yin, 2003).

Hence, case study research strategy can be regarded as an all-encompassing method covering the logic of design, data collection techniques and specific approaches to data analysis (Yin, 2003). Thus in the words of Yin:
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...case study research can be regarded as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident and in which multiple sources of evidence are used.

(Yin, 2003: 13)

And further that:

...case study inquiry copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points and as one result relies on multiple sources of evidence with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion and as another result benefits from prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis.

(Yin, 2003: 13)

A research or case study design can be regarded as a systematic plan or logic that links methods and thus data collection and analysis to the research questions that the study seeks to address. Yin (2003) sees a case study as the logical sequence that connects empirical data to a study’s initial research questions and, ultimately, to its conclusions. In designing the case study, quality will need to be ensured mainly through the satisfaction of: construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability. The case study design therefore strives to facilitate the research process in terms of ensuring relevance of data collected and analysed to the initial research questions.

When designing the case study, the study’s questions, assumptions and purpose, unit of analysis, logic linking the data to the assumptions and criteria for interpreting the findings, are all of particular importance.

Firstly, the study’s question component basically guides the research towards a suitable research strategy. In this case, the objective of the study is to identify indigenous SMTEs and reasons for their success or failure. Hence the study’s
questions are derived from this objective and are posed simply as; 'what' tourism SMTEs exist in Kenya? And 'what' are the reasons for their success or failure? The 'what' part of the first question therefore suggests an exploratory case study strategy with the goal of developing assumptions for further inquiry, whilst in the second question, an explanatory research strategy as a description or explanation is sort (Yin, 2003).

Secondly, the study's propositions focus attention on the essence of the study or the element that should be studied within the scope of the research thereby reflecting the theoretical aspects and pointing towards sources of evidence to support the study (Yin, 2003). In addition Yin notes that exploratory research strategies need not have propositions, but should instead have a purpose and suitable criteria for judging success of the exploration. The purpose is hence synonymous with the aim of the study, which means that the purpose of the research is to explore the rhetoric and reality of sustainable tourism development as a tool of poverty alleviation through a comparative case study of different models of tourism development in Kenya. The success of this exploration would therefore be based on the identification of indigenous SMTEs and reasons for their success or failure.

Thirdly, the definition of unit of analysis is generally derived from the initial research questions and basically refers to definition of the 'case' or that to be investigated (Yin, 2003). A study may have more than one unit of analysis such that analyses may entail different research designs and data collection strategies. Thus, in the initial research questions ('what' SMTEs exist? And 'what' are the reasons for their success or failure?), the SMTEs constitutes the 'case' or unit analysis whilst the second question constitutes phenomenon that further defines the 'case'. Having defined the 'case' in the study, further clarification is essential. Indigenous tourism SMTEs would refer to those SMTEs that directly engage in mainstream tourism activities. As such
this definition excludes those SMTEs that offer auxiliary tourism products such as curio vendors as these do not restrict their services to tourists only but rather target the wider public who may not necessarily be classified as tourists. Moreover the study focuses on the primary impacts of tourism rather than its secondary impacts.

Fourthly, linking the data to propositions basically refers to the process of connecting the assumptions to data collected or 'pattern matching'. In this study, projective techniques have thus been used to support or reject these assumptions. Yin (2003) further argues that at the moment no set criteria for interpreting findings exists and that the closest to having such a criteria is that different patterns of sufficient contrast may be interpreted in terms of comparison of findings of rival propositions.

Lastly, Yin (2003) argues that although there is no standard criteria for interpreting data, interpretation of data is nonetheless integral in any case study design and should strive to clarify how the data collected has been used in the research process to arrive at the findings. One of the strategies proposed by Yin (2003) is the identification of patterns in the data and matching these to the study's propositions. Yin refers to this as pattern matching through which, for example, significantly contrasting patterns can result in interpretation of findings based on the comparison of rival propositions.

In addition, Yin (2003) identifies four criteria necessary for judging the quality of case studies as already observed (construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability). First, Yin (2003) observes that construct validity basically involves the construction or establishment of correct operational measures for the concepts under investigation and entails:
1. Selection of specific types of changes to be studied and relating them to the original objectives of the study.

2. Demonstration of the fact that selected measures of the above changes actually reflect the specific changes that have been selected.

Hence, the case study's objective (identify owner managers of indigenous SMTEs and to evaluate reasons for their success or failure in terms of nature of their products and the prevailing entrepreneurship support network) forms the basis for establishing construct validity. In order to ensure construct validity, the study has used multiple sources of evidence and through the snowball sampling technique established a chain of evidence (Patton, 2003). The study has further employed projective techniques to review the case study.

Secondly, internal validity refers to the establishment of causal relationships in the study whereby certain conditions may lead to other conditions as distinguished from spurious relationships (Yin, 2003). The case study involves both exploratory (identification of indigenous SMTEs) and explanatory (reasons for success or failure) approaches. Internal validity is only applicable to the explanatory approach as it entails a causal effect in the study. Thus in order to ensure internal validity, the data analysis process has involved linking the assumptions to data through pattern matching and explanation building of the case under investigation.

Thirdly, external validity refers to establishment of a domain to which a study's findings can be generalised beyond the case under investigation (Yin, 2003). A multiple case study approach has been used in this research, in order to ensure external validity.
Lastly, reliability involves the demonstration of the fact that operations of the study can be repeated with the same results being obtained. Reliability as such seeks to ensure minimal errors and bias. Hence in order to ensure reliability and reliability projective techniques have been used.

2.5 Methods

This section details the research instruments, procedures, and methods used in the study. The major research instruments, procedures, and methods are summarised in table 2.1 below:

Table 2.1: Research instruments, procedures, and methods

| Data collection                        | • In-depth semi-structured interviews  
                                          | • Focus groups                         
                                          | • Participant observation              
                                          | • Documentary analysis                  
                                          | • Projective techniques                 |
|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| Sampling techniques                    | • Purposive sampling                    
                                          | • Opportunistic sampling                
                                          | • Snowball sampling                     |
| Recording of interviews                | • Note taking                           
                                          | • Audio recording                       
                                          | • Video tape recording                  |
| Verification of data                   | • Verification with interviewee         
                                          | • Triangulation                         |
| Ethical considerations                 | • Informed consent                      
                                          | • Avoidance of deception                
                                          | • Privacy and confidentiality           
                                          | • Accuracy                              |

2.5.1 In-depth semi-structured interviews

To achieve the aim of study an in-depth probe into the prevailing scenario in Kenya vis-à-vis tourism development, poverty and indigenous Kenyan entrepreneurship was
necessary. Furthermore, as the reviewed literature yielded insufficient information of this scenario, primary data was a critical requirement in order to effectively address the aim of the research, and for this, in-depth interviews were preferred as they ensured the collection of rich qualitative data. Veal (1999) observes that unlike questionnaire-based interviews which tend to be shallow and rigid, in-depth interviews tend to probe more deeply and allow for explanations from respondents without necessarily jeopardising the goal of the research.

Nonetheless, in-depth interviews also have their shortcomings mainly in terms of time, in that they are time consuming, and hinder reliability, in that results cannot easily be replicated. To overcome some of these shortcomings, Gray (2004) advises the use of an interview protocol. This basically involves the designing of a structured set of processes and procedures that detail how the interview is to be conducted (see appendices). In addition the use of an interview schedule (see appendices), a tool for structuring interviews, is highly recommended (Gray, 2004). An interview schedule should thus be designed in such a way as to overcome various constraints that may arise from the social interaction between the researcher and the interviewee during the interview process. Some of these constraints may be: the dependence on the goodwill of the respondent to participate fully, interviewer bias, ambiguity in responses and need for accuracy. To overcome these constraints, the interview schedule should be designed in a way that encourages the full participation of respondents and avoids ambiguity. These could be achieved by starting interviews with non-threatening questions, through the use interview varying techniques such as the use of sorting cards that involve the interviewee, and standardisation of prompts, probes and clarifications and avoiding ambiguity in the wording of questions (Gray, 2004).
Generally there are three types of in-depth interviews: structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews (Miller and Brewer, 2003). Structured interviews are similar to questionnaire-based interviews in the sense that they are standardised and follow a preset structure in a fixed order. Semi-structured interviews are also based on a preset structure based on broad topics to be addressed but are not standardised as they make use of open-ended questions that allow for interviewee digression. Unstructured interviews, as the name suggests, are not based on any preset structure as the interviewee generally sets the course of the interview (Miller and Brewer, 2003). Legard et al (2003) however argue that because the researcher has some sense of themes to be explored by the interview anyway, unstructured interviews are just but an advanced form of semi-structured interviews.

In this study, two sets of in-depth semi-structured interviews were used as the researcher had various issues arising from the literature review that needed further clarification on the ground. The first set of interviews was carried out between May and June 2004, and yielded 18 in-depth interviews mainly with owner-managers of indigenous SMTEs and representatives of support organisations. These set of interviews covered various themes including, nature of business, marketing, reasons for success or failure, support network, linkages, involvement and empowerment, and sustainable livelihoods (these are discussed in detail in chapter 5). The second set of interviews was carried out between April and May 2005, and yielded 20 in-depth interviews mainly with CBE managers, leaders and members, representatives of support organisations, members of academia and government officials. This set of interviews included themes such as, awareness of CBEs in general, tourism awareness, empowerment, community capacity building, local trainers, key performance indicators, and external intervention (these are discussed in detail in chapter 7).
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The in-depth semi-structured interviews lasted on average 1.5 hours and allowed for detailed probing of respondents' views and opinions and facilitated the expansion of answers when necessary. This enabled the diversion of the interviews into other areas that originally were not part of the interview schedule but nonetheless helped towards addressing the aim of the study (Gray, 2004). An interview protocol and schedule was developed to enable the effective execution of interviews (see appendices). The research made use of two different schedules for the two sets of field interviews. The interview schedules comprised three parts: the opening, the main body and the closing. The opening was designed in such a way that made the respondents relaxed and warmed up to the interview process. The body contained the key themes that were to be addressed during the interview and the closing involved a recap of the interview in order to check if the respondent had further information and an expression of appreciation for the time availed.

2.5.2 Focus groups

Focus groups, originally only used in market research, are now increasingly being used in social sciences and involve group discussions geared towards the sharing of experiences and views upon the topic under research (Miller and Brewer, 2003). The main challenges in the execution of focus group interviews are: control of the interview by the researcher and group dynamics i.e. relationships between dominant and reticent participants (Finch and Lewis, 2003). These challenges can be addressed through a range of techniques that seek to create ample opportunity for all participants to partake in the interview, such as subtle diversion of attention to the reticent participants (Finch and Lewis, 2003). Normally, focus groups comprise between six and ten members, although higher numbers of up to twenty members are still acceptable (Gray, 2004). The challenge, however, of large focus groups lies mainly in controlling and recording the interviews (Gray, 2004). On the lower end,
Finch and Lewis (2003) recommend no fewer than four participants, arguing this may lose the essence of focus groups.

In this study, focus groups were used mainly in the second set of interviews. There were four focus groups in all, ranging between four and fifteen participants. These were used to further generate rich in-depth data, particularly with community members. They also provided an enabling environment through which, otherwise conservative individuals could effectively share their views and experiences, than they would have done in individual interviews.

### 2.5.3 Participant observation

Owing to the limited sources of information on extant indigenous Kenyan SMTEs, participant observation was used as a backup for the in-depth interviews to further identify the SMTEs. Punch (1994) sees participant observation as an integral element of ethnography that entails the detachment of the researcher from the research process and engaging in the process both as a participant and observer either overtly or covertly. The researcher, in this study assumed the role of a tourist and participated in tourist activities during which some indigenous SMTEs were identified. This also involved an observation of tourists’ perceptions and the nature of these enterprises.

### 2.5.4 Documentary analysis

Documentary analysis basically refers to the study of existing documents to reveal deeper meanings particularly in cases where investigation of events may not be possible through observation or interviews (Ritchie, 2003). Key documentary sources include institutional, personal and media records (Gray, 2004). The research
therefore analysed various documents including: *Tourism and Poverty Alleviation Report* (WTO, 2002), *Towards Sustainable Livelihoods Approach in Kenya* (UNDP, 1999) and *The Draft National Tourism Policy* (Kenya Government, 2003; 2004). The research also analysed postcolonial tourism development plans and policies in Kenya that were sourced from the national archives.

### 2.5.5 Projective techniques

Projective techniques, which are usually associated with enabling techniques (Arthur and Nazroo, 2003), owe their origins to the field of clinical psychology in the early twentieth century (Catterall *et al*., 2000). Projective techniques, through a range of strategies that are designed to facilitate discussion and communication, are used to aid expression and refinement of views (Arthur and Nazroo, 2003). Thus projective techniques can enable the research participants to articulate otherwise repressed thoughts by allowing them to project their own thoughts onto something other than themselves (Boddy, 2005). The Dictionary of Psychology defines projective techniques as:

> A cover term for any test, device or set of procedures designed to provide information about or insight into an individual's personality by allowing him or her the opportunity to respond in an unrestricted manner to unstructured or ambiguous objects or situations. As the name suggests, all of these procedures are based upon the general sense of projection.

(Reber; 1995:604)

Despite the association between projective techniques and enabling techniques in that they both seek to facilitate communication between the research and the respondents, the techniques are nonetheless not the same. Boddy (2005), observes that projective techniques mainly seek to facilitate the articulation of repressed or otherwise withheld feelings, while enabling techniques seek to facilitate means
through which the research participants can express such feelings or thoughts. Furthermore, as opposed to enabling techniques whereby the key focus is on getting people to talk about themselves, projective techniques delve further in seeking to understand the respondents' view about a given phenomenon (Boddy, 2005).

Arthur and Nazroo (2003) argue that projective techniques are by no means full proof in that they do have some disadvantages. For example, they observe that the process of introducing projective materials maybe time consuming and disruptive to the entire interview process, and that their reliability is questionable as they are open to misinterpretation. Lilienfield et al (2000) on the contrary argue that projective techniques *per se* are not inherently unreliable, but rather that they can be incompetently used. Hence, the reliability of projective techniques solely relies on the capabilities of the researcher to effectively interpret findings.

Based on the responses evoked by the respondents, Lilienfield *et al* (2000) identify five categories of projective techniques. These are: associative techniques; construction techniques; completion techniques; choice-ordering techniques; and expressive techniques. In the associative techniques respondents are asked to respond to the first thing that comes to mind when exposed to a certain stimulus of which a description is sought. Construction techniques require the respondent, through his/her imagination and creativity, to construct a story or a picture. The completion technique entails the presentation of an incomplete sentence, story or picture, of which the respondent has to complete using his/her imagination and creativity. With the choice-ordering technique, the respondent is asked to group materials or pictures into categories that are meaningful to him/her. Finally, the expressive techniques involve giving the respondent a certain stimulus to which he/she has to express something.
The projective techniques employed in this research can be categorized alongside both construction and choice-ordering techniques. This study employed the use of assumption cards mainly in the second set of in-depth interviews. These cards comprised various factors that the interview sought to address, namely: community tourism awareness; community empowerment, community leadership and vision, community capacity building, local trainers, technical support/external intervention, and key performance indicators (see appendices, 3, 4 and 5). Without revealing the cards, the researcher requested the respondents randomly select a card at time and discuss it accordingly. After all the cards had been selected and discussed in detail, the respondents were then further asked to arrange the cards in a manner that made sense to them, and if they so wished to add any other factors they felt had been omitted, and to give a detailed explanation for their logical framework. This approach to executing the interviews proved invaluable as the respondents warmed to the researcher, felt in control and involved throughout the interviews.

The main rationale for using projective techniques in the research was that they helped to: motivate the interviewee, enhance collection of in-depth data and to minimise researcher bias. Given the duration of the interviews was on average between 1.5 hours, the interviewees were bound to tire along the way. The projective materials in the form of the assumption cards thus helped to maintain the respondents' interest in the interview process. The process of selecting the cards engaged the respondents accordingly. What is more, as a result of this the respondents were also coerced to delve deeper into their minds thereby yielding more in-depth qualitative data. In addition, by randomly selecting the cards the onus of deciding the course of the interview was transferred to the respondent thereby minimising interviewer bias and in so doing enhancing the reliability of the research.
2.5.6 Sampling techniques

In the endeavour to select appropriate respondents for the in-depth interviews, taking into account that the researcher had little knowledge of extant tourism SMTEs due to the limited information available, the following sampling techniques were used: purposive sampling, opportunistic sampling and snowball sampling.

Purposive sampling

A purposive sampling technique was initially used in the research as it enabled the researcher to handpick cases on the basis of specific characteristics eventually leading to sample size of desired traits (Black, 1999). Patton (2003) observes that purposive sampling yields information-rich cases, those that provide significant leads to issues of central importance to the purposes of the study. In the first set of interviews the following criteria were used to select SMTEs for the interviews:

- Level of operation i.e. small to medium scale. The criterion for the classification of SMTEs is based on the number of employees (UNDP, 1999). For small enterprises; 10 to 100 workers and 101 to 499 workers for medium enterprises.
- Owners of these SMTEs had to be indigenous Kenyans.
- The SMTEs had to cater for domestic, regional and international tourists.

The selection criterion for the support organisations was on the basis they supported either directly or indirectly indigenous Kenyan SMTEs. In the second set of interviews, the inclusion criterion was based on direct or indirect involvement with CBEs.
Opportunistic sampling

An opportunistic sampling technique was further used to augment the purposive sampling technique. As already mentioned, the researcher had little knowledge of the situation that held on the ground appertaining to the extant indigenous SMTEs and support organisations in Kenya. Opportunistic sampling technique was therefore an essential tool that ensured a sufficient sample size for investigation as the technique allowed for on-the-spot decisions on samples whilst undertaking the fieldwork (Patton, 2003).

Snowball sampling

Patton (2003) describes the snowball sampling technique as one of the approaches to locating information-rich key informants. Thus, following the employment of the purposive and opportunistic sampling techniques, snowball sampling technique was also used. Snowball sampling hence built upon information provided by respondents in initial sampling techniques to form a chain or network to the point whereby information became repetitive thereby suggesting an exhaustion of further possible networks. The snowball technique, as Patton (2003) notes, consequently helped narrow the sample into the key cases thus ensuring the quality of data collected.

2.5.7 Pilot survey

Before embarking on the fieldwork, the researcher conducted an initial pilot survey with Welsh and Kenyan counterparts to test the two interview schedules developed for the field interviews. The main reason for this was in order to enable the researcher to make appropriate amendments in the interview schedule in terms of sequencing and wording of the questions, initiate a snowballing sampling technique
Chapter Two: Research Approach

(owing to scant information of indigenous Kenyan SMTEs and tourism support organisations), estimate duration of the interviews, familiarise with the interview process and the proposed interviewees.

In addition, the piloting enabled the researcher to effectively execute the delivery of the construction and choice-ordering projective techniques that were to be used in the interviews. For instance, initially the research intended to use the assumption cards by issuing them one at a time to respondent, but the pilot survey revealed that it would be better to have all the cards upside so that the respondents could randomly select them.

2.5.8 Languages used

English was the preferred mode of conducting interviews in the field. However, as it was expected that some interviews would have to be carried out in remote areas of Kenya where use of English as the language of interaction would be problematic, Swahili was then used, as this is the national language of Kenya and a language in which the majority of Kenyans can communicate fairly well. The researcher speaks both English and Swahili well, hence there was no need for a translator, however independent verification of translation was sought (see transcription of interviews).

2.5.9 Authorisation

As the research involved interviewing owners of SMTEs, government officials, community leaders, community members and academia, and because of the political sensitivities in Kenya, authorisation to carry out the interviews was sought from the Kenya Government which issued a research permit spelling out regulations and conditions to be met. The research permit required that the researcher report to the
area district commissioners, seek approval of interview questions, and make appointments when seeking to interview government officials. The interview process thus abided by the regulations spelt out in the research permit.

2.5.10 Venues

The interviews were mainly conducted at the business premises of the SMTEs and support organisations, unless otherwise preferred by the SMTE owner-manager or support organisation representative in which case, other convenient venues for both the researcher and participants were chosen.

2.5.11 Recording the interviews

The following techniques were used to record interviews;

- Note taking.
- Audio recording.
- Video tape recording.

The respondents were nonetheless free to choose any of these methods of recording. Majority of the respondents were however, happy with mainly with note taking and audio recording.

2.5.12 Transcription of interviews

The interviews were mainly conducted in English. Interviews involving members of CBEs were conducted in Swahili as they did not have a good command of English. In such situations, independent verification of translation was sought from relevant
sources mainly managers of the CBEs to ensure that the translation accurately represented the views and opinions of respondents. Annotations were used in addition and involved the use of informal notes alongside the interviewee’s words and drew on field notes taken during and after the interviews. The figure 2.3 below illustrates the process that was followed in transcribing the interviews:

**Figure 2.3: Transcription of interviews**

2.5.13 Verification of data

Verification of data involved: the verification of interview with the interviewee and triangulation.

**Verification of interview with interviewee**

Verification of interview with the interviewee involved the researcher running through a recap of each interview at the closure of the interview schedule. The aim of this exercise was to clarify various issues arising from the interview, ascertain that facts given were correct and consequently that the information obtained was plausible (Denscombe, 1998).
Triangulation

Denscombe (1998) observes that different research methods e.g. surveys, interviews, questionnaires, observation, focus groups and document analysis, are suited for different research designs, but can also be used to complement each other thereby constituting a multi-method approach. Triangulation, a technique borrowed from navigation, thus involves the location of a true position by making reference to two or more coordinates or, in this case, methods. As each research method possesses assumptions, advantages and disadvantages, a multi-method approach and triangulation helped enhance the validity of data and quality of research. Yin (2003) notes that such an approach can overcome the problems of construct validity as multiple sources of evidence provide multiple measures of the same phenomena.

In this research the multi-method approach and triangulation based on in-depth interviews, participant observation, focus groups and document analysis were used to test the plausibility of data through a corroboration and comparison from the methods (Denscombe, 1998). This was mainly used to increase levels of confidence in the data collected. Figure 2.4 below illustrates the multiple sources of evidence that were be used in the research:
Figure 2.4: Multiple sources of evidence to be used in the research

Source: Adapted from Yin, 2003.

2.5.14 Ethical considerations

Oppeneheim (1998) observes that the basic guiding principle governing data collection, e.g. interviews, is that physical, social and psychological well-being of participants is ensured and is not detrimentally affected by the results of the research. Thus, in carrying out the fieldwork, the following ethical considerations were taken into account: informed consent, deception, privacy and confidentiality and accuracy.

Informed consent

Punch (1994:90) cautions,

In carrying out fieldwork there seems to be no way around the predicament that informed consent- divulging one's identity and research purpose to all and sundry- will kill many a project stone dead.
The researcher thus strove, as much as possible, to make interviewees aware of the aim and nature of research, possible consequences, dissemination of results and the way data collected was to be used. In addition, participation in the research process was purely voluntary.

**Deception**

Deception refers to the process of obtaining information through trickery or fraudulent means (Punch, 1994). This research therefore has as much as possible avoided the use of deception through the choice of methodology that is open and free of deceit.

**Privacy and confidentiality**

Privacy and confidentiality has been upheld throughout the research process. Personal data has been treated with utmost care and caution, and when made public anonymity has been observed.

**Accuracy**

The research has, as much as possible, ensured the accuracy of data collected by avoiding fabrications, omissions and contrivance. In addition, as some interviews were also conducted in Swahili, independent verification of translation was sought (see transcription).

**2.6 Data analysis**

Ezzy (2002) observes that qualitative data analysis should start during the data collection stage of research otherwise the researcher may miss out on key issues
that may be important to the research process. Spencer et al (2003) on the other hand argue that although there is a designated section for qualitative data analysis in qualitative research, the analysis process should start with the inception of the research. Despite this contention about a start point of analysis, there is general consensus that qualitative data analysis is an on-going and iterative process (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

Data analysis in this study consisted of two categories: analysis of secondary and primary data. Needless to say, the secondary data analysis process started at the beginning of the research and involved a critical review of literature mainly from journals, books, various government and organisation documents and reports. The process invoked a thematic analysis process in order to identify key issues, patterns and themes that would form the basis for the research.

Analysis of primary data, mainly from in-depth interviews involved a three-stage iterative process. The three stages were: data reduction, data discussion and conclusion drawing (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Firstly, the data reduction stage involved the abstraction of the huge amounts of data that resulted from the transcription of interviews to reveal the key issues by separating the relevant issue from the non-relevant ones. This was achieved through a continuous review of the transcripts that resulted in the categorisation of the data into the various themes that emerged in analysis of the secondary data. The data reduction process continued throughout the research.

Secondly, the data discussion involved the compilation of the reduced data into an organised and compressed logical framework. The main reason for this was to enable the use of the logical framework to facilitate the elicitation of critical issues arising from the data from which conclusions could be effectively drawn thereby
leading to the third stage of the data analysis. This last stage mainly involved the interpretation of data through a critical search for logical explanations arising from the various patterns and categories of data and analysis of how or why these were interlinked. The interpretation of the data was then correlated to the original propositions of the study.

2.7 Operationalisation of objectives

In the endeavour to operationalise the objectives as listed in section 1.4 the research invoked five phases. These were: critical review of literature, development of a unified model for sustainable tourism development and poverty alleviation, insight into challenges facing indigenous Kenyan SMTEs and exploration of alternative options to promote indigenous Kenyan entrepreneurship, identification and analysis of best practice models appropriate for community capacity building and development a best practice model of community capacity building.

Phase 1: Critical review of literature

The main objective of this phase was to critically analyse literature from various sources i.e. journals, books, government and relevant organisations' reports and documents. This was necessary as it enabled the establishment of a theoretical understanding of the key concepts behind sustainable tourism development and poverty alleviation with a view to develop a theoretical model based on these key concepts. This phase therefore involved a detailed exploration of key concepts that were adumbrated in economic development and entrepreneurship, tourism and economic development, poverty alleviation, and tourism development and poverty alleviation, and in addition it sought to reveal how these concepts informed each other, thereby laying the foundation for the theoretical model.
Phase 2: Unified Model for Sustainable Tourism Development and Poverty Alleviation

This phase aimed at integrating key sustainable tourism concepts and approaches to poverty alleviation identified in phase 1 into a unified model appropriate for poverty alleviation. Thus the main objective of this phase was to develop a unified model for sustainable tourism development and poverty alleviation through the integration of WTO’s considerations for tourism and poverty alleviation (WTO, 2002) into UNDP’s sustainable livelihoods approach (UNDP, 1999).

Phase 3: Evaluation of indigenous Kenyan Entrepreneurship in the delivery of the Kenyan Tourism Product

Here, the main objective was to establish the position of indigenous Kenyan entrepreneurs: first, vis-à-vis the unified model developed in phase 2 and secondly, in the delivery of the Kenyan tourism product through the identification of owner-managers of indigenous SMTEs and evaluation of the reasons for their success or failure in terms of the nature of their products and the prevailing entrepreneurship support network. In order to effectively address this objective, fieldwork was necessary. The initial process involved the development of appropriate criteria necessary to clearly understand the situation the held on the ground. Phase 1 provided the basis for the formulation of the criteria that was based on mainly size of enterprise and type of ownership, i.e. indigenous Kenyans, as this particular group was the one mainly affected by the poverty.

Secondly, in order to gain deeper insights into the challenges that indigenous Kenyan entrepreneurs faced, an in-depth probe into their internal and external environments (prevailing support network) was essential and ensured the collection of rich
qualitative data. As already mentioned, in-depth semi-structured interviews were chosen as the preferred tool for this investigation. An interview protocol and schedule were further developed to enhance the execution of the interviews (see appendices 1 and 2). The interview protocol helped define how the interviews were going to be conducted, the rights of the interviewees and how the interview schedule was going to be used. The interview schedule was designed thematically to address issues and concepts that resulted from the first phase. The key themes were: nature of the business in terms of the products and services, marketing, reasons for success or failure, support network, networking, involvement and empowerment in tourism development, and sustainable livelihoods.

Thirdly, the fieldwork focussed on two categories of interviewees: owners of indigenous Kenyan SMTEs to gain insight into these enterprises and support organisations, in order to discern the prevailing entrepreneurship support network. Owing to the scant information on extant SMTEs, purposeful, opportunistic and snowball sampling techniques were used and yielded a sample size of 12 indigenous Kenyan SMTEs and six support organisations. The indigenous SMTEs covered by the interviews were mainly found in the coastal and southern regions of Kenya.

Finally, this phase sought to make recommendations from the findings of the in-depth interviews on possible options for the promotion of indigenous Kenyan tourism entrepreneurship.

Phase 4: Theoretical Model For Community Capacity Building Suitable For Kenyan CBEs

The main objective of this phase was to explore an appropriate model for community capacity building to promote indigenous Kenyan entrepreneurship and achieve the
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goal of poverty alleviation through sustainable tourism development. This phase therefore involved a further critical review of literature to explore and evaluate alternative models of community capacity building with a view to identify and propose a best practice theoretical model suitable for the Kenyan context. This process resulted in a unified theoretical model that was based on key assumptions namely: tourism awareness, empowerment, leadership and vision, strategy for capacity building, local trainers, key performance indicators and external intervention (these are discussed in more detail in the chapter 6).

Phase 5: Development of an appropriate best practice model for community capacity building

This phase sought to develop a best practice model suitable for the promotion of indigenous Kenyan entrepreneurs and achieve poverty alleviation through sustainable tourism development in Kenya. Thus, the crucial task here was to test the theoretical model developed in phase 4 within the Kenyan context. Further fieldwork and in-depth interviews were necessary to enable the generation of rich qualitative data to inform the development of the best practice model suitable for the Kenyan context. This phase also made use of the interview protocol and schedule and in addition employed constructive and choice-ordering projective techniques (see appendices 3, 4 and 5). The projective techniques were preferred as appropriate tools for facilitating respondents to delve deeper into their experiences and accordingly share their views upon these initiatives. The execution of projective techniques involved the use of ‘assumptions cards’ (this process is explained in detail in section 2.5.5).

Emphasis was laid on the relevant respondents that had considerable experience on these initiatives. These were mainly: community members, leaders and managers,
relevant support organisation, government officials and members from the academic fraternity. In addition, the purposive and snowball sampling techniques were employed and were facilitated by the first phase thereby yielding 21 in-depth interviews.

2.8 Summary

This chapter has detailed the research process followed in this study. The Chapter has presented the epistemological and theoretical perspective adopted by the research. These have in turn formed the basis for the justification of the case study as the preferred methodology. The chapter has further detailed the methods that were used in addressing the aims and objectives of the research and also unpacked and operationalised the objectives listed in section 1.4.
Chapter 3

Tourism Development and Poverty Alleviation: A Review of Key Issues, Concepts and Models

3.1 Introduction
3.2 Economic Development: Issues and Concepts
3.3 Poverty
3.4 Sustainable Livelihoods
3.5 Tourism as a Vehicle for Economic Development
3.6 Small, Micro and Medium Tourism Enterprises (SMTES)
3.7 The World Tourism Organisation and Poverty Alleviation
3.8 Case Study Analysis
3.9 Summary
Chapter Three: Tourism Development and Poverty Alleviation: A Review of Key Issues, Concepts and Models Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to critically analyse relevant literature in order to establish the theoretical understanding of how various concepts commonly used in tourism analysis are applicable in making the case for tourism development in relation to poverty alleviation. Some of these concepts, although crucial to some forms of tourism analysis, do not seem to apply to tourism development in relation to poverty alleviation. The literature reviewed examines economic development and entrepreneurship (see section 3.2), poverty alleviation and sustainable livelihoods approach (see section 3.3 and 3.4), tourism and economic development (see section 3.5 and 3.6), and tourism development and poverty alleviation (see sections 3.7 and 3.8).

In addition, this chapter highlights the complexity involved in defining poverty, and the way in which poverty manifests itself in terms of locality and situation. The concept of poverty, for instance, differs in developed and developing country contexts. The chapter further pinpoints key measurement methods that have been employed in defining poverty by various organizations and these are used to classify countries into the different categories based on the incidence of poverty although many of these relate to food poverty. Thus the clarification of the Kenyan poverty scenario is depicted using data from various organizations, and the efforts that have been put in place to combat the problem of poverty in Kenya have been discussed.

3.2 Economic Development: Issues and Concepts

Tourism economic impact statistics, especially in developing countries, are often misconstrued as signifying overall development. In Kenya, for example, the projections of tourism earnings contributing about 10% to the Gross Domestic
Chapter Three: Tourism Development and Poverty Alleviation: A Review of Key Issues, Concepts and Models Literature Review

Product (Kenya Government, 2004) may be misinterpreted as implying that tourism makes a significant contribution to the general development of Kenya, whereas, in fact, the situation prevailing on the ground may be very different. In most cases, tourism revenue generation statistics include only economic considerations and rarely take into account aspects of human development that relate to poverty alleviation. Furthermore, if tourism impacts were to be drawn against contribution to poverty alleviation, these would be insignificant, as tourism impacts do not automatically impact on poverty, especially when the priorities of developing countries are to achieve economic growth and economic development without clear strategies on how such efforts would impact on poverty alleviation.

Stanlake and Grant (1995), give an insight into economic concepts Gross National Product (GNP) and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in discussions on tourism impacts in relation to the economy. Stanlake and Grant (1995:319) define GNP as:

*the total output of all resources owned by residents of a given country regardless of where such resources are located. In other words, outputs from both domestic and foreign resources.*

GNP would therefore be a more worthwhile analysis of tourism in developed countries as residents of these countries are more likely to invest in other countries. For instance, the level of ownership of tourism resources by nationals of the UK and Germany in the Mediterranean region is considerable (Andriotis, 2002) and this would therefore constitute a substantial contribution to the GNPs of the UK and Germany. According to Stanlake and Grant (1995:319) GDP on the other hand reflects:

*the total output of resources within a given country regardless who owns and controls these resources.*
High projections of tourism's contribution to the GDP may therefore present an unrealistic glossy picture of tourism, especially in developing countries, and is normally used by governments to imply that overall national development targets are being achieved, whereas ownership of tourism resources by nationals is noteworthy low. The high projections of GDP, may therefore result in lack of appropriate policies that would otherwise ensure that local communities benefit from tourism development.

The World Tourism Organisation (WTO) asserts that through its potential for job creation, linkages with the local economy, foreign exchange earnings and its multiplier effect, tourism can lead to economic growth and economic development (WTO, 2002). Whereas this may be the case, most developing countries have taken to tourism development purely on these grounds and have even gone further in using tourism as the main tool for development and consequently poverty alleviation (Sindiga, 1999a). In fact as Sharpley (2002:221) notes:

More countries are turning to tourism as a ubiquitous vehicle for economic development and diversification including those with alternative viable economic options, such oil rich countries, using tourism as an integral element of their development policy.

This is an ill-advised notion taken up by most developing countries given that economic growth and economic development do not automatically translate to poverty alleviation or human development (Todaro, 1989). Lack of clear understating of tourism economic impacts may, for example, fail to take into consideration the inflationary tendencies of tourism (Mihalic, 2002). In the case of Kenya, land prices in touristic areas have increased substantially such that local people cannot afford to buy land and have consequently been reduced to squatters. In fact, one may argue that despite the glossy picture of tourism in Kenya, the levels of poverty are actually increasing in the touristic areas of Kenya (Kenya Government, 2005) as a result of
negative economic impacts of tourism, such that local people have increasingly become alienated from the slightest possibilities of owning tourism resources.

Moreover, Mihalic (2002:102) notes that:

_The main tourism flows still follow the direction North to South, that is from developed countries with relatively stable economies towards developing countries, that in general face inflation. Thus, tourism in industrialised generating countries reduces the inflation rate whilst increasing an already high inflation tendency in non-industrialised countries._

Taking a closer look into economic growth, Todaro (1997) observes that economic growth is merely concerned with a long-term rise in the capacity to supply increasingly diverse economic goods and services based on technological, institutional and ideological adjustments. Economic growth does not therefore take into account the welfare of local communities and may even occur with increase in poverty, as is the case with tourism in the Southern State of India (Sreekumar and Govindan, 2002). In fact, the private sector in the developing countries tend to take advantage of the weak labour laws in order to exploit local communities by paying meagre wages in order to maximise profits. The assertion therefore that tourism can lead to economic growth is only justifiable purely on economic analyses and should not be used by developing countries as the only means for justification of tourism. Rather, developing countries should be preoccupied with developing strategies that will empower local communities to take advantage of opportunities that will consequently lead to economic growth that reflects the true picture on the ground.

Unlike economic growth, the concept of economic development is complex and as such, it is difficult to arrive at an all-inclusive definition. Meier (1989), concurs and suggests that contrary to the populist belief, economic development does not imply overall development but rather, a single dimension of development. Meier (1989) further suggests that overall development should be adumbrated say at, the national
level, from which such considerations as national development may be drawn. National development therefore implies a progressive change in social, political and economic institutions necessary for the nation building process. Meier (1989) therefore, sees economic development as the process whereby real per capita income (total GNP divided by total population) of country increases over a long period of time, subject to the stipulation that the number of people living below the poverty line does not increase and that the distribution of wealth does not become more unequal. Furthermore, for the developing countries, economic development may be seen as a process emerging from poverty. The concept of sustainable livelihoods has therefore got a critical role to play as it seeks to ensure the alleviation of poverty for the achievement of economic development.

Moreover, Todaro (1989) scrutinises the concept of economic development by isolating the economic element from development. As such, Todaro (1989) sees development not purely as an economic process as this may be misconstrued, but rather as a multidimensional process involving the reorganisation and reorientation of entire economic and social systems that involve not just the improvements in incomes and outputs (economic development), but also radical changes in institutional, social, administrative structures, popular attitudes and even customs and beliefs. Todaro (1989) also sees development as both a physical reality and state of mind, which society has, through some combination of social, economic and institutional processes secured as means of a better life. Rising per capita incomes, elimination of absolute poverty (lack of basic needs), greater employment opportunities and less income inequalities are therefore all essential elements but are not necessarily sufficient for development.

Thirwall (1994) in addition, views development broadly as an improved change in economic and social transition process that follows a well-ordered sequence and
exhibits common characteristics across countries. This change comprises broadly of life sustenance (provision of basic needs), self-esteem (self respect) and freedom (choice). The concept of development therefore has similarities embedded in the concept of sustainable livelihoods approach. It is important at this stage to distinguish the two concepts in that sustainable livelihoods approach is mainly concerned with the elimination of poverty through the achievement of economic development rather than overall development.

The issue therefore, in the case of tourism development in Kenya, is not the attainment of high levels of GDP and/or GNP, and consequently the registration of attractive rates of economic growth, but rather the formulation of appropriate policies that emphasise local community involvement and empowerment in tourism development. The government, therefore, has a critical role to play in this regard, as the development of appropriate policies depends on its goodwill. This will involve the incorporation of local communities in the tourism development process through community empowerment and capacity building, in order to equip the local communities with the knowledge and skills necessary for involvement in the development process. Furthermore, this will ensure community ownership of tourism resources such that any consideration of say, GDP will reflect significant representation of local community contribution.

3.2.1 Entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurship is an important element of development and has been identified as a one of the factors of production in addition to land, labour and capital (Todaro, 1997). As with several other sociological terminologies, the discussion of what entails entrepreneurship has not yielded a unanimously accepted definition as to what the term actually is. However, the various authors on entrepreneurship appear to concur
on the key components of the concept. For instance, Dollinger (1999) observes that
the main features of any attempt to define entrepreneurship revolve around the
premise of: creativity and innovation, resource gathering and funding an economic
organisation, and chance for gain under risk and uncertainty. While agreeing with
these features, Getz et al (2004), add that pursuance of an opportunity regardless of
personal resources also features prominently and is a key component in defining
entrepreneurship.

Dollinger (1999:4) thus defines entrepreneurship as:

\[
\text{the creation of an innovative economic organisation (or network of organisations) for the purpose of gain or under conditions of risk and uncertainty.}
\]

Hisrich (2002) appears to be in agreement with this definition, but argues that the
management of enterprise is also integral to entrepreneurship and hence proposes a
definition that takes this into account as summarised below:

\[
\text{Entrepreneurship is the creation and management of new businesses,}
\]
\[
\text{and the characteristics and special problems of entrepreneurs.}
\]

Hisrich (2002:175)

The two definitions above imply that entrepreneurship entails only the establishment
of an enterprise from scratch. This subsequently suggests implicitly that the purchase
of an existing enterprise does not constitute entrepreneurship as the enterprise is
already in existence and as a result nothing new is being created. In this respect,
these definitions do not seem to take into consideration the fact that individuals may
buy into failing enterprises and turn them into profit-making organisations through the
injection of innovative ideas and the addressing of prevailing risks that may have
been the cause of the failure of the enterprise in the first place. Taking this into
account, Bridge et al (2003:36) define entrepreneurship as:
any attempt to create a new business or expand an existing one by an individual, a team of individuals or an established business.

Getz et al (2004) regard entrepreneurship as a complex process that entails the interaction of a multidimensional and dynamic set of factors and circumstances that arise from individual characteristics and attitudes that motivate entrepreneurs. This is a consequence of the entrepreneurs’ genetic makeup and social development with host community culture. In this case culture is a major driving force especially in relation to shaping the various factors responsible for the creation of an entrepreneurship culture within any given society. Getz et al (2004:36) argue that the existence of an entrepreneurship culture is crucial and that it plays a significant role in the development of entrepreneurs and describe this culture as:

the positive social attitude towards personal enterprise prevalence where there is an enabling environment and support for entrepreneurial activity such that through societal support, an enterprising spirit flourishes.

Most developed countries, for instance, within the European Union (EU), have consequently recognised the importance of the entrepreneurship culture and have set out to enhance it. In fact Matlay (2004) observes that developed countries are now actively promoting an entrepreneurship culture as a solution to the various economic problems that they face. Getz et al (2004) note that in the endeavour to create such a culture, developed countries will therefore have to deal with the various factors that affect entrepreneurship ranging from gender and religion to politics (various policies that hinder or foster entrepreneurship) and economics (prevailing economic environment).

Adding on the entrepreneurship culture discussion, Bridge et al (2003) suggest several factors that should be combined to reinforce enterprise development as summarised in the figure below:
Figure 3.1: Components of enterprise culture

Abundant positive role images of successful independent business
Opportunity to practice entrepreneurial attributes reinforced by society culture during formative years
Provision of formally and/or informally of knowledge and insight into the process of independent business management
Ample opportunity for familiarisation with small business tasks especially during youth
Network of independent business contacts and acquaintances reinforcing familiarity and providing market entry opportunities

(Source: Bridge et al, 2003:39)

Figure 3.1 above highlights the salient components of an entrepreneurship culture. The figure depicts the need for entrepreneurship role models with whom the society can identify and the need for avenues through which aspiring entrepreneurs can practice their skills. The figure further reiterates the need for appropriate skills and knowledge especially with regard to business management, vocational training and support network for aspiring entrepreneurs.

Dollinger (1999) further analyses the concept of entrepreneurship and identifies four dimensions; resources, individuals, environment and organisation. The integral dimension of entrepreneurship is the individual. Getz et al (2004) observe that individual entrepreneurs are the first level of wealth creation in an economy, the ones who, in turn, stimulate wealth creation for others and for whom the main driving force is employment (self), earning a living, pursuance of intrinsic goals (need for independence, be in control) and as an alternative to otherwise stagnant or failing careers. Dollinger (1999) in addition, observes that entrepreneurs are the
fundamental component of entrepreneurship and that each individual’s psychological, sociological and demographic characteristics play a significant role in determining whether or not one can become a successful entrepreneur. Personal experiences, education and training further contribute towards the shaping of an entrepreneur.

Whilst the possession of the relevant entrepreneurship attributes, skills, knowledge and attitudes are important for entrepreneurs, Bridge et al (2003) argue that these alone are not sufficient to ensure the success of enterprises so created, rather other resources are needed to trigger these characteristics. Dollinger (1999) concurs and advises that these resources are essential to the longterm success of an enterprise and that they should be rare, valuable, hard to copy and have no substitutes. Thus the key to the success of an enterprise lies in the ability of the entrepreneur to exploit the various resources available ranging from physical, financial, intellectual, human and technological resources to his or her own advantage.

Dollinger (1999), moreover notes that not all people can become entrepreneurs and that intelligence is not a prerequisite for entrepreneurship and consequently a successful entrepreneur. Dollinger (1999) argues that possession of vision, intuition and drive are integral to enhancing entrepreneurship.

Vries (1996:24) adds that the vision and drive components are key to entrepreneurship as summarised below:

... many people have ideas, but very few have the stamina to turn their ideas into action and as some aspiring entrepreneurs have learnt the hard way, a vision without action is nothing more than an hallucination. To be successful, entrepreneurs must have both vision and drive.
3.3 Poverty

3.3.1 Definition and Measurement of Poverty

In order to measure poverty, it is important to understand what is being measured and to understand how poverty is defined. As is the case for many sociological concepts there is no agreed definition of poverty. This is mainly due to its relativity, such that its multidimensionality and dynamism open up the term poverty to different interpretations in different contexts. This makes it difficult to have a standard measurement of poverty which means that purported measurements of poverty today only connote certain threshold levels of poverty.

The term poverty is generally understood widely in all cultures and societies of the world now and throughout history. For instance, the term poverty is widely expressed in most religions in terms of some sort of deprivation mainly income and food. Maxwell (1999), argues that analytical thinking about poverty can be traced back medieval England through to the works of Booth in London and Rowntree in New York. The first poverty standard for individual families was published in 1901 (Maxwell, 1999) and is based mainly on estimates of not only nutritional requirements but also on the failure to keep up with the standards prevalent in the society.

Beisner (1995), notes that due to the relativity of poverty, any attempts to define it are normally open to a lot of criticism. For instance most multinational organizations use level of income or percentage of Gross National Product (GNP) as a yardstick for defining and measuring poverty. This is very relativistic and justifying or defending such a stance is very difficult. For example what is the justification of using 50% of the GNP and not say 47%, or why use the GNP at the national level and not say local, regional or even international level? Indeed when threshold levels of poverty
are compared at a wider scale, they tend to be contradictory. For instance, the poverty threshold level (per annum) in Mauritius is US $545, meaning that any Mauritian earning less than US $545 is regarded as poor, while in Kenya the threshold level is US $145 (Beisner, 1995). This therefore means that a Kenyan earning US $145 maybe disqualified from any form of poverty relief, while a Mauritian earning 3.75 times more than a Kenyan may qualify for poverty relief. This implies that some people with more wealth are poorer than those with less.

Engbersen (1999:1) notes:

*Poverty as blot in society has been eclipsed by other priorities, especially the need to determine a financially acceptable level of social welfare cover. The swings in public opinion between concern and indifference reflect an on-going controversy about the nature of poverty. The issue is a political football and the argument cannot be a straightforward appeal to facts because the statistics are open to interpretation by those who set out define the characteristics of the poor.*

Indeed as Beisner (1995) also argues, statistics especially where developing countries are concerned may be misleading. For instance, failure to quantify and include food, clothing and shelter at the subsistence level in developing countries paints a gloomy picture of poverty. In this regard, a person living in a rural village in Kenya may eat directly from his/her small farm, live in his/her own house and in the event that he/she is taken ill, consult services of the local herbalist. All these factors are not quantified at all in consideration of the GNP despite the fact that using land as a collateral, this person could actually secure a loan at the local bank. Such a person would therefore be counted as poor, as his/her income inevitably falls below the poverty threshold.

Further, from the above discussions, poverty threshold levels connote some form of poverty line, which is normally based on particular criteria, for example for those set
for government purposes. In fact Engbersen (1999) sees the term poverty line as some form of bureaucratic language in defining poverty or some form of poverty threshold level below which one is classified as poor, based mainly on income. The World Bank (2004b) for instance uses the income level of US $1 a day as the poverty line, which therefore means that anyone living on or earning US $1 is poor and as a result in need of some form of poverty relief. Such analysis, as seen from the above discussion, is mostly crude as it does not seem to take into consideration traditional African settings, which in most cases are not based on monetary and materialistic economies. For instance, it would be wrong to make an assumption that because one lives on US $1 a day, one may be starving and hence in need of famine relief. On the contrary, a closer examination of the traditional African setting may actually disqualify many as poor as many Africans actually have access to the basic human needs: food, shelter and clothes.

In the developed countries, the consideration of poverty tends to differ from that of developing countries. The reflection of poverty in developing countries, for instance, is mainly based on the access to human basic needs (Beisner, 1995), such that emphasis is on absolute poverty. Absolute poverty is the situation where a population or section of the population is able to meet only barely its subsistence essentials of food, clothing and shelter (Todaro, 1997). On the other hand, in the developed countries, the deliberation on poverty seems to be on another level, which would imply that different situations warrant different considerations of poverty. In fact the term poverty is rarely used in developed societies and instead the more politically correct term social exclusion is preferred (White et al, 2004), such that efforts to alleviate poverty would involve strategies towards social inclusion rather than poverty alleviation. Social exclusion is therefore characterized by: high levels of unemployment, crime, inadequate skills, low income, substandard housing, poor health, and family problems.
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The problems discussed above highlight the difficulty involved in any attempt to define and measure poverty. Despite these limitations, there is a lot of work that has been done on poverty research (Maxwell, 1999), and there seems to be consensus that poverty entails a deprivation of some sort, revolving around the premise of income poverty, human underdevelopment, social exclusion, ill-being, lack of capability and functioning, vulnerability, unsustainable livelihoods and lack of basic needs. The International Monitoring Fund (IMF, 2001) thus defines poverty as denial of choices and opportunities and a violation of human dignity, lack of basic capacity to participate effectively in society, not having enough to feed and clothe a family, lack of access to credit, insecurity, and not having access to clean water and sanitation. Any attempt to measure poverty should therefore as much as possible accommodate most, if not all, of these issues.

The main concern of this research therefore, is not the elimination of absolute poverty in Kenya, as this does not seem to be a widespread problem, but rather the empowerment of local communities that are defined by organizations such as the World Bank and IMF as poor, based on the poverty threshold of US $1 a day (World Bank, 2004b; IMF, 2001). As the majority of the local communities in Kenya live below the poverty line, the research will seek to ferret out ways in which tourism can be used as a tool for poverty alleviation based on the cultural and natural resources that the local communities possess.

3.3.2 The Human Development Index

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is one of the leading organizations in the forefront of understanding and deliberating measures to counter issues appertaining to poverty. The UNDP works in conjunction with several international organizations and has, since 1990, been publishing the Human
Development Report from which the Human Development Index (HDI) has been developed. The Human Development Report looks not only into the rise and fall of incomes or economic growth, but also into the extent to which the achievement of full potentiality, expansion of people's choices, and productivity have been met. The report also looks into issues relating to people's rights in particular, freedom of choice, people's health and well-being, knowledge, and standards of living. The HDI is therefore a measure of the overall achievement in a given country based on three basic dimensions of human development - longevity, knowledge, and a decent standard of living (UNDP, 2002). Longevity is derived from life expectancy at birth, while knowledge is based on both adult literacy levels and the combined enrolment ratio (ratio of men to women enrolled in formal education). Additionally, the standard of living is based on GDP per capita income.

The HDI is calculated using data provided by several international organizations to the UNDP. UNDP therefore relies mainly on these organizations for data from several countries which may not be for the sole purpose of the report but for use for their own objectives. In the event that these organizations do not have the relevant data, UNDP uses estimates from other 'reliable' sources. UNDP then uses these data to calculate and produce the HDI, which ranks countries on the basis of human development achievements. As such the country with the best human development record is ranked first and the one with the worst, last. The results reveal that in 2001 Norway had the best record while the war-torn Sierra-Leone had the worst ranking 174, Kenya was ranked 137. In short, the countries with an index 0.8 or more have a high human development, 0.5 to 0.799 medium human development, while those with less than 0.5 low human development.
3.3.3 Poverty in Kenya

In 1973, the incidence of poverty in Kenya was estimated at 3.5 million people, in the 1994 the figure went up to 11.5 million, in 1997 the figure still kept rising to 12.5 million, and it is now estimated that 56% of the population live below the poverty line and that three quarters of these live in rural areas (Kenya Government, 2005). A Welfare Monitoring Survey (WMS) carried out by IMF in 1997, estimated the incidence of poverty in rural Kenya to be 53%, whereby the absolute poverty line was Ksh 980 (about £10) per calendar month, while in the urban areas the incidence of poverty was 49% with the absolute poverty line of Ksh 1 490 (about £15) per calendar month. Moreover, from the UNDP's HDI ranking, the picture of poverty in Kenya appears to be gloomy. The HDI index for Kenya in 2001, was 0.513, meaning that although it was within the category of countries with medium human development, it was still on the periphery, bordering with countries with low human development. Furthermore, with a ranking of 148 in world's HDI in 2004 and an index of 0.488, Kenya's poverty scenario appears to be on a downward trend (UNDP, 2004).

The distribution of poverty in Kenya varies from one region to another. In 1994, the WMS, showed the North Eastern Province in Kenya had the highest incidence of poverty at 58% the total population, this was followed by Eastern Province at 57%, Coast Province at 55%, Nyanza Province at 42%, and Central Province at 32%. This variation in poverty could be attributed to the fact that North Eastern and Eastern provinces are semi-arid areas, while Nyanza and Central provinces are more arable. However, in 1997, the incidence of poverty not only increased but its distribution changed, such that Nyanza province recorded the highest incidence of poverty at 63%, followed by the Coast province at 62%, as summarised in table 3.1 below. Currently the coastal area and the area to stretching from the South to the South
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East of Lake Victoria have the highest incidences of poverty in Kenya (for reference see map on page 1-6).

Table 3.1: Regional differential in the incidence of poverty in Kenya for selected years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rural areas</th>
<th>% of food poor*</th>
<th>% of overall poor*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyanza</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rift valley</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North eastern</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total rural</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mombasa</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kisumu</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakuru</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other towns</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total urban</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Kenya</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: WMS series, 1992, 1994 and 1997)

* ‘food poor’ refers to food poverty, while ‘overall poor’ refers to poverty in terms of lack of food, land, education, poor standards of living etc.

The key indicators of poverty in Kenya are landlessness or the lack of rights to land ownership, lack of formal education and hence literacy and numeracy skills, limited access to or lack of health facilities or in urban areas unaffordable health services and having no access to clean water (Kenya Government, 2000; 2005).

The difficulty involved in addressing the problem of poverty in Kenya as in many other developing countries, is now more complex especially with the increase in the incidence of HIV AIDS. It is now difficult to separate the latter from the former and vice versa in developing countries. Indeed as Saitoti (2002:155) notes:

... the problem of poverty is so much intertwined with that of HIV AIDS that these problems must be dealt with simultaneously.
Saitoti (2002) further asserts that the war against poverty cannot be won unless the war against HIV AIDS is won, while on the other hand the war against AIDS is unlikely to achieve much unless there are credible policies to fight poverty. In Kenya, the AIDS epidemic has robbed the country of the highly needed manpower both amongst the older and younger generations, heads of families, parents and guardians, which has in turn led to an increase in the dependency ratio in an economy that is already battered from negative growth. Incidence of AIDS is in addition more prevalent in areas of significant tourism activity such as, Mombasa, Nairobi and Kisumu.

3.3.4 Implications of the G8 summit on poverty in Kenya

Owing to its incessant growth and manifestation, poverty now ranks among the top agendas of world and to a large extent is mainly concentrated in the sub-Saharan part of Africa, which in comparison is the only region in the world that has become poorer in the last decade (G8, 2005a). Currently in the world arena poverty is mainly depicted in terms of the number of people living below the poverty threshold of less the US $1 a day, illiteracy and incidence of HIV AIDS (G8, 2005c). For instance, the African continent, which comprises 13% of the world’s population, constitutes 28% of the world’s poor and has 28 million people infected with the HIV AIDS (G8, 2005a). In addition the African continent is the only region in the world that is veering off the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (UN, 2000) which are to alleviate poverty, fight HIV AIDS and ensure universal primary education for all by the 2015 (G8, 2005b).

Thus, in order to combat poverty and put Africa back on track towards the achievement of the MDGs, the G8 summit, which comprises the eight most powerful countries in the world, made several proposals that mainly touched on education,
health, aid and trade. First, with a view to enhancing the literacy levels and technical knowledge base within sub-Saharan Africa, the G8 summit made commitments to ensure that by 2015 all children within this region will have access to free and compulsory primary education (G8, 2005b). To facilitate this commitment, the G8 members through the Education For All (EFA) programme proposed to provide funding to set up structures to support sustainable educational strategies towards achieving this goal (G8, 2005b).

Secondly the issue of health featured prominently in the G8 summit especially due to the grim statistics of HIV AIDS in sub-Saharan African. As a result, the G8 made further commitments to significantly reduce the incidence of HIV AIDS, mainly through the enhancement of access to health facilities and the provision of funds to support those infected with the disease such that by 2010 majority of people will have access to AIDS treatment (G8, 2005b). In addition the G8 member countries sought to increase investment in the global endeavour to develop an AIDS vaccine (G8, 2005b).

Thirdly, while acknowledging that the issue of aid was of critical importance in that aid was responsible for the poverty levels in sub-Sahara Africa, the G8 summit observed that aid could nonetheless be used to combat poverty in the region. In the first instance, the main argument was that most countries in this region were heavily indebted, hence referred to as Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC), and as a result of servicing their debts, they were becoming poorer (G8, 2005c). As a result the G8 countries, through their finance ministers, made commitments to write-off debts of some of these countries under the HIPC Initiative (G8, 2005b). On the other hand, the G8 summit proposed to double the amount of aid currently being given to sub-Saharan Africa arguing that this one of the ways of ensuring that the
commitments for combating poverty and putting the Africa back on track to meeting MDGs, can be met.

Finally, the G8 summit acknowledged the fact trade could significantly impact on poverty and that over the past decades, especially in the 80s and 90s, trade between sub-Saharan Africa and the rest of the world had halved (G8, 2005a). In order to reverse this trend, the G8 member countries committed themselves to ensuring that Africa’s share of world trade is increased, by supporting the fostering of trade mainly through the enhancement of investment and private sector growth, and infrastructure development. The G8 member countries argue that this will enhance economic growth and sustainable development in sub-Saharan Africa (G8, 2005b).

Kenya being a sub-Saharan Africa member country, the G8 summit undoubtedly had several implications on her poverty situation. First, in relation to the literacy levels, Kenyan stands to benefit and has already benefited from the EFA programme mainly by means of funding for her compulsory free primary education programme (Kenya Government, 2004). Thus given the commitment of the Kenyan Government and the G8 member countries, free education for all in Kenya is increasingly becoming a realistic goal.

Secondly, given that issue of the AIDS is intertwined with that of poverty, and as Saitoti (2002) suggests, the two issues have to be dealt with simultaneously, the G8’s commitment to enhancing access to AIDS treatment by 2010 is a further and welcome boost to the government’s endeavour to alleviate poverty. The AIDS epidemic has for instance robbed the country of a significant chunk of its productive population, rendered most families devoid of a bread winner and orphaned many children thereby enhancing the dependency ratio, and the few resources left have been diverted to the treatment of the disease (Saitoti, 2002). The country therefore
stands to benefit from access to treatment, which will mean a healthier and productive population, support for orphaned children and consequently freeing up resources for other developmental purposes.

Thirdly, on the issue of aid, currently, Kenya stands to benefit only from the G8's commitment to doubling aid to sub-Saharan Africa given that despite being on the HIPC list of countries, it did not qualify for debt relief because it was considered to have a sustainable debt burden (Oyuke, 2005). However, some commentators are sceptical as to whether the doubling of aid will have any major impact in Kenya. Mugendi (2005) for instance argues that through effective management of resources, Kenya does not need more aid and that more indebtedness will not spur economic growth and development. This is mainly due to the fact that the current debt servicing which constitutes 22% of the national budget, more than the budgetary allocation of both education and agriculture, is unsustainable (Mugendi, 2005). Clearly, Kenya would benefit more from debt relief as this would imply that there would be more resources available for other essential developmental needs necessary to alleviate poverty.

Finally, if the G8 member countries make true their commitments on trade, Kenya stands to benefit immensely mainly through the private sector growth. For instance, if the G8's proposition to eliminate all forms of agricultural subsidies to their farmers becomes a reality and that fair trade initiatives are fully supported (G8, 2005c), then the Kenyan farmers would significantly benefit from realistic prices for their products. In addition the G8 commitment to support local entrepreneurship and small, micro and medium enterprises SMME in sub-Saharan Africa is step forward towards to developing indigenous entrepreneurs (G8, 2005b). For instance the tourism sector stands to benefit from the indigenisation of SMTEs through an enhanced entrepreneurship support framework especially regarding access to capital.
3.4 Sustainable Livelihoods

3.4.1 The Sustainable Livelihoods Concept

The concept of sustainable livelihoods emanates from the unsustainable pattern of production and consumption, and more predominantly, the increasing levels of poverty in the world, that culminated in the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987. As such, the concept of sustainable livelihoods was originally seen as an approach to maintain and enhance productivity, secure ownership of assets, resources and income-generating initiatives, in addition to ensuring food security as well as cash to meet basic needs (UNDP, 1999).

The sustainable livelihoods concept is fundamentally made up of two components; sustainability and livelihoods. The sustainability component connotes the ability of people to cope with shocks and stress, economic efficiency, enhancement of positive environmental impacts and enhancement of social equity. Thus, the sustainability component is to a large extent behavioural, as it is based on how people utilise their asset portfolios both in the short-term and the long-term (UNDP, 1999).

Livelihoods, on the other hand connotes activities, entitlements and assets that are available for people to make and earn a living. In this regard, assets are not only defined in terms of natural resources (land, water, flora and fauna), but also as economic resources (jobs, savings and credit), social resources (family, community and social networks), political (participation and empowerment), human (education and labour), and physical resources (roads, schools, hospitals etc.). These resources, in terms of their accessibility and how they are utilised, form the basis of the livelihoods system (UNDP, 1999).
In further understanding the livelihoods system, UNDP suggests an analysis of coping and adaptive strategies by individuals and communities in relation to their reaction to such external shocks and stresses as drought, civil strife and policy failures. Coping strategies are therefore short-term responses to externalities. In the case of tourism, the response to say, terrorist attacks, is one example. Adaptive strategies on the other hand refer to long-term responses and entail behavioural patterns as a result of the externalities.

In short, the concept of sustainable livelihoods refers to the ability of people to make a living and improve their quality of life without jeopardising the livelihoods options of others, either now or in future (UNDP, 1999). In practice, this concept is an on-going process as outlined below:

- Participatory assessment of the risks, assets, indigenous knowledge and coping and adaptive strategies of individuals and communities.
- Analysis of macro, micro and sectoral polices which influence people's livelihood strategies, for example land encroachment and human-wildlife conflicts.
- Assessment and determination of potential contributions of modern science and technology that compliment indigenous knowledge systems in order to improve livelihood.
- Identification of social and economic mechanisms that help or hinder existing livelihood strategies.
- Making sure that the above four are integrated and interactive in real time.

In making its argument on sustainable livelihoods, UNDP states that despite its similarities to extant concepts, for example community development, the sustainable
livelihoods approach tends to have a broader outreach and takes on board broader macro processes (UNDP, 1999). As such, the sustainable livelihoods concept takes into account the gap between macro policies and micro realities and attempts to link the two. Sustainable livelihoods also provide a basic understanding of how people prioritise their needs, exploit resources and how problems are addressed at the local and national levels. The sustainable livelihoods approach highlights inter-linkages in the livelihood systems at the local levels and takes into account how these are affected or enhanced by macro policies, which consequently provides a basis for informed policy formulation based on the understanding of these linkages (UNDP, 1999).

Further, the sustainable livelihoods approach amalgamates social, environmental and economic issues into a holistic framework as a prerequisite for drawing analyses and programmes (UNDP, 1999). Such an approach is therefore not only integral in identifying the assets and strengths that local communities possess, but is also crucial in discerning how existing livelihoods can be developed further through the introduction of say, modern technologies and socio-economic investments. Moreover, the sustainable livelihoods approach mainly lays emphasis on local communities' strengths and assets rather than community needs, as is the case with many poverty alleviation programmes that, for instance, focus on provision of, say, famine relief to eliminate absolute poverty. As such the sustainable livelihoods approach is a long-term strategy and therefore requires a participatory approach, mainly involving local communities, which will empower them to move from the dependency syndrome of relying on handouts from donors to self-reliance and subsequently, self-esteem.
3.4.2 Sustainable Livelihoods Approach in Kenya

In further emphasising the fact that poverty has been, and still continues to be, a major obstacle to development in Kenya and that it is now estimated that over half the population is living below the poverty line (Kenya Government, 2005), the Kenya government is therefore faced with a major challenge of alleviating poverty in the country. The government has made several efforts towards the alleviation of poverty, the initial strategies being through strong emphasis on macro-economic stability and growth, with the aim of increasing employment opportunities and consequently improving livelihoods (UNDP, 1999). In the development plan of 1986, for instance, the government set out to promote labour intensive technologies, together with the promotion of small-scale and Jua Kali (informal) enterprises, emphasis on rural development and expansion of agriculture (UNDP, 1999). As UNDP (1999) notes, implementation of these plans has not yielded much, mainly due to the failure of the implementation policies and programmes, as a result of weak linkages between policy and project budgets and more predominantly, the inadequate involvement of local communities (the poor).

Due to the failure of previous strategies, the Kenya government working in conjunction with the UNDP, under the umbrella of the National Poverty Eradication Plan (NPEP), laid down strategies to address the poverty problem (UNDP, 1999). The main aim of the NPEP is to alleviate poverty through the reduction of unemployment, the provision of social integration and the creation of an environment that is conducive to social development. As Kenya is predominantly an agricultural economy, the initial emphasis of the NPEP is on agricultural development and SMMEs. The NPEP therefore proposes the development of new SMMEs and the enhancement of existing ones and, more importantly, promotion of agriculture through improved access to information on technologies, production techniques and
systems, financial services and business management training (UNDP, 1999). This will be achieved through the integration of appropriate policy framework that focuses on universal primary education, involvement of local communities in the planning process, and enhancement of opportunities for local communities. Thus the main focal areas of NPEP revolve around the premise of mobilisation of assets, development of smallholder agricultural systems, entrepreneurial development and creation of conducive environments for the poor (UNDP, 1999).

3.4.3 Strategy for Sustainable Livelihoods: The National Poverty Eradication Plan

The main objectives of the NPEP are to improve policies, resource distribution, access to services by the poor and community participation in the development process (UNDP, 1999). In order to achieve these objectives NPEP recognises the need to enhance employment opportunities. In this regard the NPEP sees the promotion of SMME as crucial, as they currently have the highest capacity of self-employment opportunities (UNDP, 1999). In order for this to succeed, an enabling environment has to be created and maintained. This should be enhanced through the removal of constraints and improved access to appropriate facilities.

Due to the predominance of agriculture in the Kenyan economy, the NPEP sees agriculture as a crucial sector for poverty alleviation (UNDP, 1999). The NPEP proposes an improved agricultural system, with a view to increasing job opportunities in the country. This would be achieved through a holistic approach, where emphasis would be laid on improved agricultural processing, creation of off-farm enterprises to serve farms, and increasing farm incomes in order to create demand of off-farm products from off-farm enterprises (UNDP, 1999). Capacity building would therefore be of crucial importance, especially in rural areas, if such an approach were to have
a significant impact on the livelihoods of local communities. Capacity building would, for instance, enhance production skills, which would consequently lead to the creation of more opportunities. In addition, this strategy would also require enhanced facilitation of access to markets by SMME entrepreneurs.

The NPEP recognises and lays emphasis on issues pertaining to gender and youth (UNDP, 1999). Employment of the youth remains a crucial factor in the development of the country. The youth (those under 15 years of age) constitute about 50% of the total population in Kenya (UNDP, 1999). Owing to the current unemployment problems, employment of the youth, when they will be ready for the job market remains a daunting task. Thus the NPEP proposes to equip the youth with the necessary skills and knowledge that they will need in the transition from education to the labour market (UNDP, 1999). The NPEP also proposes the creation of employment in the formal sector through the industrialisation process, as the youth are more likely to look for opportunities in the formal sector.

The objectives of the sustainable livelihoods programme in Kenya may well be achieved in the short-run, however in the long-run certain issues have to be addressed. Whereas some of the focus areas of the sustainable livelihoods approach are crucial to combating poverty, keys areas such as tourism, have clearly been left out. This is contrary to the new government’s main focus areas for development, as tourism has now been earmarked alongside agriculture for economic growth and development (Kenya Government, 2004). In addition, focusing on the informal sector may in the long run have adverse effects as local communities will become dependent on organizations such the UNDP or other NGOs, to provide technical and formal requirements. The other issue that arises is that agriculture at the moment in developing countries is vulnerable to conditions set by the Western world, for example subsidies and trade tariffs, which may not be conducive to the sustainable
livelihoods approach. Hence, making local communities dependent on agriculture may be detrimental to the objectives of the programme in the long-run.

3.5 Tourism as a Vehicle for Economic Development

Tourism is a multidimensional activity that involves not only the movement of people from one place to another, but also all activities both directly and indirectly linked towards the facilitation of this process (Smith, 1995; Cooper, et al, 1998; Sharpley and Telfer, 2002). In fact, Milne and Ateljevic (2001) see tourism as a complex phenomena that involves the transaction processes which are driven by global priorities of multinational corporations, geo-political forces and broader forces of economic change and complexities of the local involving interactions between residents, visitors, governments and entrepreneurs. As such, tourism generates immense economic activity globally and has grown to be one of the world’s largest industries in terms of volume and revenue generated (WTO, 2002).

3.5.1 Tourism and Economic Development

Generally it is widely asserted theoretically, that tourism development can bring about economic change in any given economy through its potential contribution to employment, foreign exchange, multiplier effects, tax revenue, entrepreneurial potential and balance of payments (Lea, 1988; Kweka et al, 2003; Sharpley and Telfer, 2002). Tourism development manifestations, however, tend to differ between developed and developing countries. In the developed countries economic impacts of tourism development can clearly be discerned, whereas in the developing countries the case for tourism development is still relatively vague as its impacts have not been clearly defined.
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In fact as Mihalic (2002:90) observes:

for less developed countries, for example, tourism is generally favoured for its potential as a generator of foreign exchange currency, whereas in Europe and in the light of European Union policy, it is tourism's role as a source of employment that has been of increasing importance, as well as its contribution to regional development.

Citing a renowned Tanzanian scholar (Issa Shivji),

the justification of tourism in terms of being 'economically good', completely fails to appreciate the integrated nature of the system of underdevelopment.


Lea (1988), suggests that tourism in developing countries should be assessed on two different levels simultaneously; the political economy whereby consideration for tourism development on purely economic grounds will isolate it from the general development context in the third world and, more specifically, the economic considerations of tourism. The latter appears to be the case in most developing countries.

Consequently, many developing countries have the tendency of pushing the case of tourism solely based on the industry's economic potential. In fact, as Sharpley and Telfer (2002) note, tourism is perceived as a growth industry and is set to increase in terms of international tourism arrivals and spending, which has prompted nations to join the tourism bandwagon. This has for instance seen the promotion of tourism in traditionally oil-rich countries, such as United Arab Emirates, and also in the sub-Saharan countries following the failure of traditional industries, such as agriculture, and manufacturing sectors, in playing significant roles in development.
Kweka et al (2003), using input output analysis, argue that tourism can contribute significantly in the economies of developing countries, following a case study of Tanzania, through its potential contribution to foreign exchange earnings, employment, tax revenue and multiplier effect. The emphasis therefore of such an analysis is on the measurable economic impacts of tourism in relation to economic growth rather than economic development, as there is no evidence to suggest an improvement in the welfare of the Tanzanian people as a result of tourism development. Kweka et al (2003) further suggests that the multiplier effect can lead to increased demand in other sectors, such as agriculture. This is a desirable effect of tourism, but the models of tourism development, especially in East Africa, tend to favour foreign ownership, which has been known to result in leakages through importation of goods and services at the expense of local ones, resulting in weak output multipliers. In the case of Tanzania the leakages were comparatively high as other sectors are relatively under-performing (Kweka et al, 2003). This therefore means that if most tourism goods and services were locally sourced, the output multiplier in Tanzania would be much higher. The study further revealed that the income multiplier was comparatively low, suggesting that wages in the tourism industry are relatively low, despite the high numbers of employment (Kweka et al, 2003). Indeed the preferred model of tourism development would be the scenario where tourism development leads to increased production of say agricultural products, not solely for tourism demand but also for other purposes such as export, as was the case in New Zealand in the 1980s, when Japanese tourists' purchase of sheep-skin, led to the growth of the sheep-skin industry (Lea, 1988).

Further, Lea (1988) takes a critical look at the contributions of tourism to any given economy, especially in the developing countries, emphasising the questionable relationship between tourism's contribution to GDP and whether this translates to development. In fact GDP is generated from the output of goods and services
produced from resources within a given country owned by both resident and non-residents (Stanlake and Grant, 1995). As discussed earlier (see section 3.2), in the case of countries such as Kenya, where foreign ownership is considerable high, GDP may be misconstrued as a sign of development, while the consequences of high foreign ownership, such as high leakages and low linkages within the economy, would downplay such a consideration. In this regard, tourism as a tool of poverty alleviation in developing countries will be ineffective unless critical measures are taken to ensure that tourism impacts reflect the reality on the ground so that appropriate policies may be formulated.

Sharpley and Telfer (2002) note that despite the fact that tourism is a global phenomenon, little attention is given to the inherent processes, influences, objectives and outcomes of tourism-related development. This is mostly the case in countries such as Kenya, where the perceived tourism-related, short-term economic benefits have been known to overshadow the myriad of activities that are employed towards the provision of tourism services. Furthermore, Sharpley and Telfer (2002) observe that tourism is a complex phenomenon, and that it should therefore not be assumed that if the industry is well managed and planned in a sustainable way, general development will automatically occur. Consequently, tourism development should seek to not only enhance the economic well-being of local communities but also the social well-being (wealth, health, education, freedom, opportunities and self-reliance), thereby having an appreciable impact on sustainable livelihoods. Sharpley and Telfer, in addition, argue that if tourism development is measured simply in economic terms, tourism’s contribution to development may be insignificant, as is the case with Kenya, and hence tourism policies have to be reviewed.
Moreover, Karagiannis (2003:184) observes that:

Lack of an overall integrated tourism policy has limited the contribution of tourism growth in Jamaica's socio-economic development. In formulating policies for economic restructuring and diversification, it is imperative to recognize the critical elements of the system in terms of deriving long-term strategy and to show relative position of endogenous strategic components. Failure to do so can easily lead to not only short-run, highly partial considerations, but adoption of an ad hoc approach to development which may be in conflict with the goal of a stronger economic fabric.

Fayed and Fletcher (2002), in making a case for the globalisation of tourism, argue that if barriers in international travel were removed and reduced, international travel and tourism would increase tremendously. They further suggest that the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) can benefit tourism development, especially in developing countries, through increased transparency by way of clear and detailed information on conditions of access and operation. The World Trade Organisation, in addition, sees GATS as a way of dismantling protectionist pressure to allow foreign companies easy access to local markets in order to benefit local economies through foreign investment, training, employment and tax revenues (World Trade Organisation, 2003).

On the contrary, it is for this reason that countries such as Kenya, whose policies have since the 1960s, advocated foreign investment, resulting in up to 80% foreign ownership of tourism resources (Dieke, 2000), have not yet reaped the benefits of tourism development as depicted in the rise in poverty, especially in the tourist regions in the country (Kenya Government, 2003b). Fayed and Fletcher (2002) recognise that ironically, the remittance of foreign exchange earnings and sectoral displacement can result in the erosion of positive economic impacts of tourism, yet this would be the consequences of tourism globalisation in developing countries. In the argument for tourism globalisation, Fayed and Fletcher (2002) have therefore
ignored the composition and nature of ownership in developing countries whose tourist industries have long been open, yet benefits from tourism development are minimal. Therefore contrary to the goals of GATS, local communities need to be protected and empowered to take up opportunities in tourism development for they are ultimate owners of the fundamental tourism resources, or globalisation of tourism will only further exacerbate developmental problems facing developing countries.

Sreekumar and Govindan (2002) observe that due to the failure in the traditional economy in the Southern State of India, Kerala, through decline in agriculture, stagnant industrial growth and effects of liberalisation of trade, the Indian government has turned to tourism as a viable option of economic growth owing to its perceived potential for job creation and revenue generation. Thus since the 1990s, the government has promoted measures to facilitate tourism development in Kerala through provision of low interest credit facilities and subsidies for large-scale enterprises, yet despite these concerted efforts, tourism development impacts have been minimal. This is contrary to data projected by the government asserting that tourism has been on the increase in terms of revenue and volume. One deduction from the Kerala case is that the Indian government has put emphasis on the private sector in as far as tourism development is concerned, without clear policies, to safeguard the interests of local communities. In addition, emphasis on achievement of economic growth does not automatically translate into benefits for the local communities. It is for this reason that the benefits of tourism development are only enjoyed by the private sector. Furthermore, it is not surprising that the interests of the private sector more often than not conflict with the aspirations of local communities in Kerala, often resulting in public demonstrations.

Results from three case studies in the United Kingdom indicate that tourism (festival and event) can lead to local economic development as it encourages capacity
building and training to take advantage of opportunities, improved access to credit and capital, encourages local enterprises, investment and employment (O'Sullivan and Jackson, 2002). Whereas this development is desirable, in terms of the potential contribution of tourism to the local GDP, O'Sullivan and Jackson (2002), observe that, economic growth may be achieved alongside increases in poverty and unemployment. Tourism planning, management and policy formulation should therefore seek to enhance tourism benefits in general, as aspiration for just economic growth may not be desirable in the long-run.

Assimilano and Azzanti (2002), argue that in making a case for tourism development, preliminary policy should assess whether or not tourism is a better value and more desirable economic option for an area and whether the timing of this development option is right. The lack of this consideration is a problem that manifests itself in most developing countries whereby tourism policies are either not clearly defined or are non-existent all together. It is a result of this, that perceived benefits of tourism tend to overshadow the formulation of policies that would otherwise be beneficial to other sectors. Assimilano and Azzanti (2002) further suggest that the formulation of tourism policies should incorporate a clear definition of property rights in tourism development in order to avoid conflicts in resource use and management. In Kenya, for instance, lack of clear definition of property rights has exacerbated the human-wildlife conflicts, human encroachment and environmental degradation, resulting in the victimisation of the local communities who mostly lack any form of empowerment (Sindiga, 1999b).

Furthermore, Mihalic (2002), sees the definition of property rights as a situation where host countries are allowed to retain premium value of their own attractions - a way of enhancing tourism economic benefits in developing countries. Mihalic (2002) argues that, in the endeavour to define the property rights developing countries
should adopt appropriate legislation that enhances ownership of natural goods by local communities. This will facilitate the efficient integration of local ownership into the economic development process. Lack of clear definition of property rights makes the use and exploitation of natural resources less productive as there is no one to be held accountable for the degradation of the quality of these natural resources, which form the basis of the tourism industries in most developing countries.

In a case study of Crete (Greece), Andriotis (2002), observes that preliminary results indicated that smaller hospitality firms benefited the local economy more than the larger ones, as the latter for instance, heavily rely on imported managerial labour, resulting in reduced linkages as these firms are mostly foreign-owned, most goods and services are imported, and profits are repatriated. In this case study, the smaller firms showed a high propensity for local skilled and semi-skilled labour, sourced most of their goods and services locally and above all, they were owned by local people (Andriotis, 2002). The development of small-scale enterprises, especially in developing counties is therefore evidently desirable and should be a key focus area for any tourism development strategy. The challenge to such development is that most developing countries have not put forth mechanisms to encourage and promote local community entrepreneurship as the tourism industries in these countries are mainly controlled by the private sector. In Kenya, for instance, most development strategies appear only to address the needs of the private sector such that national bodies like the Kenya Tourist Board appear to be purely private-sector driven.

3.6 Small, Micro and Medium Tourism Enterprises (SMTEs)

Whilst there exists a myriad of literature on SMMEs, at the moment there is no uniform standard definition of SMMEs. Matlay (2004) observes that this could be attributed mainly to the lack of standardisation and harmonisation formulae cross-
country that could be used to compare appropriate data for definitional purposes. The various definitions that exist do however feature common characteristics mainly in terms of the size of enterprise with regards to number of employees and profitability or turnover over a given period of time. Matlay (2004), for instance, defines SMMEs as non-primary private firms that employ fewer than 250 individuals or full-time equivalents.

The EU, in tune with its developmental agenda within its member countries, suggests a more detailed definition by integrating specific criteria that distinguishes the various enterprise categories i.e. micro, small and medium enterprises. The EU (2003:39) thus defines SMMEs as:

*those enterprises that employ fewer than 250 employees and which have an annual turnover not exceeding EUR 50 million and/or a balance sheet not exceeding EUR 43 million.*

In addition, the EU (2003) states any such enterprise meeting the above criteria should not be in partnership or be owned at least to the tune of 25% or more by an enterprise that does not meet the SMME criteria.

Table 3.2 below details the EU definition criteria by enterprise category.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enterprise category</th>
<th>Head count</th>
<th>Turnover (Euro million) per annum</th>
<th>Balance sheet (Euro million) per annum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>&lt;250</td>
<td>&lt;50</td>
<td>&lt;43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small</td>
<td>&lt;50</td>
<td>&lt;10</td>
<td>&lt;10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micro</td>
<td>&lt;10</td>
<td>&lt;2</td>
<td>&lt;2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The EU definition is thus an EU member country-specific and may not necessarily be compatible within the context of other countries. This is due to the fact that, for instance, the criteria used to define the micro-enterprises, especially in terms of
annual turnover, may relate to large enterprises within a developing country context. The context of SMMEs within a developing country may thus warrant a different definition from that of a developed country perspective.

The World Bank (2004a) has however attempted to harmonise the SMME definition within the developing and developed country contexts. The World Bank’s definition builds on the EU definition criteria but in addition features assets of SMMEs as a crucial criterion. Moreover, whereas the number of employees is more or less similar to that of the EU, the World Bank’s turnover criterion is significantly lower in the endeavour to accommodate developing countries. The table 2.3 below details the World Bank’s defining criteria of SMMEs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enterprise category</th>
<th>Head count</th>
<th>Turnover (US $) per annum</th>
<th>Assets (US $)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>&lt;300</td>
<td>&lt;15 million</td>
<td>&lt;15 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small</td>
<td>&lt;50</td>
<td>&lt;3 million</td>
<td>&lt;3 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micro</td>
<td>&lt;10</td>
<td>&lt;100 000</td>
<td>&lt;100 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For purposes of this study, the EU’s definition is adopted only with reference to the number of employees in the enterprise categories, as the integration of the turnover criterion may distort the study’s objective of identifying the extant tourism in SMMEs in Kenya. Based on the adopted EU SMME definition, SMTEs are defined as those micro, small and medium tourism enterprises that employ less than 10, 50 and 250 employees respectively.

3.6.1 SMTEs: A European Perspective

SMTEs play a significant role in the socio-economic development of Europe and are seen as a solution to tackling the various economic problems by the various governments that are actively seeking to create an entrepreneurship culture (Matlay,
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2004). As earlier observed, SMTEs in Europe have the ability to have greater impacts on the local economies in terms of employment of local skilled and unskilled labour, enhanced linkages due to local sourcing of goods and services, and local ownership (Andriotis, 2002). The SMTEs in Europe, in addition, constitute the largest part of tourism supply (WTO, 2002).

Such a magnitude thus implies that there exists a conducive environment that enhances the existence of SMTEs as depicted in the nature of products and services, marketing strategies, entrepreneurship support network, access to credit facilities and capital, and favourable policy frameworks. The role of government is hence very crucial in facilitating the growth of the SMTEs in Europe. Wanhill (2004) observes that the role of government is predominantly one of policy formulation in that the government policy will directly impact on level of investment in SMTEs in as far as it seeks to enhance investment opportunities by proving appropriate incentives.

SMTEs in Europe have for instance concentrated their efforts in the provision of products and services that tourists primarily pay for. As a result, the bulk of accommodation and food services are offered by the SMTEs accounting for up to 70% of all the tourism enterprises (WTO, 2002). Furthermore, the SMTEs play a crucial role in the provision of services that are integral to tourism activities in the destination area, such as fishing, skiing, safaris, and horse riding, all of which constitute a significant proportion of tourist expenditures (Peltonnen et al, 2004).

Marketing of the products and services provided by the SMTEs, is supported by national organisations and myriad of other private organisations. In Wales, for instance, the Wales Tourist Board supports and coordinates both domestic and international marketing for the SMTEs through the use of a destination management system (Jones et al, 2004). In addition, in line with guaranteeing the quality of their products and services, SMTEs seek accreditation from recognised organisations,
such as the Automobile Association (AA) in the UK, which for instance define criteria for membership, codes of practice and subsequently award grades to the SMTEs according to certain prescribed standards (Clarke, 2004).

Generally there is an elaborate network of entrepreneurial support for SMTEs in Europe mainly spearheaded by the European Union (EU). A study conducted in Denmark, for instance, indicates that at least a third of SMTEs had received funds from EU (Ionnades and Petersen, 2003). Interestingly, however, the study revealed that whilst the SMTEs concurred on the importance of such funds, few trusted the dictates of the programmes through which the funds were provided and were unwilling to implement objectives of such programmes (Ionnades and Petersen, 2003).

3.6.2 SMTEs: A Developing Country Perspective

Despite the vast literature on SMTEs, very little appears to have been written on the SMTE scenario in developing countries or more precisely, in Africa. Rogerson (2004) acknowledges this scarcity especially with regards to research on SMTEs in developing countries and further posits that the limited research that exists has jumped into the operational level rather than concentrating on the reasons for success or failure of SMTEs, or why they are not widespread.

Gartner (2004), in addition, recognises the scarcity of SMTEs in developing countries and poses two possible theories for such a scenario. First, from a neo-classical point of view, the lack of SMTEs could be attributed to poor and inadequate infrastructure, inadequate skills and knowledge, and low levels of saving and capital formation.
Secondly, from a dependency theory, developing countries are colonies of the developed countries and thus suffer from poor trade terms of exports and imports.

Moreover, Rogerson (2004) observes that the scarcity of SMTEs in developing countries is mainly due to the fact that large tourism enterprises dominate the tourism industry in these countries and, as a result, have continually marginalized the SMTEs. Consequently the growth and development of SMTEs has stagnated over time mainly due to poor linkages with the larger enterprise such that the extant SMTEs mainly thrive on the leftovers of the tourism industry.

Consideration of SMTEs in developing countries has only recently gained prominence, especially due to the WTO's Sustainable Tourism as a tool for the Elimination of Poverty programme (STEP) and new tourism initiatives, such as pro-poor tourism (WTO, 2002). This has mainly been as a result of minimal benefits accruing to local communities from the extant tourism development models and hence SMTEs have been identified as potential avenues for enhancing tourism benefits to these communities (WTO, 2002). However, consideration of SMTEs in developing countries, unlike their European counterparts, have laid emphasis on the informal SMTEs and hence efforts have been geared towards their formalisation. Informal SMTEs do dominate the SMTE sector in developing countries and thus constitute the bottom rung of the entrepreneurship ladder and mainly provide non-essential tourism products and services such as handicrafts, informal guides and petty transport services. Consequently, owing to the limited scale of their operation and the lack of research on the impact of these informal enterprises, the endeavour to have these enterprises formalised is complicated by the lack of government policy that would otherwise recognise the SMTEs, just as in Europe, as a strong force for development.
WTO and the new tourism initiatives do however assert that the informal SMTEs, especially through their formalisation, can impact positively in the socio-economic development of the local communities especially in relation to poverty alleviation (WTO, 2002). The WTO, for instance, argues that if access to markets was enhanced such SMTEs would provide ample opportunities within which small-scale enterprises could thrive. However, while there is no doubt that the WTO’s assertion can have some impacts, the magnitude of such impact is questionable. For example, unlike the model SMTEs in Europe, WTO’s consideration of SMTEs in developing countries lays emphasis on the provision of non-essential tourism products and services, rather than on essential ones like the provision of services such as food and accommodation (WTO, 2002).

3.7 The World Tourism Organisation and Poverty Alleviation

3.7.1 The Case for Tourism Development

The World Tourism Organisation (WTO) has taken the initiative to promote the issue of sustainable tourism development and poverty alleviation, especially in developing and Less Developing Countries (LDCs) (WTO, 2002). An LDC is a country whose per capita income is less than US $650 (Todaro, 1995). This initiative is drawn from the growing concern of poverty levels in the developing world and the fact that tourism is increasingly being seen as playing a significant role in the economies of most of these countries. WTO (2002) further argues that tourism development can be harnessed to promote ‘pro-poor’ tourism. Pro-poor tourism (PPT) is simply tourism that generates benefits for the poor (Cattarinich, 2001; WTO, 2002). The WTO lays emphasis on unlocking opportunities for the poor within tourism as the main strategy for PPT, as opposed to the overall expansion of the tourism industry, which may not necessarily benefit the poor. As such, the PPT strategies proposed by the WTO

Data from WTO's report on Tourism and Poverty Alleviation (WTO, 2002) indicate that tourism, especially international tourism, is rapidly expanding such, that the value of exports of tourism services in 1985 was 4% of international trade, 5% in 1990 and 6% by 1995. Using the criteria of US $1 a day to classify the poor, 80% of the world’s poor live in only 12 countries, and in 11 of these countries tourism plays a significant role and contributes on average 20% of the GDP or 5% of the total exports (WTO, 2002). In addition to this, tourism plays a major role in the economies of the 100 poorest countries (WTO, 2002). The major trend of tourism in developing countries and LDCs is international tourism, with source countries for tourists being the developed countries (Mihalic, 2002). The main reasons attributed for this scenario is the rising living standards, cheaper flights, holiday entitlements, package holidays, demand for exotic destinations and changing demographics (ageing population). In 1997 this trend accounted for 30.5% of the global tourist arrivals to the developing world.

Drawing from the concept of sustainable tourism development (form of tourism development that meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future), WTO (2002) believes that tourism development can lead to poverty alleviation. This can be achieved through conservation of attractions and resources, maintaining environmental quality, high levels of tourist satisfaction and ensuring that tourism benefits are widespread throughout the society. WTO (2002) is further convinced that the benefits of tourism can be harnessed to assist in poverty alleviation and that poverty reduction strategies should play a more prominent role in tourism development and its impacts to form part of any sustainability assessment.
WTO (2002) argues that due to the continuous growth of tourism and constant search for new destinations, developing countries will inevitably be affected both positively and negatively. The positive impacts, such as economic development and job creation will therefore need to be enhanced especially to benefit the poor, while negative impacts should be minimised. The tendency in developing countries, owing to the positive impacts of tourism, is the development of a tourism monoculture (WTO, 2002). The danger of this is the fact that tourism is a highly sensitive and dynamic industry dependant on decisions made by consumers elsewhere. Tourism has nonetheless grown to be an important sector in many developing countries.

In Kenya tourism has displaced cash crops such as tea and coffee as the export earner (Kenya Government, 2004). In terms of poverty and data from IMF (2001), the cash crop producing areas in Kenya have relatively low poverty levels while in the tourism regions in Kenya, the coastal and southern regions, poverty levels are generally high. Such an observation would therefore imply that existing models of tourism development do not have a significant impact on poverty alleviation compared to the existing agricultural development models in Kenya. In order for tourism development to have an impact on poverty alleviation, new models of tourism development that meet the needs of the poor will have to be developed.

Owing to the growth of international tourism and share of the market for developing countries, dependence on tourism by these countries can be expected. Indeed as mentioned before, this makes developing countries more vulnerable as they can only exercise limited control over international tourism. WTO (2002) argues that this is part of globalisation and that like many other sectors such as agriculture and mining, developing countries do not have much control anyway. One of the options open to developing countries is to open up or develop new markets so that they can effectively exercise significant control of their tourism industries. Developing
countries could for instance develop their domestic and regional markets, which are less susceptible to international influences. WTO (2002) notes that domestic tourism is in this manner growing significantly in some developing countries such as: China, where domestic tourist receipts account for 90% of the total; Mexico, where 75% of the hotel occupancy is by Mexicans; Thailand with about 42.5 million domestic tourists and only 7.4 million international tourists; and South Africa, which has a growing domestic tourism sector. WTO (2002) believes that such markets as domestic tourism would constitute significant opportunities for local development.

3.72 Tourism and National Development

The tourism industry has since the 1960s grown to become a global phenomena and has as a result, been endorsed by both the developed and developing countries as a tool for economic development (Mihalic, 2002). This has mainly been due to the potentiality of the industry to generate foreign exchange earnings, create employment, and its ability to bring economic benefits to regions with limited economic options (WTO, 2002). In the developing countries, success or failure in the tourism industry has been and still is based on international tourist arrivals. This has therefore meant that developing countries have had to concentrate their efforts in international markets at the expense of other viable tourist markets, such as domestic and regional markets.

International tourist arrivals to developing countries have constantly been increasing over the last two decades (WTO, 2002). Table 3.4 below shows international tourist arrivals to developed, developing and LDC.
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Table 3.4: International tourist arrivals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country groups</th>
<th>19</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>Increase</th>
<th>%increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Organisation for Economic Corporation and development</td>
<td>338 200</td>
<td>471 164</td>
<td>132 964</td>
<td>39.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Union</td>
<td>204 961</td>
<td>283 604</td>
<td>78 643</td>
<td>38.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other countries</td>
<td>3 465</td>
<td>6 652</td>
<td>3 187</td>
<td>92.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developing countries</td>
<td>150 563</td>
<td>292 660</td>
<td>142 097</td>
<td>94.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LDC</td>
<td>2 921</td>
<td>5 106</td>
<td>2 185</td>
<td>74.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other developing countries</td>
<td>13 755</td>
<td>25 562</td>
<td>11 807</td>
<td>85.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: WTO, 2002:12

International tourism receipts have also grown tremendously over the last ten years (WTO, 2002). Between 1990 and 2000 absolute tourism earnings in developing countries grew by 133% while in the LDCs by 154%, compared to only 64% and 49% in OECD and EU respectively as shown in table 3.5 below.

Table 3.5: Absolute value (US $ billions) of tourism earnings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country groups</th>
<th>19</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>Increase</th>
<th>%increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Organisation for Economic Corporation and development</td>
<td>201 082</td>
<td>330 464</td>
<td>129 382</td>
<td>64.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Union</td>
<td>119 998</td>
<td>179 041</td>
<td>59 043</td>
<td>49.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other countries</td>
<td>1 366</td>
<td>2 388</td>
<td>1 022</td>
<td>74.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developing countries</td>
<td>59 645</td>
<td>138 937</td>
<td>79 292</td>
<td>132.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LDC</td>
<td>1 021</td>
<td>2 594</td>
<td>1 573</td>
<td>154.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other developing countries</td>
<td>11 045</td>
<td>17 041</td>
<td>5 996</td>
<td>54.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: WTO, 2002:14

When compared with other sectors, tourism ranked third, surpassing sectors, such as fuels, ores and metals and agriculture, in developing countries, while in LDCs ores and metals, and agriculture ranked above tourism as depicted in table 3.6.

Table 3.6: Value (US $ billions) of major merchandise exports

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country groups</th>
<th>Developing country</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>LDC</th>
<th>Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manufactures</td>
<td>900 649</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>120 262</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism</td>
<td>113 902</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuels</td>
<td>73 624</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2316</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ores &amp; Metals</td>
<td>41 585</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>111</td>
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<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>25 167</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>6</td>
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Source: WTO, 2002:15
WTO (2002) argues that international tourism has played a significant role in the economies of most LDCs. For instance, in 1971, Botswana was classified as an LDC but has since the 1980s been elevated from this status with tourism playing a considerable role in this process (WTO, 2002). In countries, such as Zambia, Mali and The Gambia, international tourism continues to play a significant role in terms of economic impacts (WTO, 2002). Given then that tourism has had significant impacts in the economies of both developing and LDCs, the potential of tourism development could then be harnessed towards poverty alleviation, if the economic benefits generated are widespread within the society. WTO (2002) further suggests that the poor can benefit from employment and diversified livelihoods generated by tourism. Direct taxation can contribute to poverty alleviation through the facilitation of such services as education, health, sanitation and infrastructure development.

The WTO (2002) moreover, makes a point for the case of tourism development in developing countries in comparison with other sectors. WTO (2002) argues that tourism has a comparative advantage to other sectors and that this provides opportunities for local communities as summarised below:

- Unlike other sectors consumers of tourism products travel to the source thereby providing potential opportunities for the local communities.
- There are no tariffs imposed on tourism.
- Tourism can thrive on assets possessed by the poor e.g. culture and natural resources.
- Tourism has potential in countries with limited economic options.
- Due to its potential for diversification, tourism can increase the scope of participation and opportunities.
- Tourism is labour intensive.
In adopting tourism as a development strategy, WTO (2002) suggests that costs have to be taken into consideration. For instance, the issue of leakages, which adversely affect the poor, need to be minimised. Tourism development may also push up the rate of inflation, such that assets like land may become unaffordable for the local communities implying that tourism as a development strategy may not actually be appropriate in addressing poverty alleviation related matters (Mihalic, 2002). It is important to also note that tourism is a very sensitive industry that is very vulnerable to externalities such as political instability, civil unrest and insecurity. Measures therefore have to be taken in advance and in anticipation, to address and counter these externalities. The cost of marketing international tourism is very high yet developing countries mainly rely on this market. As local communities may be incapable of bearing the costs, major players in the industry will therefore continue to exercise control to ensure that they get returns on investments at the expense of the local communities. It is therefore important for developing countries to develop markets that can benefit the poor and are relatively cheaper to market such as domestic and regional markets.

3.73 Tourism and Local Development

WTO (2002) argues that contribution of tourism to local economies is often undervalued in the devising of poverty reduction strategies. WTO (2002) identifies five positive impacts of tourism in relation to poverty reduction. These are: wages from formal employment, earnings from goods and services, profits from locally owned businesses, collective income from land rentals for example, and infrastructure gains. These impacts are very desirable, but in reality the situation in most developing countries is far from desirable. First, earnings from formal employment are so limited such that local communities only earn from the lower cadre jobs, local enterprises are limited, the multinational companies tend to limit
access of the local communities to tourists and also tend to make their purchases abroad (Mihalic, 2002). These obstacles will therefore have to be minimised in order for tourism to have significant economic impacts in the local economies.

WTO (2002) suggests that one of the ways to maximise benefits of tourism to local communities is by minimising leakages and enhancing linkages in the industry. Leakages basically refer to the expenditure on the importation of goods and services that may be required by tourists (Sindiga, 1999b). WTO (2002) argues that economies with weaker linkages tend to have higher leakages in the tourism industry owing to their incapacity to provide reliable, continuous, competitively priced tourism products. Therefore, in order for developing countries to enhance linkages in their tourism industries, they will need to adopt new strategies to tourism development.

For instance, WTO (2002) notes that one of the ways to enhancing tourism linkages in developing countries in order to address poverty related issues, is to strengthen the link between the formal sector and local economy. The formal sector in this regard may be composed of hotels, lodges, restaurants, tour operators and transport providers. Whereas this linkage may be desirable, measures will need to be taken to ensure equitable benefits and this will require the goodwill of both parties concerned. WTO (2002) suggests that such integration can develop stronger linkages not only within the tourism sector, but also other sectors such as agriculture, fisheries, construction and the souvenir sectors. This should be the ideal model of tourism development as it can lead to not only poverty reduction but also general growth of the economy, as tourism can be a stimulant to the development of other sectors due to its multiplier effect. WTO (2002) thus argues that strategies for stronger local linkages should form an integral part in any tourism development strategy and that policies should be developed by governments to enhance such linkages.
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WTO (2002) suggests that in order to ensure the success of stronger linkages in the developing countries, the partnership approach will need to be adopted. WTO (2002) sees this as being very important since the process requires unity from stakeholders minimising the element of competition from amongst them. Partnerships can for instance be formed between the business community, local communities, local government and Non-governmental organisations (NGOs). WTO (2002) argues that such partnerships can be beneficial not only to the business community but more so to the local communities, especially in addressing poverty related issues. Such partnerships will for instance ensure a richer experience for tourists and will also mean that tourists spend more time and money within the local economies, thereby providing more opportunities for the local communities.

One of the major obstacles to ensuring stronger linkages within the local economy is the minimal access to tourists by local communities (WTO, 2002). For instance, the business community needs to maximise its profits at all costs and would therefore tend to have all-inclusive products. Some hotels in Kenya even have curio-shops and in-house cultural entertainment. This has therefore foreclosed opportunities for local communities especially in Southern Kenya whereby most of the tourist accommodation facilities are located within game reserves that local people do not have access to. The only access that locals seem to have is at entry points, which is also limited due time constraints. This is a serious problem that needs to be addressed in order to ensure stronger linkages and for tourism to make an impact in poverty alleviation strategies (WTO, 2002)

3.4. Enhancing Economic Benefits of Tourism

WTO (2002) notes that developing countries are mainly dependant on international tourism and that these countries have not really tapped optimum benefits from
tourism. Whereas international tourism in this regard may be important in terms of foreign exchange for instance, WTO (2002) argues that developing countries need to develop alternative markets such as the domestic and regional tourism markets. Indeed potential tourism markets are relatively unexplored in developing countries despite the fact that 40% of Africa's tourism is derived from neighbouring African countries themselves (WTO, 2002). The main advantage of developing such markets is that these forms of tourism markets are not susceptible to international externalities and that they would more specifically, have a significant impact on poverty alleviation through the redistribution of national or regional income, to state an example. WTO (2002) further adds that intra-regional tourism fits well with pro-poor tourism initiatives in that there is a greater likelihood of shared cultural values and familiarity with social systems. In addition, domestic and regional tourists will to a large extent make use of locally owned resources, such as accommodation facilities, restaurants, entertainment and transport.

WTO (2002) suggests that increasing the average length of stay of tourists in developing countries through product development will lead to increased benefits through increased tourist expenditures and consequently, more employment opportunities. This is a desirable development, but strategies should be further developed to ensure that local communities also benefit. This is so because under existing models of tourism development, benefits only accrue to the big companies. In southern Kenya, for instance, where local communities have limited access to tourists, increased length of stay will have minimal or insignificant impacts on poverty alleviation. To exemplify this, during the harvesting season of wheat, September to December, the Southern Kenya Region is bursting with economic activities, whereas during the tourism high season, April to August, the same impact is not felt (Sindiga, 1999a). This therefore implies that inline with increasing the length of stay,
appropriate models of sustainable tourism will also have to be developed (Weiler and Ham, 2002).

WTO (2002) further notes that development of complementary products would ensure increased benefits to local communities. Complementary products are additional goods and services to the main tourism product. WTO (2002) argues that development of such products would benefit the poor as this would enable them to participate and profit from the industry through the opportunities that would arise. In addition, these products would also benefit tourists by offering a wider variety and richness of attractions. In the development of these products further strategies to ensure the access of the local communities to tourists would have to be incorporated (WTO, 2002).

3.5 ProPoor Tourism: Tourism Benefiting the Poor

Following studies carried out on its behalf by the Department for Foreign International Development (DFID), UK, WTO is convinced that the Pro-Poor tourism (PPT) approach can lead to poverty alleviation as evidenced in six case studies in Ecuador, Namibia, South Africa, St. Lucia and Uganda WTO, 2002). WTO (2002) as a result suggests that in addition to providing material benefits to the poor, tourism can also bring about cultural pride, sense of ownership and control, and reduced vulnerability. In order therefore for tourism to be an effective tool of poverty alleviation, in countries such as Kenya, new models of tourism development that promote and meet the needs of the poor, will have to be developed.

The main emphasis of PPT is on unlocking opportunities for the poor rather than the general expansion of tourism in developing countries (WTO, 2002). WTO (2002) suggests that strategies for PPT development can be developed within any segment.
of the tourism sector and that these strategies should be distinguished from general tourism development strategies whose aim may be to advance the whole sector in general. In other words, WTO seems to argue that PPT strategies can co-exist within other models of tourism development. Whereas this may be possible in certain instances, it is important to take into consideration that existing models of tourism development in most developing countries are mostly composed of private and to a large extent foreign ownership (Dieke, 2000), which implies that profits are of utmost importance. In this scenario, strategies for PPT may appear to be competing against existing models of tourism development such that PPT initiatives may not be well received.

3.6 Enhancing Local Impacts of Tourism for The Poor

One of the major challenges of PPT is the access of the poor to tourists. WTO (2002) suggests that if access is enhanced sufficiently, then opportunities for the poor will also increase. This therefore means that partnerships with those who currently control access will have to be formed so that strategies are worked out on how access may be facilitated. Focus on such strategies, however, only fosters the informal sector, which may in short-run have an impact on poverty, but will in the long-run perpetuate a sense of lack of self-esteem and respect. This is due to the fact that focusing on the informal access presupposes that local communities are not capable of having more formalised structures hence the need to focus on the informal. Furthermore, this will not lead to self-reliance, but rather to a situation of greater dependency whereby the local communities are under the mercy of the goodwill of the private sector.

WTO (2002) argues that PPT is dependant on the potential of the tourist destination to attract sufficient numbers of tourists. As such PPT will flourish only in destinations
of high tourism potential. In reality, however, regions with high tourism potential already have established tourism stakeholders such that introducing PPT initiatives may not be easy. What may be required, therefore, would be the diversification of markets and the development of new tourism products such as cultural products, over which the poor have comparative advantage. In this manner PPT initiatives would not appear to be in competition with the already established tourism settings. In addition, there may be the need to distinguish destinations by classifying them into two categories namely: areas with potential for tourism development and already developed tourist destinations. This would be handy especially in areas of limited economic alternatives whereby PPT can be developed.

One of the key elements necessary for the facilitation of PPT is the government. In fact, WTO (2002) sees governments as playing a very crucial role in PPT initiatives as the implementation of such initiatives depends largely on their goodwill. Governments of developing countries can facilitate PPT through formulation of tourism policies that promote poverty alleviation strategies (WTO, 2002). The governments may for instance, act as a regulatory body by setting conditions in the tourism sector that will benefit the poor, facilitate infrastructure development and exercise planning control. As such, governments may be seen as the core to any PPT initiatives.

WTO (2002) suggests that PPT will only succeed if an integrated approach were taken at the local level with capacity building and skills development. Indeed this is an important element as it would result not only in the empowerment of the poor but also in equipping them with the necessary skills and knowledge that would assist them in taking advantage of the benefits of tourism. Whereas this may be appreciable, more emphasis should be laid on developing all-round capacities to include, say managerial, entrepreneurial capacities. This would also enable them to
make informed decisions on matters appertaining to tourism development, that may affect them.

WTO (2002) is optimistic that despite the challenges facing PPT, there are plenty of opportunities for these initiatives. In this regard, the widespread attention to poverty alleviation, the growing concern about responsible tourism development, various government initiatives and the general potential contribution of tourism operators, boards, NGOs and donors, all constitute an environment favourable for PPT.

3.77 Lessons on Good Practice

WTO (2002) notes that PPT is a new initiative and that as yet, there is no blue print as it has not been tried and tested. WTO therefore recognises the need for further research in models of tourism development that meet the needs of the poor and suggests that there are several lessons that can be derived from this initiative.

First, WTO (2002) suggests that there is a role for all stakeholders to play in PPT development. The main onus falls on the government which should provide visionary strategies, practical policies, enlightened regulations and inclusionary co-ordination. The role of government would therefore be very important, for without its support PPT initiatives would be unsuccessful. PPT may for instance be incorporated into the wider tourism development plans and/or poverty alleviation strategies where applicable.

Secondly, in many developing countries, the private sector is the main driving force in the tourism industries (WTO, 2002) meaning that it exercises a lot of control in these countries. The private sector should therefore be seen as an essential partner in any PPT initiatives such that they may be used as facilitators and advisors.
Thirdly, WTO (2002) argues that donors also have an important role to play in that they must ensure PPT is considered in line with other development options, encourage stakeholders to participate, facilitate technical assistance and above all, source funds to enable further development of PPT. On the international arena, donors can also play an important role in facilitating PPT development.

Lastly, as the PPT initiatives are directed towards the poor in society, they are the ones who have a crucial role to play (WTO, 2002). The poor may be seen as not only producers suppliers, and workers, but as also participants and decision-makers. The poor would therefore need to be empowered through training for example, in order to enhance their knowledge and skills and to enable them to make informed decisions on the tourism sector.

3.8 Conclusions and Recommendations

The WTO (2002) recognises the importance of the tourism industry in developing countries through its significant contribution to the economies of many of these countries. Data from studies carried out by the WTO (2002) show that apart from the petroleum industry’s exports, significant in only three countries (Angola, Yemen and Equatorial Guinea), tourism is the main foreign exchange earner in 49 LDCs.

Therefore, due to its significant importance, WTO (2002) argues that tourism can be harnessed towards the alleviation of poverty through the creation of employment and diversification of livelihoods for the poor. Further, through direct taxation and generation of taxable economic growth, taxes can be used to provide services such as education, health, sanitation and infrastructure development, which would consequently improve the lives of the poor (WTO, 2002).
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The WTO (2002) appreciates that there are several challenges that need to be addressed, the main one being the access of the poor to tourists in the local economies. This challenge can, for instance, be overcome through the establishment of partnerships between local communities and the private sector. These partnerships would further enhance linkages within the local economy which would consequently lead to increased opportunities for the poor.

WTO (2002) notes that in most developing countries the primary advantage of tourism development is its ability to generate foreign exchange earnings and its contribution to GNP, as it tends to be, to a large extent, internationally oriented with tourists mainly being from developed countries. Performance of the tourism industry in this regard, is measured in terms of the total number of international tourist arrivals and earnings normally projected in gross figures rather than net income generated by tourism (WTO, 2002). This in turn paints a glossy picture of the tourism industry in the developing countries as gross income projections tend to ignore the costs of tourism such as the import and inflationary costs (Mihalic, 2002). Tourism policies and development plans in these countries need to address the reality of tourism in terms of costs and benefits, and focus more directly on PPT agenda.

The WTO (2002) further argues that broad-based tourism development can only be beneficial to the poor if they are able to access a commercially viable tourist market. This may be a result of government efforts to market and promote tourism in the local communities. The WTO (2002) also recognises the need for the consideration of the impacts of various models of tourism development in the planning process. This is in recognition of the fact that at the moment there is no blue print for PPT.

The WTO (2002) however, lays more emphasis on the informal sector in the local economy arguing that this would be beneficial to local communities in as far as poverty alleviation is concerned. Further, WTO emphasises the importance of
partnerships seeing the private sector as crucial to PPT initiatives. Various case studies within the WTO report on poverty alleviation depict these deliberations (WTO, 2002). The trouble with such an approach is that it has short-term connotations such that the goals of poverty alleviation may not be achieved in the long run. Moreover, this implicitly suggests that local communities are not capable of having more formalised tourism structures in terms ownership and/or running of tourism resources. In addition, the private tourism sector in developing countries, is mainly interested in profit generation, and in countries such as Kenya, recuperating from the recent travel bans (Orina, 2003), the private sector would be more preoccupied with the recovery of losses. Thus emphasis on partnerships as an integral part of PPT would only perpetuate an informal tourism sector as the private sector would not wish to create additional problems for itself by creating competition with the local communities.

As already mentioned, WTO (2002) argues that one of the predominant reasons why tourism development has not had a significant impact on poverty alleviation is lack the of access to tourists by the local communities. Thus WTO lays emphasis on the enhancement of accessibility in order to increase the benefits of tourism to the local communities. Whereas such a strategy may have an impact in short run, this should not be seen as a long-term solution to poverty alleviation, as it will only exacerbate local community dependency on the goodwill of the existing tourism enterprises to facilitate the strategy. Moreover, laying emphasis on this strategy would only help foster the informal sector only in terms of local communities peddling their craft ware to tourists at throw away prices, rather than the empowering them to develop more sustainable tourism products the would be beneficial to them in the long run.

Figure 3.2 below adapts WTO's considerations for tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation in diagrammatic form.
3.8 Case Study Analysis

3.8.1 Nusa Dusa, Southern Bali

The World Bank together with the Bali Tourism Development Corporation (BTDC) have developed the Nusa Dusa tourism resort whereby a 4500-room four and five star hotel has been established (WTO, 2002). This hotel is managed by the BTDC. Prior to its development, Nusa Dusa had only two fishing villages and a few scattered farms. In the initial stages of development, consultations were held with the local people and any would-be negative impacts to the local communities were addressed. The local communities were also advised on anticipated benefits of this development, in particular the creation of employment opportunities. The initial stages of the project also involved community empowerment to take up work at the hotel whereby a
tourism training centre was established. The local communities also benefited from the infrastructural development brought about by the project in terms of roads, piped water supply and electricity. As a result of the resort, local people have taken advantage of entrepreneurial opportunities by setting up small businesses like restaurants, craft shops and excursion boats.

**Figure 3.3: Nusa Dusa Concept**

Whereas the Nusa Dusa Concept may be appreciable in as far as the involvement of local communities is concerned, more could have actually been done to ensure maximum benefits for the local communities. Clearly funding from the World Bank does not seem to be the issue except that priorities were not effectively analysed. Although it should be appreciated that the local people did receive training to take up the jobs in the resort, the form of training only involved a low cadre level, such that the local people could only work as waiting and housekeeping staff. Arguably this is a positive impact of tourism development in that employment is generated, however, the emphasis on only this cadre of employment would imply that the aspirations of the local people does not rise above working as waiters and chamber maids. The
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Initial strategy of the Nusa Dusa development should have therefore incorporated an all round capacity building strategy that also sought to train managerial staff, such that the local community would have been empowered to run and manage the resort. This would have ensured maximum benefits to local communities.

The type of linkage that seems to be encouraged in the Nusa Dusa Resort is to a large extent with informal SMMEs like small restaurants, craft shops and excursion boats. Worse still, the development seems to be moving the local community to a situation where they are dependant on tourism, by abandoning the traditional agricultural and fishing sectors. This type of linkage would consequently have low multiplier effects as the other sectors would either remain dormant or be destroyed all together. The ideal situation would be to put in place strategies and policies to move from the informal linkages to more formal linkages, such that tourism development would also have positive impacts on the growth of other sectors, a situation that may even contradict the old notion that tourism cannot be a panacea for growth and development.

The Nusa Dusa tourism resort is run and managed by the BTDC, a subsidiary of the Indonesian government. Although the local communities were consulted during the development of the resort, this consultation was more from the view-point of how the project would impact on them, rather than what development they desired to bring about. In a way, the development was being imposed on the local communities, as they sort of relegated to a more secondary position with the developers playing a the key role. A situation like this would therefore have minimal impacts on poverty alleviation strategies, since ideally, the local community should play a more significant role. This further contravenes the sustainable livelihoods approach which involves long term strategies for poverty alleviation, because the local community does not seem to be empowered to own its resources.
In conclusion, despite its original goal of poverty alleviation, the Nusa Dusa Concept is more suited for private sector development as emphasis seems to be laid on the exploitation of cheap labour, given the type of training offered and consequently the maximisation of profits. Moreover, formal linkages with the local economy do not seem to be encouraged. Therefore, in order for the Nusa Dusa resort to have long term and maximum benefits to the local economy, the government would need to put in place policies that would ensure community development and empowerment. Thus, an all-inclusive capacity building strategy would have to be adopted.

3.82 Responsible Tourism in South Africa

Responsible tourism in South Africa is drawn from the South African’s government’s initiative in 1996 that produced the ‘White Paper’ on development and promotion of tourism which outlines guidelines and principles for tourism development in South Africa. The White Paper defines responsible tourism as:

*a proactive approach by the tourism industry partners to develop, market, and manage the industry in a responsible manner.*

WTO (2002:50)

The paper recognises the importance of community-based tourism development and in addition, the need for effective planning in tourism development to ensure that benefits reach the poor.

Responsible tourism in South Africa has been operationalised using an enterprise-based approach whereby existing tourism enterprises are used to promote community-based tourism development. The White Paper provides guidelines by which these enterprises are assessed, in terms of their contribution to community-based tourism. The assessment is based on the proportion of goods and services
sourced locally, access of local communities to tourism and the proportion of the local people employed on these enterprises. In order for these assessments to be effective, the paper recognises the need for transparent reporting of methodologies that would enable measures of success or failure which would consequently aid in effective marketing efforts and government monitoring progress.

Figure 3.4: Responsible tourism

The responsible tourism development approach in South Africa is a partnership-based approach between the established tourism enterprises and local communities. Although this approach has had some positive impacts in as far as employment and sourcing of goods and services from the local economy is concerned (WTO, 2002), it however appears to be short-term result oriented rather than long term. In addition, its success heavily depends on the goodwill of the established enterprises to support the local community development initiatives thus impelling the local communities to become more dependent on these enterprises for their livelihoods rather than moving the local communities to self-reliance.
It is important to note that South Africa is a rapidly developing tourism destination, but with major disparities in wealth distribution the economy is still dominated by the white minority population (Lemon and Rogerson, 2002). Placing local communities in the hands of established enterprises should therefore not be seen as a long-term development strategy as what is actually required is the adoption of radical development strategies. The government should play a significant role in tourism development in South Africa. Whereas emphasis on responsible tourism is on partnerships with established enterprises, the government should first put in place an all-inclusive capacity building strategy that empowers the local communities to run and manage their own tourism enterprises, instead of relying on the existing ones.

Furthermore, as suggested in the case of Kenya, the government in consultation with the local communities should consider the development of new products and markets, which the local communities have a comparative advantage of, such as cultural tourism products. In addition, this development strategy should seek to foster partnerships that would be of mutual benefit, for example, to foreign tour operators, as well as existing enterprises and should seek to foster formalised linkages with the local economy by emphasising the consumption of locally produced goods and services. This development strategy, in relation to poverty alleviation, would have more long-term benefits as it would ensure local community empowerment, ownership, control, employment, independence, and enhancement of entrepreneurial capacity, all of which are prerequisites of any poverty alleviation strategy (UNDP, 1999).

3.8 Improving Access of The Informal Sector to Tourism in The Gambia

Tourism is a very important sector in The Gambia, contributing 58.8% of the total export of goods and services (WTO, 2002). The tourism industry has been growing
tremendously, such that the UK market alone grew from about 14,000 arrivals in 1995 to about 29,000, in 2000 (WTO, 2002). This has increased demand for the provision of infrastructure for tourism, especially in the provision of hotel beds.

In 2001, a study funded by the UK, revealed that the informal and the formal sectors were not working in unity, as the linkages in the tourism sector in The Gambia were relatively weak (WTO, 2002). One of the reasons attributed to this was the distrust arising between the two sectors, which was mainly as a result of the pursuance of self interests which consequently led to conflicts. The study was thus mainly concerned with the removal of barriers that prevented the informal sector from effectively participating in tourism and in particular, facilitating access of the poor to tourists so that they could also reap the benefits from tourism.

Thus, the study sought to enhance linkages and minimise leakages. Proposals to enhance linkages included the promotion of SMMEs, such as fruit vendors, taxi drivers, tours guides, craft workers and market vendors as illustrated in figure 3.5. One of the recommendations made by the study is the regulation of the informal sector through licensing, which was meant to streamline its operations and also make it more organised (WTO, 2002). Through consultative meetings between the formal and informal sectors, strategies on how both could work in partnership were proposed. For instance, promotion of the informal sector by the formal sector was seen as a step in the right direction, in as far as enhancing linkages with the tourism sector was concerned. The result of this would be the facilitation of local community access to tourists and the purchase of goods and services by the formal sector from local communities.
Taking a closer analysis of the Gambian case however, reveals that the strategy employed in minimising leakages and enhancing linkages may not be significant in the long-run. For instance, assuming that on average a tourist spends £2 000 on a holiday trip to The Gambia, the bulk of this would mainly be spent on travel and accommodation. Thus emphasis on the informal sector indirectly implies that the local communities should contend with the paltry pocket change of say £5 (about of 0.25% of the tourists total expenditure), that tourists would be willing to spend. Whereas one may argue that 0.25% is better nothing, more could actually be done to ensure maximum benefits of tourism. Further, it is in the accommodation and travel sectors that leakages are higher as these tend to be foreign owned. Ideally, then, emphasis should be on the development of these sectors to see how the trend can be reversed or on products and services that tourists would primarily pay for.

The Gambian case further strengthens the suggestion that most pro-poor tourism strategies especially in developing countries tend to give preference to the informal
sector. Despite the fact that formalisation of the informal sector, through licensing in The Gambia is a noble suggestion, the proposition nonetheless has a negative hidden connotation. For instance, the proposition presumes that local communities are only capable of being fruit vendors, craft workers or taxi drivers. There is nothing wrong with undertaking such occupations, only that the underlying assumption is that the capabilities of the local communities only lie in the development of the informal sector.

The Gambia is clearly a growing tourism destination and its dependency on the tourism sector is evidently increasing (WTO, 2002). If The Gambia were to maximise her tourism benefits, she would have need to take up new development strategies. For instance, she would need to take up the all-inclusive capacity building strategy so as to equip the local communities with appropriate skills and knowledge that would consequently empower them not to work just as fruit vendors, but also as managers and entrepreneurs capable of owning, running and managing formal tourism enterprises. It is this strategy that would have a significant a long-term impact in the reduction of leakages in The Gambia.

3.9 Summary

This chapter has critically analysed relevant literature and established the theoretical understanding of how various concepts commonly used in tourism analysis are applicable in making the case for tourism development in relation to poverty alleviation. The chapter has revealed that some of these concepts, although crucial to some forms of tourism analysis, are not relevant in consideration of tourism development in relation to poverty alleviation. The literature reviewed has examined issues on economic development and entrepreneurship, poverty alleviation and
sustainable livelihoods approach, tourism and economic development, and tourism development and poverty alleviation.

The chapter has further identified two approaches to poverty alleviation: sustainable livelihoods approach and WTO’s considerations for poverty alleviation (see figure 3.2). The former is a general approach to poverty alleviation, whilst the latter is a tourism-specific approach to poverty alleviation. Owing to the fact that the ultimate goal of the two approaches is poverty alleviation, there is need to amalgamate the two into a unified model to enhance WTO’s considerations.
Chapter 4

Unified Model for Sustainable Tourism Development

and Poverty Alleviation

4.1 Introduction
4.2 Integration of the WTO Considerations for Poverty Alleviation into the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach
4.3 Strategy for Enhancing Sustainable Tourism Development Impacts on Poverty Alleviation in Kenya
4.4 Summary
4.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to integrate the WTO’s considerations for tourism development and poverty alleviation, and the sustainable livelihoods approach into a unified model. The proposed model has been deduced from the WTO’s considerations for poverty alleviation (see figure 3.2), the adoption of the UNDP’s sustainable livelihoods approach, and a critical analysis of the literature on tourism and economic development. The model entails a multi-linkage system whereby essential inputs for the effective exploitation of resources are taken into account, while considering how they relate to each other, resulting in economic development, sustainable livelihoods and consequently poverty alleviation as illustrated in figure 4.1. The chapter further discusses potential avenues for enhancing the impact of tourism development on poverty alleviation in Kenya.

4.2 Integration of the WTO Considerations for Poverty Alleviation into the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

The WTO (2002) argues that tourism benefits can be harnessed to create significant impact on poverty alleviation and thus laying emphasis on the informal tourism sector and partnerships between local communities and the private sector. WTO’s case for tourism as a vehicle for poverty alleviation postulates that tourism: provides opportunities for selling additional goods and services enabling the poor to become exporters; creates opportunities for local economic diversification of poor and marginal areas that do not have other development opportunities; is based on cultural, wildlife and landscape assets that belong to the poor; offers better labour-intensive and small-scale opportunities than any sector but agriculture; promotes gender equality through employing a relatively high proportion of women; reduces
leakage and maximises linkage to local economies, and thus offers opportunities for substantial growth, although success depends on effective marketplace value, quality of the products developed and meaningful community-private-public partnerships (WTO, 2002). Amongst strategies for poverty alleviation, WTO highlights small enterprise development although it stresses the requirement for support from government policy and development strategies.

The UNDP Sustainable Livelihoods approach, on its part, seeks to alleviate poverty by focussing on long-term development strategies that ensure the ability of local communities to make a living based on the resources available to them in a sustainable manner (UNDP, 1999). This approach lays emphasis on improved productivity, local ownership of resources and independence of local communities in meeting their own needs. Amongst its strategies, the sustainable livelihoods approach recognises the importance of indigenous knowledge, stresses the need for local community empowerment and involvement, capacity building and socio-economic development. It further builds on the strengths and assets of local communities and seeks to bridge the gap between macro and micro policies. Thus it is an approach that lays emphasis on the community in general and is not specifically geared towards enterprise development.

Figure 4.1 below integrates the WTO's considerations and the sustainable livelihoods approach into a unified model.
Chapter 4: Unified Model for Sustainable Tourism Development and Poverty Alleviation

Figure 4.1: Sustainable tourism development and poverty alleviation

Figure 4.1 above integrates WTO’s considerations for poverty alleviation and the sustainable livelihoods approach into a unified model. The model relies heavily on appropriate policy and legislation as a crucial element in linking sustainable tourism development and poverty alleviation in Kenya. It emphasises capacity building as a strategy for enhancing local community involvement and empowerment in tourism development. In addition, it highlights local ownership, complimentary partnerships, local community employment and entrepreneurship, as key factors that ensure tourism benefits local communities. The model recognises the need for new tourism product development, new markets and strong linkages within the local economy. Thus, the main impetus of this model is the indigenisation of tourism resources.
4.3 Strategy for Enhancing Sustainable Tourism Development Impacts on Poverty Alleviation in Kenya

Figure 4.1 has identified key issues essential for the consideration of sustainable tourism development as an avenue for poverty alleviation in Kenya. These include: the role of government; human resource development; development of new products and markets; ownership of tourism resources; linkages; and partnerships.

4.3.1 The Role of Government

Unlike the WTO’s considerations for poverty alleviation where the private sector is seen as the main facilitator, the model proposes the crucial role of overseeing the success of the proposed development strategy should be bestowed upon the government. The government should mainly be involved in three vital areas; appropriate policy formulation, establishment of a sound legislative framework and regulation and control of economic resources.

The initial stages of the development strategy would involve an analysis of what the local communities have or do not have. The government would therefore have a key role to play in mapping out the essential inputs towards the development of the strategy. This would involve working closely with local communities to establish their strengths and weaknesses in order to ascertain the necessary inputs. This would form the basis for the formulation of appropriate policies and would involve the local communities at every level of the policy development, ranging from formulation to implementation. The local communities, through empowerment and capacity building would have the opportunity to make visionary decisions, such that their views form the foundation of the policies developed.
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The government would further be involved in foreseeing the establishment of a sound legislative framework that would be appropriate to the development the model. As such, the legislative framework would focus on the setting up and enforcement of employment laws that would protect local communities from exploitation, considering that these laws are rarely executed in most developing countries. The legislative framework would also be involved in the redefinition of property rights, especially where exploitation of natural resources is concerned. This would ensure local community ownership and effective compensation where applicable.

In addition, the government could implement the regulation and control of economic resources that are essential to the development of the model. This would initially involve the sourcing of funds for various initiatives such an inclusive capacity building and the facilitation of access to credit. In line with this, the government could also be involved in the development of appropriate infrastructure such as schools, hospitals, roads, communication networks, energy, access to clean water, waste disposal and sanitation provision. Moreover, it could also be involved in the reinvestment of revenue generated from taxes back into the local economy in order to sustainably develop the capacity of local communities.

4.3.2 Human Resource Development

The local communities on their part, would form the human resource base implying that capacity-building strategies would be focussed on them. It is important to note at this point that one of the major obstacles to tourism development in Kenya is the lack of tourism awareness. In fact, a clear definition of tourism seems to be lacking all through, the from government level to the grassroots, making the development of appropriate tourism policies a daunting task. Initial strategies would therefore be focussed on creating tourism awareness such that both positive and negative of
tourism development are clearly discerned in order to enhance or minimise these impacts respectively.

The model proposes an all-inclusive capacity building strategy that focuses on the development of skills and knowledge, ranging from the operational level to managerial levels. This would empower the local communities so that they do not just work as waiters and chambermaids, as proposed by most capacity building strategies (Ashley et al, 2001; WTO, 2002), but so that they may also run, own and manage tourism resources and establishments.

4.3.3 Development of New Products and Markets

The model proposes the development of new products and markets in which the local communities would have comparative advantage. It recognises the need for the redefinition of tourism products in Kenya, from the traditional 'Big Five' and coastal products, to more authentic cultural-based tourism products. In this manner, the tourism products, just like in developed countries, would be defined according to their cultural rather than natural orientations, because the converse presumes that wild animals play a more significant role in tourism development than humans do. In fact culture is one of the most important characteristics of any given destination and it is therefore ironic that it does not play a major role in tourism development in developing countries (Ritchie and Crouch, 2003). The model therefore seeks to lay emphasis on such issues as the development of Kenyan cuisines, through appropriate capacity building, thus equipping the local communities with the essential skills and knowledge needed to exploit this cultural resource.

The model appreciates that tourism in countries like Kenya, is inadequately exploited, especially with regard to exploitation of markets. It proposes for instance, the
development of domestic tourism, as this is the form of tourism that would lay a foundation for other forms of tourism (Ritchie and Crouch, 2003). It also proposes targeting of specialist niche markets and/or new markets that appreciate the concept of authenticity. In this endeavour, partnerships with like-minded organisations and businesses would facilitate this process.

### 4.3.4 Ownership of Tourism Resources

In Kenya, the government has for some time favoured and encouraged private and a large extent of foreign ownership of tourism resources. The resulting trend has been that almost 80% of the tourism resources are in the hands of foreign investors (Dieke, 2000). This has in most cases not only meant higher leakages of tourism revenue, but also minimal benefits to local communities. The Model therefore proposes strategies for enhancing local community ownership of tourism resources similar to the Agricultural models of development in Kenya whereby Kenyan farmers form associations to manage and run their affairs such as the marketing of their products. This is a form of share scheme that could be employed in tourism development.

Alternatively, through the all-inclusive capacity building approach and through effective tourism awareness, the local communities could be equipped with the essential skills and knowledge necessary to foster entrepreneurial tendencies. This would enable them to effectively exploit opportunities that may arise from tourism development and could be facilitated through easy access to credit facilities, a role that the government could play.

Although this approach may go against the doctrine of globalisation in that there are protectionist connotations (Fayed and Fletcher, 2002), it is important to note that any
long-term poverty alleviation strategy must embrace protectionism to some extent. Local communities in Kenya, for example have not benefited from tourism development yet the private sector almost has a free hand in running its affairs. Furthermore, this development strategy does not seek to compete with the existing tourism enterprises, but rather, focuses building on what the local communities have. In this regard a cultural resource development approach is preferred.

4.3.5 Linkages

The model recognises that stronger linkages within the local economy are crucial not just to minimising leakages, but also to maximising tourism benefits. Moreover, stronger linkages will lead to a higher multiplier effect. Following then that an all-inclusive capacity building strategy has been adopted and that there is significant tourism awareness, it is expected that the local communities would be equipped with the necessary skills and knowledge to take advantage of both direct and indirect opportunities that may arise from tourism development.

The model therefore emphasises the use of locally produced raw materials in order to enhance the output multiplier effect of tourism. The output multiplier is mainly concerned with the amount of additional output generated with increase in tourist expenditure (Cooper et al, 1998). The assumption in this case is that an increase in tourist expenditure will lead to an increase in output and therefore a higher output multiplier as all the goods and services will be sourced from the local economy.

In addition, the model lays emphasis on the income multiplier, which is mainly concerned with additional income created in the local economy as a result of increased expenditure (Todaro, 1995), and in the case of tourism, increase in tourist expenditure. Higher income multipliers are only achievable if wages paid are also
significantly high. It is therefore hoped that through the legislative role of the government, labour laws would be enforced to ensure fair remuneration for the local communities.

4.3.6 Partnerships

The WTO emphasises that partnerships are crucial to any poverty alleviation strategy. Whereas this is important, the bone of contention is in the type of partnership being advocated. For instance the WTO suggests that local communities should form partnerships with established tourism enterprises. This would perpetuate the giant-dwarf relationships where the local communities are at the mercy of the goodwill of these enterprises thereby enforcing dependency. This is in fact against the goals of poverty alleviation strategies that seek to enhance independence.

The model therefore proposes a different approach alongside the WTO's partnership approach. It proposes partnerships that seek to empower local communities and that foster an element of independence. For instance, partnerships with organisations and businesses that seek to enhance community development initiatives, support fair trade efforts, support responsible tourism and that appreciate authentic tourism products.

4.4 Summary

In this chapter WTO's considerations for tourism development and poverty alleviation and the sustainable livelihoods approach have been integrated into a unified model for sustainable tourism development and poverty alleviation. Whilst the WTO's considerations lay emphasis on informal enterprises, the sustainable livelihoods approach is biased towards local communities. Nonetheless, both approaches
Chapter 4: Unified Model for Sustainable Tourism Development and Poverty Alleviation

appear to be geared towards indigenous communities. The unified model thus builds up on both approaches and has identified the crucial elements for the consideration of sustainable tourism development and poverty alleviation in Kenya. The chapter has also discussed a strategy for enhancing potential impacts of sustainable tourism development impacts on poverty alleviation in Kenya.
Chapter Five

An Evaluation of Indigenous Entrepreneurship in the delivery of the Kenyan Tourism Product

5.1 Introduction
5.2 Tourism Development Agendas in Kenya: Colonialism, Post-Colonialism and Neo-Colonialism
5.3 Implementation of the Draft National Tourism Policy: Relevant Issues to Indigenous SMTEs in Kenya
5.4 Indigenous Kenyan Entrepreneurship
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Chapter Five: An Evaluation of Indigenous Entrepreneurship in the delivery of the Kenyan Tourism Product

5.1 Introduction

Chapter four discusses a unified model for sustainable tourism development and poverty alleviation (see figure 4.1) that lays emphasis on the indigenisation of tourism development and identifies a potential strategy for tourism development in Kenya. An evaluation of the prevailing situation vis-à-vis indigenous entrepreneurship is therefore necessary.

This chapter reviews Kenya’s colonial and post-colonial tourism development policies and plans, and evaluates the proposed draft national tourism policy, 2004 (currently awaiting discussion in Kenya’s parliament), particularly its focus on poverty alleviation in Kenya and the case for tourism in economic development and poverty alleviation. The chapter further focuses on the potential role of Kenyan-owned SMTEs in linking tourism activity to local communities. It presents a case study of indigenous SMTEs in the Southern and Coastal regions of Kenya which was developed through semi-structured interviews with owner-managers of Kenyan SMTEs, and tourism support agencies. The results of this study highlight the challenges facing the establishment and growth of indigenous SMTEs. The chapter ends by proposing a potential tourism development strategy for linking indigenous SMTEs to poverty alleviation in Kenya.

5.2 Tourism Development Agendas in Kenya: Colonialism, Post-Colonialism and Neo-Colonialism

Colonialism is a form of imposition, domination or control by one nation over another (Loomba, 2001). As Thomas (1996: 239) observes:
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*Colonialism is not just about a matter of military conquest and economic exploitation: it is also a process of imagining through which dominated populations are represented in ways that play upon and legitimise racial and cultural differences.*

Formal colonialism, during the period between 1800 and 1950, was mainly driven by economic factors: trade, cheap labour and access to raw materials for the industries of the colonising countries, mainly the industrialised Western European countries (Hoogvelt, 1997). Owing to its lack of territorial boundaries and vast natural resources in terms of climate, minerals and other raw materials and cheap (slave) labour, Africa was a magnet for Western European countries. Colonisation resulted in the partition of Africa with the main beneficiaries being Britain, France and Germany. However, after the Second World War, Britain and France shared Germany's territories and became the colonial masters in Africa. The case for, and justification of, colonialism relates to the pseudo-supremacy of the colonising and enlightenment of ‘primitive societies’ colonised, as Hoogvelt (1997: 19) summarises:

> the colonial period itself did not lack advocates and crusaders who robustly identified the economic need for colonies and who legitimised this need to the people back home with the promise of jobs, as well as noble sentiments of civilisation and universal progress.

To pursue their agenda colonial governments established systems to entrench their colonial ideologies and to maximise benefits from their colonies; colonial laws legitimised and enhanced these agendas whilst suppressing those of indigenous people (Yung, 2003).

The post-colonial era was mainly characterised by two divergent discourses: neo-colonialism and post-colonialism (Hoogvelt, 1997). Neo-colonialism entailed a subtle extension of the colonial ideologies, and involved an indirect control of resources, mainly in former colonies (Hoogvelt, 1997). Post-colonialism, on the other hand, detailed a shift from the colonial ideologies and could hence be regarded as opposition to neo-colonialism (Loomba, 2001). Yung (2003:5) argues that:
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Postcolonialism names a politics and philosophy of activism that contests the disparity, and so continues in a new way the anti-colonial struggles of the past. It asserts not just the right of African, Asian and Latin American peoples access to resources and material well-being, but also the dynamic power of the cultures, cultures that are now intervening in and transforming societies in the west.

Officially Kenya became a British colony in 1895 (Akama, 1999) with its vast agricultural resources being the focus of colonial interest (Smith, 1979). The British Government adopted a ‘divide and rule’ policy to ensure quick return on investment in transport infrastructure by encouraging white farmers to establish plantation farms on cheap land using slave labour to foster agricultural exports. The liberties of indigenous communities were curtailed through the imposition of the ‘Kipande’, an identity card system which restricted the movement of indigenous people (Loomba, 2001).

The recognition of tourism as a potential resource for exploitation was a bonus for the colonial government. Rich wildlife provided the colonial government with opportunities to promote hunting expeditions for an elite ex-metropolitan European clientele as a show of class and dominance (Akama, 1999). Arguably, exploitation of Kenya’s wildlife resources came to the fore, following the visit of the American president, Theodore Roosevelt, to Kenya on a hunting expedition between April 1909 and March 1910 during which he shot over 3000 game (Akama, 1999). As a result, Kenya became a popular hunting destination and saw the inception of ‘safari’ hunting expeditions, initially unique to Kenya (Akama, 1999). However, most communities in Kenya, especially the Maasai and Samburu, relied on hunting for their livelihoods and this resulted in conflict between residents and visitors which the colonial government resolved through legislation and the establishment of game reserves to protect wildlife resources and promote safari and coastal products. This required the development of a tourism support infrastructure, e.g. five-star hotels in key towns -
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Mombasa, Nairobi, Nakuru and Eldoret. The legislation firmly placed resource control in the hands of the colonial government and served to restrict access of the indigenous communities to protected areas and prohibited them from hunting (Akama, 1999).

5.2.1 A Review of the Post-Colonial Tourism Development Plans and Policies in Kenya

In 1963 the colonial era officially ended. The main driving force for this was the growing need of indigenous communities to get back the land occupied by white settlers and this resulted in a significant shift in land ownership at independence. The few white farmers who remained were protected by international laws (Hoogvelt, 1997). However, despite the shift in ownership of agricultural resources, resources exploited for tourism remained firmly in the control of the Kenyatta government.

In the post-independent Kenya, focus on tourism development by the Kenya Government arguably started in the mid 1960s mainly due to two reasons. First, the recently elected Kenyatta government initially relied heavily on agriculture for economic development and hence needed an alternative source of economic development, especially after a fall in prices of agricultural products in the mid 1960s (Akama, 1999). Secondly, the government needed capital to pursue its development agendas and owing to its potential for generating foreign exchange, the tourism industry was seen as an excellent choice (Sindiga, 1999b). Table 5.1 below provides a summary of a series of Kenya's, generally, five-year post-colonial tourism development agendas between 1964 and 1998 (Akama, 1999; Sindiga, 1999b; Manyara, 2001).
Table 5.1: Summary of Kenya Government’s tourism policies (1964-1998)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Plan</th>
<th>Key Objectives</th>
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| 1964-1966    | • Annual growth rate of 15%  
              |   • Comprehensive amenities program in the Mara, Tsavo and Amboseli game parks  
              |   • Concentration of tourism development in the Southern circuit |
| 1966-1970    | • Stimulate foreign investment in tourism facilities |
| 1970-1974    | • Lay more emphasis in private investment in tourism facilities in areas such as Tsavo, Mt. Kenya, Nairobi, Masai Mara and Mombasa  
              |   • Develop infrastructure in areas such as Masai Mara, Amboseli, Mombasa and Nairobi |
| 1974-1978    | • Private sector to be encouraged to operate wild life utilisation enterprises in the popular game reserves |
| 1979-1983    | • Increase foreign exchange and employment through tourism development  
              |   • Tourism growth rate should be in balance with availability of existing facilities  
              |   • Concentrate on tourism programs and projects that strengthen capacity to meet urgent demands by increasing capacity of primary tourist circuits |
| 1984-1988    | • Government to participate in tourism development through planning and policy formulation, creation of infrastructure, direct participation in facility development and promotion of Kenyanisation  
              |   • Increase tourist traffic during the low season to increase annual tourist numbers |
| 1989-1993    | • Improve tourism infrastructure in the key tourist areas |
| 1994-1998    | • Mobilise resources to maximise and sustain high foreign exchange, tax revenues and increase employment  
              |   • Promotion of up-market eco-tourism |

The initial tourism development agenda of the Kenya Government sought to lay a foundation that ensured maximum revenue generation and for this reason it focussed on the enhancing of tourism development structures that were set up by the colonial government (Akama, 1999). For instance, between 1964 and 1966, the Kenya Government set out to exploit the wildlife resources for tourism purposes by developing further key areas (such as Maasai Mara, Tsavo and Amboseli game parks), all located in the southern region of Kenya where such resources were abundant (Kenya Government, 1964). The main agenda during this period was to achieve an annual tourism growth rate of 15% in terms of tourist receipts and arrivals, and to develop the necessary facilities to enhance tourism development.
through the comprehensive amenities programme (Kenya Government, 1964). In order to oversee tourism development, the government in 1965 established the Kenya Tourist Development Corporation (KTDC) whose aim was to promote the government’s tourism development initiatives, and in 1966 the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife was formed, with the responsibility of regulating and formulating appropriate tourism development policy (Akama, 1999).

Owing to the fact that the government lacked adequate capital and that its proposed tourism development was capital intensive, stimulation of direct foreign investment was seen as a viable avenue to raising capital. Sindiga (1999b) observes that the government’s endeavour to achieve the annual growth rate set at this time resulted in an increase in tourist arrivals that further increased demand for tourist facilities. Consequently, during the period between 1966 and 1970, government responses involved the creation of a conducive environment for direct foreign investment in tourism, which set the stage for foreign ownership of tourism resources (Kenya Government, 1966).

In its tourism development plan for 1970 to 1974, the government continued to lay more emphasis on foreign investment and in addition sought to develop Mount Kenya in the central region and the Coastal region for tourism purposes (Kenya Government, 1970). The main reason why these regions had not been previously developed was due to the prevailing poor and underdeveloped infrastructure (Sindiga, 1999a). Thus, the government laid emphasis on the development of relevant infrastructure, such as transport, communication, water systems and sanitation in these regions in the endeavour to enhance tourism investment (Kenya Government, 1970). These regions, in addition to southern region, remain the key centres of tourist activity to date. In addition, in striving to achieve its annual growth rate targets during this time, the government shifted its focus from the hitherto
upmarket tourism, a preference of the colonial government, to target middle class tourists who relied on package tours thereby setting the stage for mass tourism in Kenya (Sindiga, 1999b).

Thus, tourism development agendas after independence, tended to reinforce the legacy of the colonial era by emphasising tourism growth, boosting foreign investment, increasing employment on the low-cadre level and concentrating tourism development in the central, southern and coastal regions (Kenya Government, 1974; 1978; 1984; 1989; 1994). The focus continued to be safari and coastal tourism products for an international market. No attention was paid to the involvement of local communities in tourism development nor the promotion of indigenous Kenyan entrepreneurship and there was no shift in market focus or product diversification. Thus the anachronistic colonial model of tourism development prevailed. Sindiga (1999a) argues that there was hardly any government intervention to link tourism development to the benefit of local communities. Tourism development policies were arguably, pro-wildlife and anti-community development. However, constant issues relating to human-wildlife conflicts (Leakey and Morell, 2002) and human encroachment on the protected areas led to a growing need to redress them (Sindiga, 1999a) giving rise to several community-based projects.

It was between the late 1980s and early 1990s that community tourism development projects were first mooted. The first prominent community-based project in Kenya - Conservation of Biodiverse Resource Areas (COBRA), was initiated in 1992. It was funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and implemented by the African Wildlife Foundation, in conjunction with the Kenya Wildlife Service (Sindiga, 1999a). The project 'does what it says on the can' and its prime objective was the conservation of natural resources. For success, it was deemed necessary that the local communities become partners. Since COBRA there
have been several similar community-based projects heavily reliant on foreign donor funds and driven by organisations such as African Conservation Centre (ACC), International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), Biodiversity Conservation Programme (BCP), World Wildlife Fund (WWF) and East African Wildlife Society (EAWS). There are few, if any, examples of non-conservation-based non-governmental organisations (NGOs) engaging in tourism community development projects.

The NGO drive and conservation orientation of Kenyan community-based tourism initiatives has had several implications. The tourism development strategies employed by NGOs have inevitably pursued the exploitation of wildlife resources and have perpetuated a neo-colonial model the gives preference to a partnership approach that increases dependence by local communities. Thus, the reliance on donor funds could be viewed as a form of neo-colonialism.

Clearly, the post-colonial tourism development agenda has not favoured indigenous Kenyan entrepreneurship nor other forms of tourism products and markets, such as cultural tourism and domestic tourist markets. Currently, however, in the Draft National Tourism Policy, there appears to be a significant shift towards opening up other regions within the country for tourism development, adoption of appropriate forms of tourism development, such as sustainable tourism and eco-tourism, diversification of the Kenya's tourism product, exploration of alternative tourist markets such as domestic, regional and far East markets, indigenisation of tourism resources and community-based tourism development (Kenya Government, 2003; 2004). These are detailed in the next section.
5.2.2 The Draft National Tourism Policy, 2004

In its preamble, the Draft National Tourism Policy (DNTP) document reaffirms the importance of tourism to the economy of Kenya and the prime position that Kenya has held in the past within sub-Saharan Africa, a position which has been usurped by the post-apartheid South Africa (Kenya Government, 2004). The DNTP further acknowledges that the performance of the tourism industry, especially in the traditional safari sector, has been on the decline, attributing this to several reasons, amongst them increased competition from other African countries, most of which offer similar products.

In another respect, the DNTP observes that the first policy document on tourism in the post-colonial Kenyan Government was in 1968 in the Sessional Paper 8 (a government policy document), that mainly spelt out growth targets and the role of government and the private sector in the future of tourism development in Kenya. Evidently, as observed in the previous section (5.2.) there was no mention of the role local communities would play and subsequent policy documents have more or less been drawn up along similar lines. The National Tourism Master Plan of 1995, for instance, emphasised the creation of a conducive environment for tourism development and an open door policy to further facilitate foreign investment. By accentuating foreign investment as the core to the future of tourism development in Kenya, the document could be viewed as a duplicate of previous tourism development plans. In addition, the document did not clearly define the role of local communities.

In making justification for the DNTP 2004, five key reasons have been put forth (Kenya Government, 2004:5). First, the policy document argues that, unlike in the past where the government participated in commercial tourism activities (for example
through the now defunct African Tours and Hotels, and following donor agencies such as World Bank, EU and IMF, advocacy for privatisation of public institutions and enterprises), the government’s role has now shifted to focus mainly on tourism planning and development. Secondly, current global trends that hitherto were of no concern and hence not addressed in previous policy documents, such as terrorism which has resulted in travel bans and advisories against the country, have dealt a big blow to the tourism industry. Thirdly, the DNTP further argues that the previous policy documents are outdated and that there is now a need to integrate Agenda 21 into tourism development in Kenya. Fourthly, owing to the increase in poverty in Kenya, the Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation, 2003-2007, has cited that tourism can be used as a tool for poverty alleviation, thus creating a need to define how this can be achieved (Kenya Government, 2003). There is however no reference to WTO’s STEP program and its considerations for poverty alleviation in this respect. Lastly, there has been growing need to harmonise related extant policies, such as the wildlife and land-use policies in order to minimise conflicts that would otherwise negatively impact tourism development.

The formulation process for the DNTP involved representatives of the Ministry of Tourism and Information, key tourism stakeholders and local and international consultants. The DNTP however, does not detail what criteria were used in the selection of the key participants. The process entailed a series of 11 regional workshops attended by 400 participants countrywide. The DNTP argues that unlike the previous policy formulation processes, the current process has adopted a ‘bottom-up’ approach rather than at the traditional ‘top-down’ approach, and as a result the needs and aspirations of the local communities at the grass-roots level have been accounted for. The DNTP envisages that the tourism industry in Kenya will be able to provide high quality products and services for both the domestic and international markets, and at the same time promote livelihoods through job creation,
raising living standards, increased foreign exchange earnings and widespread sharing of tourism benefits with local communities. Thus, the main objective of the DNTP is:

To ensure that tourism becomes a major vehicle for job creation, poverty reduction and wealth creation for Kenyans in the future, and whose practices are closely harmonised with key national policies and laws pertaining to wildlife conservation, land ownership and physical planning.

(Kenya Government, 2004:10)

In order to achieve this, the DNTP recognises that it will be essential to enhance the widespread sharing of tourism benefits and that the leakages of tourism revenue will have to be minimised. Moreover, the DNTP seeks to adopt a sustainable tourism development approach that should in turn be supported by effective marketing and promotion. Towards this endeavour, the DNTP lays emphasis on the potential role of Community-Based Enterprise (CBEs) and argues that the government will have to create an enabling regulatory environment and at the same time establish an appropriate legislative framework, within which the CBEs can thrive. The basis for this preference is that CBEs can help avert the human-wildlife conflicts and in the process derive benefits for the respective communities through the exploitation of these wildlife resources (Kenya Government, 2004). Thus reference to CBEs in DNTP appears to be mainly in relation to those communities that co-exist with wildlife.

In further pursuance of this objective, the DNTP cites several specific objectives that it seeks to pursue. These are divided into four broad categories: economic, social, environmental and cultural objectives (Kenya Government, 2004:10). The following section however only highlights the objectives that are relevant to indigenous SMTEs, especially CBEs, as they appear to be the preferred development path outlined in the DNTP.
Chapter Five: An Evaluation of Indigenous Entrepreneurship in the delivery of the Kenyan Tourism Product

In striving to achieve economic development through tourism development, the DNTP seeks to achieve a situation where tourism earnings are widespread throughout Kenya, including areas that were previously neglected, arguing that this will require the maximum participation of local communities. To facilitate this, the DNTP proposes that the government encourages and supports community-based organisations (CBOs), community forums and associations to support and lobby for CBEs, work with support organisations to enhance partnerships between CBEs and private sector and provide technical support to enhance indigenous entrepreneurship (Kenyan Government, 2004). The DNTP also recognises that linkages between tourism and other economic sectors, such as agriculture, will have to be enhanced in order to curb leakages and stimulate the multiplier effect of tourism. However, the DNTP does not clearly illustrate how such linkages can be enhanced. Nonetheless it argues that this will, in effect, create opportunities for investment through which it will seek to enhance and develop private and community-based entrepreneurship especially within the tourism industry (Kenya Government, 2004).

Amongst its social objectives, the DNTP document states that it will seek to create awareness of tourism within the wider Kenyan population and the importance and general role of tourism development. The DNTP will further pursue Kenyanisation of tourism resources through encouragement of ownership and management of tourism enterprises. In this endeavour, the DNTP will seek an increase in local community participation in tourism planning, development, management and implementation of tourism and related projects. To effectively achieve this, the DNTP recognises the need to provide appropriate tourism education, training, awareness and capacity building, especially in those areas that have been previously neglected.

The DNTP will, additionally, in its cultural objective seek to develop cultural-based tourism products through the development and maintenance of cultural attractions.
such as monuments, historical sites, museums, cultural Manyattas (Manyattas refers to traditional Maasai architecture) and performance art for tourism. Moreover, the DNTP will strive to develop a unique Kenyan identity through which an authentic tourism product can be developed. It will also seek to develop and market the tourism souvenir sector, especially the production of quality handicrafts.

Going by the specific objectives, the DNTP exhibits optimism on the future of tourism in Kenya arguing that if the specific objectives are achieved, then the attainment of continued and sustained growth and development of tourism in Kenya is a realistic goal. In this regard, it puts forth ambitious targets by observing that within the next decade the current tourist numbers will have doubled. Furthermore, the increase in tourist numbers will involve a shift from the traditional high volume/low spend tourism to low volume/high spend tourism. The DNTP argues that this increase will also earn the country Ksh 100 billion, compared to the current average of Ksh 20 billion, an increased contribution to GDP of 15% from the current 10%, and create an additional 25 000 direct jobs by 2020.

5.2.3 Implications of the DNTP

In the process of drafting of the DNTP several contentious issues have been identified including issues relating to human-wildlife conflicts, lack of clear definition of roles and exclusion of crucial stakeholders. In justification for the DNTP, conflict resolution, especially with regard to human-wildlife conflict was identified as one of the compelling reasons for a national tourism policy. As this is a matter afflicting mainly the local communities especially within the environs of the conservation areas, their representation in the formulation process appears to be minimal or inadequate.
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In addition, as the management of the conservation areas mainly falls under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Wildlife Management, its involvement should have been crucial in the formulation process. However, it has clearly been excluded. Other key parties that have been excluded include the Ministry of Culture and Social services, the Ministry of Education, members of academia (i.e. the universities offering tourism and related curricula, such as Moi University) and support organisations, such as Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) and East African Wildlife Society (EAWS). How then can a meaningful policy be drafted?

Moreover the DNTP’s adoption of a ‘bottom-up’ approach to its formulation by integrating the needs and aspirations of the local communities at the grass-root levels is questionable. For instance, DNTP acknowledges the fact that there is widespread lack of tourism awareness. Given the prevailing lack of skills and knowledge, and the low literacy and numeracy skills, the effectiveness of the bottom-up strategy is therefore doubtful, as the local communities do not possess adequate capacity, meaning that their involvement would be merely passive. Furthermore, the DNTP claims that in the formulation process, 400 participants countrywide were involved through a series of 11 workshops thereby giving an impression of a representative sample for the whole country. However, it is important to note that, Kenya has a population of about 30 million such that a sample size of only 400 participants cannot be seen as being justifiably representative, especially when key stakeholders are excluded from the formulation.

As observed in Chapter 1 (section 1.1), the model of tourism development in Kenya is based on anachronistic colonial model that has continually emphasised the safari that has, in turn, not even brought minimal benefits to the local communities given the widespread prevalence of poverty in the safari and coastal tourism areas. The DNTP appears to concede this fact and has attempted to remedy the model through
emphasis on tourism product diversification, by proposing the development of other products. It is this diversification endeavour that would represent great opportunities for the local communities. However, the cultural-based tourism products as depicted by the Maasai Manyattas, are a matter of concern. The DNTP, for instance, does not detail how this can be achieved and further how such an initiative (i.e Maasai Manyatta as a tourism product) can shift from the cultural museum or the unethical 'human zoo' concept, to more meaningful cultural-based tourism products. Thus, despite the importance and need of tourism product diversification, the approach of the DNTP appears weak and consequently, emphasis appears to be drawn back to the traditional tourism products.

In addition, the DNTP emphasises the importance of effective marketing and promotion, and the need to set up a sustainable source of funding towards this endeavour. It does not, however, state clearly how SMTEs would benefit from this process. Though it argues that partnerships between the private sector and the local communities are essential and that these would help enhance the growth and development of the SMTEs, it does not outline guidelines to ensure that such partnerships are of mutual benefit. Furthermore, whilst recognising the fact that the SMTEs require funding for the growth and development, the proposed Kenyan Tourism Development Fund does not appear to take this into account, as the SMTEs do not feature in its list of priorities.

Nonetheless, despite its shortcomings, the DNTP reaffirms the fact that tourism can be an effective tool for poverty alleviation in Kenya and recognises the importance of SMTEs in this endeavour. In this regard, the DNTP has pinpointed key issues that would otherwise be an obstacle to the growth and development of the SMTEs. For instance, the move to enhance tourism awareness across the country and to integrate tourism education in the national curriculum, particularly the basic primary
level, are steps in the right direction, given the government’s compulsory free primary education policy and the G8’s proposed support (G8, 2005c). The DNTP, however, appears to lay emphasis on the CBEs and not Individual Owner-Based Enterprises (IOEs) as a development strategy.

5.3 Implementation of the DNTP: Relevant Issues to SMTEs

In the implementation process, the DNTP proposes a prominent role to be played by the government. In this respect, the government’s role will involve: the encouragement of environmentally-sound tourism development, and the facilitation and creation of a conducive environment for community-based organisations to own, manage and run CBEs. The government will also play a key role in conflict resolution, especially with regard to human-wildlife and land-use conflict. In addition, the onus of providing overall security, tourism product development and diversification will be rest upon the government. To achieve these roles, the government should enforce environmental controls such as auditing and impact assessments through the National Environmental Management Authority (NEMA), encourage and provide technical support for local and regional tourism forums, harmonise relevant policies and legislation, establish tourism information offices at district levels in order to facilitate tourism extension services to support indigenous entrepreneurship and establish and effectively equip a tourist police unit.

Key to the implementation process, the DNTP proposes efforts to be rested upon tourism product diversification and development, mainly by initiating a shift from the traditional tourism products and emphasising focus of other tourism products such as sports tourism and special interest tourism, such as ornithology, adventure, mountain climbing and trekking. The DNTP further lays emphasis in the development of tourism in non-prime tourist areas arguing that this could help diversify the tourism
product. More specifically, the DNTP will support the repackaging and improvement of quality provision by the extant enterprises and support eco-tourism initiatives. The DNTP will also seek to enhance the capacity of support organisations to assist CBEs in developing their enterprises and enhancing access by these enterprises to funds and credit facilities. The DNTP moreover proposes to develop cultural tourism through liaison with the Ministry of Culture. To achieve this, the DNTP proposes a collaborative approach to be adopted by the government in order to facilitate research on cultural heritage, establish appropriate legislation, encourage partnerships to conserve cultural and historic sites, and restoration and conservation of historical sites.

The DNTP further proposes the enhancement of foreign investment in line with the liberalisation of the economy, arguing that this will lead to an improvement in quality through increased competition and also create employment. This will be achieved through the establishment of a stable political environment and provision of relevant incentives (Kenya Government, 2004:21). It also proposes that the government fosters partnerships between the foreign investors and local entrepreneurs. In addition, whilst acknowledging factors that impede SMTE development and growth, the DNTP proposes that the government establishes a special fund for tourism enterprise development.

Marketing and promotion is seen as integral to the implementation process of the DNTP emphasising a shift to the up-market tourism in addition to opening up new markets in Africa and Asia. Through a joint marketing strategy with the other East African counties, Uganda and Tanzania, the DNTP proposes the creation of a multi-destination tourism product which will be achieved through the establishment of a sustainable source of funding.
In line with the Kenyan Government's goal of creating 500,000 jobs annually, the DNTP recognises the importance of SMTEs, arguing that basic skill training should be provided not just for those already in business but also for those willing to venture into tourism. The DNTP further observes that in the endeavour to enhance resource development, training standards will have to be appropriate and tourism-training institutions will have to undergo a certification process that will ensure the quality of training delivered. This will further be enforced through strict licensing, regulation and regular monitoring of such institutions. As already mentioned, the DNTP importantly proposes that tourism be integrated into the national curriculum from the basic primary school level to the secondary level so that Kenyans can have early exposure to matters appertaining to tourism (Kenya Government, 2004:24).

In all its implementation goals, the DNTP sees funding as integral to facilitate the process. It asserts the need for a sustainable source of funding that will be used to facilitate tourism development and proposes that these funds be sourced from levies and fees paid under a proposed tourism act, donor funding through bilateral or multilateral agreements and any other viable sources. This fund will mainly be used for destination marketing, tourism training and provision of high quality tourism product.

5.4 Indigenous Kenyan Entrepreneurship

The tourism industry in Kenya is mainly dominated by large businesses, mostly owned by non-indigenous (mainly of European and Asian descent) Kenyans and foreign investors. Furthermore, the researcher's visit to the Ministry of Tourism, which is charged with licensing all tourism enterprises in the country, revealed that there were no formal records of SMTEs or, more particularly, indigenous ones. Thus, one could easily conclude that either such enterprises are non-existent or that there is
total disregard of their existence or that they operate informally or that emphasis on large enterprises as depicted in Kenya’s post-colonial tourism development agenda has overshadowed both the existence and development of such enterprises.

During the execution of the field interviews several logistical issues emerged. First, the field interviews covered vast areas and potential respondents were not centrally located. Secondly, the infrastructure in these areas was inadequately developed especially with regard to transport networks and telecommunication thereby making it difficult for the researcher to make prior appointments. It is therefore mainly for these reasons and the lack of information on extant indigenous SMTEs, that the purposive sampling technique was preferred and it facilitated the effective planning of the execution of the field interviews. This resulted in the identification of indigenous SMTEs in Kenya confining the study area to the Southern and Coastal regions, thereby revealing that SMTEs are not widespread in Kenya. Thus, in the endeavour to identify the SMTEs, some consistency emerged, enabling the distinction of these enterprises primarily into two categories: community-based enterprises (CBEs) and independently owned enterprises (IOEs). These categories were discernable through unique characteristics that defined them in terms of the nature of their products and services and more precisely their operational techniques and organisational structures. Table 5.2 highlights some of these characteristics.
Table 5.2: Characteristics of SMTEs interviewed in the Southern and Coastal regions of Kenya, 2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Individually-owned enterprises</th>
<th>Informal enterprises</th>
<th>Community-based enterprises</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Formal enterprises</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ownership</td>
<td>Individually owned</td>
<td>Individually owned</td>
<td>Local community owned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organisation structure</td>
<td>Owner and/or manager</td>
<td>Owner alone</td>
<td>Manager and board of trustees/directors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of employees</td>
<td>2-12</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>3-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nature of products and services</td>
<td>Restaurant and accommodation</td>
<td>Mainly artefacts, and services e.g. boat rides</td>
<td>Game viewing, restaurant and accommodation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing and promotion</td>
<td>Market not clearly defined, have promotional material, rely on word of mouth</td>
<td>Market not defined, mainly rely on on-the-spot marketing (targeting potential clients on the ground)</td>
<td>Markets relatively defined, have promotional materials, website etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partnership</td>
<td>No partnership</td>
<td>No partnership</td>
<td>Relies heavily on private sector partnership</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.4.1 Community-Based Enterprises

CBEs are enterprises based on communal ownership of tourism resources by local communities. This entails a membership approach normally restricted to members of a given community to whom dividends are paid should the enterprise realise a profit. Such an approach is commendable especially in view of the fact that majority of the local communities do not possess adequate capital at the individual level to pursue any significant business ventures. In this study six CBEs were identified as summarised in table 5.3 below.
Kiteghe and Tofino Tali Tours Companies were both started in 2001 and are located in Kiteghe and Tofino Tali villages respectively, in the southern region of Kenya. These companies are community-based enterprises owned through a membership scheme by the local communities and both are in partnership with a private investor who guarantees the local communities income by paying them an annual fee to lease out their accommodation facilities. These enterprises only specialise in offering accommodation and target groups of students from the UK who are on a gap year, and according the contract, revenue generated goes to the private investor. Both enterprises employ three full-time staff including managers who together with a board of directors run their respective enterprises.
5.4.1.2 Wilderness Camp

The Wilderness Camp is a community-based conservation project that neighbours Maasai Mara Game Reserve in the southern region of Kenya and was established in 2001. The camp comprises an amalgamation of vast land that has been set aside by members of the local communities mainly for purposes of conservation of wildlife and to avert the human-wildlife conflict. In addition the local community has together with a private investor ventured into tourism and offers accommodation and game viewing services. The private investor who pays a percentage of the profits to the community runs the accommodation facility. The local community in turns benefits from park entry fees, which currently stand at US$ 27 per tourist, regardless of the length of stay. The local communities share out the proceeds in proportion to the size of land set aside by each individual member. The camp employs 30 full-time staff including a manager who runs the enterprise.

5.4.1.3 LUMO Wildlife Sanctuary

LUMO wildlife Sanctuary is a community project that was set up in 1997 with the sole aim of averting the human-wildlife conflict mainly through conservation. The sanctuary is located in the Southern region bordering the Tsavo National Park, and covers an area of about 586 sq km. The Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) mooted the original idea from which it was decided that the project had to benefit the local community as well to guarantee their support. Hence tourism was seen as the best viable option and through consultation with other support agencies such as Pact Kenya, the idea of having a private investor was also introduced. The private investor (an indigenous Kenyan) only owns 50% of the restaurant and accommodation facilities, while the local community owns the rest. Ownership is through a membership scheme restricted to the local community in which members
are required to pay some subscription in order to be entitled to a share in the sanctuary. In the event that any would-be member is unable to make the subscription, the sanctuary has introduced a work-for-share scheme, whereby a certain number of hours of work entitle a member to a share. The local community in addition owns and controls the sanctuary and thus benefits from the park entry fees. The sanctuary at the moment employs 17 fulltime and 30 part-time staff. It is envisaged that the revenue to be generated will go towards social development to enhance education and health services, and pay dividends to the members.

5.4.1.4 Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary

Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary is a community-base project located in Kwale district in the coastal region of Kenya that was started in 1995 to avert the human-wildlife conflict mainly involving elephants that kept disrupting the local community's agricultural activities. In order to ensure the support of the local community, KWS, the main support organisation felt that the local community had to benefit in the process. Again, tourism was seen as the most viable option in which a partnership approach was favoured. The sanctuary is consequently in partnership with a private investor who runs a lodge for which he pays an annual lease fee to the community. The local community in addition, benefits from gate entry fees. Ownership of the sanctuary is based on a membership scheme, in which the local communities own shares based on the amount of money or time invested in establishing the sanctuary. The revenue generated also goes towards social development by supporting education and health services. The sanctuary employs 19 full-time staff including a manager who runs the enterprise.
5.4.1.5 Wasini Women Group

The Wasini Women Group is a consortium of women drawn from Wasini Island and is brought together through a membership scheme in which the members own shares within the group. The group runs a nature trail in which they have constructed a boardwalk through the mangrove forest and relics of corals. In addition the group also runs a boutique in which they specialise in selling cloth ware based on the local fashion, the kitenge. The revenue generated from these ventures goes towards supporting social development within the islands such as education and health, and is also paid out to members in the form of dividends. The Group has employed 4 people full-time including a manager who together with an executive committee run and manage these ventures.

5.4.2 Individual Owner-Based Enterprises

IOEs on the other hand are enterprises based on sole ownership. These enterprises are mainly run by the owners or managers employed by the owners, are characterised by a minimal number of employees. The IOEs have further been distinguished as formal and informal. Formal IOEs operate their businesses legally, in that they are licensed and hence recognised by local authorities, whilst the informal IOEs lack legitimacy in that they operate their businesses illegally. In addition the formal IOEs have more established facilities, whilst the informal ones mainly operate from makeshift temporary structures. The informal IOEs also rely on strategic locations of tourist activity.

Table 5.4 highlights the informal and formal IOEs interviewed during the field survey carried out in the Southern and Coastal regions of Kenya.
Ewaso Nyiro Curio Shop is strategically located at Eweso Nyiro in the southern region of Kenya, on the way to Maasai Mara Game Reserve and specialises in the tourism souvenir sector offering various artefacts and jewellery sourced from different parts of country. Ewaso Nyiro Curio Shop was started in 1999 and is run by the owner who has employed 6 people on part-time basis.

5.4.2.2 Jomo Kenyatta Beach Vendor

The dmo Kenyatta Beach Vendor ventured into the tourism business in 2000, ironically, after being retrenched from the hotel sector following a downturn in the tourism industry in the late 1990s. The vendor operates his business informally which
is located at the dmo K enyatta Beach in Mombasa and offers assorted products to both domestic and international tourists ranging from soft drinks to curios targeting.

5.4.2.3 Old Town Curio Shop

The Old Town Curio Shop is located strategically at the entrance of Fort èsus in the coastal town of Mombasa. Fort èsus, an old Portuguese fort, is one of the major tourist attractions in the coastal region. The curio shop which was started in 2003 operates informally and is run by the owner who has employed two people, one full-time and the other part-time. The shop specialises in the souvenir sector and offers assorted products ranging from artefacts to jewellery.

5.4.2.4 Wasini Boat Operator

The Wasini boat operator ventured into business in 1994 and offers transport services mainly between Shimoni and the island of Wasini. He runs his business informally and has employed two people full-time to assist him in operating the boat.

5.4.2.5 Wasini Mpunguti Lodge

The Wasini Mpunguti Lodge is located on Wasini Island and was started in 1999. The lodge is run and managed by the owner, who has employed 6 people, part-time. The lodge was established with the sole purpose of creating employment within the island. It offers a unique experience to tourists, based on the local Swahili cuisine and accommodation. The food served in the restaurant is supplied by the local fishermen and is prepared and cooked by the local women. The owner also works closely with the local boat operators.
5.4.2.6 Voi Royal Palms Resort

The Voi Royal Palms Resort was started in 2003 and is strategically located near the entrance to Tsavo National Park, the largest game park in Kenya. The resort is run formally by the owner who is assisted by a manager and employs 12 people on a full-time basis. The resort specialises in offering food and accommodation and targets groups of both domestic and international tourists.

5.4.3 Nature of Business: Products and Services

In order to discern the potential role of indigenous SMTEs, it is important to identify the products and services that they offer and how these are linked to tourism development on the one hand and poverty alleviation on the other. In the case of CBEs, the nature of the products and services appear to be defined by necessity and hence the original idea for going into business. For most of these enterprises, the original idea for going into business was actually conceived by ‘outsiders’ (support organisations, such as KWS, African Conservation Centre and African Wildlife Fund) who are driven by their own agendas, mostly conservation of the environment. These have incorporated the local communities, whose support is seen as crucial, through mobilisation efforts (bringing the local communities together) to have a common goal towards the achievement of a certain objective, in this case conservation. Subsequently most of these CBEs originally started as conservation projects and have now evolved into enterprises.

For instance, aversion of the human-wildlife conflict was sited by majority of the CBEs, as the original idea for going into business because the local communities co-exist with the wildlife, as one of the respondents observes:
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There has been a lot of conflict, people and animals have been killed and crops have been destroyed, the community has really suffered, the KWS (Kenya Wildlife Service) mobilised the community to advise them on the way forward, now KWS’s mandate is first and foremost to protect wildlife, and what they realised is that for this to happen there has to be support from the local community in that they will have to benefit in the process.

(CBE4)

The nature of products and services offered by CBEs are based mainly on the natural environment. In the above case the enterprise offers safari, and in conjunction with a private investor, they also offer accommodation and restaurant services, thereby displaying an anachronistic colonial model of tourism development and rarely exhibiting any forms of innovation. The only difference that is visible is the greater degree of local community ownership of the tourism resources. A similar scenario is as observed by another respondent below:

The original idea was mooted by KWS as a conservation project because the people were cutting down mangroves and for this to be successful an alternative source of income had to be sought and hence tourism was seen as an excellent choice owing to the potential of the island.

(CBE6)

The above enterprise offers walking trails through the mangrove forest on a raised platform, an activity they refer to as the boardwalk. Moreover, the area within the forest has prehistoric corals dating back several million years, when presumably the sea covered the island, and this accentuates the whole experience. In addition, the women’s group owns a boutique that sells garments woven by the women that are consequently sold to tourists.

In the case of the IOEs, the reason for going into business did not necessarily define the product or service offered. The IOEs ranged from small informal enterprises mainly catering for the souvenir sector of the tourism industry to the medium-sized formal enterprises offering restaurant and accommodation services. For these
enterprises, the main reasons for going into business were, mainly because an
opportunity existed that could be exploited, out of interest, to earn a living or
philanthropic e.g. to create employment for others, as observed below:

*I needed to do something to earn a living, most of my work has been
based in the sea, I have been a fisherman and because the island
was becoming more popular with tourists, I saw an opportunity in
giving boat rides.*

(IOE4)

*The idea was to eradicate poverty, my goal was to create employment
on the island, I have also encouraged youngsters to do something
with themselves, for example to own boats to transport people.*

(IOE5)

The reasons for offering the various products and services were quite diverse for the
IOEs. However, for the informal IOEs, easy access to the supplies of the products
and services was quite significant reason, thus majority of them offered to sell
artefacts based on cultures within Kenya such as carvings, sculptures and beadwork.
The formal IOEs on the other hand were more robust on their reasons for venturing
into business citing the need to offer competitive products and services. In addition
the formal IOEs employed some level of innovation in their endeavour to offer
competitive products and services. Ioannides and Petersen (2003) observe that an
innovative approach to the development of tourism products and services is essential
in shaping the nature of an enterprise’s competitiveness and in ensuring the efficient
use of resources available to the enterprise’s dynamic environments in order to
realise profits and also remain competitive at the same time. Thus, these SMTEs
stand a higher chance of success, and in view of the fact that foreign investors
control most tourism businesses in Kenya, the success of formal IOEs would
ameliorate this bleak picture. The following excerpt below exemplifies this
observation:

*The main reason was to offer authentic Swahili cuisine, something
that other competitors, especially foreign ones cannot challenge, most*
tourists have commended us, they say we offer them a wonderful experience some sort of deviation from the monotonous western cuisine offered in the 5 star hotels.

(IOE5)

5.4.4 Marketing

Marketing remains a challenging issue to the development and growth of SMTEs. The field survey therefore undertook to explore the marketing strategies employed by the SMTEs in Kenya, as this is crucial to understanding the reasons for the success or failure of these enterprises. A general trend amongst the SMTEs, is that they did not have clear target markets, except for the two enterprises, which through their private investor, targeted students from the UK aged between 18-20 years. The rest of the enterprises generally targeted all categories of tourists, as below:

We cater for all sorts of tourists, but mostly we get foreign tourists, majority of whom are old.

(IOE4)

In the investigation, a pattern that further distinguished CBEs from the IOEs emerged. For instance, most of the CBEs had more elaborate marketing strategies in that they had websites, brochures and links with tour operators who further marketed their products or services, whilst the IOEs relied heavily on less conventional methods such as on-site marketing and word of mouth. Ironically, the CBEs laid more emphasis on the traditional western markets despite the fact that the country has not recovered from the travel bans imposed by America and Western European countries. The IOEs on the other hand relied to a large extent on the domestic and regional markets, with some of the SMTEs in this category catering for the 'less rich tourists' as depicted in the interview below:

We receive local tourists from up country, about ¾ are domestic tourists ...they are of all ages mostly from schools and colleges,
especially during school holidays, and generally those who cannot afford to book themselves into beach hotels to access their beaches, as this beach is absolutely free ... I would describe our customers as 'less classy' as the 'more classy' tourists can afford higher prices like the ones offered at Pirates (a private restaurant next to the public beach).

A critical issue arising from the interviews was the lack of government support with regard to marketing of these SMTEs. The CBEs have as a result relegated their marketing strategies to their partner, whilst the IOEs have to do it alone. This is despite the existence of the Kenya Tourist Board (KTB), a private arm of the government partly funded by the private sector, that is mandated with the task of marketing tourism in the country. Owing to its private sector orientation, KTB’s marketing efforts are skewed towards this sector. Moreover, the Draft National Tourism Policy (Kenya Government, 2004), whilst recognising the importance of the SMTEs especially in relation to creation of employment and alleviation of poverty, does not clearly define any marketing strategies that would facilitate their growth.

5.4.5 Reasons for Success or Failure

The motivation behind going into business for the CBEs was mainly driven by the need to conserve the environment and to avert the human-wildlife conflict, with a view to limiting the human encroachment on wildlife habitat. For the IOEs, on the other hand, the reasons varied slightly, ranging from need for income, to sheer interest as revealed in the excerpts below:

In the 1970s when I was working as a civil servant I saw an article in the newspaper describing Wasini Island as the forgotten island, now being from this area I felt that I needed to do something, and that is why I established the first restaurant in this island especially with the aim of making sure that the local people benefit.

(IOE5)
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Lack of employment after school, and in my case this business offered a good choice for me.

(IOE1)

I was employed in the hotel industry but following the Likoni clashes in 1997, I was laid off as the tourism industry was going through a rough time, I needed to have some income, and I saw an opportunity in the public beach.

(IOE2)

Generally, the problems encountered by the CBEs in starting their enterprises were quite similar. The CBEs for instance cited initial lack of support and commitment from the local communities mainly driven by the sceptical view towards the intentions of the support agencies, especially the KWS, in the sense that they felt that these agencies were out to rob them of their resources. The reluctance of the local communities to support these projects was made worse by the fact that they were required to pay membership fees in order to qualify as investors eligible for dividends. This did not go down well with them as first, they were already financially constrained and secondly, they doubted on the success of these enterprises. Furthermore these CBEs heavily relied and still continue to rely on donor funds. This reliance proved to be a hindrance to the development of these enterprises, especially when funds were not forthcoming, thus further reinforcing scepticism amongst the local community. The excerpts below highlight some of these problems:

Majority of the people did not initially understand the nature of the business and were hence not very supportive, there have been some previous initiatives that have failed, the community thus thought that this project was doomed to fail as well...Initially members were supposed to pay membership fees, most were not willing to pay up ... further this project was also meant to conserve the environment, the local people found it hard to give up their ways of lives which we can regard as unsustainable, convincing them otherwise was not easy.

(CBE1)

... quite difficult, as we heavily relied on donor funds, and there was a lot of bureaucracy in securing these funds.

(CBE3)
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It was quite challenging, for instance, there was a lot of resistant from the community, they thought that KWS was out to annex part their land and they feared that they will loose their grazing lands.

(CBE4)

The challenges facing the IOEs, on the other hand were personal in nature, generally based on the abilities of the individual owners. The issues of access to capital and lack of support, were however predominant in the initial start-up stages. For the smaller and more informal IOEs, getting access to strategic tourism locations was also a major obstacle and at times involved a brush with the law, given that they are informal and unlicensed enterprises, thus lacking any legitimate claims. Below are some of the experiences and challenges faced:

When I came up with this idea, there was nothing at all here on the island. My friends even discouraged me telling to give up and that such a venture is only for the whites and Asians, it was a big challenge. Getting financial support proved to be a daunting task and I mostly had to rely on my savings when I started ... for instance I tried getting a loan but couldn't because I was told that I needed to be established. There was also the European Global Bank that aimed at financing small traders, they sent their team to value what I had invested and they suggested that I qualify for Ksh. 10 million, now this was in 2000 and finally someone came to advice me that the loan was in the final stages and all they needed now was a collateral in Mombasa and not Wasini. I do not own property in Mombasa. Another twist to the whole saga emerged when it was suggested that since I could not come up with the collateral, there was someone willing to guarantee the loan in return for a share in my business, I declined the offer and hence did not get the loan.

(IOE5)

To operate this business one needs a licence, now this was not very easy to get due to the amount of bureaucracy involved.

(IOE4)

It was not really easy, because we received tremendous competition from the already established private investors who offer similar products e.g. they sell the same soft drinks like we do, we did not have support and we lacked capital.

(IOE2)

On the whole, the SMTEs regarded their enterprises as doing fairly well. The seasonality of the tourism industry did however have some impacts on them in that
they experienced high volumes of business during the high season and the contrary during the low season. An interesting observation however involved two CBEs, as the managers were not sure if their enterprises were doing well or if they could actually do better. The issue in these cases was to do with the partnership contract they signed with a private investor. In the agreement, the investor was to guarantee income by paying agreed annual fees. The trouble with this partnership is that despite the fact that there is guaranteed income, the local community is not supposed to engage in any other tourism-related ventures, thus limiting the ingenuity of the local communities in exploring other potential tourism initiatives as observed below:

I am not sure if we are doing well in the long run, in the short run we seem to be benefiting in that the investor has guaranteed to pay regardless of whether tourists come or not. However we do not know how much the investor is paid and are bound by the contract we signed not to engage the guests in any other tourism activities that would generate revenue for us, and what's more we cannot even market our services to local tourists. In the long run we would like to be independent and given the current situation I foresee problems, thus I am not sure if the whole arrangement is beneficial in the long run.

(CBE2)

The SMTEs in general appeared to concur on the necessary way forward to ensure the success of their enterprises, citing diversification, easy access to funds and capital, effective marketing and promotion strategies, adequate capacities, support, effective management, positive publicity, empowerment and involvement in tourism development as essential. In addition, the informal IOEs, regarded the issue of advocacy and legitimacy as crucial to the success of the SMTEs. Some of these essentials are depicted in the extracts below:
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We also need advocacy to give us empowerment to address some of our problems, being an informal business, it is hard for us to legally address our problems, we are thus looking at ways of formalising our business.

(IOE2)

Generally any business needs to diversify, I would like to get more boats and offer deep sea fishing, now this out of reach for me at the moment because such boats are very expensive.

(IOE4)

Moreover, the SMTEs agreed that possession of relevant skills and knowledge was integral to the success of their enterprises. The IOE responses evidenced a lack of skills and knowledge related to business management, communication skills, and basic literacy and numeracy skills. For the CBEs, through their support networks the issue of skills and knowledge appeared to have been addressed by buying in qualified managers, although some technical skills such operation of radio telecommunication and information technology appeared to be lacking. The excerpts below highlight some of the essential skills and knowledge as observed in the field:

We need to have language skills that enable us to communicate with tourists. Personally I can speak Swahili, this is not good because most tourists speak English, I would also like to learn another foreign language, we also need the basic skills and knowledge from formal education, most of us actually dropped out of school to work, this is not good as now the youth are also dropping out in search of quick money as result some of the services they offer are of poor quality, which is in turn giving us a bad name.

(IOE4)

Generally small businesses lack adequate skills and knowledge in terms of technical, managerial and financial skills, further customer relation skills are also lacking, as are entrepreneurial skills, hence capacities have to be developed.

(CBE3)
5.4.6 Support Network

As detailed in the reasons for success or failure, support and hence support network is crucial to ensuring the success of these enterprises. In understanding the differences in characteristics of the SMTEs, the issue of whether or not support was availed further reinforced the categorisation of the SMTEs as CBEs and IOEs. This classification was enhanced by the fact that CBEs received tremendous support from various support agencies such as KWS, Pact Kenya, EAWS (East African Wildlife Society), EU (European Union), the Dutch Government, AWF (African Wildlife Fund), ACC African Conservation Centre) etc., whilst for the IOEs, the support was either minimal and irrelevant or not forthcoming at all. The support that was given to CBEs by the support agencies consisted of funding, technical support and capacity building through training.

On the issue of being able to write a formal business plan, the formal IOEs were confident that they could write them given the fact that they had approached some local banks for loans and business plans were prerequisite. The smaller and informal IOEs on the other hand lacked the ability to write a formal business plan and did not actually realise the importance of having one. For the CBEs, majority of those interviewed could not initially write a formal business plan and had just received training or were receiving support towards the development of the business plans from agencies like AWF and ACC. This was mainly due to the fact that almost all the support agencies required that the CBEs have formal business plans before any support could be availed. On the whole, most of the CBEs felt that the support they received was beneficial, except for two enterprises that expressed their concerns as below:
Some of the support was quite helpful, but for some am not sure. For instance AWF facilitated the formulation of the initial business plan and helped draft the initial partnership agreement that still holds today. At the time we did not know of the implications, but we now feel that this needs to be reviewed. The private investor is however not happy with our concerns.

(CBE1)

When asked about whether the government supported them in any way, almost all the IOEs gave a negative response, particularly the small informal ones, who felt that their predicaments were as a result of the government’s lack of initiatives to support SMTEs. The CBEs on the other hand felt that they did receive support both directly and indirectly through the KWS, a government parastatal. The direct support availed by the government was however not through the Ministry of Tourism but instead was through other ministries such as the Ministry of Lands (which mainly assisted in land allocation), the Ministry of Livestock (which was mainly involved in grazing issues) and the Cooperatives Ministry (mainly involved with availing advise on the government regulation on cooperatives as the CBEs are set up mainly as cooperatives). The CBEs were in addition associated with local tourism support agencies such as KTB, KATO, Mombasa and Coast Tourism Association and Ecotourism Society of Kenya. The SMTEs however, were not aware of any foreign tourism support agencies except for one CBE that collaborated with the Campfire Project.

5.4.7 Networking

The level of SMTEs' collaboration with other tourism businesses varied across the enterprises interviewed. For instance, for the smaller IOEs, especially those selling artefacts, there is informal collaboration with local tour-guide drivers that involves payment of commission for the supply of clients. Most of these enterprises felt that since there wasn’t a legally binding contract, they were under the goodwill of the tour-
guide drivers whose demands they could not meet at times. For the more established IOEs, there seemed to be higher levels of collaboration with other tour companies rather than on individual levels. This approach was also employed by some CBEs, some of whom had contracted tour operators for the supply of clients. Some CBEs however did not have any collaboration at all. The following excerpts detail some of the collaboration:

Yes we collaborate with tour-guide drivers of various companies whom we pay commission whenever they bring tourists and whether or not tourists purchase our products.

(IOE1)

We don’t really collaborate with any business, apart from the beach boys operating in Mombasa who sometimes supply us with clients.

(IOE4)

I do collaborate with tour operators from Nairobi and Mombasa who supply me with clients.

(IOE6)

We do not collaborate with any business at the moment.

(CBE6)

We rely on some local tour operators for some of clients e.g. Sun Downy safaris and African Safari club.

(CBE3)

Interestingly, the CBEs did not seem to have strong ties with the local and national economies compared to the IOEs which seemed to have significant collaboration with other sectors of the economy. For their supplies all the IOEs relied on the various sectors of economy. For instance the curio shop owners relied on the Kisii, Kamba and Maasai communities for the supply of soapstone carvings, sculptures and bead works respectively thus creating employment amongst these communities. Further the more established IOEs, such as the restaurant owners, relied on the local agricultural and fishery sectors for the supply of foodstuffs. An interesting example was the scenario at Wasini Island that reflected a situation closer to the ideal in which the boat operators had a link with the restaurant owner who had a link with the local
fishermen for the supply of seafood, and in addition relied on the local women for the production of food for the restaurant. The extracts below exemplify some of these linkages:

We for instance get the food we cook in kiosks from the local communities, we also get fruits. (IOE2)

We rely on the Kisii and Kamba communities for the supply of our products. (IOE1)

Our boats use fuel which is supplied by a local businessman. (IOE4)

5.4.8 Involvement and Empowerment

Amongst the SMTEs interviewed, there was minimal or lack of awareness of any policies in general, and more specifically tourism policies. This was mainly due to the fact that most of the SMTEs did not actually know what policy is and consequently did not know of any policies that fostered or hindered the growth of their businesses.

The SMTEs were vaguely aware of any policy in general. However, there was a variation between the CBEs and IOEs with regard to policy requirements. The CBEs for instance cited natural resource exploitation policies that facilitate local community ownership and exploitation of such resources, as being helpful to their enterprise. Thus the policy requirements for the CBEs were more to do with operational support, whereas the IOEs requirements emphasised business support and protection. These requirements are exemplified below:

There are some policies e.g. the natural resource policy that aims to benefit the local communities, it is for this reason that we have this project in place, we however need the government to lay more emphasis on community initiatives such as this, give them training, create awareness and empower them. (CBE6)
We do not have the wildlife user rights, for instance we cannot cull our wildlife, this can only be done by KWS, we therefore need wildlife management and user rights.

(CBE4)

The need to licence the business is essential in that it regulates the smooth operation of our businesses because there are certain rules and regulations that we have to adhere to, for instance we are not allowed to carry more than 10 tourists at a time, what this actually ensures is that business is spread amongst us such that everyone is benefiting.

(IOE4)

The government should put measures in place to support the small businesses, for example these curio businesses should be left to small businesses and other big businesses should be preoccupied with e.g. transport and accommodation for example. Also, hotels should not be allowed to have curio shops as this is in direct competition with us.

(IOE3)

All the SMTEs interviewed faced day-to-day challenges in running their enterprises which included staff management issues, ensuring prompt supply of commodities, dealing with inadequate capital with regard to meeting overheads and dealing with difficult tourists who at times refuse to pay for services rendered. One CBE did however face a major challenge, which was a result of lack of collaboration and coordination as detailed below:

We have the private boat operators who are reluctant to bring tourists to this area because they would rather take them to the Kisite-Mpunguti Marine National reserve. This is mainly due to the fact that ours is a community-based enterprise and most of the proceeds go to support the community in terms of education, provision of medicine for the local dispensary. We therefore don't pay commission, the boat operators are now demanding that they get paid commission, they don't realise that they are actually benefiting indirectly from the project. If the boat operators collaborate with us, we could actually make between Ksh 300 000-400 000 a month, because the private boat operators get an average of 40 tourists a day. In addition, the boat operators are very arrogant and they believe that since they come from this island they own everything, they even tell tourists to take pictures of the corals without paying.

(CBE6)
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None of the SMTEs interviewed felt that they exerted any influence in tourism development neither locally nor nationally. This was mainly due to the fact that they had not in any way been consulted by anyone on tourism development matters.

5.4.9 Sustainable Livelihoods

Generally, on the issue of sustainable livelihoods, all the SMTEs interviewed felt that their living standards had improved albeit to varying degrees, as a result of engaging in tourism business. Prior to engaging in the tourism business, the majority of the members/owners of the CBEs' main source of income was and still is subsistence farming and pastoralism. As a result of the establishment of the CBEs, these members/owners now have an extra source of income paid in the form of dividends. Furthermore, some of the profits generated from the CBEs have been used to support social development initiatives in the respective communities through setting up bursary funds to support educational requirements, building and equipping of schools and health centres, provision and facilitation of access to clean water for both human and wildlife consumption. The following excerpts detail the CBEs' living standards and initial sources of income:

*Generally the members were and still are farmers and pastoralists.... the living standards were quite low.... at the moment there is a slight change, the staff employed have been able to support their families, and there has been some sort of multiplier effect from the salaries in that already just outside the sanctuary some businesses have come up.*

(CBE4)

*At the moment the living standards have risen as the local community has improved shelter in terms of better housing and they also have extra income through dividends to invest in cultivation if they so wish.*

(CBE5)
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The situation is slightly better because as a result of this project employment has been created, needy students have been educated, members have received dividends, the investor has built and equipped some classrooms, and he has set up a bursary fund.

(CBE1)

Whilst the IOEs also concurred the fact that their living standards had also improved, their initial sources of income varied. Some of the entrepreneurs did not even have an initial source of income as they had either just finished school or could not get employment. Among those with initial sources of income, there was a civil servant, a fisherman and an entrepreneur who had initially worked in the tourism industry. The following extracts exemplify some of IOEs’ sources of income and living standards:

_Initially life was tough as I had just finished school, I am much better off, despite the hardship, I am bringing up a family and my daughter is now in university, and this is my only source of income._

(IOE3)

_I used to be a fisherman... at times things were good but at times things were really bad... there has been a slight improvement, I now have my own house and I own a boat._

(IOE4)

_Before I started the business I was working as civil servant... I was basically surviving on a civil servant’s salary and as you know this is peanuts...my living standards are much better since I am now able to educate not just my family but also other local people and some have also benefited from the whole process and set up their own businesses such as the boat operators._

(IOE5)

5.5 Critical Issues Arising from Indigenous Kenyan Entrepreneurship

The WTO advocates for the formalisation of informal SMTEs arguing that these would have significant impacts on poverty alleviation (WTO, 2002). Within the Kenyan context, the results reveal that the formal IOEs and CBEs appear to have achieved some success. Nonetheless, there are significant challenges faced by the informal IOEs in any consideration to have them formalised which include the lack of
familiarity with the bureaucratic system in Kenya, lack of appropriate skills and knowledge, limited access to capital, nature of products and services and the absence of an efficient support network.

As mentioned earlier, formal IOEs are SMTEs that operate their businesses legally, because they are licenced and hence are recognised by authorities. Given the bureaucratic ‘red-tape’ in most developing countries, it would then appear that the formal IOEs are well knowledgeable in the ‘way of doing things’ in Kenya, having circumvented the bureaucratic obstacles to have their businesses registered. For instance, the knowledge of the proprietor of the formal IOE5, who previously worked as a civil servant appears to have played a major role in the formalisation of his business due to his understanding of the system. In the case of the CBES, the bureaucratic red-tape seems to have been overcome by the sheer numbers of their members that have given the CBES a unifying voice with which to muscle through the system. Majority of the informal IOEs on the other hand exhibit a significant lack of understanding of the bureaucratic system in Kenya. In addition, owing to the lack of basic numeracy and literacy skills by majority of the informal IOEs, documentation of business details as required by the registration process may prove to be problematic. Thus, the bureaucratic red-tape can be regarded as a major obstacle in the formalisation process of informal SMTEs in Kenya.

Unlike majority of the informal IOEs, the proprietors of the formal IOEs previously held formal positions, as is the case with the civil servant. In Kenya, formal education is a prerequisite for formal employment. Indeed, the formal IOEs exhibited adequate numeracy and literacy skills and business management skills as depicted in their manner of communication and understanding of the current issues that affect the development of the businesses. It appears therefore that there is a strong correlation between formal IOEs on the one hand and formal education and employment on the
other. Hence, lack of such skills appears to have downplayed any efforts by the informal IOEs to formalise their businesses. It is justifiable to argue that in the endeavour to formalise their businesses, the informal IOEs should at least possess the basic numeracy and literacy skills and have worked in a formal environment.

Whereas the SMTEs exhibited possession of basic skills and knowledge in relation to the various products and services that they offered, the informal IOEs clearly lack the basic business management skills. In recognition of this deficiency, the CBEs have for instance employed competent managers as a business development strategy. The formal IOEs on their part displayed an understanding of business management and as a result have been able to effectively deal with the various issues affecting their businesses. Possession of such skills and knowledge is a necessity for empowerment. The formal IOEs and CBEs in this regard appear to be empowered in their own rights. The informal IOEs on other hand appear to have been disempowered given that they are not in control of issues affecting their businesses due to evident lack of ability to effectively address such issues.

Majority of the informal IOEs cited lack of funds as a key obstacle in the business start-up process. The formal IOEs, whilst acknowledging that access to capital and credit facilities was a daunting task, seem to have had the enthusiasm to carry on under the difficult circumstances and were even prepared to use their lifetime savings to ensure the success of their businesses. Capital or access to credit facilities is essential in the formalisation process of the informal IOEs not just for the purposes of business development, but also to fulfil the business registration process under the Kenyan law, which requires formal businesses to have permanent business addresses. Consequently, since there aren’t any remedial mechanisms being put in place to enhance the informal IOEs access to capital or credit facilities, the informal
IOEs will either have start saving up or continue operating their businesses informally.

The nature of products and services as depicted in the results, can be used to determine the type of indigenous tourism SMTE in Kenya i.e. CBE, formal and informal IOE, and consequently the magnitude of business operation. For instance, majority of the informal IOEs have concentrated their efforts in the offering of auxiliary tourism products like artefacts, whilst the formal IOEs and CBES' efforts are concentrated on some of the products and services that tourists primarily pay for i.e. accommodation and food. It is the latter that appears to be more successful. Hence it would appear that either the Kenyan system favours the formalisation of SMTEs that offer product and services that tourists primarily pay for, or that the system does not consider formalisation of informal IOEs as a priority or does not see the benefits of such informal SMTEs being formalised. Thus, it is justifiable to argue that within the Kenyan context, informal IOEs would have to change their business strategies and concentrate on products and services that tourists primarily pay for in order to get recognition by the system.

Support, as evinced by the results, is essential but not a requirement to ensure the growth and development of SMTEs. This is depicted through the support received by the CBES that has been fundamental to the development of these enterprises and the lack of support for the IOEs which have edged on with minimal or no support at all through sheer enthusiasm and determination. Majority of the informal IOEs appear to be preoccupied with the issue of lack of support and are convinced that this is a key factor for their predicaments. Hence for as long as the they do not develop enthusiasm and determination in the development of their businesses, chances are that they will continue to operate their businesses informally given that support for such SMTEs is minimal or not forthcoming at all.
5.5.1 Analysis of the Kenyan Indigenous SMTEs as Avenues of Poverty Alleviation

The indigenous SMTEs interviewed could either be described as formal or informal IOEs or CBEs, and exhibited varied potential for poverty alleviation. Indeed, going by the WTO assertion, tourism appears to have impacted positively on the livelihoods of the SMTEs' proprietors (WTO, 2002). Nevertheless, given that more than half the population is living below the poverty line (Kenya Government, 2004), their overall impact on the poverty of the local communities in general remain insignificant. Furthermore the informal IOEs face several challenges, mainly because they lack basic numeracy and literacy skills, basic skills and knowledge, access to credit facilities and funding, and entrepreneurship and lack of ability to muscle through Kenya's bureaucratic red-tape. These factors have stagnated their development. Thus, unless appropriate support mechanisms are put in place, formalisation of the informal IOEs as per WTO's recommendations would be problematic within the Kenyan context (WTO, 2002). It is thus well-founded to conclude that unlike the SMTE scenario in Europe with well established entrepreneurial support networks and frameworks, consideration of the indigenous Kenyan SMTEs in the endeavour to alleviate poverty is a bridge too far, at least not in the short-term (Peltonnen et al, 2004; dnes et al, 2004; Ioannides and Petersen 2003). In order to bridge the gap between tourism development and poverty alleviation with reflections on the local communities on the whole, entrepreneurial support networks and frameworks have to be established in Kenya.

Notwithstanding, some SMTEs models appear to offer a progressive route for linking the gap between tourism development and poverty alleviation. For instance the Wasini Mpunguti Lodge exhibits an exemplary model of tourism development that has incorporated the principles of sustainable livelihoods i.e. enhancing livelihoods
by building on what the local communities have as summarised in the figure 5.1 (UNDP, 1999). Moreover, by offering a cultural based tourism product, the lodge exemplifies an innovative approach to tourism development that does not come into direct competition with other established tourism enterprises but acts as a complementary product. Such a product, if nurtured properly is bound to generate more benefits to the local communities as its development solely relies on the local expertise. Thus in relation to poverty alleviation, the lodge has succeeded in providing a livelihood to the local community both directly in terms of employment and indirectly in terms of its networks. It is worth noting that Wasini Mpunguti Lodge model nevertheless exhibits several weaknesses vis-à-vis community development. First, the model relies heavily on philanthropy, such that if this is lacking, as is the case with Voi Royal Palms, the local community is not bound to benefit. Secondly, in terms of decision-making, there is no obligation on the part of the owner to involve the rest of the community. Consequently the model may have disempowering effect on the rest of the community, as arguably it does not effectively adopt a community-led approach whereby the local community should be adequately involved in decision-making.

Figure 5.1: Wasini Mpunguti Lodge and Poverty Alleviation
The CBEs therefore appear to offer the most suitable progressive route for local communities to establish a direct link between tourism development and poverty alleviation as a result of the adoption of a community-led (rather than community-exploitative) approach. The CBEs as such have the ability to raise the general awareness of the local communities and can further be used to provide a platform from which formal IOEs can sprout. The LUMO wildlife sanctuary, which is in partnership with a private indigenous Kenyan investor best illustrates the case for CBEs in which the local community is involved accordingly in the development of the sanctuary. In addition, unlike the case of Wilderness Camp and Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary, ownership by the individual members is based on either amount of money invested or man-hours invested in the development of the sanctuary. This therefore provides an inclusionary measure for those who lack monetary resources. Moreover by employing a competent manager drawn from the local community and laying emphasis on training, the sanctuary has addressed the issue of skills. The sanctuary therefore displays a model community-based ownership of tourism resources being exploited for purposes of benefiting the local community in terms of enhanced income through dividends and wages, linkages within the local economy, social development with regard to developing schools, providing bursaries, and equipping health facilities.

5.6 The Prevailing Support Network in Kenya

In the endeavour to establish the prevailing support network for indigenous SMTEs in Kenya, the field survey resulted in six indepth interviews with support organisations drawn from various affiliations. The support organisations were for instance mainly drawn from quasi-governmental organisations or parastals and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that were affiliated to various donor organisations. Majority of the support organisations had their headquarters in Nairobi and also had other
branches in various parts of the country depending on the duration of the activities in which they were engaged in. Table 5.5 below summarises the profiles of the support organisations interviewed.

Table 5.5: Profile of support organisations interviewed, 2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Year established</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Branches</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East African Wildlife Society (EAWS)</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>Several</td>
<td>Donors (NGO)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya Tourist Board (KTB)</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS)</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>Several</td>
<td>Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K-Rep Bank</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Donors (NGO)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taita Taveta Wildlife Forum (TTWF)</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Taita Taveta</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Donors (NGO)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism Trust Fund (TTF)</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Government/Donors</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.6.1 About the Support Organisations

5.6.1.1 East African Wildlife Society (EAWS)

The EAWS was established in 1961 as a non-governmental organisation following an amalgamation of wildlife societies in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. The main aim of EAWS is to promote conservation and the wise use of wildlife and the environment in East Africa. Initially, EAWS was mainly involved with the protection of endangered, rare and threatened species. However, over time, EAWS has recognised the need to involve key stakeholders, especially the local communities in order for its initiatives to be effective. In the endeavour to involve the local communities, the society has also recognised that these communities would also have to benefit in the process in order to garner their support, and tourism development is seen as the most viable activity. Given the obstacles that hinder the effective involvement of the local communities,
EAWS sites capacity building as a key objective. In addition to these objectives, and the need to protect the environment as a whole, EAWS is now involved in the enhancement of biodiversity arguing that biodiversity in East Africa is undervalued and inappropriately used.

EAWS has been involved in several projects, the most notable being: Kenya Forests Working Group, Conservation of Resources through Enterprise, Watamu Marine Turtle Conservation, Roan Antelope Conservation Project, Enhancing Biodiversity Conservation through Alternative Livelihoods Systems and Techniques, and Conservation through Co-existence.

5.6.1.2 The Kenya Tourist Board

KTB was established in 1997 through a presidential order following the steady decline in tourist activity in the 1990s, the apparent lack of enthusiasm and personnel by the Ministry of Tourism and an outcry from the private sector on their non-involvement in tourism marketing and promotion. KTB was therefore set up with sole responsibility of marketing and promoting the country's tourism industry both locally and internationally with the hope that it could reverse the declining trend of the tourism industry. In the endeavour to achieve this goal, KTB integrates the business activities of the private sector together with those of the government. KTB is furthermore private sector driven in that of its 13-member board of directors, 8 are from the private sector, and the rest from the government. In the execution of its responsibility, KTB has set up various offices mainly in Europe and America and regularly attends international travel fairs.
5.6.1.3 **Kenya Wildlife Service**

KWS is a quasi-governmental organisation that was established through an act of parliament under the Wildlife Conservation and Management Act in 1990. The main goal of KWS therefore first and foremost is to conserve the natural environments of Kenya together with their flora and fauna. KWS in addition aims to utilise wildlife resources sustainably and also seeks to protect local people together with their property from injury or damage respectively, by the wild animals that may stray from protected areas. KWS in its mandate manages wildlife protected areas; 26 national parks, 22 national reserves and 5 marine reserves. KWS has been and is still involved in almost all conservation related projects.

5.6.1.4 **K-Rep**

K-Rep, an acronym for Kenya Rural Enterprise Programme, was formed in 1984 as a non-governmental organisation which sought to address the financial, management and technical needs of rural SMMEs. The main objective of K-Rep therefore is to empower the SMMEs and to serve as a catalyst for them to increase their participation in the development process and to enhance their quality of life. K-Rep initially started as a five year project which focussed on the development of rural SMMEs but has since evolved into a multifunctional micro-finance enterprise that not only caters for the rural and urban SMMEs, but also offers financial services that other mainstream banks offer.

5.6.1.5 **Taita Taveta Wildlife Forum**

Located in Taita Taveta district, TTWF was established in 2001 mainly to address the needs of the local communities and to bring together the various tourism and wildlife
stakeholders in Taita Taveta. The main goal of TTWF is to empower local community to have a say on matters concerning wildlife outside protected areas, especially on the group ranches. Among its activities, TTWF seeks to integrate Taita Hills into the Coast tourist circuit, protect and promote wildlife conservation for the benefit of the local communities by empowering them and encourage members to participate in resource management and tourism development matters. TTWF in addition aims to set up a trust fund to be used for the benefits of the members.

5.6.1.6 Tourism Trust Fund

The Kenyan Government and the European Union (EU) jointly established TTF in 2002 mainly to enhance tourism development and alleviate poverty through the disbursement of funds provided by EU for purposes of tourism development and tourism marketing and promotion. TTF sees the facilitation of the growth and development of the private sector especially the SMTEs through the maximisation of economic and social benefits of tourism as crucial to the achievement of its objective. This is duly summarised in its mission statement, which is:

To alleviate poverty through creating an enabling environment for the development of the tourism sector through supporting institutional capacity, sustainable development and product diversification.

To achieve this, TTF comprises two components; the Tourism Diversification and Sustainable Development Programme (TDSDP) which seeks to enhance the growth of SMTEs through provision of funds for their development; and the Tourism Institutional Strengthening and Marketing Promotion Programme (TISMPP) which mainly funds KTB in its marketing and promotion endeavours.
5.6.2 **Agendas of the Support Organisations**

All support organisations interviewed exhibited diverse agendas. However half were driven towards conservation of natural resources. The main of goal of KWS, for instance, is to conserve wildlife and to protect people together with their property from wildlife, and at the same time, wildlife from people. As such KWS is mandated first to look after the welfare of the wildlife especially in the protected areas. In realisation that the conservation agenda may not be achievable without the involvement of the local communities, majority of these organisations have opted to integrate community-based initiatives in order to advance the conservation agenda. TTFW, for example, seeks to empower local communities in Taita Taveta to be involved and to have a say in matters appertaining to wildlife outside protected areas (national parks which are under KWS) most of which are found on their land. In the process of involving the local communities, majority of these organisations have further noted that the process would be futile if these communities were not benefiting from the conservation initiatives as observed in the extract below:

> Conservation is our main goal, at the moment we are working on a community based conservation project and we have realised that at the same time that the community needs to be involved and they also have to benefit.

*(EAWS)*

Amongst the other support organisations, agendas were mainly driven towards funding and facilitation of marketing and promotion of SMMEs. K-Rep Bank, a donor funded bank, focuses its efforts on providing banking services to SMMEs not specifically restricted to tourism. As such, the main goal of K-Rep is to uplift or give a boost to local SMMEs through loans and other banking services. TTF, a quasi-government organisation, on the other hand, seeks to create an enabling environment specifically for local SMTEs to participate in a large enterprise
dominated tourism industry in Kenya and consequently contribute to poverty alleviation. KTB on the other hand is mandated with the marketing and promotion of the country in general.

In striving to meet their goals, the conservation-based support organisations’ objectives appear to prefer community-based projects as a way of addressing their agendas. The KWS for instance, sees community-based tourism projects as a way of facilitating their agenda in that such projects would make it easy for them to conserve wildlife in and out of protected areas and at the same time provide security for these animals, tourists and the local communities. TTWF through this approach, encourages its members to participate in resource management and tourism development through participation in relevant seminars and field trips that they organise in order to create conservation awareness amongst the local communities.

In the case of the financial-based support organisations, K-Rep appears to be more specific in its objectives in that it seeks to give local SMMEs financial support that main stream banks would not otherwise offer, for instance the SMMEs would not necessarily have to provide collateral. Although TTF also seeks to provide financial support to SMTEs, its main objective is to bridge the gap between the Kenya Tourist Development Cooperation (KTDC), which is involved with funding large tourism enterprises, and the SMTEs. However in order to achieve this objective TTF appears to favour CBES rather than IOES as observed below:

*We support SMTEs by funding them to start tourism business, however the government also wants to diversify tourism by encouraging the local communities to own tourism resources, we therefore identify areas of potential and give small grants to local communities.*

(TTF)
Chapter Five: An Evaluation of Indigenous Entrepreneurship in the delivery of the Kenyan Tourism Product

In relation to the obstacles the organisations face in achieving their objectives, matters appertaining to lack of funding, lack of awareness, outdated government policies, lack of literacy and numeracy skills featured prominently. In the analysis of these obstacles it appears that these organisations face obstacles on two levels; the organisation level and the community level. The organisation level refers to those obstacles that incapacitate the organisation to execute its objectives such as lack of funds. Most of these organisations rely heavily on donor funds that at times are hard to come by or are delayed thereby distorting their plans. The KTB for instance suffers from low budgetary allocations and hence cannot discharge its goal of marketing and promoting the country effectively such that it inevitably overlooks the SMTEs and only focuses on established tourism enterprises. At the community level, the obstacles refer to those that limit the full participation of the local communities in the community projects. Obstacles afflicting the local communities mainly result from a conflict in interest in relation to the human-wildlife conflict and human encroachment on protected areas. Furthermore, the ineptitude of local communities in relation to their limited awareness and inadequate literacy and numeracy skills have further exacerbates these obstacles. K-Rep, for example, observed that the major obstacle they face is the low literacy and numeracy levels of the SMMEs such that they cannot comprehend the basic banking concepts.

5.6.3 Support Network

In response to the sort of support the organisations offered, two different approaches were observed; support executed by the organisations themselves and support given to the SMTEs and executed by the local communities without the involvement of the support organisation, an approach preferred by those organisations offering funds to SMTEs. K-Rep and TTF, in this respect, prefer to give their services to the SMTEs who then use such services at their discretion. For instance, K-Rep offers financial
services to the SMMEs through loans and savings, but the SMMEs are not dictated upon on how to use these services. Although TTF appears to follow the same approach, conditions for the acquisition of funding by the SMTEs however appear to be very stringent given that a detailed business plan is a prerequisite. In addition to these, TTF also supports SMTEs as outlined below:

We assist some communities in advancing their proposals, by looking at the weaknesses of their original proposals and assist in marketing. We encourage CBEs to be self sufficient not to rely on donor funds by going to rural areas to build capacities and to create awareness, e.g. we carry out a capacity building exercise around the country through the circuit development e.g. western and central areas etc. where we have held seminars and encouraged CBOS to map out their products then we see how we can help them.

(TTF)

EAWS, through its Conservation of Resources through Enterprise programme, works with the local communities to identify and develop business ventures out of the natural resources that they own. In order to achieve this, EAWS mobilises the local communities to set up organised structures in which a membership approach is preferred, whereby members are also encouraged to own shares in the CBEs. From this organised community structures, EAWS is then able to execute its objectives by facilitating capacity building strategies necessary to enable the local communities to manage and run their enterprises. In addition, EAWS assists these communities in the formalisation process of these enterprises by facilitating their registration especially where technical aspects are involved, and also in resource mobilisation. Through resource mobilisation, the local communities have been able to raise funds within themselves either in terms of monetary payments or contribution in terms of provision of labour thereby instilling a sense of community ownership in the CBEs.

In addition, some organisations such as KWS and TTWF are also involved in the provision of technical support to SMTEs as observed below:
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We create awareness through publications, meetings by community liaison officers. In the case of Mbololo community forest, where we trained their five guides on the tourism product in a one-week seminar, which is being run through a participatory management scheme. Thus we have increased their capacity to host tourists and empowered them on the scientific knowledge of flora and fauna. We are also involved in improving security in the area and have established a radio communication network.

(TTWF)

Half of the organisations interviewed were not be bothered as to whether or not the SMTEs had a business and or a marketing plan. In fact, quite surprisingly, K-Rep, despite being a bank, did not require such a plan from the SMMEs and the only requirement was that the SMMEs had to be already in operation. In recognition of the fact that most of the SMTEs in Kenya do not possess the necessary skills and knowledge to develop such plans, organisations such as EAWS, have opted to work in conjunction with the SMTEs to develop suitable plans. Ironically, quasi-governmental organisations such as KTB, KWS and TTF required that the SMTEs have formal business and marketing plans and yet did give any support to develop such plans. TTF, in support of this approach, insisted that this ensured that the SMTEs were fully committed to their businesses. Thus, as revealed by TTF, this approach has, predictably, yielded only responses from already established tourism enterprises majority of which are already in receipt of donor funds from other sources, and are thus knowledgeable in soliciting or canvassing for such funds as depicted below;

We are aware of some established enterprises that are already in receipt of other funding and we are trying to discourage this and stressing on sustainability. Now if TTF winds up, they will just move to another donor agency. We would rather a situation whereby these institutions are dependant not on donor funds, but are self sustaining.

(TTF)

Amongst the organisations interviewed, only K-Rep was inclined to supporting individually owned SMMEs rather than CBEs. Thus in striving to get the services they offer known to the SMMEs, K-Rep uses promotional materials such as brochures,
attends public meetings especially in rural areas and visits the SMMEs in the field whenever possible. In the case of CBEs, KWS appears to play a significant role through the various national parks that they control through which they are inevitably in contact with the local communities especially when matters afflicting the local communities and wildlife arise. KWS however insists that on matters relating to enterprise development, they do not approach the local communities as this is not their mandate, but rather the local community approaches them. All that KWS does is point them to the right direction in terms suitable organisations that may be in a position to assist them. It is therefore through such initial contact that other organisations such EAWS, TTF and KTB get to know of the existence of local communities in need of their assistance. In addition, TTF uses the media to advertise its services and also approaches local leaders and advices them of the services they offer in the hope that such leaders would mobilise their respective communities to access TTF's services.

From the above scenario, it can be deduced that some collaboration exists between the support organisations. In fact, all the community-based organisations in one way or another collaborate with KWS. The prevailing support network thus appears to initially start with KWS, who then identify organisation such EAWS who in turn assist the local communities in setting up their enterprises and drafting business plans. This as a result creates a suitable environment for say, TTF, to provide the CBEs funds for further enterprise development.

5.6.4 Critical Success Factors for SMTEs

When making decisions on which SMTEs to support, the support organisations use several criteria for the inclusion or exclusion of SMTEs. Most of these organisations with the exception of K-Rep, however, appear to discriminate against IOES. K-Rep's
criteria only emphasises that the SMTEs be already in operation for them to qualify for their services.

In the case of EAWS and TTWF, both conservation-based organisations that are now emphasising poverty alleviation, the basic criteria is that first and foremost there must be a natural resource to conserve and that in the process this resource will also benefit the local community in terms of enterprise development and subsequently the extent to which the enterprise will advance the conservation agenda. The local community is also required to show its own initiative in enterprise development and natural resource management for it to get support. In addition to these two points, EAWS also takes into consideration the number of people who will benefit from the process, such that large numbers of people within a given community stand a higher chance of getting support. Thus, these criteria automatically disqualify IOES from getting any support from such organisations.

KWS, whilst also advocating for CBEs, stresses that these SMTEs have to be within a conservation area and that they have to be within a given distance from a national park depending on its size. TTF on the other hand, takes into consideration originality of SMTEs concept in that it should seek to as much as possible diversify the tourism product in Kenya, and should also seek to alleviate poverty of the local communities.

The support organisations interviewed have been involved in several diverse projects. For instance, KWS and EAWS, have together been involved in projects such as LUMO, Mwaluganje and Kishushe wildlife sanctuaries. These sanctuaries were set up first and foremost to conserve the wildlife and in so doing avert the human-wildlife conflict. Subsequently, in realisation of the fact that this would be futile if the local communities do not benefit in the process, these sanctuaries were then developed into enterprises. In the management and running of these enterprises,
KWS and EAWS, prefer either a fully community-owned and run approach or a leasehold management approach. In the case of the fully community-owned and run approach, of which LUMO and Mwaluganje sanctuaries are examples, the support organisations have focussed their efforts in developing the capacities of the local communities to own, through resource mobilisation, manage and run the sanctuaries independently without any outside intervention. The leasehold management on the other hand is preferred in the situation where the fully community-owned may not be practical mainly due to lack of funds or capital and in cases whereby the capacities are very low such that it may not be viable to focus attention on their development but rather concentrate on other aspects that may be beneficial. Kishushe wildlife sanctuary is an example of a leasehold in which the local community has leased about 20 000 acres of land to a private investor and relegated all management responsibility to him, and in turn the investor pays an annual lease fee and at the same a percentage of the of the bed-nights from the lodge that he has put in the sanctuary.

Furthermore KTB argues that although they have not been directly involved with any specific SMTEs, their main role is to market the country’s tourism industry as a whole and in so doing the SMTEs benefit indirectly. TTF on the other hand has been involved in the drafting of the national tourism policy of which they argue that emphasis is on growth and development of community-based tourism especially with regard to poverty alleviation. TTF has thus been involved in the development of community-based tourism in Lumo, Ilingwesi and Laikipia wildlife sanctuaries. In addition, TTF has assisted the development of non-wildlife based projects such as Malindi handicrafts cooperative and crab farming in Sunza.

On the issue of the performance of the SMTEs prior to the support organisations' intervention, all organisations concurred on the point that they were not doing well at
all thus warranting their support. However, in the case of KWS and TTWF, some of the SMTEs were non-existent prior to their intervention, despite the vast land and wildlife resources. In addition, K-Rep observed that the SMMEs were underperforming and that they did not have room for growth and development mainly due to financial constraints.

Following the support organisations' intervention, majority of these organisations observe that there has been a slight improvement in the performance of the SMTEs. Whereas they all concur that this improvement is not remarkable, majority of these organisations are optimistic that the SMTEs would greatly benefit in the longrun. Although not directly linked to SMTEs, KWS for instance argues that the local communities are now more conservation conscious and are utilising their resources in a sustainable manner. TTWF further observes that through its assistance, some CBEs have been able to access key markets for their products and that they have played a key role in the improvement of the quality of their products as exemplified below;

The SMTEs were underforming, in fact most the enterprises were not in existence, we have initiated most of them e.g. Kasigau women's group, initially their products were substandard, these women were taken to Kitui to see how the Kamba community produces their baskets, the quality has since improved and we have helped them market their products by linking them with Voi wildlife Lodge where they now sell some of their products to tourists.

(TTWF)

With regard to critical success factors for the growth and development of the SMTEs, the support organisations expressed diverse opinions. K-Rep, for instance, felt that the SMMEs have to be more aggressive as enterprises, be receptive to new ideas and always seek new opportunities in order to advance their ventures as they operate in a competitive environment. The majority of the support organisations,
however, agreed that adequate capacities, effective marketing and promotion, empowerment and involvement were all essential to ensure the success of SMTEs.

Although the support organisations were in agreement on several key issues that led to the failure of SMTEs, such as inadequate skills and knowledge to run and manage their enterprises, lack of basic literacy and numeracy skills, lack of empowerment and involvement, and lack of effective marketing, other key factors were brought to the limelight. For example, KWS argued that petty internal politicking and wrangling especially due to lack of cohesion amongst the local communities have played a major role in the failure of these SMTEs, especially the community-owned ones. Furthermore, although initially aimed at benefiting the majority in the local community, some local elites have formed cartels that ensure benefits only to themselves such that over time the interest and motivation of the local communities has waned as illustrated in the excerpt below:

Revenue generated from the community-based tourism enterprises has not been pumped back into the community as originally intended especially in the Maasai region. The issue could do with politics within the community such that it is only the elite who are benefiting, we do not dictate to the community how to share the revenue, it is upto the community to decide on their priorities.

(KWS)

Some organisations, in addition noted that initially the lack of interest in conservation issues and the perception that such endeavours were a preserve of the mzungu (Whites) meant that such projects were doomed to fail. In fact there appears to be a correlation between the mzungu influence and the success or failure of these projects. EAWS in fact observed that those projects that had this mzungu influence tended to do better than those that did not as observed below:

Most of the enterprises were failing, the only ones that appeared to be succeeding appear to have a ‘mzungu’ influence. For example Illingwesi, which had the mzungu influence that assisted especially in marketing and promotion of the sanctuary is still growing strong,
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whereas Kimana five years down the line, is down because it they did not have the mzungu support.

(EAWS)

In order to ensure the success of the SMTEs, the support organisations tabled several mechanisms that could be utilised. Majority of these organisations for instance felt that there was need for appropriate policy framework that fostered the growth and development of the SMTEs. Most of these organisations further felt that the current policies, such as policies concerning the management of natural resources have not been reviewed in past 50 years, and were thus outdated and in need of urgent review.

Moreover, in line with developing adequate literacy and numeracy skills, most of the support organisations also recognised the need for the development of appropriate skills and knowledge especially with regard to the management and running of the SMTEs. To illustrate this, EAWS, in some of the projects that they have been involved with, have emphasised community-based ownership whereby the local communities are effectively armed to run and manage their enterprise. EAWS has therefore facilitated the employment and training of management, administrative and accounting staff, as well as operational staff such waiters, chambermaids and game rangers, all of whom have been recruited from the local community. In support of this approach as an appropriate mechanism for development, EAWS, argued that it would ensure a firm foundation of the CBE in which the local communities are empowered, instil a sense of ownership and consequently ensure its sustainability. In this regard, they make reference to Mwaluganje in that it is one of the success stories because it is run and managed by the local community without external support.

Whereas the majority of the support organisations felt that marketing was integral to the success of the SMTEs, emphasis was however on innovative approaches to
marketing such as the use of the Internet. An innovative approach, as they argued, would ensure that the SMTEs accessed key markets. Furthermore, the support organisations recommended the development of diverse tourism products and pursuance of diverse markets such as the regional and domestic markets that had not been previously exploited despite their immense potential. In realisation that the SMTEs may not necessarily possess adequate capacity to market their products and services effectively, some organisations deemed it necessary for the SMTEs to have a regional or national body through which they could collectively market and promote their services and products. In addition this body could also be use to regulate the quality and standards of such products and services.

Moreover, the support organisations considered the issue of easy access to capital, funds and credit facilities as crucial to ensuring the growth and development of SMTEs. This, they felt, could be achieved through the setting up of a revolving fund that specifically the SMTEs would have easy access to. In addition, follow-up mechanisms could be put in place to either ensure that the funds are effectively utilised for their intended purpose or alternatively that the SMTEs maximise their utilisation of such funds.

5.6.5 Sustainable Livelihoods

All the support organisations interviewed observed that the livelihoods and living standards of the SMTEs were considerably low prior to these organisations’ engagement with SMTEs. TTF for instance painted a desperate picture of the livelihoods in that the local communities were living in abject poverty, lacked hope and had no enthusiasm. In addition, TTWF felt that the living standards were gradually being reduced especially the local community’s reliance on livestock farming that has been falling especially due to the aridity of the land. Furthermore,
some organisations argued that other forms of land use by the local communities such as charcoal burning, which destroyed vegetation, poaching, hunting and human encroachment of wildlife habitat were unsustainable and if allowed to continue would have irreparably destroyed the delicate environments.

Consequently, on the issue of how the support organisations' had impacted on the livelihoods of the SMTEs, majority of these organisations felt that although it was too early to tell, there had been some slight improvements. This is mainly due to the fact that these organisations preferred long-term strategies whereby impacts would be realised over long periods to short-term strategies whereby impacts are immediate but short-lived. The organisations felt that the local communities were now more aware of their resources and how they could exploit them, were more conservation conscious, more empowered and that in turn they had started using their resources sustainably.

5.7 Critical Issues Arising from the Prevailing Support Network

The aim of the field survey was to identify owner-managers of indigenous tourism-SMEs and the challenges facing them in terms of the nature of their products and services and the prevailing entrepreneurship support network. Whilst the preceding discussion has detailed the nature of the entrepreneurship support network, an analysis of its implications is essential. The following provides a critical analysis of these implications.

First, it is evident that all the support organisations except one prefer to work with CBEs rather than IOEs arguing that this would ensure maximum benefits to the wider population. This therefore implies that for the IOEs to benefit from these support organisations they would either have to amalgamate with existing CBEs or form new
CBEs altogether. However, given the diversity in business interests as exhibited by the IOEs, this may be problematic, as the CBEs are perceived to pursue common interests.

In addition, some sceptics argue that community-based tourism enterprises have the tendency to create elitist cartels amongst the local communities who would do anything to ensure that tourism benefits accrue to themselves rather than the community in general (Sindiga, 1999a). Sofield (2003), for instance observes that it is those who yield significant power within the local community who are able to control and manipulate the nature of development of the CBEs. In fact, the support organisations observed that this was one of the main reasons for the failure of previous CBEs. Hence empowerment within the local community would be essential and given that the lack of such empowerment is a major obstacle to the development and growth of CBEs, the support organisation therefore have to prioritise the empowering of local communities in order to curtail the development of cartels and consequently ensure the success of the CBEs.

Furthermore the results reveal that half of the support organisations interviewed were conservation-based organisations and consequently their main agenda was conservation. In order to pursue this agenda, these support organisations have realised the importance of integrating aspects of community involvement to their projects. Thus, it is purely for this reason that such support organisations have incorporated the involvement of local communities in the pursuance of their agenda not because they are specifically interested in assisting these communities to develop tourism-based enterprises, but rather because local community support is in turn crucial towards the conservation agenda. This therefore automatically excludes any aspiring CBEs that do not have a natural resource to conserve from benefiting from these organisations’ support.
Moreover, as a result of the conservation agenda, the CBEs supported have been left with little choice but to pursue the development of enterprises based on that which is being conserved, in most cases wildlife. This has inevitably led to the development of wildlife-based tourism products such as the safari, thus re-emphasising traditional tourism products, which could be regarded as already overproduced going by the number of producers within the country and the wider Sub-Saharan Africa (Manyara and Dnes, 2005). Concentration on wildlife-based tourism products has in turn overshadowed the development of other tourism products such as cultural-based tourism products that would otherwise give the CBEs a competitive advantage and also ensure maximum benefits to the local communities. In addition, concentration on wildlife-based tourism products has advanced the lack of diversity in the tourism products, a condition that has been blamed for the woes facing the tourism industry in Kenya and has therefore thwarted the government’s efforts to diversify the tourism product in Kenya (Kenyan Government, 2004).

WTO advocates for partnerships between SMTEs and the private sector, arguing that such partnerships can ensure maximum benefits to both the host communities and the tourism industry thereby significantly contributing to poverty alleviation (WTO, 2002). The support organisations appear to be in agreement with this view and in addition assert that a touch of the private sector will ensure the success of the CBEs as the private sector is profit driven. Furthermore, as observed by an interviewee, the successful CBEs appear to be those in partnership not just with any private investor, but a ‘mzungu’ (White) investor. This therefore implies that any aspiring CBEs will have to take into consideration the partnership approach in order to qualify for support. However given the lack of awareness, low literacy and numeracy levels, lack of skills and knowledge amongst the local communities, it would be difficult to ensure that such partnerships are of mutual benefit. In addition such partnerships may only
be suited in the case where the CBEs are pursuing a wildlife-based tourism product and lack the capacity to effectively develop a related enterprise. However, in the case where the CBEs are interested in pursuing the development of other tourism products such as cultural-based tourism products and in which they possess the basic capacities, such partnerships may be unnecessary.

5.8 Conclusion: Need for Community Capacity Building

Clearly, CBEs present a potential avenue within the Kenyan context for linking tourism development and poverty alleviation. This conclusion emerges mainly from the evidence derived from the SMTEs themselves and the fact that the support network favour CBEs rather than IOEs, whether formal or informal. Furthermore, the DNTP (Kenya Government, 2004) certainly lays more emphasis on CBEs as the preferred tourism development route in its endeavour to alleviate poverty.

Despite this optimistic outlook on CBEs, they nonetheless face several challenges, as depicted by the results, that will need to be overcome. These challenges include, the nature of products and services, access to markets, heavy dependence on and nature of support network, elitism and/or poor leadership, empowerment, involvement, awareness, partnerships, basic skills and knowledge, basic numeracy and literacy skills.

First, the nature of the tourism products and services offered by the CBEs revolve around the safari and thus, do not reflect suitably in the endeavour to diversify Kenya’s tourism product (Kenya Government, 2004). Furthermore it is clear that these products have been developed as a result of propositions made by the support organisations, majority of which are conservation-based, in the endeavour to pursue their conservation agenda. Thus, in order to ensure the success of CBEs and to give
them a competitive edge, unique tourism products would have to be developed in addition to the preferred conservation-based tourism products. In this respect, pursuance cultural-based tourism products would present more potential avenues for local communities to meet this goal.

Secondly, one of the major challenges facing the development of CBEs is access to markets. The CBEs interviewed do not have clear marketing strategies, relying on the goodwill of third parties (tour operators) to supply them with clients. Furthermore, there appears to be a preference for the traditional western tourist market. Thus the CBEs will have to establish frameworks to effectively ensure direct access to markets. In addition, the CBEs will have to seek alternative markets such as the domestic, regional and Far East markets, a proposition that is favoured by the DNTP (Kenya Government, 2004).

Thirdly, it is evident that CBEs have developed heavy dependence on the prevailing support network, without which these initiatives would certainly collapse. This is perpetuated by the lack the inability of the CBEs to run and manage themselves without external intervention especially with regard to financial and managerial issues. Thus an urgent shift from this dependency syndrome is necessary. The CBEs will have to develop mechanisms to ensure that they are gradually able to run and manage these initiatives efficiently by themselves.

Furthermore, that the main agenda of majority of the support network is conservation should be of major concern in the sense that the prevailing support network is not people-centred. This has inevitably meant that the CBEs pursue nature-based tourism products as a development strategy rather than other potential tourism products such as, cultural-based tourism products. Thus in order to pursue a people-centred tourism development agenda and to develop other non-wildlife based tourism
products, either the prevailing support network would have to redefine their objectives or that other relevant support organisations would have to be sought.

Fourthly, partnerships between the CBEs and private investors appear to be a preference of both the prevailing support network and the Kenya Government as depicted in the DNTP. The supportive argument put forth is that such collaborations would help ensure the success of these initiatives as the private investors would actively ensure a return on their investment. This being the case, the CBEs should only embrace this as a short-term strategy and a learning process for achieving self-dependency. Furthermore, mechanisms should be put in place to ensure that such partnerships are of mutual benefit.

The fifth point dwells on the issue of elitism, which has been sited as a critical issue in the development of CBEs, whereby only local elites appear to benefit from such initiatives at the expense of the rest of the community. Such elitist associations can only thrive in communities where there is poor leadership, limited awareness of these initiatives, minimal empowerment, and little or no involvement of the majority of community in the development process. Thus, in order to ensure the success of CBEs and to check elitism, the local community would need to be fully sensitised, be empowered, be involved throughout the development process and mechanisms would need to be put in place to ensure good, effective and visionary leadership (Sofield, 2003).

Finally, there is the fundamental issue of the local communities in Kenya lacking basic skills and knowledge in tourism related issues, and even the basic numeracy and literacy skills. This has meant that the local communities' involvement in the development of these initiatives has merely been as spectators, since they clearly lack the ability to comprehend the technical aspects of these initiatives (Sofield,
Thus, enhancing such skills and knowledge should be integral in the development process of these initiatives. In this regard, the introduction of compulsory free primary education by the government, the G8’s commitment to support this (G8, 2005c), and the proposition by the DNTP that tourism be integrated in the national curriculum, all present a positive step towards developing and enhancing such skills within the local communities.

The identification, therefore, of CBEs as a potential route for linking tourism development and poverty alleviation in Kenya, further reaffirms the need to integrate WTO’s considerations into the sustainable livelihoods approach as depicted in figure 4.1 (chapter four). This is due to the fact that in WTO’s case, emphasis is laid mainly on the individual SMTEs and enterprise development, whilst in the sustainable livelihoods, emphasis is on the community in general, especially with regard to enhancing independence. The model (figure 4.1) can therefore be suitably adapted for CBE development in Kenya.

Evidently, the challenges facing the development of CBEs in Kenya are mainly as a result of inadequate capacity by the local communities. Figure 4.1 highlights the need for capacity building in general. However, in order to effectively position CBEs as avenues of linking tourism development and poverty alleviation in Kenya, a suitable model specifically focusing on community capacity building will be essential. The model should strive to create awareness and empower the local communities, focus on enhancing the capabilities of the local communities to develop appropriate tourism products, access markets, access financial resources, develop effective leadership skills, enhance self-dependency in running and managing the initiatives.
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5.9 Summary

This chapter has enabled a review of the post-colonial tourism development policies and plans, and evaluated the DNTP and its implications on indigenous SMTEs. The chapter has further enabled an identification of indigenous Kenyan SMTEs and their owner-managers and revealed a typology i.e. IOEs and CBEs, and the challenges facing them in the delivery of their respective tourism products and services. In addition, the prevailing support network vis-à-vis the development of indigenous SMTEs in Kenya has been evaluated. The chapter has revealed that given the challenges facing indigenous Kenyan tourism entrepreneurship and the support network, consideration of indigenous Kenyan SMTEs in poverty alleviation is a bridge too far at least in the short-term. However, it reveals that CBEs do offer a progressive path if the key challenges facing them are addressed. The chapter concludes with the point that most of these challenges can be addressed by the integration of appropriate community capacity building strategies.
Chapter Six

Theoretical Model For Community Capacity Building

Suitable For Kenyan CBEs

6.1 Introduction
6.2 Community Capacity Building: Definitions, Concepts and Issues
6.3 Theoretical model for Community Capacity Building for Kenyan CBEs
6.4 Summary
Chapter Six: Theoretical Model for Community Capacity Building Suitable for Kenyan CBEs

6.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to evaluate alternative models of community capacity building with a view to proposing a suitable model for Kenyan CBEs. This is based mainly on the conclusions drawn from chapter five, that CBEs offer a progressive route for linking tourism development to poverty alleviation in Kenya and that community capacity building is the potential strategy for addressing the challenges facing their development. This chapter therefore seeks to critically analyse literature on the various issues and concepts of community capacity building and identify best practice strategies. The chapter further seeks to refine the best practice strategies as identified in the literature with a view to proposing a suitable approach and appropriate theoretical model for the Kenyan CBEs.

6.2 Community Capacity Building: Definitions, Concepts and Issues

Capacity building has gained prominence in the global developmental agenda. In developing countries, for instance, this can be attributed to the fact that very few countries have been able to promote and sustain economic and social development, which has led to an increase in poverty (Hilderbrand and Grindle, 1994). Generally capacity building initiatives seek to transfer developmental responsibilities to civil societies. Capacity building as such has been endorsed by major international organisations, such as EU, UNDP and WTO, as a key to poverty alleviation (EU, 2003; UNDP, 1999; WTO, 2002). However, despite this endorsement there is limited literature on community capacity building models. The literature available re-emphasises the importance of capacity building in the achievement of certain agendas and rarely focuses on how this can be achieved. In the tourism fraternity, for instance, such literature focuses on the need for such strategies in the endeavour to achieve economic development (Victrume, 2000).
In order to clearly understand the community capacity building concept, it is essential to understand the various approaches to defining it. The concept can be unpacked to reveal two concepts: community and, capacity building. The existing body of literature normally refers to 'community' as a unitary structure and when in reference specifically to capacity building, it is defined as:

\[\text{an accumulative structure capable of conveying and delivering schemes and programmes.}\]

(Shirlow and Murtagh, 2004:58)

Shirlow and Murtagh (2004) argue that such a perception of community is simplistic and mostly uncritical in that the community cannot be viewed as a distinctive 'stakeholder' with a common shared set of values and the ability to mobilise different discursive agendas and effectively debate this with other stakeholders. They assert that the community in general is composed of an organised sector on the one hand and its representational capacity amongst people of varied interests or no understanding of the organisation's goals, on the other. They therefore propose that instead of considering the community as a unitary whole, emphasis should be vested upon establishing the legitimacy of an organisation or set of organisations within the community and its representation, through which accountability can be built to critically reflect upon those it claims to represent. In so doing, the non-represented groups will be identified and strategies to deal with any conflicts of interests that may arise can also be developed. To overcome or minimise such conflicts, Shirlow and Murtagh (2004) suggest a widespread participation approach to accommodate the majority of the community members. Thus, for purposes of this study, with reference to capacity building, 'community', is used to refer to those organisations or community-based enterprises and their representation, rather than the whole community in general, that seek to exploit opportunities arising from tourism development.
Despite its prominence in the global arena, the concept of capacity building has itself not escaped the definitional trap, mainly due to its vagueness, such that its implications and outcomes are mostly unpredictable. Harrow (2001) attributes this to lack of clarity in the meaning of the concept and consequently its measurement. Harrow further observes that extant definitions draw on other abstract, often contestable, concepts such as sustainability and partnerships, while other definitions look at tangible activities such as education and training. This lack of clarity hence renders it difficult to ascertain effectiveness of the extant community capacity building programmes such that they may appear successful by design whereas in reality they are not. This is probably due to the complexity and multifaceted nature of the concept (Kinsey and Raker, 2003).

There are various approaches to defining capacity building that have been proposed, however the majority of these have tended to narrowly focus on the development and sustaining of specific skills and have consequently ignored consideration of other factors, such as institutional and contextual factors that may otherwise affect capacity building strategies (Hilderbrand and Grindle, 1994). Hilderbrand and Grindle (1994) argue that in its broadest perspective, capacity building has been equated to development whilst in its narrowest sense, training of human resources. Consideration of capacity building only in the broad sense would therefore render its operationalisation virtually impossible due to the magnitude of what entails development, while consideration of capacity building only in its narrow sense would ignore other essential factors. Hence a balance should be sought.

Hilderbrand and Grindle (1994), in addition, suggest that capacity building entails the development of well-coordinated and interdependent activities, the markets and civil organisations and emphasises a broad array of actions and processes required for sustained development. They therefore define capacity building simply as:
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The ability by individuals, groups, institutions and organisations to identify and solve problems over time.
(Hilderbrand and Grindle, 1994:10)

Ohiorhenuan and Winker (1995:3) generally regard capacity building as:

being concerned with creating and enhancing a societies ability to perform tasks and attain development objectives.

Capacity building strategies usually connote different approaches in different types of situations, say developed and developing countries. Kinsey and Raker (2003) observe that such strategies can take various forms and can be applied in different types and sizes of organisations. In developing countries, for instance, such strategies are often geared towards the alleviation of poverty and concentrate on the enhancement of skills and knowledge (Hilderbrand and Grindle, 1994), whilst in the developed countries, they are a move towards socially-excluded groups, mostly minorities (Shirlow and Murtagh, 2003). In fact, Hilderbrand and Grindle (1994) argue that owing to the diversity of various constraints afflicting different countries, capacity building initiatives should be country-specific as revealed in their case study of six developing countries, so that such initiatives respond to particular gaps and constraints. In the United Kingdom, for instance, capacity building:

relates strongly to promoting and strengthening community-based partnerships. The underlying purpose is to tackle social exclusion and empower people in the endeavour to draw people back from the margins, enabling them to be involved in the wider process of social (as distinct from economic) regeneration.
(Mung, 1996:44)

Kinsey and Raker (2003) whilst recognising the diversity of the various capacity building strategies, argue that core conceptual foundations should nonetheless be always present. They identify six of these foundations as: mission, vision, values, resources, strategies and productivity. The mission is the initial step of capacity
building in which a valid goal is formulated to help develop the organisation. The vision refers to the position the organisation would like to be in future, hence the targets, which should be expressed as SMART targets i.e. specific, measurable, achievable, realistic and time constrained (Wright, 2000). Values should help guide the organisation, especially in making tough decisions, while resources must be developed and the organisation should be able to identify potential sources, and ways by which they can be sustained. The organisation should also recognise that capacity building requires the development appropriate strategies and finally, the strategies so developed should ensure productivity mainly through frequent monitoring of performance, analysis and rectification of possible errors.

Harrow (2001), in addition, proposes three dimensions and their corresponding focus for capacity building strategies as summarised in table 6.1 below.

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<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Focus</th>
<th>Activities</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Training, recruitment etc</td>
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<tr>
<td>development</td>
<td>and technical personnel</td>
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<td>Organisational</td>
<td>Management systems, Micro</td>
<td>Incentive systems,</td>
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<td>strengthening</td>
<td>structures</td>
<td>leadership, communications</td>
</tr>
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<td>Institutional reform</td>
<td>Institutions and systems</td>
<td>Policy and legal change,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Macro structures</td>
<td>constitutional reform etc</td>
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</table>

Table 6.1 summarily implies that capacity-building initiatives should not just be focussed on a single dimension, but rather should take a holistic approach to encompass all the three dimensions. This view is also shared by Shirlow and Murtagh (2004) who suggest that in addition to enhancing skills and knowledge, capacity building initiatives should also promote the belief that knowledge enhancement shapes the character, culture and knowledge of communities.
Hilderbrand and Grindle (1994) propose a framework for analysing capacity building and identify five dimensions and levels within which analysis can be undertaken to ascertain an organisation’s capacity building endeavours. The five dimensions are: the action environment; institutional environment; task network; organisational resources; human resources. The action environment generally refers to the economic, social and political milieu within which the organisation operates and the extent to which conditions facilitate or constrain performance. The institutional environment on the other hand refers to the laws and regulations that affect the organisation. The task network refers to the prevailing support network in relation to achieving capacity building goals. The organisation in general refers to the structures, processes, resources and management styles and, the human resources mainly refer to the level of skills and knowledge, training, recruitment and utilisation of such resources. Hilderbrand and Grindle (1994) assert that analysis of these dimensions can be used to assess constraints, capacity gaps, opportunities and consequently can facilitate the development of appropriate strategies to ensure the effectiveness of capacity building initiatives. They further suggest that capacity building can take place at any level, for instance, contextual, institutional, inter-organisational, organisational or at the individual level.

In most capacity building initiatives there is usually an external facilitator, generally a donor, NGO or consultant, who oversees the development and execution of such initiatives. Shirlow and Murtagh (2004) suggest that since such initiatives are mostly funded and that the funders often have their own agendas, it is imperative that potential conflicts of interest that may arise between the funders and the community are tackled. They observe that such funders often present themselves benign grant-holders whose aim is to improve the social-economic conditions and in so doing challenge poverty. They argue that:
For community groups to receive such funds, there is the desire to ensure that capacity building is not merely based upon new forms of domination within which the ‘oppressed’ come to believe that their ‘dominators’ are trustworthy, honourable and hospitable.

(Shirlow and Murtagh, 2004:68)

Blumenthal (2004) supports this view and further suggests that generally, donor-funded capacity building programmes especially those designed to heavily rely on consultants, often do not have long lasting impacts as there is usually a heavy reliance on such consultants in the implementation process. In other words such initiatives are not sustainable in the long run. Blumenthal (2004) hence advises that the sole problem is in the design and implementation processes rather than capacity building itself. Blumenthal (2004) proposes that since inadvertently such initiatives will always be funded by external organisations a developmental consulting approach should be adopted in which the ultimate goal is the longterm improvement in capabilities and performance rather than just the mere success of such programmes. Moreover the involvement of such donors or consultants should only be in a supportive capacity.

The minimisation of potential conflicts is hence crucial to the success of capacity building initiatives. In order to enhance this, Weiler and Ham (2002) argue that a community approach should be adopted in which the community decide on the relevant issues to be addressed rather than the consultant or funding agency dictating the course of action. Whilst this approach may be seen as presuming that the community possesses adequate capacity to know which issues should be addressed, it is worth noting that the communities are mostly aware of the problems that afflict them. Harrow (2001) suggests that capacity building strategies should actually emphasise the reinforcing of limited capabilities and structures that may exist within an organisation rather than building new ones. Furthermore Weiler and Ham (2002) observe that such initiatives should be sustainable, such that the community's
capacity to tackle various issues is enhanced and consequently dependence on external help is minimised over time.

Newman (2001) also supports the sustainability approach and advises that capacity-building initiatives should strive to create an environment that encourages and supports continuous learning and improvement in individuals, organisations, networks, and eventually, the communities and societies that they seek to change. This could be achieved through conscientious creation of conditions such that each successful initiative sparks many others, thereby starting a chain reaction. This could be facilitated by laying emphasis on the community’s ability to build its own capacity. Newman (2001) refers to this as catalytic capacity building.

Whilst it is essential to minimise potential conflicts that may arise between the community and external help, it is also as important to discern the internal environment and hence determine such conflicts. Shirlow and Murtagh (2003) concur on this and observe that in the endeavour to build capacities it is important to take into consideration the overt and tacit politics of various group processes within the community in creating good practices and also look into reasons why people maybe disempowered. This may be achieved by patiently analysing issues that are important to people, seeing what ways they would like to be involved and what is negotiable or non-negotiable, in the consultation process. Capacity building initiatives should thus seek widespread participation and also take into consideration the fact that the success of such initiatives will depend on the extent to which people are willing to work together.

Towards this end, Shirlow and Murtagh (2004) propose best practice strategies for capacity building. They advise that such initiatives should have a quantitative focus that is aimed at stimulating participation, and should be internally driven, hence a
community approach. Furthermore a qualitative approach should also be adopted and should be aimed at providing support mechanisms and essential strategies for problem solving. In addition, these initiatives should aim to build self-esteem and confidence amongst participants, develop clear, justifiable and publicly understood criteria, and should seek to promote clear and coherent image of community building.

Newman (2001), on other hand, identifies a set of five principles and best practice necessary for effective capacity building. Newman observes that first, capacity-building initiatives should be ongoing rather than a series of single events or set of predesigned activities. Secondly, such initiatives should build on the existing capabilities of the community especially through recognition of the fact that the community possesses deep knowledge of their resources. The role of outsiders or consultants in this case should only be as facilitators. Thirdly, such initiatives should create a conducive learning environment specifically geared towards adult learning. Fourthly, due to the unique characteristics of communities, the capacity-building strategies should recognise that replication of other models would not work. Finally, the capacity-building strategy should seek to enhance the community's capacity to learn and adapt new ideas as a long-term strategy.

Newman (2001) thus proposes a catalytic capacity building model that encompasses this set of principles and best practices. This model relies on the identification of 'catalytic people', i.e. those who are most likely initiate a capacity building process. These are mainly leaders within the community, who through a network of peers, consultants and coaches or mentors, and the use of appropriate strategies or tools to spread the new ideas rapidly, will initiate a capacity building chain reaction, that will further enhance the widespread impacts of such initiatives. The preliminary step of this model therefore is the establishment of a leadership network within the community, through which self-directed learning tools are disseminated to empower
local communities to develop their own capacities. The emphasis in this process is also on the development of local experts, coaches or mentors, to enhance the community’s ability to build own capacity. Figure 6.1 below summarises the catalytic capacity building process.

**Figure 6.1: Catalytic capacity-building model (Source: Newman 2001:3)**

The catalytic model as summarised on figure 6.1 above therefore provides a framework within which an ongoing capacity building strategy can be developed. This is also in line with adopting a sustainability approach, especially through the development of local experts to carry on the community’s own capacity building initiatives. The model however is to a large extent based on the assumption that the leadership network is representative of the community in general. Consequently, other authors like Hilderbrand and Grindle (1994) recommend the adoption of a community approach to capacity building, as the catalytic model does not take this
into consideration. Hence, whilst a leadership network is crucial for the sustainability of capacity building initiatives, it is imperative that the aspirations of the community in general are also taken into consideration especially in the initial stages.

Despite the scarcity of literature, especially on community capacity building in tourism, or on the processes involved, there have nonetheless been a few attempts to bridge this gap. The limited literature tends to focus on SMTEs and rarely CBEs. Weiler and Ham (2002) in their case studies of Argentina, Panama and Ecuador in South America, propose a capacity building model that they argue is suitable for developing countries in that, although the model lays emphasis on external consultants, it nonetheless stresses that ownership of such initiatives should be host country driven. They therefore observe that their proposed model is built on requests by host communities, experience of consultants and guidance from relevant literature. The process involved is summarised in the figure 5.2.

**Figure 6.2: Process of capacity building**

![Diagram: Process of capacity building](image)

Weiler and Ham argue that this process yielded an intensive six stage capacity building model as summarised in figure 6.3.
The proposed model is based on a six-week training programme in which the capacity of the local community to meet its own training needs is enhanced. The emphasis laid on the training of locals to become trainers themselves is commendable, especially in the endeavour to develop a sustainable capacity building strategy. However, with reference to other developing countries, the proposed model may not be applicable as it is, for instance, geared towards the delivery of specific skills within a short period of time. Furthermore, the model is based on the assumption that basic literacy and numeracy skills are already in existence. Thus the model does not adequately allow for ample time in the crucial consultation period to clearly discern the internal environment and hence develop appropriate strategies.
and appears to lay great emphasis on the consultants. Given the short period of implementation, the programme is not bound to have long-term impacts and may require frequent consultation.

Victurine (2000) on the other hand proposes a three stage schematic capacity building model inspired by the lack of skills and knowledge by Ugandan SMTEs. The model (figure 6.4) comprises in-class training (workshops), in-field follow-up and consultation, and business support. Victurine (2000) argues that this model is appropriate in enabling SMTEs to access tourist markets and to manage their businesses more effectively. Victurine (2000) identifies various reasons for the lack of capacity ranging from lack of formal education and training to the inability to keep up with the current market trends. He argues that in the endeavour to build capacities, it is first important to identify markets and consequently develop appropriate skills and knowledge. Secondly, it is essential to identify constraints of capacity building and how these can be overcome. In Uganda, he identifies family commitments, length of training programme, lack of formal education and possibly, irrelevance of extant training programmes, as the key constraints.
Victurine's (2000) schematic training model (figure 6.4) presents a simple approach to enhancing certain specific skills and knowledge geared towards access markets and delivery of products and services. There are several issues that arise from this model. First, Victurine (2000) appears to prefer a market-led development approach, whereby markets are identified first after which appropriate products and services are developed. This approach has however been known to be unsustainable and instead a product-led development is preferred (Inskeep, 1991). A product-led approach would entail the development of products and services that the local people would like to develop and hence build on the existing capabilities. Secondly, the model does not entail a consultative process in which the SMTEs and consultant can deliberate on capacity building issues, but rather, presumes that the consultant knows the problem and hence the solution.
The reviewed literature thus provides a framework within which a community capacity building model suitable for Kenyan CBEs can be developed as summarised in figure 6.5 below. The basic foundations of this model revolve around three core pillars as identified by the literature: community-based approach; leadership network; a sustainable approach. First, the model integrates a community-based approach to capacity building, following recommendations from the literature that such an approach is more valid and seeks to enhance the involvement of majority of the local community especially in the consultation process. Secondly, the model embraces the view that community capacity building initiatives should initially strive to develop a leadership network as a core strategy in order to identify catalysis i.e. those who are most likely to initiate a capacity process within the community (Newman, 2001). Finally, the model integrates a sustainable approach that seeks to lay emphasis on enhancing the ability of the local community to meet its own capacity building needs and ensuring that such initiatives are on-going processes. In this regard, a long-term strategy to capacity building is preferred with a view to enhancing sustainability and the community’s ability to adapt and exploit new ideas. The model also builds up on the three reviewed models and the best practice strategies for capacity building (Newman, 2001; Weiler and Ham, 2003; Victurine, 2000; Shirlow and Murtagh, 2003).

The model is based on eight assumptions derived from the previous chapter that concluded that CBEs offer a progressive route for poverty alleviation and that a suitable model for community capacity building is essential for meeting the challenges that these enterprises face. In addition, it builds up on several approaches identified in the literature. The eight assumptions are:
1. Local communities would welcome sustainable community-based tourism initiatives.

2. Community awareness of tourism and its potential for economic development is a key factor in the success of sustainable community tourism development initiatives.

3. Community empowerment is essential especially in ensuring that local communities play a key role in driving the tourism development process.

4. Leadership for community tourism development initiatives should come from the community.

5. A core strategy for community capacity building is important in such initiatives and should initially lay emphasis on identifying key focus areas especially obstacles to participation of local communities in tourism development.

6. Local communities must meet their own capacity needs for such initiatives and should be sustainable. Training of local trainers is therefore a step towards enhancing the local communities' abilities to meet own capacity building needs.

7. Key performance indicators, for example, basic skills and knowledge, tourism product development and marketing, entrepreneurship skills, access to financial resources and business management skills, are necessary to evaluate the effectiveness of the community capacity building initiatives.

8. External intervention in the form of technical support is necessary to raise community awareness of tourism, enhance empowerment and community leadership, develop a core strategy for community capacity building, train community trainers and identify key performance indicators.

These assumptions are shown diagrammatically overleaf:
Figure 6.5: Proposed model for community capacity building for Kenyan CBEs

Assumption 1: The local communities would welcome sustainable community-based tourism initiatives.

Assumption 2: Community awareness of tourism is a key factor in the success of sustainable community-based tourism initiatives.

Assumption 3: Community empowerment is essential especially in ensuring that local communities play a key role in driving the tourism development process.

Assumption 4: Community leadership and vision should come from the community.

Assumption 5: Core strategy for community capacity building is essential for sustainable community-based tourism initiatives and should focus on key areas that are obstacles to community participation in tourism development.

Assumption 6: Training of local trainers is therefore a step towards enhancing the local communities' abilities to meet own capacity building needs.

Assumption 7: Key performance indicators are necessary to evaluate the success of community capacity building.

Critical success factors for sustainable community-based tourism initiatives.

On-going and sustainable

Figure 6.5, summarises a systematic approach suitable for capacity building in CBEs in Kenya. The model assumes a community-based approach to capacity building as an appropriate strategy to involve majority of the local community. In the Kenyan context, the existing strategies as depicted by the CBEs have tended to focus on meeting the capacity of a few individuals to facilitate the management and running of
these enterprises. As a result, the majority of local communities lack the capacity to exploit opportunities with the tourism industry. It is therefore envisaged that a community-based approach will involve the majority of the local community through the integration of the critical success factors: community awareness, community empowerment and effective community leadership and vision.

Furthermore a community-based approach would ensure that the local communities make decisions on specific matters that hinder their involvement in tourism development. It is expected that at this stage the community should be able to develop a core strategy for capacity building. The model proposes that technical support be integrated and should only be to facilitate the development of core strategy and critical factors, rather than assume the key role. The core strategy should focus on identifying the mission, vision and potential resources that would facilitate capacity building. In the case of the CBEs, the main mission would be to develop capacity in the endeavour to enhance the capabilities of the local communities to exploit opportunities in tourism and consequently alleviate poverty.

In addition, the model proposes the development of a leadership network to help shape vision within the community. This is mainly due to the fact that CBEs are basically organisations, which means that they require visionary leadership to help guide their development. This will first entail the identification of people within the community who can initiate a capacity building process. Such people may be in the form of community elders, opinion leaders or role models who the community in general identify with. Such leaders are therefore essential in that they will help mobilise the majority of the local community in the endeavour to identify the main focus areas for capacity building and also help direct the its course in terms of setting targets.
Chapter Six: Theoretical Model for Community Capacity Building Suitable for Kenyan CBEs

The model further integrates a sustainable approach necessary to ensure that the community capacity building initiative is an on-going process. It therefore recommends training of local trainers, in order to enhance the ability of the local community to meet its future capacity needs and hence minimise dependence on external technical support. Technical support is however crucial in establishing strategies to effectively equip such trainers with the appropriate skills and knowledge. The enhancement of the community’s capacity to meet its own capacity needs should not seclude the community, but rather also enhance the community’s ability to adapt new ideas.

Having laid down the basic foundations of community capacity building initiatives, it is essential that mechanisms be put in place to help determine the effectiveness of such initiatives. Key performance indicators will therefore have to be developed to help ensure that the community meets its preset targets. In the case of the capacity building, initiatives should focus on developing basic skills and knowledge, tourism product development and marketing, entrepreneurship skills, access to credit facilities, business management skills, empowerment and increased awareness.

6.4 Summary

This chapter has highlighted the complexity involved in defining the community capacity building and has clarified the various issues and concepts. Various models of community capacity building have been evaluated from which a theoretical model appropriate for Kenyan CBEs has been developed. The model is based three foundations (community approach, leadership network and sustainable approach) and eight assumptions. The model further identifies community empowerment, community awareness and community leadership as critical success factors.
Chapter Seven

Best Practice Model For Community Capacity Building

For Kenyan CBEs

7.1 Introduction
7.2 Findings and Discussion
7.3 Critical Issues Arising from Findings
7.4 Policy and Legislative Options for Development of CBEs
7.5 Conclusion: Best Practice Model for Community Capacity Building Appropriate for Kenyan CBEs
7.6 Summary
Chapter Seven: Best Practice Model For Community Capacity Building For Kenyan CBEs

7.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to test the foundations (community-based approach; leadership network; a sustainable approach) and assumptions of the theoretical model for community capacity building developed in chapter six within a practical Kenyan context. The chapter seeks to critically evaluate the theoretical model through the execution and analysis of in-depth semi structured interviews with community leaders, CBE managers, and members, members of academia, support organisations and government officials (see appendices 3, 4 and 5). The chapter lastly proposes a unified model for community capacity building suitable for Kenyan CBEs.

7.2 Findings and Discussion

The aim of the field survey was to gather rich in-depth data on CBEs following the previous survey whose results suggested that CBEs provided a potential avenue for poverty alleviation in Kenya. From the previous survey it emerged that one of the major obstacles to the development of CBEs is the lack of capacity by local communities to enable them to run and manage these enterprises. This field survey therefore sought to generate rich in-depth data with a view to developing a best practice model for community capacity building (see appendices 3, 4 and 5). Following opportunistic and snowball sampling techniques, the field survey yielded 20 in-depth interviews comprising of individuals and groups who were directly or indirectly involved with and hence had significant experience on CBEs in Kenya. These ranged from CBE managers, members and leaders, members of academia, government officials and representatives of support organisations.
7.2.1 Profiles of Respondents

The respondents interviewed exhibited diverse expertise. Within the CBEs themselves, the managers interviewed were mainly graduates of higher institutions of learning with qualifications in natural resource, wildlife and tourism management and were also drawn from the community. The leaders on the other hand were literate, also drawn from the community and were either retired government officials or had resigned their civil service jobs to take up leadership in these initiatives. The majority of the community members, though not literate, were nonetheless knowledgeable of the CBEs following their involvement since the inception of these initiatives.

The experience drawn from members of academia was mainly pertaining to their professorship and lectureship roles. This was as a result of their experiences in tourism research or related fields, lectures, student supervision and consultancy. The government officials were all holders of university degrees in the field of tourism and had been actively involved in CBEs collaboratively with other support organisation. The representatives of the support organisations were also holders of higher education certificates ranging form diplomas to university degrees mainly from the field of wildlife and natural resource management. Table 7.1 below provides a summary of respondents interviewed.
### Table 7.1: Key Respondents for the field interviews, 2005.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Organisation</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
<th>Role of interviewee/s</th>
<th>Interview Code</th>
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<td>Taita Taveta</td>
<td>CBE</td>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>Manager 2</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chairman</td>
<td>Leader 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwaluganje</td>
<td>Kwale</td>
<td>CBE</td>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>Manager 4</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Member 1</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Wasini</td>
<td>CBE</td>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>Manager 3</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasia</td>
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<td>Leaders, members</td>
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<td>CBE</td>
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<td></td>
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#### 7.2.2 Awareness of Community-Based Tourism Initiatives

The initial goal of the interview was to establish the respondents' awareness of CBEs and in so doing prepare them accordingly for the rest of the interview. The main interview started by asking the respondents to generally share their experiences and views of CBEs. The responses yielded a variety of opinions that can broadly be classified into: benefits of CBEs, challenges that CBEs face, reasons for success or failure, role and degree of external intervention and CBEs as potential avenues for poverty alleviation.
7.2.2.1 Description of CBEs

The respondents were then asked, based on their experience, to describe their understanding of CBEs and issues appertaining to ownership, involvement, participation, benefits, management and running of these initiatives, mainly dominated the responses. Some respondents further felt that these initiatives had to be viewed as being sustainable and also sensitive to the local communities, while some, especially, those from the conservation fraternity, felt that these initiatives should enhance conservation. Going by the collective view of the respondents, CBEs can summarily be described as sustainable community-based tourism initiatives in which the local community is actively involved from the onset, actively participates in, runs, manages and owns the tourism resources and facilities, and derives benefits to support community development. The following excerpts from the interviews illustrate some of the responses.

These are projects where the local communities are directly involved in managing and deriving direct benefits from them e.g. here the women decide on the rates, development agendas, decide on staffing and also on what to do with the revenue generated.

(Manager 3)

A community based tourism initiative is a tourism based project owned and managed by the community.

(Support 5)

I would look at them as enterprises that are developed by the community to support conservation and to benefit in the process. If you look at Illingwesi, the community has been able to set aside land for conservation and are also deriving some benefits from tourism, they are therefore very supportive of conservation.

(Support 6)
7.2.2.2 Example of CBEs: Reasons for Success or Failure

When asked about examples of CBE that they were aware of, and how they regarded them, the responses varied across the various categories of respondents. Majority of the community members, managers and leaders identified Lumo, Tasia, Illingwesi, Wasini Women’s Group, Koiyaki Lemek and Mwaluganje as successful. Illingwesi featured predominantly as an example of a successful CBE. The rest of the respondents, majority of the government officials, members of academia and officials from support organisations, were however cautious in describing these initiatives as successful or failures, but rather, as having potential for success or simply in terms of their sustainability. The excerpts below illustrate some of these opinions:

Describing them as successful would be tricky, I would rather talk of their sustainability. To start reaping tangible benefits from tourism takes time, almost a decade. However, in terms of conservation these initiatives can be regarded as sustainable as there is great opportunity for growth in terms of potential for economic growth once proper resource management is effected.

(Support 3)

In describing these initiatives as successful or not, the reasons tabled were either attached to the performance of the enterprises and their contribution to the community and/or to the attributes of the community in general. With regard to the enterprises, the argument put forth by the respondents was that these initiatives were successful because they were generating profits, the lodges had high occupancy rates, they had enhanced conservation mainly through reduction of human-wildlife conflicts, and had contributed to social development of the community in terms of education, health, access to clean water and infrastructure development. On the other hand, with regard to the attributes of the community, these initiatives, especially Illingwesi, were regarded as successful mainly because the community in general was very supportive of the initiative, there was a strong sense of ownership, good
leadership, effective mechanisms for benefit sharing were in place, community was adequately sensitised and hence aware of the initiative, community members were fully involved in development of the initiatives and that Illingwesi has been contributed to the development of other initiatives such as Lumo and Tasia as a result of its model for development.

Shompole, Kimana and Namnyak, on the other hand featured prominently as CBEs that were either faced with collapse or had collapsed altogether. The main reasons for these were, lack of support from community members due to inadequate sensitisation in the initial start-up process, lack of basic skills and knowledge, poor management, unfavourable partnerships, poor leadership, lack of reinvestment and maintenance, petty politics, elitism, lack of exit strategy for external intervention and lack of transparency. These can therefore be broadly categorised into issues relating to community awareness, empowerment, leadership and capacity. Interestingly, only one of the respondents observed that gender issues had also been a reason for the collapse of some initiatives as illustrated below:

During the early 1990s in the Amboseli area there was a sudden growth of Maasai Manyattas to show-case the Maasai culture which is seen as male dominated, however after some time the women felt that they were the ones doing most of the work in these Manyattas and only the men seemed to be benefitting, this resulted in conflicts leading to the collapse of these initiatives.

(Support 6)

Some respondents, mainly from members of academia and government, felt that CBEs, in general were yet to prove their success. These respondents posited that the perception of success or failure depended on certain points of view as explained below:

If you ask the community they say that they are fed up, they are not seeing any benefits and would like to start growing maize, but the
leaders would say they are successful. Now if success is defined in terms of revenue generated by these initiatives then of course they are bringing in some money, but what is the impact of this revenue... there isn’t an initiative that I can define as a success model.

(Academic 2)

In addition, some respondents felt that the consideration of CBE as successful lacked an in-depth analysis and that if they were to be critically reviewed in real terms, then it would be imprudent to regard them as successful as they do not even remotely address sustainable tourism principles. The excerpt below best exemplifies this argument:

I would disqualify these initiatives as sustainable CBEs as sustainability requires that local communities own a significant share of these enterprises and fully participate in their development. This is lacking in most of these initiatives save for a few whereby local ownership is say about 30% in real terms and nil participation in terms of decision making.

(Government 2)

7.2.2.3 Origin of Idea for CBE

Almost all respondents interviewed felt that the original idea for CBE was as a result of some form of external intervention, mainly from support organisations or private investors. KWS was listed as a leading organisation, especially through its COBRA programme, that has been instrumental in the development and growth of CBE. However, the main role of KWS has been to identify an idea for an initiative and appropriate support organisations, after which its role diminishes gradually as its main mandate is the national parks and is only involved whenever wildlife matters arise.

Some of the respondents felt that private investors had also played a significant role in introducing the idea either through the local leaders or elites after which they
approached support organisations mainly for financial support. However these investors were doing this as a means of advancing their own agendas as illustrated below:

The private investors approach local elites because donor organisations do not give money to individuals but to communities, from there they approach the donors for funds. I think if these investors were able to access these funds directly, we would not be having these initiatives.

(Manager 1)

One of the respondents argued that these initiatives were actually the brainchild of a Willy Roberts, a white settler in Maasai Mara, who initially engaged in agriculture but later changed to tourism in the early 1980s. The respondent observed that it was this settler who approached and advised the local Maasai leaders then to venture into tourism thereby leading to CBE.

Interestingly some community members and all the government officials felt that the idea for these initiatives actually came from the community, arguing that some members were visionary but lacked the capacity to implement their ideas and as a result sort external intervention. Some of the community members observed that the success of a neighbouring initiative posed a challenge for the local community to pursue a similar venture.

Some of the respondents, on the other hand observed that it was difficult to ascertain or say with precision the origin of the idea for these initiatives as explained below:

It is difficult to say that the original idea came from the community or through external intervention, although working with these communities on the ground we brainstormed together on various ideas.

(Support 3)
7.2.2.4 Role and Degree of External Intervention

All the respondents concurred on the point that external intervention had been instrumental in the development of CBE. The key areas in which external intervention has played a major role are: drafting of original proposals, community resource mobilisation, awareness creation, funding, capacity building in general, infrastructure development, business planning and development. This has largely been due to the local communities' inability to execute these factors. The excerpt below exemplifies this:

The main role they played was in facilitating the mobilisation process by providing say transport, organising meetings, and training local leaders to spread the gospel because this is a very large area.

(Manager 3)

In addition, the respondents agreed that the role of external intervention in these initiatives was mainly advisory and facilitatory. In cases where external intervention had veered off its roles, for example, by meddling in the communities' internal affairs, the result was distrust by the community and eventually, the inevitable withdrawal of the support organisation concerned as observed below:

Although support organisation initially played a key role in funding, drafting original proposal and awareness creation, they fell out with community after sometime because they got involved in some petty politics, they started lying to the community using some individuals who they thought could control the whole community.

(Leader 1)

Furthermore, some respondents felt that external intervention had been instrumental at the beginning, but had not been effective in all relevant areas especially in awareness creation and that this was bound to lead to problems in future. Moreover, some of the respondents observed that a number support organisations lacked an exit strategy, such that on completion of their projects some of the CBE had
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collapsed mainly due to the fact that there was no sense of ownership by the community or that the community had either been ill-prepared to take up the management and running of the initiatives as illustrated below:

You find that an NGO has been in a certain project for say three years, after which it pulls off, but the project fails mainly because the community has not been adequately prepared to work independently.  
(Government 3)

7.2.2.5 Success factors for CBEs

When asked about success factors for CBE, the respondents gave several opinions based on what they would like put in place to facilitate the development of these initiatives and also the contributions the initiatives should make towards community development. The success factors were therefore mainly connected to the community itself and/or the performance of the enterprises, and the policy framework. In addition, the success factors for the enterprise could be viewed as the potential contribution of revenue generated towards supporting various development goals of the community. These success factors could be further be categorised as first, those factors that could affect the development of these initiatives. These factors therefore have to be in place either before or at the initial stages of the CBE development. Secondly, as those factors that the CBE development could affect.

With regard to the community, the respondents felt that for these initiatives to be successful, given that they are community-based, support from the community was very important. In line with this, they felt that the community had to be fully aware of the initiative, be empowered and adequately involved throughout the development process of these initiatives. This was seen mainly as way of instilling a sense of ownership within the community, an important success factor. Moreover, they also felt that the community needed to possess adequate capacity to be able to run and
manage these initiatives by themselves. Alternatively, these initiatives at least, needed to be seen as contributing towards all these success factors.

Interestingly, majority of the respondents did not identify policy framework as a success factor, probably due to the fact the CBEs were already in existence regardless of whether the prevailing policy framework was supportive or not. Nonetheless, those who identified policy framework, argued that the although the current policy framework was did not directly hinder CBE development, at least in the short-term, these initiatives were bound to have problems in the long-term if the lack of appropriate policy framework persisted, for example in the case of land ownership as illustrated below:

\[
\text{First there has to be an appropriate policy framework to inform and guide the development of these initiatives otherwise they will be faced with serious problems in future. For example the land ownership issue has to be clarified, because the increase in population is going to put pressure on land.}
\]

\[\text{(Academic 2)}\]

As for the enterprises, the respondents felt that these initiatives had to be viable, have high occupancy rates or high visitors numbers throughout the year and be able to generate significant revenue for the community. The revenue generated should consequently be used to support social development within the community in terms of enhancing education, health services and facilities, access to clean water, infrastructure development, and also be able to support diversified livelihoods. The excerpt below exemplifies this:

\[
\text{The initiative will be successful if the lodge is fully booked say throughout the year, this would in turn mean more revenue for the community which can be used to develop the community say in terms of improving literacy levels, and supporting our livestock farming.}
\]

\[\text{(Member 2)}\]
7.2.2.6 CBE as Avenues of Poverty Alleviation

Following the Kenya Government nomination, in its Economic Recovery Strategy, 2003-2007 and DNTP, of the tourism industry as a potential tool for poverty alleviation, the interview sought to ascertain the views of the respondents, first on the government’s view and secondly on CBEs as avenues of poverty alleviation. The respondents were all both supportive of the government’s proposition and on CBEs potential as avenues of poverty alleviation. Opinions were however split on whether or not the current models of CBEs were actually having any impact on poverty.

When considering CBEs as potential avenues for poverty alleviation, the respondents based their arguments on potential for economic development and potential for social development. In the first instance, the respondents observed that these initiatives had the potential for, and some had actually contributed significantly to, the development of local economies. The respondents further argued that because most of the CBEs are found in rural and marginal areas, tourism was one of the most viable undertakings given that other initiatives such as agriculture had failed. The main indicators put forth by these respondents were potential for employment, enhanced income through dividends paid to members, potential umbrella for growth of other SMTE and potential for contributing towards diversified livelihoods. The following interview extract support these views:

This is a way forward especially in rural areas most of which are marginalised. For example this area is very dry and the community heavily relies on livestock farming which does not bring about major benefits to the community.

(Manager 2)

This initiative now employs 30 people and we are hoping that this number will increase as we develop.

(Member 3)
I think these initiatives can play a major role in alleviating poverty ... there is potential for other smaller enterprises to come up, there is also potential for linkages within the local economy.

(Manager 1)

Secondly, majority of the respondents felt that CBEs had the potential to significantly enhance social development within the community and that some communities were already experiencing improved lifestyles as a result. Given that most of these initiatives are located in rural areas most of the community members, leaders, support organisations and government officials argued that improved educational services, improved health services and facilities, access to clean water and infrastructure development, in terms of transport and communication, were all indications that the standards of living in these were being improved and that consequently poverty was being alleviated. This is best illustrated in the excerpt below:

Yes we feel that these initiatives can significantly impact on poverty, for example this initiative contributes annually towards bursary scheme. We have built nursery schools in every village, hence enhancing literacy levels. We also have health centres in every village, we have initiated various water projects in the community, enhancing access to clean water, the infrastructure has improve, and we now have a better road network and radio communications network, security has improved as a result.

(Member 3)

Some of the respondents, whilst not contesting the potential of CBE on poverty as discussed, felt that these initiatives still had a long way to go especially at the household levels within the community. These respondents argued that the current contribution of CBEs was insignificant given that these initiatives had a large membership base such that sharing of proceeds through dividends did not yield much as explained below in the extract below:

We share the same view with the government, in fact in this island most people including our husbands rely on tourism. In this initiative
we feel there is potential, although currently at the individual level our lives have not significantly improved even after sharing out the profits because the dividends we get are very little.  

(Member 1)

Moreover, some respondents argued that because poverty was manifested at the individual or household level rather than the community in general, then as long as these initiatives were not directly impacting on the households or individuals, other alternatives should be sought. The excerpt below illustrates this argument:

The idea that CBEs can have an impact on poverty alleviation is based on the assumption that they bring income to the community at whatever level, but mainly at the household level, because poverty is not a community manifestation but a household or individual manifestation ......So until are we able to structure these initiatives to be able to address households needs, then we are chasing a mirage.  

(Academic 1)

Majority of the respondents were nevertheless optimistic that if the various challenges facing CBE development were addressed, such as issues to do with elitism within the community, community empowerment and involvement, basic skills and knowledge, leakages of revenue, partnerships, access to tourists and foreign ownership of tourism resources, then these initiatives would make significant strides towards poverty alleviations especially in the rural areas. The respondents in addition felt that an appropriate policy framework was needed in order to support, guide and regulate development of these initiatives as seen in the extract below:

This is the way to go, because if there is an appropriate policy framework, these initiatives are bound to have significant impacts especially in terms of development.  

(Government 2)

Currently there is no government regulation, policy framework or document that supports the development of CBEs. Therefore if these were put in place the CBEs are more likely to impact significantly on poverty in the long-term. In fact the government needs to also look at the issue of indigenising tourism at all levels such that if these
resources were owned by indigenous Kenyans, tourism impacts on poverty would more significant.

(Support 6)

7.2.2.7 Factors that would make Local Communities Welcome or not Welcome CBEs

Based on the assumption that before integrating these initiatives within the community, it is prudent to first ascertain whether or not the communities would embrace these ideas, the respondents were asked to air the views, based on their experience, on the key factors that would make these communities welcome or not welcome these initiatives. They confirmed that it was indeed essential to ascertain the communities' position before proceeding with these initiatives rather than just assuming that the communities welcome them anyway. This was because some communities had indeed initially resisted the inception of these ideas. The factors that were discussed by the respondents could be categorised as those to do with the ideas behind these initiatives and those to do with the community itself. In addition these factors appear to stem from issues to do with awareness and community sensitisation.

First, creation of awareness and community sensitisation at the initial stages of these initiatives were seen as very important factors as the respondents argued that the community needed to comprehend these ideas so that they could support the development of these initiatives accordingly or reject them altogether at these early stages thereby saving on resources. Furthermore, these initiatives were fairly new concepts such that the local communities would not readily accept them without prior sensitisation and awareness creation as observed below:

The community in fact rejected this initiative because of lack of awareness and because this was totally a new idea.

(Member 3)
The community should be fully aware about what the initiatives are all about and how they are going to impact on them.

(Support 4)

Secondly, the issue of sense of ownership was seen as very critical for local communities to welcome or not welcome these initiatives. The respondents argued that if the local communities were not adequately empowered and involved throughout the inception and development processes, then the sense of ownership would diminish such that the community would feel they are not the rightful owners and as such would not benefit. In line with this, the respondents needed to perceive the potential benefits so as to welcome these initiatives. Some respondents argued that these initiatives had to seen as being more valuable than the existing sources of livelihoods and/or adding value to existing sources of livelihoods. In addition the issue of elitism and poor leadership had to be checked and from past experience, this would influence local communities’ decision to welcome these initiatives. This led to issues of accountability and lack of transparency since the elite were viewed as not being part of the community, but rather as a class of their own. The excerpt below exemplify some of these factors:

These initiatives should be open and transparent not something that just involves the local elites. Previously the local communities have been short changed by the elites and leaders who have negotiated with say the investors without informing the rest of the community.

(Manager 1)

The role the local community is going to play has to be clear, because if you introduce an initiative then bar the community from participating from the implementation process they will feel that they are not the owners and hence would not support it. However if they are fully involved then they are bound to be supportive.

(Manager 3)

Thirdly, the perception of the tourism industry as a foreign outfit given its orientation, was a limiting factor for local communities to readily embrace these initiatives as observed below:
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For a while now, the only thing that the local community has known about tourism is that it is for white people only, because it is these that they mainly see in tour vans, they are also aware that white people own most the lodges in the national park. So in this case the community cannot readily embrace the idea of CBEs, as they are not that confident that they can run and manage these initiatives.

(Manager 4)

Fourthly, some respondents felt that the success or failure of extant CBEs had a major role to play in influencing the communities’ attitudes towards these initiatives. Most community members, leader and managers for example felt that Illingwesi had positively influenced their respective communities to readily embrace the initiative. On the other hand, failure of similar initiatives had resulted in surrounding communities negatively perceiving these initiatives.

Fifth, past experiences with external intervention also had a significant role to play in influencing the local communities’ attitude towards embracing these initiatives. In cases where there had been prior sour relationships, the communities did not readily welcome these initiatives. Some of respondents felt that this was mainly the case when KWS was involved. The extracts below illustrate this:

Again when we started the lodge, it was the white neighbour (Lewa) who advised us and when we sort help we approached KWS. Now the relationship of KWS and the neighbour with the community in the past has not been very good, because the community felt that the white people have grabbed so much from them mostly through deception and KWS originally did not take into consideration the community’s needs.

(Member 3)

The idea came from KWS in 1992 following a long history of human-wildlife conflict, when they came up with the idea of setting up sanctuaries. They sent some people to come and talk to the community, but at first the idea was not well received by the community because the original Wildlife Department used to mete out cruel punishment to the community whenever caught with say game meat, some were actually maimed, as a result there was a lot of animosity. The community was therefore suspicious of KWS’ sudden
change of heart in that previously they were enemies and now they wanted friendship.  
(Leader 2)

Sixth, some respondents suggested that the nature of the local communities' cultural orientation could significantly influence the local communities' attitudes towards these initiatives, especially in conservative communities, as illustrated below:

Initially in Wasini due to the cultural aspects, the local community did not welcome tourism due to the conservative Muslim cultural orientation, but this time round there hasn't been much resistance because there has been some education for both the community and the tourists.  
(Government 1)

Finally, some respondents felt that in some cases the local communities did not really have much of a choice especially in the marginalized areas where the human-wildlife conflicts were rife. In these cases the local communities readily embraced any form of external intervention as a way of safeguarding their own interests as explained below:

In some cases there are no other alternatives, for example in Mwaluganje the community did not have any other alternative other than to compete with the elephants.  
(Support 3)

In the endeavour to harness these factors so that the local communities could readily embrace these initiatives, the respondents felt that community leadership and awareness creation and community sensitisation were very crucial. They argued that the leaders were the link between the community and the outside world, and that it is these who could advice the community accordingly. Furthermore, they suggested that the leaders needed to be enlightened about these initiatives, through for example, training or workshops, or exchange visits to other initiatives that had
succeeded or failed so that they could in turn advice and sensitise the rest of the community accordingly.

7.2.3 Assumption Cards

Applying constructive and choice-ordering projective techniques, the respondents were presented with assumption cards placed upside down, then asked to study each one closely for any clarification. The assumption cards are so called as they were based on the assumptions of the theoretical model for community capacity building (figure 6.5, chapter six) and were under the titles of; community tourism awareness, community empowerment, leadership and vision, community capacity building, local trainers, key performance indicators and technical support external intervention. The respondents were then asked to put forth a card for discussion. The following is a summary of the discussions.

7.2.3.1 Community Tourism Awareness

Whereas all the respondents unanimously agreed that community tourism awareness was both very important and critical to the success of these initiatives, their opinions were however varied on the current level of awareness within the local communities. Some respondents felt that the majority of the local communities were not aware at all about tourism and that in such cases it was only the local elites who were as observed below:

*Elites are sufficiently sensitised while the ordinary folk are kept in the dark.*

(Academic 1)
Some respondents felt that the local communities were not totally ignorant of tourism but nonetheless only had a vague idea mainly in the sense of seeing tourists being ferried around in tour vans, but did not know if these impacted on them as depicted below:

*The community is generally aware about tourism activities as they have been seeing tourists in tour vans, but they lack the in-depth knowledge.*

(Manager 2)

Some of the respondents on the other hand felt that the community tourism awareness had considerably increased and that through external intervention most of these communities were now aware of the benefits they stood to reap from these initiatives. Nevertheless, these communities were still not aware of the negative aspects of tourism and how these could be contained as illustrated below:

*The community is generally aware of the benefits but not very aware of the negative aspects, for example the Maasai culture is quite conservative, now you know how the tourists dress, at times they can be almost naked, yet the community has been tolerant to this kind of behaviour probably because they are not aware of how it is affecting them.*

(Leader 1)

In some cases, some respondents argued that the local communities now were adequately aware in terms of the technical aspects of running and managing these initiatives, the benefits they stand to gain, and also the negative aspects and how these can be controlled as exemplified below:

*In Illingwesi tourism awareness has been done effectively and the community is very supportive, they are now running this initiative, they are aware that the benefits are accruing because of tourism. The community is also aware of the negative impacts that tourism can generate and they are the ones who decided through the AGM on what to do.*

(Support 4)
With regard to the importance and critical success factor, the respondents argued that enhanced community tourism awareness was crucial in ensuring the success or failure of these initiatives, as it is through this that the community could be sensitised to ensure that they fully supported the idea. Furthermore, community tourism awareness would enlighten the local communities on the potential benefits that they could in turn exploit and in addition equip them with the necessary knowledge to enable them to make informed decisions. The excerpts below illustrate this below:

This is a critical success factor as being a community initiative, all the members have to be fully aware, otherwise they may not be supportive.

(Member 2)

The success of any project at the community level is dependant on the level of awareness of the community and the willingness to get involved based on informed decision making.

(Support 5)

When asked for suggestions that could be used to enhance community tourism awareness, majority of the respondents mainly recommended training through workshops and seminars, public meetings to impart tourism awareness, government extensions programmes and exchange visits to other initiatives. To facilitate these propositions, the roles of local leaders, external intervention and government were seen as very crucial.

7.2.3.2 Community Empowerment

All the respondents interviewed felt that community empowerment was both an important and critical success factor in these initiatives. Community empowerment was mainly considered from two perspectives; empowerment of the community in the development process and empowerment within the wider tourism environment, where policy issues were dominant.
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Generally, the respondents observed that the local communities were not sufficiently empowered although the situation has been improving over time, and this was one the main reasons that previous initiatives collapsed. The respondents argued that community empowerment was therefore very important mainly because it enabled local communities be in control of their own destiny through decision making and problem solving, instilled independence through the enhancement of their ability to run and manage these initiatives on their own, thereby instilling a sense of responsibility and ownership. The extracts below exemplify these factors:

*Empowerment is very important in that it motivates the community to actively participate in developing its enterprise through a sense of ownership derived from the power to run, manage and make decisions.*

(Leader 2)

*This is very essential, as it gives the communities a sense of ownership, as it would make the community feel appreciated, they really own the resources and are duty bound to exploit their resources effectively. They will also effectively address various issues, problems that affect them accordingly, they can therefore make sound decisions.*

(Support 3)

On the issue of factors that empowered or disempowered local communities, the respondents raised several issues that could be related to: the community itself, the initiatives and the prevailing policy framework. With regard to the community, some respondents argued that the lack of unity or disorganisation disempowered communities. In addition, some of traditional ways of life were disempowering in that mostly, these were male dominated societies and thus they vested a lot power on the local leaders or elders, who in most cases could not be held accountable. Furthermore, owing to the orientation of these communities, leaders were elected not based on their capabilities but on the basis of their kinship thus resulting in poor leadership. Coupled with these, the issue of elitism was also seen as disempowering. The extract below illustrates some of these issues:
There is also the issue of traditional beliefs whereby communities vest so much power on leaders owing to the existing leadership structures.
(Support 2)

The main problem is that leaders are elected not on the basis of their capabilities but because they are relatives or belong to certain clans, and most of the time this are driven by greed and do not have the interest of the community at heart nor vision for these initiatives.
(Support 4)

In consideration of the initiatives themselves, the respondents felt that their technical aspects led to the disempowerment of the local communities, as they did not possess the necessary skills and knowledge, given the low literacy levels, to fully comprehend the operations of these initiatives, thereby delegating most responsibility to external intervention. Moreover, the fact that these initiatives were capital intensive resulted in reinforcing this dependency and in some cases, the communities were not actually aware of what was going as illustrated below:

In this initiative we are empowered and we are able to make decisions through consultations with the leaders. However when it comes to external intervention we feel inadequately empowered, for example there was a case whereby a facilitator was given a budget of Ksh 2 million and only ended up using Ksh 1 million, because we were not empowered we were not in a position to query this anomaly, probably because we did not have the full knowledge of what the project was all about.
(Member 1)

In addition, some of the respondents felt that the prevailing policy framework to a large extent disempowered the local communities in the sense that some legislation limited the effective exploitation of resources. In line with this, the lack of appropriate policy framework was also seen as disempowering as there were no clear guidelines or regulations to support the development of these initiatives especially with regard to partnerships. The extract below exemplifies this:

One of the main factors is government policy or lack of it. For example the wildlife act has made the local people feel that they do not have
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any responsibility towards wildlife. Alternatively there is no
government policy to regulate these initiatives, these can dis-empower
communities.

(Manager 1)

In the endeavour to enhance community empowerment, the respondents concluded
that the role of government was crucial, especially with regard to creating a suitable
environment for local communities through appropriate policy formulation. The role of
external intervention was also seen as very important especially in building capacity
to equip the community with necessary knowledge and information and in enhancing
the community’s ability to access capital.

7.2.3.3 Leadership and Vision

Following the interviews, it emerged that consideration of leadership in these
initiatives was instilled either through recognition of traditional structures or from
democratic processes. The extant traditional structures appeared to be a preference
for external intervention at the initial stages as an entry point to these communities,
after which the democratic processes appear to be favoured.

All the respondents concurred on the point that leadership and vision were very
important, that vision had to be a quality of leadership and that leadership should be
drawn from the community. In this respect some respondents observed that the
traditional structures had systems in place that facilitated the selection of traditional
leaders based on certain leadership traits such as bravery and elderliness, and as
such, the rest of the community recognised and respected these leaders. This is
illustrated in the excerpt below:

In the Maasai community we believe that it is one person who has
vision and then he shares this with the rest of the community, and also
that in a cattle boma, there can only be one bull to lead the others, or a blind person cannot lead another.  

(Member 3)

The problem with relying on this system of leadership, as some respondents observed, is that majority of such leaders tended to be elderly and illiterate and hence could not readily comprehend these initiatives thereby slowing down their development process. The issue of illiteracy was actually seen as one the major obstacles for effective leadership as depicted below:

The leaders initially were old and illiterate, now the community are accepting young literate leaders. We feel that if the leaders then were literate we could now be very far in terms of development, because their vision was very short sighted.  

(Member 2)

Leadership here is a big problem, in fact in one of the exchange visits to Laikipia, these leaders could not understand what was going on, and in the end they came back with nothing to show the community. So unless the community realises the importance of having informed leaders they are bound to get nowhere, they need to get rid of these old and illiterate leaders.

(Support 1)

Moreover, in some cases it was felt that this system of leadership was subject to abuse especially when the leaders did not share the same vision with the community and were out to pursue their own interests. This was mainly because there aren’t any effective mechanisms in place to hold such leaders accountable for their actions in most cases resulting in a gap between the leadership and rest of the community. This is illustrated below:

I do not have anything positive to say about this in the Mara area because the leaders have just been greedy and have been pursuing their own personal agendas not those of the community. As for vision they don’t seem to have any long-term vision at all, I think that if we had good leadership and vision, the Mara area would now be very far in terms of tourism development. These leaders have been able to get away with their inefficiencies and corruptness, because there is no structure in place to ensure transparency and accountability in these initiatives.  

(Manager 1)
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Enhancing leadership and vision was therefore seen as very important and crucial in the success of these initiatives. The key qualities that the respondents recommended were that such leaders had to be literate and informed, preferably retired civil servants, had to have the interests of the community at heart, had to be visionary and diplomatic given that they were the main link between the community and the outside world. Furthermore, good leadership had to ensure smooth transition to foster sustainability of these initiatives, especially during changes in leadership.

In the endeavour therefore to effect such leadership, networks were seen as crucial as the leaders can then deliberate on the various issues and challenges accordingly and capacity building was seen as essential in imparting innovative leadership skills. In addition, the communities needed to be empowered to be able to hold their leaders accountable, as observed below:

What needs to be done is to invest a lot in awareness and empowerment by having a critical mass of community members who understand the project sufficiently enough to question the leaders anytime. Then develop predictable institutions that tie the hands of the elite say by using democratic processes and get the leaders or elites to commit to certain rules or regulations.

(Academic 2)

7.2.3.4 Community Capacity Building

The respondents saw community capacity building as a key part of these initiatives and thus a very critical success factor in that it formed the foundation for the development of these initiatives. The respondents observed that because these initiatives were relatively new concepts and that most of the local communities, owing to their characteristic low literacy levels, lacked the basic skills and knowledge, capacity building needed to be incorporated at the initial stages of these initiatives. Capacity building was therefore seen as very important in raising awareness of these
initiatives to enable the communities to participate throughout the development processes of these initiatives. The role of external intervention was also seen as crucial in facilitating capacity building. This is illustrated below:

This is very crucial especially in the initial stages to develop their capacity to understand the idea, to participate in the process and even gradually develop their capacity to engage in the management of their enterprises.

(Support 6)

In addition capacity building was viewed as being important especially due to the fact that external intervention could not last forever and that at some point these initiatives will have to fend for themselves. The respondents felt that capacity building would equip the local communities with the necessary skills and knowledge, first to be able to identify and solve problems and consequently to be able to run and manage these initiatives on their own. This was further seen as a way of ensuring the sustainability of these initiatives as exemplified below:

We are normally able to identify problems, but most of the time, are not able to solve them, it is here that we require external intervention with a view to enhancing our capacity to solve our problems on our own.

(Member 1)

This is very important because when this is actively undertaken, the more the community becomes more knowledgeable and hence this increases the sustainability of these initiatives.

(Leader 2)

These should be sustainable and ongoing otherwise the structures that have been put in place would collapse, because if there is a base, then it should be continuous, as a gap would result in problems. This can be achieved through training of say, a group, who should be able to train the rest of the community.

(Manager 2)

Whilst appreciating the importance of capacity building, some respondents argued that some of the current strategies employed by external intervention were not
yielding much impact. This was mainly due to the traditional leadership structure that favoured the elderly who in most cases were illiterate and that in most cases the community members were not committed at all. The extracts below best illustrate these challenges:

*The issue of commitment is of concern because you can organise seminars or training sessions, but people just attend without any actions because they are not really committed.*

(Manager 1)

*There has been a great effort by support organisations to build local community capacity but the outcome has not been very good, because most leaders are elderly and illiterate, and these are the same ones who have been attending workshops to build to capacity, not because they are going to learn anything but because in most cases it is an opportunity for a free trip and some cases get allowances, and when it comes to implementation they cannot deliver anything. In some cases you have people who have been trained but when they try to enlighten the older members they (older members) feel that they are being insulted and are therefore not very receptive to new ideas.*

(Manager 3)

*Literacy is a major challenge for these communities, because of the very low literacy levels and the social hierarchical set up, for example a young knowledgeable person cannot assume a leadership role and hence cannot sit on management boards. It will be the older people and as a result resources and time are wasted trying to enhance their capacity.*

(Support 6)

Moreover, the respondents agreed that a strategy for community capacity building was essential, and that this should mainly focus on enhancing the ability of the local communities to run and manage these initiatives on their own. Specifically, the respondents identified three broad areas; governance, institutions and management, hence touching on leadership issues, community and administration. Capacity building should therefore be seen to enhance leadership skills, management skills, financial skills, entrepreneurship, product development, marketing, awareness and empowerment.
7.2.3.5 Local Trainers

The respondents saw local trainers as being very important in these initiatives, although currently the local trainers are considerably lacking. In some instances the local leaders had assumed the roles of local trainers especially at the initial stages of these initiatives. Such leaders were therefore effective only in general matters but could not effectively deliver on technical matters due to their characteristic low levels of literacy. Nonetheless, the respondents felt that local trainers were essential in enhancing the impacts of community capacity building, as they understood the community better and could therefore communicate with them effectively based on the prevailing local conditions. In so doing, such trainers would be able to enhance the community's commitment to capacity building. Furthermore, given that external intervention was only for a limited period of time, such trainers would enhance the sustainability of these initiatives. Moreover, local trainers, unlike external intervention, would require minimal resources to execute their duties. The excerpts below illustrate these further:

*These are very essential, and in conservation areas, the leaders are normally trained and assume the role of local trainers.*  
(Support 2)

*Local trainers are lacking. In a community like this one it is very difficult for them to come and listen to someone from outside. Local trainers, however, would be cheaper and more effective as they understand the way of life and will also overcome the language problem. They are also bound to be more flexible than external trainers who may be working on a fixed schedule.*  
(Manager 3)

*Local trainers are therefore essential in ensuring the sustainability of these initiatives especially when the external intervention finally pulls out.*  
(Government 1)
Some respondents expressed concern on the prevailing conditions that could hinder the role of local trainers in these initiatives. First, the current low level of literacy was an obstacle in that, even through external intervention, it would require a long-term strategy for these to be effective at least at the technical level. Furthermore, the traditional structures of leadership and the preference of external intervention as initial local trainers needed to be reviewed, as these were not literate enough to articulate some issues. In addition, due to the low levels of literacy, some respondents observed that the community members may not accept local trainers immediately as they will doubt their capabilities as observed below:

In the areas that we work it is very difficult to meet someone who can be trained in order to train the rest of the community because the literacy levels are very low.

(Support 6)

There is a problem of inferiority whereby, the local community look down upon their own, and prefer external trainers.

(Support 2)

This is due to cultural orientation or maybe the community is not confident that their own can actually deliver on training.

(Manager 2)

The respondents further felt that it was essential for local communities to be able to meet their capacity needs mainly because the role external intervention played towards meeting such needs was limited. The issue of integrating local trainers in these initiatives was seen as a long-term strategy mainly due to the prevailing levels of literacy. They also observed that although local trainers would be able to meet most of these they would require from time to time refresher courses and some limited forms of external intervention. In some cases the use of local trainers had already made remarkable impacts as below:
These are very important, for example we have sent the lodge employees to Utalii College, and they have come back and passed this knowledge to others. For example in the case of the papermaking, it is just one woman who was trained and she has passed this message on to other women.

(Member 2)

7.2.3.6 Key Performance Indicators (KPI)

The main objectives and goals of the CBEs were, first to enhance conservation and secondly, community development, in which the element of poverty alleviation was integral. Thus, the respondents observed that KPI were essential mainly to check whether these objectives were being achieved, and hence the success or failure of these initiatives. The respondents’ suggestions for KPI could broadly be classified into: those that check the performance of enterprise, those that check the impacts of these initiatives on the community, and lastly, those that check the development of the community vis-à-vis facilitating the development of these initiatives.

In the endeavour to check the performance of the enterprises, the respondents felt that it was prudent to know if these were yielding profits or not, and that targets needed to be set periodically. The main indicators, in this case, were mainly the amount of revenue generated, bed-nights and number of visitors as seen below:

One of the indicators that we use is looking at the bed nights, as this will show us how we are performing annually.

(Member 2)

Secondly, the respondents argued that indicators were needed to check the impacts of these initiatives on the community and whether or not they were on the right track to community development. The KPI in this case were based on the extent to which these initiatives were enhancing conservation, whether or not the area and population of wildlife were increasing, impact on social development, in terms of
growth in literacy, better health facilities and services, infrastructure development, and sustainable livelihoods, i.e. the initiatives’ contribution towards diversified and better livelihoods. This is exemplified below:

When we started, the initial goal was to alleviate poverty, so we targeted to educate our children and we are paying fees for ten of them. We wanted a health centre, and now we have one and we also provide the drugs. Previously people had to go to the mainland for treatment but this is no longer the case, if any member has say a financial problem the initiative is able to help. They also get dividends and there has been employment. We therefore see that we are on the right track.

(Member 1)

Finally, the respondents felt that KPI were essential to check the impact of community capacity building against the development of these initiatives. The respondents observed that the KPI were needed to gauge the success of failure of capacity building strategies with regard to the development of basic skills and knowledge, leadership skills, product development and marketing, entrepreneurship skills, financial management and accessing credit facilities, and community empowerment and awareness. These were all seen as essential elements necessary to ensure the success of these initiatives especially in the community’s endeavour to become self-reliant. The extracts below further illustrate these:

These are very essential and should seek to measure how the enterprise is developing in terms of an improvement in the local community capacity to manage and run these enterprises, improvement in service delivery over time, or how many local people are being trained to take up relevant positions.

(Support 6)

This will be in terms of how the community is reacting to these efforts, say in terms of their participation, service delivery, also quantitatively, how many people have been trained and how have they reacted or what is their output.

(Government 2)
7.2.3.7 External Intervention

The respondents felt that owing to the current prevailing conditions of low literacy and limited financial resources within the local communities, external intervention was crucial for the development of these initiatives. They argued that even in cases where the local communities had ideas for these initiatives, they lacked the financial and technical capabilities to turn these ideas into real ventures. The main sources of external intervention were seen as the donors, NGOs, members of academia, financial institutions and the government. Some respondents however argued that although the government had a crucial role, it had failed in meeting the communities' needs and was not represented on the ground as observed below:

*I don't want to say the government because of its bureaucracy, and lack of finances and they don't keep their promises. So we can say the donors and other NGOs.*

(Leader 1)

The respondents further felt that external intervention should play a major role at the initial stages of the development of these initiatives and should therefore strive to facilitate the community in awareness creation, empowerment, building capacity, mobilisation, product development and marketing. The respondents, in addition, advised that the role of such intervention should mainly be advisory and facilitatory, and should steer away from meddling in the internal affairs of communities. Moreover, there had to be a clear exist strategy so as to ensure the continuity of these initiatives.

7.2.4 Model for Community Capacity Building

Following the discussion from the interviews, the respondents were then asked to arrange the assumption cards into logical frameworks and to justify their decisions for
their preferred models. The respondents availed several differing models but in most instances the justification for their preferred choices was similar. The models generally clustered community leadership and vision, community tourism awareness, and community empowerment together; and community capacity building together with local trainers. Majority of the respondents also felt that technical support/external intervention should be present to meet all these factors.

The respondents argued that community leadership and vision was important at the initial stages of these initiatives mainly because, the leaders were the link between the community and the external intervention, or those behind the ideas for these initiatives. Community tourism awareness was also seen as crucial at this stage largely because these were relatively new ideas and their success depended on the comprehension and support of the community in general. The respondents further felt that because these were community-based initiatives, the involvement and participation of the community throughout the development of these initiatives was paramount. Community empowerment was therefore seen as way of achieving this. Thus, the respondents regarded community leadership and vision, awareness and empowerment as critical success factors for these initiatives.

On the second cluster, i.e. community capacity building and local trainers, the respondents argued that these were essential in addressing the short falls of the community vis-à-vis the necessary skills and knowledge needed to run and manage these initiatives and in addition, had to be on-going as learning was a continuous process. Moreover, these factors were seen as a means of enhancing and sharpening community leadership and vision, awareness and empowerment. For instance, community capacity building and local trainers could equip the community leaders with innovative leadership skills, while at the same time expose the community to relevant information and/or skills and knowledge that could in turn
increase the awareness of these initiatives and empower them to effectively participate in the development of these initiatives and in the election of appropriate and visionary leaders.

Majority of the respondents viewed the above factors as functioning as a unitary whole working towards the common development of these initiatives and consequently felt that key performance indicators were needed to ensure that these initiatives were headed towards the right direction. The performance indicators could for instance be used to check the impacts of the community capacity building, whether or not the leadership was effective, if the community was sufficiently aware and supportive, if it was adequately empowered or if the local trainers were having the desired effects. Some respondents also felt that the key performance indicators were needed to check the impacts of external intervention.

With regard to external intervention, majority of respondents felt that it was needed at all levels mainly because these were relatively new ideas and that the local communities lacked the ability to comprehend and implement them. The respondents felt, as the support organisations were mainly the originators of these ideas, then they had to be actively involved at the initial stages especially in creating awareness, empowerment and also facilitating the leadership in the development process. This, they argued could be achieved through the integration of a strategy for community capacity building, in which the external intervention could play a significant role and that local trainers could also be trained to enhance capacity building further and to ensure the continuity of these initiatives when external intervention has finally completed its mission.

Some respondents however felt that the above factors alone would not guarantee the success of these initiatives and that the issue of appropriate policy was of critical
importance. These respondents argued that the nature of the prevailing policy and legislative framework vis-à-vis these initiatives was very critical in the sense that if this framework was not supportive or did not recognise these initiatives, then such efforts would be futile especially in the long-term. As such, a conducive and supportive policy and legislative framework had to be in place to guide and regulate the development of these initiatives.

Figure 7.1 below best integrates into a unified model the respondents' logical framework of a community capacity building model.

Figure 7.1: Unified Model for community capacity building arising from field interviews
The unified model of community capacity building arising from field interviews (figure 7.1) is therefore in several ways similar to the theoretical model for community capacity building (figure 6.5, chapter six) and thus confirms the assumptions as valid within the Kenyan context. For instance both models identify critical success factors and the need for external intervention to facilitate community capacity building. Nonetheless, whereas both models acknowledge the role of external intervention in facilitating the development of key performance indicators, the unified model further proposes the development of key performance indicators to gauge the effectiveness of external intervention. In addition, the unified model sees as crucial, the formulation of appropriate policy and legislation to support community capacity building.

7.3 Critical Issues Arising from Findings

7.3.1 CBEs as Avenues for Poverty Alleviation

The previous chapter defined CBEs simply as enterprises based on communal ownership of tourism resources by the local communities. The results however reveal that this simplistic approach is not sufficient in that the element of ownership alone is not an adequate criterion for defining such enterprises. This is mainly due to the fact that in line with Agenda 21, the sustainability elements need to be integrated and the local communities should also actively participate and be involved in development process and be able to run and manage these initiatives by themselves. Thus sustainable community-based tourism enterprises are those enterprises based on communal ownership of tourism resources in which the local communities actively partake in the development process, and in the running and management of these enterprises in such a manner that the future generations are also able to do the same.
The first phase of results revealed that consideration of Kenya SMTEs in poverty is a bridge too far and that CBEs offered a progressive route, while the second phase further attest that CBEs can indeed have a significant impact on poverty alleviation. The initial results were mainly based on the level of support accorded to the CBEs and their potential to raise tourism awareness within a wider section of the community, whilst the latter results were based mainly on the potential impact of revenue generated by these enterprises. The counter argument of CBEs as avenues of poverty alleviation has been that local communities are not benefiting at the household level. However this argument fails to consider other potential contributions of CBEs. In this respect the potential impact of CBEs on poverty alleviation should considered mainly in three ways: first in terms of direct income to the community households, and hence income threshold levels; secondly in terms of the CBEs contribution to social development and hence standards of living; and thirdly, contribution to sustainable livelihoods.

In the first instant, consideration of CBE with regard to poverty alleviation would be the extent to which these enterprises are able to contribute to the direct incomes of the community. The results revealed that unless these enterprises are able to impact significantly on the incomes of the households, they themselves are also a bridge too far in consideration of poverty alleviation. CBE can however only have such a significant impact in economies where tourism constitutes a significant part of the economy and is hence seen as the most viable undertaking by the community. Wasini island community provides an ideal scenario of a community whose significant livelihood is derived from tourism activities. Ideally then, if the community were operating as a single entity, with each member having a role to play, then it would be justifiable to argue that the enterprise is having a significant impact on the households. The only problem that arises however, is that Wasini Island is not a
perfect example because the only identifiable community is the Wasini Women’s Group, while the rest pursue their economic ventures at individual levels.

Secondly, it is envisaged that regardless of whether or not the CBEs are impacting on the households, then at least if they are contributing to social development, they are actually impacting on poverty. This is mainly due to the fact that in Kenya most of the CBEs are located in marginal areas, areas that have not been a priority of the government in terms of development. As a result, these areas have remained relatively underdeveloped especially with regard to education services, such that the literacy levels and numeracy skills are comparatively low, while health services, access to clean water, shelter, infrastructural development in terms of roads, transport and communication are minimal. Hence when CBEs are able to generate relatively sufficient revenue that can in turn be used to improve these services to the community, then, as revealed by the results, the community would generally feel that these initiatives are helping to alleviate poverty. The main argument here is that if over time, the social capital of the community is increased through an improvement of literacy and numeracy skills, access to health facilities and improved infrastructure, then consequently their standards of living would be significantly be improved.

Finally, the results reveal that CBEs should not be seen to create communities that are dependant on tourism alone, but should rather be seen to contribute to sustainable livelihoods thereby enhancing the ability of the communities to earn a living sustainably from diverse sources. This is mainly due to the fact that CBEs can only employ a limited number of people from the community, at most 30, to be competitive. It is these who derive direct benefits. Given the average wage of Ksh 3500 (80) per month, the tourism employment multiplier would be insignificant. The proposition here is that the CBEs should thus be seen as a panacea for community
development through which both tourism and non-tourism related SMMEs can sprout.

In the Laikipia area of Kenya for example, the communities’ main source of livelihood was previously only livestock farming. However due to lack of capital, they were unable to develop this further and it was becoming unreliable due to famine and diseases. With the inception of the CBE in the area, the communities have been able to enhance their livestock farming and also develop other enterprises. For instance they have built cattle dips that has resulted in healthier livestock and through integration of natural resource management programmes, they have been able to control famine levels. The communities have further developed other tourism-related activities such as Maasai Cultural Manyattas, which are mainly run by women from the community. Moreover the women are also involved in paper manufacturing whose main raw material is elephant dung. This is therefore an example of CBEs contributing to sustainable livelihoods and consequently poverty alleviation.

The ideal scenario would be of course to have all three aspects of CBEs within the community, but currently this is yet to be achieved in Kenya. Nonetheless, the CBE have been able to significantly impact on the livelihoods of communities in Kenya. Moreover there is optimism that if the communities were empowered so as to check elitism and enhance transparency and if the government developed an appropriate policy framework in which CBEs can thrive, and there is adequate capacity within the communities to be able to run and manage their own enterprises efficiently, then the impacts of the CBE on poverty alleviation would be greatly enhanced.
7.3.2 Critical Issues vis-à-vis Community Capacity Building

The results have identified the critical success factors for community capacity building. These are community tourism awareness, community empowerment, leadership and vision, and strategy for community capacity building. This is mainly due to the fact that these factors define the attributes of the community without which, these initiatives would be non-existent, and are thus the basis for defining these initiatives as community-based.

First, the results have highlighted the fact that community tourism awareness is of critical importance and that local communities in Kenya are either vaguely aware or not aware at all of tourism. Community tourism awareness is essential in enhancing the local communities' comprehension of these initiatives with a view to gaining their full support, getting them involved and enlightening them of possible opportunities to be exploited. In order to enhance community tourism awareness, a formal approach through seminars or workshops, or an informal approach through public meetings, have been recommended and the government, external intervention and local leaders have also been seen as having a critical role to play.

Secondly, the results further reveal that local communities, whose participation is of critical importance, have not been sufficiently empowered both in the development of these initiatives and within the wider tourism environment. The main reasons for this is that the local communities have internal issues that affect their unity and organisation, these initiatives are relatively new concepts and their technicality prevent local communities from fully participating in the development process, and finally the prevailing policy and legislative framework does not support local communities. Thus in the endeavour to empower local communities, community capacity building and formulation of appropriate policy and legislative framework are
seen as important and consequently, the government and external intervention have a key role to play.

Thirdly, the results reveal that leadership and vision are both critical success factors and that vision is a defining quality of good leadership. Currently, leadership of these initiatives appears to stem mainly from traditional leadership structures rather than democratic processes, which means that the extant crop of leaders are mostly elderly and illiterate. Coupled with this, the issue of transparency and accountability is not clearly defined in the traditional leadership structures. This has in some cases meant that, either some initiatives have collapsed or their pace of development has been significantly reduced.

Given that leadership is seen as a crucial entry point for external intervention to access the local communities and that it has a crucial role to play in raising community tourism awareness of these initiatives, new leadership structures have to be identified. The criteria for identifying leaders for such initiatives should therefore take into consideration the extent to which such leaders share the same vision for these initiatives with the rest of the community, their literacy levels, their awareness of current issues vis-à-vis the community, and their diplomacy, as they are the link between the community and the outside world. In order to enhance the effectiveness of community leadership, the local communities would have to be sufficiently empowered if they are to be able to challenge the leadership, and appropriate strategies for capacity building, which specifically target leadership skills be incorporated and leadership networks be encouraged.

Finally, community capacity building is critical for the successful development of these initiatives mainly due to the fact the local communities in general lack the basic numeracy and literacy skills and that these initiatives are relatively new concepts.
The current strategies for community capacity building appear to be entangled in the traditional structures and have as result not been effective mainly due to the either lack of understanding or the lack of commitment by participants who in most cases tend to be the elderly and illiterate. As such, a strategy for community capacity building is essential and should focus on enhancing the basic skills and knowledge, awareness and empowerment, leadership skills, entrepreneurship skills, business management skills, financial skills, product development and marketing, transparency and accountability. In addition, this strategy should identify key beneficiaries that will enhance the effectiveness of capacity building in the development of these initiatives.

Community capacity building should therefore be an on-going process, hence, sustainable. In the endeavour to enhance the sustainability of these initiatives, local trainers are seen as essential. The current strategies do not appear to lay emphasis on these given that they are not readily available in the extant initiatives. Local trainers are seen as an effective tool for enhancing community capacity building mainly because they would be able to effectively communicate with the rest of the community and because they would be able to carry on after the withdrawal of external intervention thereby strengthening the ability of local communities to effectively operate independently.

To check on the effectiveness of community capacity building, key performance indicators are seen as essential. The current performance indicators appear to lay emphasis only on the performance of the enterprises. The key performance indicators vis-à-vis community capacity building should, however, focus on basic skills and knowledge, awareness and empowerment, leadership skills, entrepreneurship skills, business management skills, financial skills, product development and marketing, transparency and accountability.
Owing to the fact that CBEs are the brainchild of external intervention, the role of external intervention is seen as being very important. This is role however needs to be clearly defined and as a cardinal rule, steer away from the local communities’ internal affairs. The results reveal that failure to adhere to this rule can lead to the collapse of these initiatives. Community tourism awareness, empowerment and effective leadership, of which external intervention has a critical role to play, can help minimise chances of the external intervention meddling in internal affairs. The key role of external intervention should therefore be mainly, to advise and facilitate the local communities’ ability to effectively run and manage these enterprises independently.

7.4 Policy and Legislative Options for Development of CBEs

The results have revealed that the government, which falls in the bracket of external intervention, has a crucial role to play in the development of CBEs in Kenya, especially in the formulation of appropriate policy and legislative framework. However, it is evident that the government has not lived up to its expectation and that the local communities have lost faith in it. This has therefore meant that the prevailing policy and legislative framework is not supportive for CBE development and that most of the government roles have been inadvertently usurped by the various NGOs and donor organisations. Hence, the pertinent issues of policy and legislation hence need urgent attention to ensure the success of CBEs. These are discussed below:

- The majority of CBEs in Kenya are conservation-based and the local communities mostly rely on pastoralism for their livelihoods. As a result these initiatives require vast amounts of land. Through natural resources management plans, areas are defined for conservation purposes and for the local communities to graze their livestock. This is mainly to avert the human-
wildlife conflict. Such initiatives therefore require vast amounts of land of which ownership is not readily clear. Most of the local communities for example claim ancestral rights to such land, but this is not recognised as such because of the absence of a title deed, a legal document for land ownership. Furthermore given that these initiatives are based on communal ownership, it is currently not clear if there are any regulations to stop individuals within the community from claiming their share for their personal use. The government therefore needs to urgently clarify land ownership issues in order to avoid possible conflicts in the development of these initiatives.

- In line with the conservation issue, and as further revealed by the results:

_Legislation relating to wildlife has not been reviewed since 1970s and the wildlife policy is still based on the 1975 Kenya Government Sessional Paper which then recommended preservation of wildlife owing to the adverse impacts on wildlife that had been brought about by poaching._

(Academic 2)

A lot has changed since the 70s and currently, conservation is preferred to preservation as conservation also brings about benefits, which are currently trickling down to the local communities as a result of CBEs. The local communities argue that the wildlife act had hindered them from fully exploiting the wildlife resources given that they did not have user rights. Moreover, in the human-wildlife conflicts, compensation paid out for death or damage to property as a result of wildlife is currently minimal. The wildlife act therefore needs to be reviewed to reflect suitably on the local communities as their support is vital for the success of this initiatives and that this will enable optimum utilisation of wildlife resources.
Chapter Seven: Best Practice Model For Community Capacity Building For Kenyan CBEs

- The results have further revealed that the community tourism awareness is a critical success factor and that the role the government should play is crucial. The government should therefore lay out strategies to enhance community tourism awareness rather than leave this vital role to support organisations whose main agendas are mostly skewed towards conservation at the expense of community development. The government could for instance use the media, organise regular seminars or workshops or public meetings at the local levels to advice the local communities.

- Community empowerment is also seen as a critical success factor and that the lack of an appropriate policy and legislative framework, lack of basic numeracy and literacy skills, lack of knowledge and skills, elitism and gender issues, all dis-empower local communities. The government should therefore lay down strategies for enhancing basic numeracy and literacy skills especially in the national curriculum and should focus on the marginalized areas, in which most of these initiatives fall. Furthermore, through seminars, workshops and public meetings it can integrate civic education, with the aim of enlightening the local communities on their rights. This should enable the local communities to hold their leaders accountable thereby enhancing transparency and effecting the leadership. That the government has made primary education free and that the DNTP recommends the integration of tourism education in the national curricula are steps in the right direction.

- The government should urgently check the development of these initiatives given that currently, there are no rules or regulations guiding their development. For example, in the Mara area some respondents observed that such initiatives are coming up at an alarming rate all offering similar
product of the safari and ecolodge, such that there are now environmental concerns and diversity has been reduced. The government should therefore formulate an appropriate policy framework to check on haphazard development of these initiatives.

- In line with the rules and regulation, there is urgent need for appropriate policy to inform tourism product development mainly because the model of development of the CBEs is based on the anachronistic colonial model of tourism development that emphasises the safari and international tourism, mainly western, as the key markets for these initiatives. An appropriate policy framework is therefore needed to regulate and inform where necessary, the development of tourism products and to facilitate their marketing, which is a key challenge to the development of CBEs.

- All the CBEs rely on various forms of partnerships as their development strategy, the main form being management contracts and shareholding in whereby the partners lease the initiatives for a given period of time and where the partner owns part of the initiative respectively, all under a given contract. Currently, there are no policy regulations that guide such that partnerships contracts, which in most cases have favoured the partners, given the communities’ inability to fully comprehend these contracts. This has been a major cause of conflict and in some cases, the collapse of these initiatives, as revealed by the results. Thus the government should formulate appropriate policy to clearly define preferred forms of partnerships or set out rules and regulations that have to met.
- Currently, the CBEs do not have clear guidelines to regulate and maintain quality and standards. This is a problem that persists in the tourism industry in Kenya, with the absence of a body that is clearly empowered to enforce standards and quality. As a result some private organisations such as Ecotourism Society of Kenya have attempted to address this anomaly through the proposition of ecoratings for these initiatives. The problem though is that such organisations can only make recommendations but cannot enforce any regulations. The government should therefore formulate clear guidelines for quality, in which standards are outlined and in addition, it should appoint a body or organisation that will hold the mandate of enforcing these regulations.

- Finally, in order to meet its obligations vis-à-vis formulating an appropriate policy and legislative framework, the government should consider the integration of extension services, whereby, just like in the agricultural sector, tourist officers visit the local communities to advise them accordingly on issues relating to and opportunities to be exploited from tourism development. Furthermore, the government should involve the local communities and take their views of on board when formulating appropriate policies.

### 7.5 Conclusion: Best Practice Model for Community Capacity Building

**Appropriate for Kenyan CBEs**

In chapter six, identified three essential components for community capacity building were identified: community-based approach, leadership network and a sustainable approach; the chapter also listed eight assumptions. The results of the interviews have further revealed that at least within the Kenyan context, these assumptions are valid and that an appropriate policy and legislative framework has to be an integral part of the community capacity building initiatives.
Figure 7.2 represents a best practice model for community capacity building suitable for Kenyan CBEs and builds up on the theoretical model for community capacity building (figure 6.5, chapter six) and the unified model for community capacity building derived from the field survey (figure 7.1). The model also integrates the key components of community capacity building as identified in the literature i.e. community-based approach, leadership network and a sustainable approach (chapter six). First, the community-based approach basically seeks to incorporate the involvement of the majority, if not all, of the community members throughout the development process of these initiatives and in addition, lays emphasis on the ability of the community to make its own decisions, rather than relying on external intervention. The model thus incorporates this approach through emphasis on community tourism awareness and community empowerment, as these will enable the community to fully comprehend these initiatives and to be involved and partake in decision-making throughout the development process of these initiatives.
Secondly, the leadership network within the community capacity building initiatives refers to identification of those ‘catalytic people’ within the community who would be able to kick-start the process of community capacity building. Within the Kenyan scenario, such people have been identified as the elders, who command considerable authority within the local authorities. The problem however is that due to their low literacy levels they are not able to effectively impact on community capacity building. Thus it is recommended that within the Kenyan context, a two tier strategy be employed, in which such elders are only used for elementary purposes such as introducing the idea to community after which potential catalytic people are identified specifically for community capacity building.

Thirdly, the sustainable approach advocates the creation of a conducive environment in which the there is continuous building of capacity and in which the local community is able to meet its own capacity building needs. The model thus lays emphasis on local trainers as a step forward, towards achieving this goal in that they should be able to minimise the local communities’ reliance on external intervention. Nonetheless, within the Kenyan context, owing to the prevailing low literacy levels, emphasis on local trainers is seen as a long-term strategy and should be incorporated in the core strategy for community capacity building.

Fourthly, the results reveal that for community capacity building to have significant impact within the local community, an appropriate policy and legislative framework is essential, and as such the government role is important. Such a framework should therefore seek to create a favourable environment through the incorporation guidelines, regulations and incentives necessary to strengthen the impacts of community capacity building. The framework should seek to enhance community awareness, empowerment, basic numeracy and literacy skills, and basic skills and
knowledge necessary to enable the local communities exploit opportunities arising from tourism development.

7.6 Summary

In conclusion, following chapter five's proposition that CBEs offer a progressive route through which poverty can be alleviated, this chapter has further succeeded in clarifying this proposition by confirming that such initiatives can have a significant impact on poverty in three ways. First, through direct benefits to the local communities in terms of dividends, although currently the CBEs impacts are minimal in this respect. Secondly, through their potential contribution to social development and lastly through their potential contribution to diversified sustainable livelihoods.

In this chapter, the aim was to test the theoretical model for community capacity building developed in chapter six with a view to proposing a best practice model suitable for Kenyan CBEs. Thus a best practice model for community capacity building suitable for Kenyan CBEs has been developed, based on the theoretical and unified models for community capacity. In addition, the theoretical model for community capacity building that was developed in chapter six has been tested. The chapter has also outlined four basic components for ensuring the effectiveness of community capacity building. These are: community approach, leadership network, sustainable approach and appropriate policy and legislative framework. Furthermore, critical success factors for community capacity building in Kenya have been identified. These are: community tourism awareness, community empowerment and community leadership and vision.
Chapter Eight

Conclusions and Recommendations

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- Contribution of the Research
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- Implications of Findings
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Chapter Eight: Conclusion and Recommendations

81 Introduction

This chapter concludes this study on tourism and poverty alleviation in Kenya. Section 8.2 presents a summary of the study’s significant contribution to research. In section 8.3, the chapter presents the concept of the thesis in which it details the evolution of the thesis and personal reflections, purpose of study, analytical framework and the methodology adopted in the study. Section 8.4 highlights the key components of the thesis, whilst section 8.5 summarises the major findings, looking into poverty in Kenya, tourism and poverty alleviation as per WTO’s STEP programme, tourism development in Kenya, and the case for tourism and poverty alleviation in Kenya. In section 8.6, the chapter highlights the implications of the findings to Kenya, developing countries and the wider global community. Section 8.7 discusses opportunities for further research and finally, section 8.8 provides a closure to this study by highlighting the key issues and findings of the study.

82 Contribution of the Research

The research makes the following contributions:

Through the best practice theoretical model for community capacity building, a significant contribution has been made towards the enhanced understanding of the tourism and poverty alleviation debate by WTO that advocates of pro-poor tourism. The study has revealed that tourism has the potential to be a tool for poverty alleviation in developing countries if certain key factors such as, awareness, empowerment, access to credit facilities, and relevant skills and knowledge, are all taken into consideration.
Moreover, the study has opened up a new area for reflection, which is sustainable community-based tourism and poverty alleviation. Currently this area of study is considerably unexplored. The research has further revealed that, at least in the Kenyan case, consideration of indigenous SMTEs in poverty alleviation is a bridge too far and that CBEs offer a progressive route, and have actually impacted positively on the livelihoods of local communities. The study reveals that CBEs nonetheless face several challenges and proposes three critical approaches to addressing these challenges. These are: a community-based approach; leadership network; and a sustainable approach.

The Kenya government has identified tourism as a key sector that can have a significant impact on poverty alleviation (Kenya Government, 2004). In its draft tourism policy, 2004, the government has highlighted SMTEs as possible avenues to achieve this. The study reveals that despite this recognition, the government’s lack of an appropriate policy framework is hampering the growth of indigenous Kenyan entrepreneurship.

This study is therefore timely, especially in informing Kenya’s tourism policy, with a view to providing a framework within which the government can achieve its goals. In line with this, the study has identified policy options necessary to facilitate the development of CBEs and consequently enhance indigenous Kenyan entrepreneurship in tourism development.

Furthermore, given that more communities are turning to tourism development and that support organisations prefer these initiatives as a way of also addressing their agendas, the best practice model for community capacity building is an avenue through which local communities can achieve their independence vis-à-vis running and managing these enterprises efficiently.
Borrowing from the field of clinical psychology, the study has employed an adaptation of the construction and choice ordering projective techniques, through the use of assumption cards. These techniques facilitated the research process in several ways. Firstly, the use of the assumption cards proved vital to the research process as they introduced some element of ‘play’ that kindled the respondents’ interests in the interview process given that on average each interview lasted for one and half hours. Secondly, the use of the construction technique enabled the respondents to generate in-depth information and also allowed the researcher to discern how individual concepts build up, and helped pull out tacit understanding of the key concepts. Thirdly, the choice ordering technique enabled the respondents to dig deeper into their experiences in order to arrange the assumption cards (key concepts) into a logical framework and account for their propositions. Fourthly, as a result of the adaptation of these projective techniques, the element of researcher bias was greatly reduced during the interview process thereby enhancing reliability. These techniques thus enabled the gathering of rich in-depth qualitative data from a series of semi-structured interviews involving indigenous entrepreneurs, community managers, members and leaders, government officials, and support organisations. The analysis of the data yielded vital information that led to the study’s major findings and guided the development of the model.

8 Concept of Thesis

8.1 Evolution of Study and Personal Reflection

The research process has been a tremendous learning process for the researcher that has further opened new insights into the field of tourism study. This process has also significantly altered the researcher’s perception of the tourism industry especially with regard to developing countries, from a naïve perspective to a sombre,
critical and optimistic view of tourism and development. This has mainly been as result of the researcher’s engagement with diverse literature and policy documents, various respondents during field surveys, active debate and consultation with research supervisors and peers in various forums, and a reflection on the study's results.

The initial phase of the research was greatly influenced by the researcher’s Master’s thesis that dwelt on sustainable tourism development in Kenya. Naturally, the researcher was inclined to pursue this path of tourism research through the exploration of various ways in which the concept could be enhanced on Kenya. Initially the researcher was entangled in a maze and was not readily decisive as to which specific line of sustainable tourism development to pursue. This therefore prompted the researcher to review relevant literature and policy documents first on tourism development, and secondly on economic development in Kenya. The former revealed a pessimistic picture of tourism development, given the minimal benefits to local communities owing to the anachronistic colonial model of tourism development, while the latter, painted a hopeless image with regard to the rising incidence of poverty in the country. Worse still, when the two scenarios were critically reviewed there appeared to be a correlation between tourism development and incidence of poverty, such that areas of comparative high tourism activity had a relatively corresponding high incidence of poverty. Thus the immediate reaction then, driven by emotion rather than reason, was to undertake an investigation to ascertain whether indeed a correlation existed.

Whilst deliberating on the issue, the WTO released its STEP report in 2003, and in it painted a glossy picture of tourism development, stating that tourism could be a tool for poverty alleviation in developing countries, laying special emphasis on SMTEs. This influenced the researcher’s prior thoughts, prompting, instead, a review WTO’s
proposition within the Kenyan context with the aim of the research being to: 'explore the rhetoric or reality of tourism development as a tool for poverty alleviation through a comparative case study of different models of sustainable tourism development in Kenya.'

The research journey in addition directed the researcher towards probing deeper into the paradigms of poverty through its various manifestations and definitions. Following a review of relevant literature, the researcher questioned some of these paradigms especially those that used income thresholds as a measure of poverty. The basis for this was that the researcher felt that this school of thought had failed to take into account the non-monetary resources that most people in rural households in Kenya have. The feeling then was that the poverty figures were grossly misrepresented. However to discount this would have warranted a different line of study, and the research needed some ground on which to develop the study.

The high incidence of poverty in Kenya moreover prompted the researcher to review the mechanisms that the Kenya government was using to help curb the spread of poverty. This resulted in a review of various policy documents thereby introducing the researcher to the concept of sustainable livelihoods, which was being advocated for by the UNDP in conjunction with the Kenya government, through a sustainable livelihoods programme. This programme detailed various sectors such as agriculture and Jua Kali (informal) sectors as key areas, but surprisingly the tourism industry did not receive any mention despite its significant contribution to the economy. This therefore presented a challenge to the researcher who sought to find out how to best integrate the tourism industry to play a key role in sustainable livelihoods.

Hence, going by the WTO’s assertion and the UNDP’s sustainable livelihoods approach, the researcher’s path of study was somewhat defined. The initial process
was however marred by the lack of information on extant indigenous SMTE and what their impacts were on sustainable livelihoods and consequently poverty alleviation. This therefore prompted the first phase of interviews to clearly define the true picture that held on the ground resulting in the conclusion that consideration of indigenous SMTEs in poverty alleviation is a bridge too far and that CBE offered a more progressive route. Nonetheless, this phase enabled the researcher to interact with indigenous entrepreneurs and was encouraged by their sheer determination to push on, regardless of the prevailing unfavourable environmental conditions within which they operated.

The second phase of interviews dwelt on how best CBE can help alleviate poverty and further enabled the researcher to engage with various members of communities, government officials and support organisations. One of the highlights of this process was the engagement with community members and leaders in tourism debate, from which it emerged that despite their lack of formal education, they were very knowledgeable and hence a vital source of information. Of particular mention were members of the Wasini Women’s Group whose contribution to the research was remarkable in terms of their enthusiasm to share their experience. Thus, a key point here is that any research on the community-based tourism cannot afford to ignore this group.

The entire research process has therefore been an eye opener for the researcher and has consequently altered the way in which the researcher views the world in general and more specifically the tourism industry. Furthermore, the researcher’s contact with the various parties throughout the research process has enabled understanding of diverse perspectives and sharing of aspirations vis-à-vis tourism development, especially those of local communities in Kenya. Moreover, through the engagement with data particularly in the analysis process, the researcher has
developed an optimistic perception of tourism development, especially in developing countries with special emphasis in sustainable community development. As such, future ambitions would be to study this further.

8.3.2 Purpose of Study

The main purpose of this study, therefore, was to contribute to the understanding of the way in which tourism development could have a significant impact on poverty alleviation through the harmonisation of various concepts, models of tourism development and poverty alleviation. The study has critically analysed WTO's assertion that tourism development can be a tool for poverty alleviation and in particular its approach on formalisation of informal SMTEs. Based on these, the study has developed unified theoretical model that integrates WTO's considerations for poverty alleviation into the UNDP’s sustainable livelihood approach (see figure 4.1) that could potentially enhance the impacts of tourism development on poverty alleviation.

8.3.3 Analytical Framework

The study has enabled an analysis of tourism development in Kenya and revealed an anachronistic colonial model that does not involve or benefit the local communities. With more and more developing countries turning to tourism development as a tool for economic development, the study provides a framework within which such consideration can be validated as opposed to relying on crude economic indicators such as contribution to GDP. The study reveals that such consideration is not sufficient justification for making the case for tourism development in developing countries due to nature of ownership of tourism resources that is to a large extent foreign. The study has also detailed a critical analysis of various models of tourism
development and poverty alleviation proposed by such organisations as WTO, that have hitherto been uncontested. The study has suggested potential avenues through which tourism can contribute significantly to economic development and poverty alleviation.

8.3.4 Methodology

This study has adopted a multiple case study methodology of indigenous Kenyan SMTEs. This methodology has in turn enabled a detailed investigation of these enterprises in their real situations and revealed the salient issues, particularly with regard to their consideration as avenues of poverty alleviation in Kenya. This methodology has been facilitated by a range of methods including, participant observation, focus groups, in-depth interviews, projective techniques and document analysis, which have in turn generated rich qualitative data necessary in understanding the salient issues.

8.4 Characteristics of Thesis

This thesis has highlighted several key issues appertaining to, first tourism development in Kenya and secondly tourism development and poverty alleviation. The thesis has deployed a case study methodology to investigate further the key issues. The thesis has also enabled a critical review of literature on the key issues, concepts and models of tourism development through which two approaches to poverty alleviation are identified i.e. WTO's considerations and UNDP's sustainable livelihood approach and a clarification of the case for tourism development and poverty alleviation. In addition, the thesis, based on the critical review of literature, has developed a unified model for sustainable tourism development and poverty alleviation. The thesis has evaluated indigenous Kenyan entrepreneurship in the
delivery of the Kenyan tourism product, detailed the main challenges faced and suggested potential strategies to overcome these challenges. Furthermore, the thesis has analysed various models of capacity building, developed a best practice theoretical model, which is tested within the Kenyan context from which a best practice model for community capacity building for Kenyan CBEs is developed.

8.5 Major findings

8.5.1 Poverty in Kenya

Poverty has been and continues to pose a serious challenge to Kenya’s development with over half the population (56%) living below the poverty line (Government of Kenya, 2005). The UNDP’s HDI in 2001 ranked Kenya in the bracket of the world’s poor countries (UNDP, 2002). The majority of the poor in Kenya live in the rural areas with the areas to the south and south east of Lake Victoria having the highest incidence of poverty. The main indicators of poverty are landlessness or limited access to land ownership rights, lack of formal education, absence, inaccessibility or unaffordability of health services and facilities, and having no access to clean water, and more recently the relentless spread of HIV AIDS (Saitoti, 2002).

Consideration of poverty in Kenya is largely based on the World Bank’s US$ 1 a day threshold (Kenya Government, 2005; World Bank, 2004). The results, however, reveal that such a consideration is crude and does not adequately reflect the situation that holds on the ground. For example, there are no formal records of income earned through informal IOEs. Consequently, these incomes are not reflected in the country’s economic statistics. Furthermore, the absence of measures to fully quantify the resources of the rural communities in monetary terms, grossly
Chapter Eight: Conclusion and Recommendations

paints a gloomy scenario of poverty in Kenya. Thus, an urgent redefinition of poverty to clearly reflect these issues is necessary within the Kenyan context.

The Kenya Government has made several attempts to reverse the poverty trends and has mainly focussed on the agricultural and informal sectors with special emphasis on rural areas. The majority of these efforts have failed to have a significant impact on poverty mainly due to the non-involvement of the local communities in policy formulation and implementation processes (UNDP, 1999). As a result, the government, in conjunction with UNDP adapted the sustainable livelihood approach under the National Poverty Education Plan (NPEP), whose main objectives were to create a favourable environment for local communities and enhance their involvement in the development process. The main focus of this strategy was once again, the agricultural and informal sectors, through which it is envisaged that SMMEs can develop and jobs be created, especially to benefit the rural communities.

8.5.2 Tourism and Poverty Alleviation

Owing to its potential contribution to economic development, the tourism industry is increasingly being considered as a tool of poverty alleviation, especially in developing countries mainly due to the failure of traditional industries, such as agriculture and manufacturing, to contribute significantly to the development agendas of these countries (WTO, 2002). Furthermore, the tourism industry is increasingly becoming a major foreign exchange earner in these countries. As a result, the WTO has put forth the case for tourism development and poverty alleviation, laying special emphasis on developing countries, and arguing that in addition the tourism industry also has the potential to create employment, create linkages with the local economy through its multiplier effect and earn governments revenue through direct and indirect taxation.
Thus in making the case for tourism vis-à-vis poverty alleviation, the WTO, in its STEP report, identifies Pro-Poor Tourism as a potential approach to tourism development that can help developing countries in the fight against poverty. The report, in addition, presents various case studies through which it proposes SMTEs, particularly the formalisation of informal ones, as an avenue through which developing countries can enhance their benefits from tourism development. The WTO further argues that if these SMTE were to have considerable access to tourists, then they are bound to have a significant impact on poverty and further, that these SMTEs have a potential to enhance linkages within the local economies. The objective of this study was to investigate the proposition that sustainable tourism development in developing countries can be an effective tool for alleviating poverty, using Kenya as a case study.

8.5.3 Tourism Development in Kenya

The tourism industry is extremely important to the Kenyan economy with potential for economic development and poverty alleviation. Tourism development in Kenya is however currently modelled on an anachronistic and neo-colonial model based on the colonial agenda. The colonial agenda for tourism development established a foreign tourism industry that was focussed on safari for an elite Western market, with little or no involvement of local communities. Post-independence, the shift of agricultural resources to indigenous communities was not echoed by a shift in ownership of tourism resources. Tourism resources remain resolutely under the control of the post-1963 Kenyatta government, which reinforced the colonial model. There was no diversification of the product base and little shift in market focus with the government strengthening the safari and coastal tourism product focus. From 1964 to 2003 an anachronistic and neo-colonial model of tourism development prevailed in post-independence Kenya. In the early 1990s, key community
development projects, e.g. COBRA, began to emphasise the importance of community involvement in the conservation of wildlife resources essential to the safari product. There are few, if any, examples of community tourism projects without a conservation focus or that are not NGO-driven and dependent on foreign donor funding. The enduring influence of conservation-based NGOs in this respect challenges the establishment of a post-colonial agenda and maintains colonial influence in what can only be regarded as a form of neo-colonialism. Moreover this contravenes the spirit of the sustainable livelihoods approach that emphasises local ownership and independence.

Achieving the WTO rhetoric that, sustainable tourism development can be a tool for poverty alleviation requires a paradigm shift in the Kenya government's approach and tourism development policy. Indigenous tourism entrepreneurship as demonstrated by the case studies in this study exemplifies that formal enterprises require entrepreneurs with educational skills and organisational experience that can be regarded as exceptional in local communities, e.g. the owner-manager of the Wasini Restaurant. Literacy and numeracy levels, tourism awareness, empowerment and access to capital are major obstacles to tourism entrepreneurship for most.

The DNTP offers a framework that addresses a number of key issues that will help to Kenyanise the tourism industry. These are: raise awareness of tourism potential amongst indigenous communities and involve them in tourism development; establish partnerships to prevent leakage of tourism revenue; clarify ownership of tourism resources through an enhanced legislative framework; diversify the Kenyan tourism product; build capacity for the delivery of high quality products; and develop a quality grading system. However, while the DNTP talks about promoting cultural tourism, its interpretation of culture is fairly narrow and wildlife and conservation remain strong themes. Policy proposals that consist of begging local media to
promote a positive image of Kenya, fall far short of the crisis management strategies employed in competitor destinations, e.g. Egypt whose activities can be regarded as exemplary. Whilst recognising the issues faced by SMMEs, especially in relation to training, there is no sense that IOEs are promoted by the policy and CBEs are clearly the preferred development path. The DNTP proposes a tourism development fund but does not detail funding distribution mechanisms. Whether this fund will remove the key barriers to tourism entrepreneurship noted by the SMTEs and support organisation interviewees, and unlock the potential of indigenous tourism is debatable. SMTEs perceptions that tourism entrepreneurship is a ‘white’ activity are reinforced by support organisations preferring the involvement of private, particularly white, investors.

CBEs are the preferred development route for the Kenyan government and NGOs, and indeed may provide a realistic platform from which IOEs can develop in the longer term. Widening the product base to reflect the rich and intangible cultural diversity of Kenya, would overcome the ownership issues in relation to tourism development. Strategies to promote community capacity building would enable a paradigm shift away from dependence on foreign funding and conservation orientation toward a truly post-colonial tourism agenda set by Kenyans for Kenyans and to the benefit of local communities.

8.5.4 Tourism and Poverty Alleviation in Kenya

Taking into account the poverty situation in Kenya, WTO’s proposition that tourism can actually be a tool for poverty alleviation, and the fact that the tourism industry is very important in Kenya but does not benefit the local communities, the research first sought to explore extant indigenous SMTEs in Kenya and their impacts on poverty alleviation. Despite the initial lack of information on extant indigenous SMTEs, and
through the use of opportunistic sampling, the results confirmed the existence of indigenous SMTEs and that these were not widespread in Kenya. Moreover, the results yielded a typology of indigenous SMTEs: formal and informal IOEs and CBEs, that were mainly based on the type of ownership, individual and communal or community-based ownership respectively.

There are several challenges that face IOEs and CBEs, in particular lack of basic skills and knowledge, lack of capacity, lack of tourism awareness, lack of empowerment, lack of access to credit facilities, and lack of supportive policy frameworks. Furthermore, unlike their counterparts in Europe, the majority of Kenyan SMTEs have shied away from venturing products and services that tourists would primarily purchase. Although the issue of support was not an obstacle to the development of formal IOEs, this appears to have a major impact on the informal IOEs and CBEs. Consequently, the development of informal IOEs has been hampered by the general lack of support, whereas through the prevailing support network, the CBEs have been able to address some of the challenges that they face.

This phase of the research therefore confirms that unlike the SMTE scenario in Europe with well-established entrepreneurial support networks and frameworks, consideration of the Kenyan SMTE in the endeavour to alleviate poverty is a bridge too far, at least in the short-term. In order therefore to bridge the gap between tourism development and poverty alleviation with reflections on the local communities on the whole, necessary entrepreneurial support networks and frameworks have to be established in Kenya. Through the adoption of a community-led approach, the model of the CBE appears to offer headway in the endeavour to establish a link between tourism development and poverty alleviation for local communities through their potential ability to raise tourism awareness and provide a platform for other SMTE to sprout.
8.5.5 Best Practice Model for Community Capacity Building

The results of the first phase of fieldwork thus prompted the second phase of fieldwork, whose main aim was to identify strategies for developing a best practice model for community capacity building, given that capacity building was cited as a major obstacle to the development of CBES as potential avenues for poverty alleviation in Kenya. Several views emerged on the potential of CBES as avenues of poverty alleviation. The results revealed that the CBES: did not have a major impact on poverty alleviation at the household level; they had contributed, or had the potential to contribute, to the communities’ social development; they have been a catalyst for addressing the land ownership issues, a key indicator of poverty in Kenya; and finally that they had contributed or have the potential to contribute to the enhancement of sustainable livelihoods.

In addition, the results confirmed that a strategy for capacity building was essential and further identified critical success factors that have to be taken into consideration in formulating such a strategy. These are awareness, empowerment, leadership and vision, local trainers, external intervention and key performance indicators. These are essential factors that can enable local communities to be able to run and manage such initiatives on their own. Through the use of Projective techniques, the research has identified and outlined a critical process for developing the best practice model for capacity building and has in addition presented a best practice model appropriate for community capacity building.

8.6 Implications of Findings

This study has several implications within the Kenyan context, the developing country context, and the wider global community. First, the study has revealed an
anachronistic colonial model of tourism development in Kenya in which the local communities' participation is minimal. The study has also highlighted the case of tourism development and poverty alleviation in Kenya and suggested potential avenues for linking the two. This study therefore provides several policy options to enhance the local communities' participation in tourism development and in endeavour to maximise benefits and enhance indigenous ownership of tourism resources.

With more and more developing countries embracing tourism as an economic development strategy, the study reveals that such consideration should not be taken purely only positive economic impacts, but also the negative impacts so that appropriate policies can be drawn to ensure that particularly the local communities benefit. The study further reveals that advocacy for foreign investment without clear strategies to facilitating indigenous tourism entrepreneurship could lead to leakages and consequently minimal benefits accruing to local communities, as is the case with Kenya. Thus, developing countries should lay more emphasis on enhancing the involvement and empowerment of indigenous communities in tourism development and in particular enhance their capacity to adequately take ownership of tourism resources.

Various countries, mainly the G8 countries and organisations, such as, UNDP and WTO, have expressed their commitment to alleviating poverty in the developing countries, particularly, in the sub-Saharan Africa. Organisations such as WTO assert that tourism has the potential to play to a significant role in poverty alleviation. The results confirm this assertion, but reveal that the current approach by WTO, at least in the Kenya case, would not have significant impacts on poverty alleviation, and that models of tourism development, such as, community-based tourism, offer a progressive route, as they the potential to impact on the wider population. Thus, in
making the case for tourism development and poverty alleviation, these organisations should lay emphasis on models of tourism development that have significant impacts on poverty alleviation and especially those that foster indigenous tourism entrepreneurship.

8.7 Opportunities for Further Research

As already observed in chapter one, tourism development and poverty alleviation is a relatively under researched area and that this study has made significant contribution in endeavour to link the two phenomena. Despite this, there are areas, though of great importance, that the study has not covered in depth, particularly indigenous tourism entrepreneurship or non-entrepreneurship and the issue of partnerships. First, although the study has evaluated the prevailing entrepreneurship support framework for indigenous SMTEs, the study has not investigated in detail indigenous tourism entrepreneurship with regard to discerning the indigenous entrepreneurship culture. This therefore presents an opportunity for future research particularly with a view to informing the prevailing entrepreneurship support framework.

WTO, the Kenya Government and various support organisations emphasise the need for partnerships between the local communities and the private sector. This study has identified that such partnerships can either foster the development of CBEs or hinder their growth. Whereas issues relating to such partnerships have been discussed in this study, the extant partnerships models have not been explored in detail. This therefore opens up opportunities for further research to probe in detail the extant partnership models and make appropriate recommendations in terms of when or whether such partnerships are appropriate or not.
8.8 Conclusion

Poverty is a major impediment to Kenya's development and given its entrenchment in the local population, the Kenya Government has to radically and urgently alter its development strategies to address this problem. The sustainable livelihoods approach under the NPEP, is a step forward, but this would also require rethinking in order to encompass all potential sectors.

Although both the WTO and Kenya government rightfully identify tourism as a potential tool for poverty alleviation, this would require a massive kick-start within the country for the tourism industry to warrant such consideration. Moreover, it is evident that consideration of SMTEs as avenues of poverty alleviation in Kenya is a bridge too far, although CBEs give a ray of hope. The CBEs are however facing several challenges and are far from making significant impacts to the incomes of the local communities at the household level, and can only be considered as avenues of building social capital, catalysts for clarifying community property rights such as land ownership, and as avenues of achieving sustainable livelihoods.

For tourism to be considered as a potential avenue for poverty alleviation in Kenya, there will have to be drastic changes within the current policy framework so that the needs of indigenous Kenyans are top on the development agenda. These should seek to address the critical success issues such as tourism awareness, community empowerment, appropriate skills development and entrepreneurship. The current DNTP falls short in addressing these needs. The best practice model for community capacity building is therefore a step in the right direction.
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Appendix 1: Interview Schedule for Indigenous Tourism SMEs

**Theme: About the business**

1. What is the name of your business?
2. When did you start your business?
3. Where is your business located?
4. How many people are employed in the business and what are the terms of employment i.e. full time, part time, permanent, temporary, voluntary etc?
5. Who runs the day-to-day affairs of the business?

**Theme: Nature of business; products/services**

1. How would describe the products or services that your customers pay for?
2. Where did the idea to start the business originate?
3. Please explain the reasons for offering such products/services.

**Theme: marketing**

1. How would you describe your customers?
2. How do your customers hear about your products/services?
3. Do you receive any local (Kenyan) or regional (Ugandan and Tanzanian) tourists?

**Theme: reasons for success or failure**

1. What motivated you to start the business?
2. How would describe your experience in starting the business?
3. Are there any specific problems that you encountered in starting the business?
4. How would describe the performance of your business, is it doing well?
5. What do you think could be done to ensure the success of similar businesses?
6. Are any relevant skills and knowledge you think would ensure the success of your business and other similar businesses?

**Theme: support network**

1. How would you describe the support you received in starting your business?
2. Who supported you in starting the business?
3. What sort of support did you receive?
4. Are you able to write a formal business plan?
5. Were you required to have any formal business plan?
6. How would you describe the help you got, was it helpful?
7. How did the government help you in starting the business?
8. How then would you describe your association with local tourism support agencies?
9. What about foreign agencies?

**Theme: Linkages**

1. How would describe your collaboration with other tourism businesses in Kenya?
2. Please explain if you rely on other sectors such as agriculture for your supplies.

**Theme: Involvement and empowerment**

1. What policies do you consider helpful to your business?
2. Are there policies that you think hinder the growth of your business?
3. What policy support would you need to enhance the growth of your business?
4. In running your business, what specific problems have you has to deal with?
5. Please explain if your business has any influence in tourism development locally and nationally.

Theme: sustainable livelihoods

1. How would describe your sources of income for your day-to-day activities prior to engaging in the business?
2. What about your living standards before starting the business?
3. Please explain how the situation has changed since your engagement in the business.

Closing remarks

1. What other similar businesses are you aware of?
2. Are there any other support organisations that you know or have heard of that might help a business like yours?
3. Do have any further information that you would like to add?
Appendix 2: Interview Schedule for Support Organisations

Theme: About the organisation

1. What is the name of your organisation?
2. When was your organisation established?
3. Where is your organisation located?
4. Does your organisation have any other branches?
5. How many people are employed in the organisation and what are the terms of employment i.e. full time, part time, permanent, temporary, voluntary etc?

Theme: goals of the organisation

1. Please explain the main goal that your organisation seeks to accomplish.
2. What then are the objectives of your organisation?
3. What obstacles has your organisation faced in achieving its objectives?
4. Does your organisation have any policy documentation, website and promotional materials?

Theme: support network

1. What sort of support does your organisation offer to indigenous tourism SMEs?
2. When seeking support from your organisation, are the SMEs required to have a formal business or marketing plan?
3. Please explain how your organisation gets to know about such SMEs or how these SMEs get to know about the services that you offer.
4. How would describe your organisation's association with local and foreign tourism agencies?

Theme: accomplished projects, reasons for success or failure

1. What inclusion or exclusion criteria does your organisation use in selecting which SMEs to support?
2. Please elaborate on some of the projects that your organisation has been involved in.
3. How would you explain the performance of the SMEs prior to your organisation's support?
4. Following your organisation's support, how has the performance of these SMEs improved?
5. From your experience, what do you think are the reasons for success of SMEs?
6. What are the reasons for the failure of SMEs?
7. How would describe the capacities of SMEs, do they possess adequate skills and knowledge to run enterprises?
8. In order to ensure the success of indigenous tourism SMEs, what mechanisms do you think should be put in place?

Theme: sustainable livelihoods

1. Prior to your organisation's engagement with the SMEs, how would describe the livelihoods and living standards of the local communities?
2. Following your organisation's support, how have the livelihoods and living standards been affected?

Closing remarks

1. Are there any other support organisations that you are aware of?
2. What other tourism SMEs are you aware of?
3. Do you have any further information that you feel would relevant to this interview?
Appendix 3: Interview Schedule for Government Officials, CBE Managers, Support Organisations and Academic members

Profile of respondent and awareness of community-based tourism initiatives

'I would like to start by getting some brief background information about yourself.'
1. What is your profession?
2. What organisation do you work for?
3. When was your organisation established?
4. What roles do you and/or your organisation have in community-based tourism initiatives?

(Check respondent awareness of community-based tourism initiatives by discussing accordingly)

1. Community-based tourism initiatives

1. As I mentioned earlier, I am interested in community-based tourism initiatives, now from your experience what can you tell about these initiatives?

(Listen carefully and check if respondent has addressed the questions below, if so continue or if not probe further accordingly).

2. In your own words how then would describe community-based tourism initiatives?
3. Which examples community-based tourism initiatives are you aware of and how would you regard them successful or failures? (Ask for reasons)
4. Where did the original idea for these initiatives come from?
5. What was the role and degree of external intervention, if any, in these initiatives?
6. What then do you regard as the success factors for community-based tourism initiatives?
7. The government has identified tourism as one of tools to fight poverty, what are your views of community-based tourism initiatives as avenues of poverty alleviation?
8. What factors do you think would make local communities welcome or not welcome community-based tourism initiatives? (Ask how these factors can be harnessed)

Place assumption cards in front of respondent

'I have with me seven cards that I would like you to select one at a time randomly, please ask if you need any clarification of some of the terms (if respondents asks for clarification describe the terms and also ask how he/she would describe the terms in own words).'

(Ask the respondent to select any of the cards and discuss, repeat this until all cards are selected).

2. Tourism awareness

1. What can you tell me about tourism awareness?

(Listen carefully and check if respondent has addressed the questions below, if so continue or if not probe further accordingly).

2. How aware do you think local communities are about tourism development?
3. How important is it to raise tourism awareness within the community?
4. Do you think that tourism awareness within the community is a critical success factor for community-based tourism initiatives?
5. What suggestions do you have that can be used to enhance tourism awareness within the community?
3. Community empowerment
   1. What can you tell me about community empowerment?

(Listen carefully and check if respondent has addressed the questions below, if so continue or if not probe further accordingly).

   2. How important is community empowerment in community-based tourism initiatives?
   3. What factors do you think empower or dis-empower communities?
   4. Would you consider community empowerment to be a critical success factor for community-based tourism initiatives?
   5. What support, if any, do you think should be for empowering communities to develop a vision for community-based tourism development initiatives?

4. Leadership and vision for sustainable community-based tourism development
   11. What can you tell me about leadership and vision within the community?

(Listen carefully and check if respondent has addressed the questions below, if so continue or if not probe further accordingly).

   12. How do you think that community-based tourism development initiatives should be made on-going?
   13. Where should the leadership and vision for community-based tourism initiatives come from?
   14. How would describe the importance of such leadership in community-based tourism development?
   15. What do you feel could be done to enhance the effectiveness of community leadership in community-based tourism development?

5. Community capacity building
   1. What can you tell me about community capacity building with regard to community-based tourism initiatives?

(Listen carefully and check if respondent has addressed the questions below, if so continue or if not probe further accordingly).

   2. Do you think community capacity building is a key part of community-based tourism development initiatives?
   3. Do you think a strategy for community capacity building is essential community-based tourism initiatives? (If yes, ask ‘what areas should the community capacity building strategy focus on?”)
   4. Do you think that such initiatives should be sustainable?

6. Local trainers
   1. What can you tell about local trainers within the community?

(Listen carefully and check if respondent has addressed the questions below, if so continue or if not probe further accordingly).

   2. In your own view is it essential for the local community to be able to meet own capacity needs? (If yes ask if local trainers will effectively meet these needs)?
7. Key performance indicators

1. What can you tell me about key performance indicators?

(Listen carefully and check if respondent has addressed the questions below, if so continue or if not probe further accordingly).

2. Do you think that key performance indicators should be developed to evaluate the effectiveness of community capacity building initiatives? (If yes, ask respondent to explain indicators that could be used).

8. Technical support

1. What can you tell me about technical support?

(Listen carefully and check if respondent has addressed the questions below, if so continue or if not probe further accordingly).

2. Where should the technical support come from?
3. What role should the providers of technical support play?

Model of community capacity building

'Please arrange the cards in any order you so wish' (Draw sketch of the arrangement and ask respondent to explain)

1. Is there anything you feel is missing in your arrangement?' (If yes, ask respondent to explain)

Closing remarks

4. Please explain if you have any other suggestions that you feel are essential in building community capacity?
5. Do you have any further information that you feel would be relevant to this interview?
6. Do you know of any other relevant people who have significant experience or knowledge of community-based tourism initiatives that it would be worth me talking to?

Thank the respondent for his/her time and information given.
Appendix 4: Interview Schedule for Community Leaders

Profile of respondent and awareness of community-based tourism initiatives

'I would like to start by getting some brief background information about yourself/selves.'

1. What is your role within the community?
2. What role do you play in this community-based tourism initiative?
3. When was this initiatives established?

(Check respondent awareness of community-based tourism initiatives by discussing accordingly)

1. Community-based tourism initiatives
   1. As I mentioned earlier, I am interested in community-based tourism initiatives, now what can you tell about your community-based tourism initiative?

   (Listen carefully and check if respondent has addressed the questions below, if so continue or if not probe further accordingly).

   2. In your own words how then would describe community-based tourism initiatives?
   3. Which examples community-based tourism initiatives are you aware of and how would you regard them successful or failures? (Ask for reasons)
   4. Where did the original idea for this initiative come from?
   5. What was the role and degree of external intervention, if any, in this initiative?
   6. What then do you regard as the success factors for community-based tourism initiatives?
   7. The government has identified tourism as one of tools to fight poverty, what are your views of community-based tourism initiatives as avenues of poverty alleviation?
   8. What factors do you think would make local communities welcome or not welcome community-based tourism initiatives? (Ask how these factors can be harnessed or controlled)

Place assumption cards in front of respondent

'I have with me seven cards that I would like you to select one at a time randomly, please ask if you need any clarification of some of the terms (if respondents asks for clarification describe the terms and also ask how he/she would describe the terms in own words).'

(Ask the respondent to select any of the cards and discuss, repeat this until all cards are selected).

2. Tourism awareness (general knowledge of tourism)

   1. What can you tell me about tourism awareness?

   (Listen carefully and check if respondent has addressed the questions below, if so continue or if not probe further accordingly).

   2. How aware do you think local communities are about tourism development?
   3. How important is it to raise tourism awareness within the community?
   4. Do you think that tourism awareness within the community is a critical success factor for community-based tourism initiatives?
   5. What suggestions do you have that can be used to enhance tourism awareness within the community?

3. Community empowerment (degree of control of tourism development)

   1. What can you tell me about community empowerment?
(Listen carefully and check if respondent has addressed the questions below, if so continue or if not probe further accordingly).

2. How important is community empowerment in community-based tourism initiatives?
3. What factors do you think empower or dis-empower communities?
4. Would you consider community empowerment to be a critical success factor for community-based tourism initiatives?
5. What support, if any, do you think should there be for empowering communities to develop a vision for community-based tourism development initiatives?

4. Leadership and vision for sustainable community-based tourism development
   1. What can you tell me about leadership and vision within the community?
   (Listen carefully and check if respondent has addressed the questions below, if so continue or if not probe further accordingly).
   2. How do you think that community-based tourism development initiatives should be made on-going?
   3. Where should the leadership and vision for community-based tourism initiatives come from?
   4. How would describe the importance of such leadership in sustainable community-based tourism development?
   5. What do you feel could be done to enhance the effectiveness of community leadership in community-based tourism development?

5. Community capacity building (ability to identify and solve problems)
   1. What can you tell me about community capacity building with regard to community-based tourism initiatives?
   (Listen carefully and check if respondent has addressed the questions below, if so continue or if not probe further accordingly).
   2. Do you think community capacity building is a key part of community-based tourism development initiatives?
   3. Do you think a strategy for community capacity building is essential community-based tourism initiatives? (If yes, ask ‘what areas should the community capacity building strategy focus on?’)
   4. Do you think that such initiatives should be sustainable?

6. Local trainers
   1. What can you tell about local trainers within the community?
   (Listen carefully and check if respondent has addressed the questions below, if so continue or if not probe further accordingly).
   2. In your own view is it essential for the local community to be able to meet own capacity needs? (If yes ask if local trainers will effectively meet these needs)?

7. Key performance indicators (factors that can be used to judge success or failure)
   1. What can you tell me about key performance indicators?
   (Listen carefully and check if respondent has addressed the questions below, if so continue or if not probe further accordingly).
2. Do you think that key performance indicators should be developed to evaluate the effectiveness of community capacity building initiatives? (If yes, ask respondent to explain indicators that could be used).

8. Technical support (external help)

1. What can you tell me about technical support?

(Listen carefully and check if respondent has addressed the questions below, if so continue or if not probe further accordingly).

2. Where should the technical support come from?
3. What role should the providers of technical support play?

Model of community capacity building

'Please arrange the cards in any order you so wish' (Draw sketch of the arrangement and ask respondent to explain)

Is there anything you feel is missing in your arrangement?’ (If yes, ask respondent to explain)

Closing remarks

1. Please explain if you have any other suggestions that you feel are essential in building community capacity?
2. Do you have any further information that you feel would be relevant to this interview?
3. Do you know of any other relevant people who have significant experience or knowledge of community-based tourism initiatives that it would be worth me talking to?

Thank the respondent for his/her time and information given.
Appendix 5: Interview Schedule for Community Members

Profile of respondent and awareness of community-based tourism initiatives

'I would like to start by getting some brief background information about yourselves.'
1. What role/s do you play in this community-based tourism initiative?
2. When was this initiatives established?

(Check respondent awareness of community-based tourism initiatives by discussing accordingly)

1. Community-based tourism initiatives
   1. As I mentioned earlier, I am interested in community-based tourism initiatives, now what can you tell about your community-based tourism initiative?

(Listen carefully and check if respondent has addressed the questions below, if so continue or if not probe further accordingly).

2. In your own words how then would describe community-based tourism initiatives?
3. Where did the original idea for this initiative come from?
4. What roles do you think the local community should play in this initiative?
5. What was the role and degree of external intervention, if any, in this initiative?
6. What then do you regard as the success factors for community-based tourism initiatives?
7. The government has identified tourism as one of tools to fight poverty, what are your views of community-based tourism initiatives as avenues of poverty alleviation?
8. What factors do you think would make local communities welcome or not welcome community-based tourism initiatives? (Ask how these factors can be harnessed or controlled)

Place assumption cards in front of respondent

'I have with me seven cards that I would like you to select one at a time randomly, please ask if you need any clarification of some of the terms (if respondents asks for clarification describe the terms and also ask how he/she would describe the terms in own words).'

(Ask the respondent to select any of the cards and discuss, repeat this until all cards are selected).

2. Tourism awareness (general knowledge of tourism)
   1. What can you tell me about the general knowledge of tourism within the community?

(Listen carefully and check if respondent has addressed the questions below, if so continue or if not probe further accordingly).

2. How aware do you think local communities are about tourism development?
3. How important is it to raise tourism awareness within the community?
4. Do you think that tourism awareness within the community is a critical success factor for community-based tourism initiatives?
5. What suggestions do you have that can be used to enhance tourism awareness within the community?

3. Community empowerment (degree of control of tourism development)
   1. What can you tell me about the community’s degree of control in tourism development?
2. (Listen carefully and check if respondent has addressed the questions below, if so continue or if not probe further accordingly).

3. How important is community empowerment in community-based tourism initiatives?
4. What factors do you think empower or dis-empower communities?
5. Would you consider community empowerment to be a critical success factor for community-based tourism initiatives?
6. What support, if any, do you think should there be for empowering communities to develop a vision for community-based tourism development initiatives?

4. Leadership and vision for sustainable community-based tourism development

1. What can you tell me about leadership and vision within the community?

(Listen carefully and check if respondent has addressed the questions below, if so continue or if not probe further accordingly).

2. How do you think that community-based tourism development initiatives should be made on-going?
3. Where should the leadership and vision for community-based tourism initiatives come from?
4. How would describe the importance of such leadership in sustainable community-based tourism development?
5. What do you feel could be done to enhance the effectiveness of community leadership in community-based tourism development?

5. Community capacity building (ability to identify and solve problems)

1. What can you tell me about community ability to identify and solve problems with regard to community-based tourism initiatives?

(Listen carefully and check if respondent has addressed the questions below, if so continue or if not probe further accordingly).

2. Do you think community capacity building is a key part of community-based tourism development initiatives?
3. Do you think a strategy for community capacity building is essential community-based tourism initiatives? (If yes, ask ‘what areas should the community capacity building strategy focus on?’)
4. Do you think that such initiatives should be sustainable?

6. Local trainers

1. What can you tell about local trainers within the community?

(Listen carefully and check if respondent has addressed the questions below, if so continue or if not probe further accordingly).

2. In your own view is it essential for the local community to be able to meet own capacity needs? (If yes ask if local trainers will effectively meet these needs)?

7. Key performance indicators (factors that can be used to judge success or failure)

1. What can you tell me about key performance indicators?

(Listen carefully and check if respondent has addressed the questions below, if so continue or if not probe further accordingly).
2. Do you think that key performance indicators should be developed to evaluate the effectiveness of community capacity building initiatives? (If yes, ask respondent to explain indicators that could be used).

8. Technical support (external help)

1. What can you tell me about technical support?

(Listen carefully and check if respondent has addressed the questions below, if so continue or if not probe further accordingly).

2. Where should the technical support come from?
3. What role should the providers of technical support play?

Model of community capacity building

'Please arrange the cards in any order you so wish' (Draw sketch of the arrangement and ask respondent to explain)

Is there anything you feel is missing in your arrangement?' (If yes, ask respondent to explain)

Closing remarks

7. Please explain if you have any other suggestions that you feel are essential in building community capacity?
8. Do you have any further information that you feel would be relevant to this interview?

Thank the respondents for their time and information given.