

# **The Viability of Community Tourism in Least Developed Countries: The Case of Zanzibar**

**by**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Central Lancashire

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# Student Declaration

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## Abstract

Tourism is perceived as one of the world's fastest growing service sectors and a major source of economic development and environmental and cultural conservation for many, if not all, developing countries. Within the context of sustainable development, community tourism is increasingly seen as an effective tool for engaging destination communities in the tourism development in the advanced countries, but it has failed to deliver in many Least Developed Countries (LDCs), such as Zanzibar. The concept has been developed and refined in the search for sustainable approaches to tourism development. However, its applicability to Zanzibar in particular seems not to have been considered in detail; the issue of whether community tourism can be effectively applied in Zanzibar remains uncertain. Consequently, there is a call for more research to determine the capitals that destination communities should acquire to implement community tourism. Hence, the objectives of this thesis are: (1) to conceptualize the theory of capitals as related to community tourism; (ii) to develop a conceptual capital assets model for community tourism; and (iii) to examine the general views of local communities toward the [proposed] capital asset model and to found out the appropriateness of the model for actualizing community tourism in Zanzibar.

Methods used for data collection of this research were document study, focus groups, interviews, participant observation and household survey (triangulation approach). While the first three methods (qualitative methods) were used for construction of the model, the household survey technique (quantitative method) was used to explore the appropriateness of a model in the context of Zanzibar. The research population includes government officials, private tourism organisations and local people who were involved in the research in different settings. The critical destination capitals according to the findings are informal social networks (informal social capital), political capital and human capital; the three destination capitals lead to the generation of innovation capital which serves as the lifeblood for sustainable community tourism development. Moreover, limited access to physical, financial, and human capital are key concerns that need to be addressed, especially in rural areas of Zanzibar, as this was found to be a significant constraint to the implementation of community tourism.

The research findings directly contest the extant body of literature reviewed in this thesis and have major implications for tourism development policies, signalling the need for adjustments at social, political and institutional levels. Following the household survey analysis, the central conclusion is that the developed conceptual model is a useful blueprint for sustainable community tourism development in Zanzibar; though further research opportunities are identified, especially in relation to the generalization of the conceptual model. The contribution of this research is to knowledge about the crucial destination community's capital assets and their significance to community tourism development in Zanzibar. This understanding may bridge the gap between theories of community tourism and practice and may be adapted and applied in many developing countries, including broader perspectives of encouraging destination communities to take an active role in the tourism industry as developers rather than as wage earners.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>DECLARATION</b> .....	<b>ERROR! BOOKMARK NOT DEFINED.</b>
<b>ABSTRACT</b> .....	<b>III</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b> .....	<b>IV</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b> .....	<b>V</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b> .....	<b>XIV</b>
<b>LIST OF APPENDICES</b> .....	<b>XVI</b>
<b>ACRONYMS</b> .....	<b>XVII</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<b>1 BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>1</b>
1.1 Introduction .....	1
1.2 Statement of problem.....	4
1.3 Justification for the research.....	6
1.4 Objective of the study.....	9
1.5 Significance of the Research .....	12
1.5.1 Theoretical Contribution.....	12
1.5.2 Practical Contribution.....	12
1.6 Scoping Literature .....	13
1.6.1 Tourism in LDCs and SIDS.....	13
1.6.2 Sustainable Tourism Development .....	17
1.6.3 Meaning of Tourism .....	19
1.6.4 Meaning of community .....	21
1.6.5 Community Tourism.....	22
1.6.6 Community Capitals .....	24
1.6.7 Community tourism in Zanzibar.....	27
1.7 Research Design .....	30
1.7.1 Case study approach .....	30
1.7.2 Ethical Considerations .....	30

1.7.3	Methodology.....	31
1.8	Scope of the study.....	31
1.9	Dissertation Structure .....	33
<b>CHAPTER TWO .....</b>		<b>33</b>
<b>TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN LDCS AND SIDS .....</b>		<b>33</b>
2.1	Introduction .....	33
2.2	Least Developed Countries.....	34
2.3	Tourism development in SIDS .....	37
2.4	Characteristics of Tourism in LDCs .....	45
2.4.1	Low volume:.....	52
2.4.2	Nature of tourism development .....	53
2.4.3	Trigger markets.....	55
2.4.4	Seasonality.....	56
2.5	The tourism system in LDCs .....	57
2.5.1	Demand considerations.....	59
2.5.2	Supply considerations:.....	60
2.6	Critical issues for tourism development in LDCs .....	61
2.7	Summary.....	68
<b>CHAPTER THREE .....</b>		<b>69</b>
<b>3 COMMUNITY TOURISM DEVELOPMENT .....</b>		<b>69</b>
3.1	Introduction .....	69
3.2	The Concept of Community Tourism .....	70
3.3	Rationale for the concept of community tourism .....	76
3.4.1	Ecotourism.....	81
3.4.2	Pro Poor Tourism.....	81
3.4.3	Rural Tourism .....	82
3.5	Community Tourism Planning.....	84
3.5.1	Collaboration and cooperation.....	87
3.5.2	Community Participation in Tourism .....	90
3.5.2.1	Typologies of community participation.....	93

3.6	Barriers to community participation in tourism planning .....	101
3.7	Barriers to CT Development in LDCs .....	103
3.8	Summary.....	104
<b>CHAPTER FOUR.....</b>		<b>106</b>
<b>4 MAINSTREAMING COMMUNITY CAPITAL IN COMMUNITY TOURISM.....</b>		<b>106</b>
4.1	Introduction .....	106
4.2	Understanding the Meaning of Community Capitals (CC).....	107
4.1.1	What is Community? .....	107
4.1.2	What is Community Capital? .....	113
4.1.2.1	Human Capital.....	115
4.1.2.2	Social Capital.....	117
4.1.2.3	Natural Capital.....	120
4.1.3	Political Capital .....	122
4.1.4	Built Capital.....	124
4.1.5	Cultural Capital.....	124
4.1.6	Financial Capital.....	127
4.1.7	Technological Capital .....	130
4.1.8	Knowledge Capital .....	130
4.2	The Role of Community Capital in Tourism Development.....	131
4.3	Signs of possession and dispossession of capital assets .....	136
4.4	Understanding the tourism system model .....	141
4.5	Development of a Conceptual Framework .....	143
4.5.1	Components of the Framework .....	145
4.5.2	Characteristics of the Framework.....	147
4.5.3	Plans supporting a framework .....	148
4.6	Summary of chapter.....	148
<b>CHAPTER FIVE.....</b>		<b>151</b>
<b>5 THE CASE AND CONTEXT .....</b>		<b>151</b>
5.1	Introduction .....	151

5.2	The Case Study Area Profiles .....	151
5.2.1	Zanzibar – a geographical perspective .....	151
5.2.2	Zanzibar – a socio-cultural perspective .....	153
5.2.3	Zanzibar – political and economic perspective .....	154
5.3	Zanzibar tourism – growth and development .....	161
5.3.1	The demand for tourism .....	163
5.3.1.1	Tourist arrivals .....	163
5.3.1.2	Market Segmentation.....	164
5.4	Tourism supply – evolution and patterns.....	166
5.4.1	Tourism accommodation and other enterprises .....	167
5.4.2	Transportation – Accessibility – Infrastructure .....	170
5.5	The consequences of tourism development.....	172
5.5.1	Economic consequences .....	172
5.5.2	Social consequences .....	176
5.6	The tourism planning & regulatory structure in Zanzibar.....	178
5.7	Towards community tourism in Zanzibar.....	183
	<b>CHAPTER SIX.....</b>	<b>186</b>
	<b>6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY .....</b>	<b>186</b>
6.1	Introduction .....	186
6.2	Research paradigms .....	186
6.2.1	Positivism .....	190
6.2.2	Post Positivism .....	191
6.2.3	Constructivism.....	192
6.2.4	Critical theory .....	193
6.3	The emic vs. etic approach to community tourism research .....	197
6.4	Research methods .....	201
6.4.1	Qualitative methods.....	201
6.4.2	Quantitative methods.....	206
6.4.3	Triangulation and a mixed approach justification .....	207
6.5	Secondary versus primary data.....	208



6.6	Sample design.....	210
6.7	Research process.....	213
6.8	Data Collection methods .....	215
6.8.1	Phase One: .....	215
6.8.1.1	Focus Groups .....	216
6.8.1.2	Interview .....	217
6.8.1.3	Observation.....	219
6.8.2	Phase two.....	219
6.8.2.1	Population and sampling .....	221
6.8.2.2	Questionnaire design, structure and administering.....	221
6.8.2.3	Pre-testing survey instrument and piloting the survey .....	222
6.9	Data Analysis and presentation.....	223
6.9.1	An analysis and presentation of qualitative data .....	223
6.9.2	Analysis and presentation of quantitative data .....	224
6.10	Methodological limitations.....	225
6.11	Ethical considerations.....	227
6.12	The credibility of the research .....	227
6.13	Summary.....	229
	<b>CHAPTER SEVEN .....</b>	<b>230</b>
	<b>7 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION .....</b>	<b>230</b>
7.1	Introduction .....	230
7.2	Phase one – Community tourism issues and assets based model .....	232
7.2.1	Part A: Developing an assets based community tourism model.....	234
7.2.1.1	Focus group discussions .....	234
7.2.1.2	Findings from stakeholder interviews .....	268
7.2.1.3	Summary of findings about Phase One A of research .....	279
7.2.1.4	The capitals based community tourism model .....	285
7.2.2	Part B: Refining the capital assets model .....	292
7.2.3	Summary of phase one .....	298
7.3	Phase Two: Confirming the capital asset model.....	299

7.3.1	Results and discussion .....	300
7.3.1.1	Background of the respondents .....	300
7.3.1.2	Respondents' perceptions on implementing the community tourism model.....	303
7.3.1.3	Potential of the community tourism model on Zanzibar .....	304
7.3.1.4	Alignment of community tourism model with government laws and policies.....	305
7.3.1.5	Capital asset possession amongst the respondents .....	307
7.3.1.6	Respondents perception on influence of capital assets to community tourism ....	308
7.3.1.7	Discussion of additional notes, comments and details from respondents .....	310
7.4	Summary.....	313
<b>CHAPTER EIGHT .....</b>		<b>315</b>
<b>8 CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH.....</b>		<b>315</b>
8.1	Introduction .....	315
8.2	Research Approach .....	318
8.3	Review of research findings .....	319
8.3.1	Potential of and obstacles to tourism for local people in LDCs (Research Objective 1) 319	
8.3.2	Potential of capitals assets for tourism development (Research objective 2) .....	321
8.3.3	Property rights to secure natural assets (Research objective 1) .....	326
8.3.4	The need for a comprehensive planning and management Strategy (Research Objective 1).....	327
8.3.6	Local communities view on the capital assets model (Research objective 3) .....	330
8.4	Implementation of the capital asset model .....	331
8.5	Contribution of the study .....	333
8.5.1	Contribution to Knowledge and methodologies .....	333
8.4.2	Contribution to Policy .....	335
8.6	Recommendations .....	336
8.7	Further Research.....	338
8.8	Study Limitations .....	339
8.9	Lessons learned from doing research .....	341
8.10	Dissemination of the research results .....	341

Concluding remarks .....	341
<b>REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>342</b>
<b>APPENDICES.....</b>	<b>391</b>

## LIST OF TABLES

<b>Table 1.1:</b> Summary of thesis.....	11
<b>Table 1.2:</b> Percentage share of international tourist arrivals by region 1960-2010.....	14
<b>Table 1.3:</b> Countries ranked by contribution of tourism economy to GDP.....	15
<b>Table 1.4:</b> Typology of community capitals.....	26
<b>Table 1.5:</b> Growth of Tourism in East African: 2000-2010.....	27
<b>Table 1.6:</b> Tourism in Zanzibar: indicators (2010).....	28
<b>Table 1.7:</b> Zanzibar International arrivals 1985-2008.....	29
<b>Table 2.1:</b> List of Developed Countries and LDCs with highest HDI.....	36
<b>Table 2.2:</b> Small Island Developing States.....	38
<b>Table 2.3:</b> Categories of Small Island Tourism Destinations.....	42
<b>Table 2.4:</b> The economic vulnerabilities of SIDS.....	44
<b>Table 2.5:</b> International Tourists Arrivals and Receipts.....	47
<b>Table 2.6:</b> Comparing international and domestic tourism statistics in selected countries.....	48
<b>Table 2.7:</b> The importance of tourism in developing countries.....	50
<b>Table 3.1:</b> Characteristics of community tourism.....	74
<b>Table 3.2:</b> Characteristics of mass vs. alternative tourism.....	80
<b>Table 3.3:</b> A Collaborative Process for Community-Based Tourism Planning.....	89
<b>Table 3.4:</b> Impediments to local participation in tourism planning.....	93
<b>Table 3.5:</b> Arnstein's typology of community participation.....	95
<b>Table 3.6:</b> Petty's Typology of community participation.....	96
<b>Table 3.7:</b> Tosun's Normative Typologies of community participation in tourism.....	98
<b>Table 3.8:</b> Summary of community participation in tourism development.....	100
<b>Table 3.9:</b> Barriers to community participation in tourism development.....	102
<b>Table 3.10:</b> Barriers to implementing community tourism in LDCs.....	104
<b>Table 4.1:</b> Classes of destination communities.....	109
<b>Table 4.2:</b> Framework for identifying capital possession & dispossession on local communities .....	137

<b>Table 5.1:</b> Zanzibar: selected development indicators .....	157
<b>Table 5.2:</b> Agricultural GDP growth rates vs. other sectors 2002-07.....	158
<b>Table 5.3:</b> Number of people living below the Food and Basic Needs Poverty lines .....	159
<b>Table 5.4:</b> Adult Literacy Rates (Zanzibar, Pemba and Unguja).....	160
<b>Table 5.5:</b> Import, Export and Balance of Trade, 2002-2007 (Tanzanian shillings) .....	161
<b>Table 5.6:</b> International Arrivals (as a % of all arrivals in URT) .....	163
<b>Table 5.7:</b> Hotel Grading in Zanzibar.....	165
<b>Table 5.8:</b> Expenditure and Length of Stay for tourists visiting Zanzibar, 2009.....	166
<b>Table 5.9:</b> Recent Development in the Road Sector.....	171
<b>Table 5.10:</b> Employment in Hotel Sector .....	174
<b>Table 6.1: Table of research paradigm</b> .....	189
<b>Table 6.2:</b> Types of sampling frame .....	212
<b>Table 6.3: Location of focus group interviews</b> .....	216
<b>Table 7.1:</b> Phase One respondents.....	233
<b>Table 7.2:</b> Interests/work of focus group participants .....	236
<b>Table 7.3:</b> Sub-themes emerged from focus groups discussion (Groups members = 21) .....	267
<b>Table 7.4:</b> A Summary of ZCT Budget Allocation in Tanzania shillings .....	270
<b>Table 7.5:</b> Issues regarding community tourism in Zanzibar .....	280
<b>Table 7.6:</b> Current status of capital assets in Zanzibar- based on indicators provided in Chapter 4.....	281
<b>Table 7.7:</b> Ddistribution of education of participants.....	301
<b>Table 7.8:</b> Mean of capitals influencing community tourism in Zanzibar .....	308
<b>Table 8.1:</b> Summary of findings for research objectives .....	316

## LIST OF FIGURES

<b>Figure 1.1:</b> Tourism System Model.....	21
<b>Figure 1.2:</b> Scope of the study .....	32
<b>Figure 2.1:</b> The Tourism Development Path in LDCs.....	54
<b>Figure 2.2:</b> The tourism system in LDCs .....	58
<b>Figure 3.1:</b> Rationale for community tourism.....	76
<b>Figure 3.2:</b> Relationship between Mass Tourism, Alternative Tourism and Community Tourism .....	79
<b>Figure 3.3:</b> Structure of agritourism.....	83
<b>Figure 3.4:</b> PIC planning.....	86
<b>Figure 4.1:</b> Multiple functions of destination communities in tourism development .....	110
<b>Figure 4.2:</b> Ashley’s Livelihood Framework (simplified version).....	114
<b>Figure 4.3:</b> Role of cultural (art) capital in community development.....	127
<b>Figure 4.4:</b> Generalized and simplified hierarchy of financial institutions.....	129
<b>Figure 4.5:</b> The interaction between forms of capital & production of tourism services.....	135
<b>Figure 4.6:</b> Tourism system model for community tourism.....	143
<b>Figure 4.7:</b> Community tourism system at destination .....	145
<b>Figure 5.1:</b> per capita GDP, Zanzibar: 2002-2007 .....	159
<b>Figure 6.1:</b> Epistemological assumptions for qualitative research.....	188
<b>Figure 6.2:</b> Paradigm continuum.....	192
<b>Figure 6.3:</b> Research main stages.....	194
<b>Figure 7.1:</b> Structure of the Phase One .....	232
<b>Figure 7.2:</b> Simplified diagram of capital assets-based community model .....	283
<b>Figure 7.3:</b> A Proposed Model for Community Tourism in Zanzibar .....	286
<b>Figure 7.4:</b> Refined capital asset model for community tourism .....	297
<b>Figure 7.5:</b> Age of respondents .....	300
<b>Figure 7.6:</b> Respondents’ area of residence.....	301
<b>Figure 7.7:</b> Respondents’ marital status .....	302

<b>Figure 7.8:</b> Occupation of respondents .....	302
<b>Figure 7.9:</b> Respondents perception on implementation of community tourism model .....	303
<b>Figure 7.10:</b> Respondents' perception on potential of community tourism model .....	305
<b>Figure 7.11:</b> Respondents' perception on alignment of model -Tourism Laws & Acts.....	306

## **LIST OF APPENDICES**

Appendix 1:..Survey questionnaire

Appendix 2:..Guide for focus group discussion and schedule

Appendix 3:..Guides for stakeholders interviews



## ACRONYMS

BIZANJE	Biashara za Nje (Foreign Trade)
CC	Cultural Capital
DFID	Department for International Development-UK
FC	Financial Capital
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FG	Focus Group
GDP	Gross Domestic Products
HC	human capital
HC	Human Capital
ISC	Informal social capital
KI	Key information interviews
LDCs.	Least Developed Countries
MIGA	Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency
MEMCA	Menai Bay Marine Conservation Area
MKUZA	Mkakati wa Uchumi wa Zanzibar (Zanzibar Growth Strategies)
MoFEA	Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs
NC	Natural Capital
NGO	Non Government Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PBZ	People Bank of Zanzibar
PC	Political capital
RGZ	Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar
SACCOS	Savings and Credit Co-operatives
SC	Social Capital
SIDS	Small Island Development State
SME	Small and Medium Enterprise
SNV	Stichting Nederlandse Vrijwilligers (Netherlands Development Organization)
STEP	Sustainable Tourism-Eliminating Poverty
SUZA	Shirika la Usafirishaji (Zanzibar Transport Cooperation)
TTB	Tanzania Tourist Board

UN	United Nations
UNWTO	United Nations - World Tourism Organisation
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
VSLA	Village Savings and Loan Associations
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development
WTO	World Tourism Organisation
WTTC	World Tourism and Travel Council
WWF	Worldwide Fund for Nature
ZATI	Zanzibar Association for Tourism Investors
ZATO	Zanzibar Association of Tour Operators
ZATOGA	Zanzibar Association for Tour Guides
ZCT	Zanzibar Commission for Tourism
ZECO	Zanzibar Electrical Corporation
ZIPA	Zanzibar Investment Promotion Authority

# CHAPTER ONE

## 1 Background and Introduction

### 1.1 Introduction

Over the last half century, tourism has grown remarkably and constantly in scope, scale and value. In 1950, for example, 25 million international tourist arrivals worldwide were recorded (Wood 1984). By the end of the 1990s, this figure had risen to almost 690 million and, since then (and despite a decline in international arrivals of some 4% in 2009 as a direct consequence of the global economic downturn), this growth has continued. In 2009, international arrivals totalled 880 million and, according to the UN World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO 2011), this figure was expected to increase by 6% in 2010 (UNWTO 2011). Thus, there seems little doubt that the UNWTO's forecast of 1.6 billion arrivals by 2020 will be met, if not exceeded (WTO 1998). At the same time, the so-called 'pleasure periphery' of tourism (Din 1997) has also expanded dramatically. Although Europe continues to attract the highest proportion of international visitors, many new destinations, particularly a number of least developed countries (LDCs), have enjoyed rapid growth in their tourism sectors and, by 2005, 71 countries made up what Sharpley (2009: xiv) refers to as the '1 million club' (that is, destinations annually receiving more than one million international tourists). Moreover, commensurate with its growth in scale, the economic value of tourism has also increased dramatically; from a base figure of US\$ 2.1 billion in 1950, international tourist receipts amounted to US\$473 billion in 2000, reached US\$852 billion in 2009 (UNWTO 2011a) and are forecast to reach US\$2 trillion by 2020 (WTO 1998).

Of course, this rapid growth in tourism since the 1960s has attracted increasing and, perhaps, inevitable criticism (Bianchi 2002; Kneafsey 2001; Winter & Martin 2004). Academic attention has long focused on the perceived negative consequences of tourism development (de Kadt 1979; Wall & Mathieson 2006; Young 1973), consequences which have also not been immune from journalistic scrutiny (Croall 1995; Hickman 2007). Nevertheless, many countries, in particular LDCs, have continued to pursue tourism as a development strategy (Trousdale & Gental 1998; Wade 2003). Indeed, as Jenkins (1991) noted some two decades ago, tourism has become an integral element of national

development policy in many LDCs and, for most, it has become their most significant economic sector. In fact, the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) identifies more than thirty LDCs where the tourism sector, though small by international standards, contributes over 20% of GDP. The reason for this might simply be that tourism has been frequently referred to as ‘the world’s largest industry’, enticing many, if not all, countries to ‘jump on the ‘bandwagon’ of tourism (Sharpley & Telfer 2002: 1), although, in reality, for many countries tourism is an option of ‘last resort’ (Lepp 2007; Timothy 2002). In other words, for some LDCs, alternative development opportunities do not exist.

Either way, according to the World Bank (WTO 2010), all LDCs currently implementing poverty reduction strategies cite tourism as one of most common options for economic growth, employment and poverty reduction whilst, more generally, there can be little doubt about the extent to which tourism is exploited and depended upon as an agent of socio-economic development (Reid 2003; Shaw & Williams 1994; Scheyvens 2007). What is less certain, however, is the extent to which tourism does in fact act as a catalyst of socio-economic development in destinations (Miller 2001; Pye et al. 1983). In other words, it is perhaps surprising that, although in both academic theory and practice there has been widespread representation of tourism as an effective means of achieving development, relatively little attention has been given to a critical examination the inherent processes, influences, objectives and outcomes of tourism related development (Sharpley & Telfer 2002: 1). Furthermore, as Sharpley & Telfer (2002: 2) argue, the developmental role of tourism should not be celebrated without an understanding of how development is defined and the processes by which it might be achieved.

Within this broader context, this thesis is principally concerned with assessing the perceived adequacy and viability of community tourism as a specific approach to tourism development, particularly in LDCs. More specifically, it critically explores the opportunities and challenges facing the development of community tourism in Zanzibar, a destination that over the last twenty-five years has enjoyed an apparently healthy growth in its tourism sector yet, as will be argued in this thesis, one that according to established indicators has evidently experienced limited socio-economic development as a direct consequence of this growth in tourism. In so doing, the thesis seeks to establish a model for the successful implementation of community tourism in the context of LDCs more generally.

The focus of this thesis is justified by the fact that, on the one hand, the concept of community tourism has not only long been proposed within the academic literature as an appropriate and effective means of enhancing the developmental benefits of tourism for local destination communities in general and as an essential ingredient of sustainable tourism development in particular (Gannon 1994; Greenwood 2006; Walpole & Goodwin 2001), but also increasing attention is being paid to it in practice (Richards & Hall 2000; Simmons 1994). For example, many international tourism organizations, including UNESCO, promote local people in the community as the centre or heart of tourism development (Lankford 1994; Manayara & Jones 2007; Wall & Mathieson 2006), whilst Pearce and Moscardo (1999) point out that the concept of tourism community relationship is frequently cited in research planning documents and often given priority status in the list of global, national and local tourism research agendas. Additionally, the tourism-community relationship was one of the nineteen major tourism issues that emerged from the discussions of an expert panel in the area of tourism development (Dann 1999; Hardy & Beeton 2001; Scheyvens 2002).

On the other hand, promoting or supporting the concept of local community involvement in contemporary tourism alone provides an incomplete picture of the complexity of the phenomenon, in particular because it is becoming increasingly recognized that local communities often lack important elements or capabilities that would enable them to take an active role in tourism development (Cuthill 2002; De Lopez 2001; Deroi 1991). In other words, whilst it is widely accepted that community involvement in tourism is both desirable and necessary (Cater 2006; Dei, 2000; Timothy 2002), understanding and knowledge of how this might be 'operationalised' is more limited (Ap 1992; Cater 2006; Dei 2000). Thus, as Pearce and Moscardo (1999) have highlighted, research into community tourism is central to the future of tourism development; that is, there is undoubtedly a need for community-oriented tourism research that can result in the successful practice of community tourism, especially in LDCs.

In short, while the need for a holistic and community tourism approach to strategy formulation and planning for sustainable tourism has been emphasized (Berry & Ladkin 1997; Tosun 2000), the task of practicing or implementing (community based)

sustainable tourism remains formidable (Din 1993). Therefore, although the concept of community tourism is widely considered in the literature, it remains beset with many questions which justify research attention. The purpose of this first chapter is to present the reasons for conducting this thesis, the justification for the research, its aims and objectives, and an introduction to the relevant literature, the research design and methodology as well as the structure and organisation of the thesis.

## **1.2 Statement of problem**

Tourism is perceived as one of the world's fastest growing service sectors and a major source of economic development and environmental and cultural conservation for many, if not all, developing countries (Richards & Hall 2000; Scheyvens 2007; Sheehan & Ritchie 2005). This remarkable tourism growth is due, in large part, to continuous adjustments in tourism plans/policies that are taking place both in advanced countries (tourism generating countries) and developing countries (receiving destinations) (Sharpley & Sharpley 1997; Scheyvens 2007; Hunter 1995; Inglehart et al. 2008). Furthermore, bilateral treaties have strengthened tourism development, especially in developing countries (OECD 2007; UNWTO 2008). However, the classical approach to tourism development has obstructed both the growth of tourism and tourism-related developmental benefits in many LDCs (Jones & Haven-Tang 2005). In other words, tourism development has typically been considered within a classical development framework espousing a traditional 'top down', economic growth-based approach in which most important factors are government agencies and investment from large tourism operators (this is considered in more detail in Chapters Two and Four). However, the classical development approach has been challenged on the ground that it has not been able to encompass the overall factors affecting tourism development in LDCs, principally because destination communities as key stakeholders in tourism development tend to be excluded (Goulet 1995; Freitag 1994; Jamal & Getz 1995; Liu 2003; Meyer 1994). Thus, tourism in LDCs has in many cases failed to meet the aspirations of the host rural and marginalized communities (Harrison & Schipani 2007; Lafferty & Van Fossen 2001).

As a response to the perceived failure of 'traditional' tourism development to contribute to wider socio-economic development, community tourism has long been proposed as a more appropriate means of delivering socio-economic benefits to host communities

(Durbarry 2004; Fennel & Weaver 1997; Fredline & Faulkner 2000; Sharpley & Sharpley 1997). Indeed, community tourism is increasingly seen as an effective tool for engaging destination communities in tourism development in the advanced / developed countries (Muller 1994; Murphy 1985; Nyaunape et al 2006; Scheyvens & Momsen 2008). However, many would claim that it has failed to deliver in many LDCs, such as Tanzania and Zanzibar (Getz & Jamal 1994; Tosun 1998; Woodley 1993). Certainly, the concept of community tourism has been developed and refined as a means of contributing towards sustainable tourism development (Mowforth & Munt 1998; Richards & Hall 2000; Roberts & Hall (2001), but its applicability to LDCs in general, and Zanzibar in particular, seems not to have been considered in detail (Kitwana 2000; Narman 2007).

More specifically, although a number of commentators suggest that the adoption of community tourism is fundamental to sustainable tourism development in LDCs (Clarke 1997; Dieke 1992; Godfrey & Clarke 2000; Reid 2003; Scheyvens 2002), no robust, theoretically-informed model of the processes of community tourism has been developed to support such an assertion. Thus, although scholars have explored community tourism issues in Zanzibar, (for example Kitwana 2000; Narman 2007), they have mainly focused on community involvement in the economic benefits of tourism, but have not yet considered the complexity of applying the concept. As a consequence, there remains a much needed and important discussion to be held on the implementation of community tourism in Zanzibar as an exemplar for community tourism development in LDCs more generally. Therefore, this thesis contributes to this discussion by examining the challenges of, and the opportunities for, community tourism in Zanzibar.

The issue of whether community tourism can be effectively applied in Zanzibar remains uncertain. Numerous western-based templates or approaches have been proposed by practitioners (for example, Aref et al. 2009; Ashley 2000; Cater 2006; Tosun 1998; Yague 2002; Zeppel 2007) but even with these models, there is little or no evidence to support their success or whether they can be successfully applied to Zanzibar. Strictly speaking, the rate of implementation in LDCs is low in comparison to western countries such as United Kingdom (Narman 2007). This implies that universal, western-centric tourism models have failed to address critical issues, including the exploitation of different capitals surrounding the local destination communities in LDCs.

As noted above, a growing literature is now emerging on community tourism in Zanzibar (Kitwana 2000) and in LDCs more generally (Altinay et al. 2007; Kakazu 1994; Kibicho 2008; Tosun & Timothy 2003; Tosun 2006), though it remains fragmented and limited. In particular, there is a need for more research to determine the capitals that destination communities require (Sharpley 2009), or should acquire, in order to be able to exploit fully the developmental opportunities presented by community tourism. This reflects the fact that, in both academic and policy circles, there has been a failure to conceptualize a community's capitals for tourism opportunities (Kakazu 1994; Makki 2004) and, therefore, this is considered one of the key challenges facing the actualization of community tourism (Ashley et al. 2000; Ashley 2006; Gezici 2006). Sharpley (2009) concurs, observing that many of the required capitals that destination communities require may be seen as socio-political in nature; he goes on to note that, although there is evidence of specific capitals gaps, the extent to which they currently exist and interconnected are not clear and, thus, warrant further research.

### **1.3 Justification for the research**

Research into the tourism-community relationship first emerged in the early 1980s (Murphy 1985). However, in more recent years, increasing attention has been paid to the development process of community tourism as it has evolved as a major theme within contemporary tourism research (Hampton 2003; Nelson & Agrawal 2008; Skof 2008; Torres & Momsen 2004; Tosun & Timothy 2003; Tosun 2000). As discussed previously, the community tourism process and operational models have become a fundamental topic within the broader study of tourism development in LDCs (Hill et al. 2004; Kweka et al. 2001; Mitchell & Ashley 2010; Mbaiwa 2005), and several researchers, such as Goldman (2003), Harrison and Schipani (2007) and Kakazu (1994) have argued that traditional tourism planning and management theories and templates cannot explain the implementation process of community tourism in most, if not all, LDCs. Thus, different countries seem to follow very different implementation patterns (Gunn & Var 2002; Sharpley 2009; Yague 2002). Indeed, it has been suggested that, to better understand community tourism strategies and whether they are country specific, tourism researchers should be more focused on specific regions or countries (Sumich 2002; Tosun 2000, 2006).



Perhaps as a consequence, much extant research on the tourism-community relationship focuses on individual countries or regions. For instance, research by Li (2004) and Li *et al.* (2007) explores community tourism in China, whereas other work has been undertaken in the context of Europe (Tosun 1998a, 1998b; Lee 2003) or more broadly in 'Third World' countries (Li 2006; Mbaiwa, 2008; Mowforth & Munt 1998). Importantly, this research has revealed that, in several countries, specific peculiarities or approaches in the development and implementation process of community tourism is in evidence in the individual countries studied (Kibicho 2008; Mazura & Stakhanovb 2008; Nkwame 2008). At the same time, however, similarities with findings of earlier research into the tourism-community relationship have also emerged (Gossling 2001; Hill et al. 2004). Though western nations differ from developing countries in a number of important aspects (for example, good governance and institutional frameworks), Tosun (2006) argues that western-based community tourism development models can be also relevant to LDCs. Regardless of this, however, it is still unclear whether the approach used for developing community tourism in developed countries can be also be applied in LDCs.

As Dieke (2000) argues the variation in the theoretical tourism development continuum ranges from the developed countries to the LDCs. Within this spectrum of tourism development, developed countries have a well established tourism industry (Dieke 1992; Gannon 1994), whereas developing countries, for one reason or another, have limited tourism development but, by comparison, have considerable potential for future tourism development (Blackenbury 1993; Telfer 2009; Yoon et al. 2001). In other words, the nature of community participation in developing countries differs considerably from those in developed countries. In the latter, destination communities has already become involved (Honey 2008; Lepp 2007; Mason 2003; Reid 2003) and most communities' concerns are with how to minimize further tourism resource destruction and how resources can be most efficiently used (Ateljevic & Deroi 2004; Hall 2000; Hardy et al 2002). But in the former, local communities have not been fully involved in tourism development (Gebremedhin & Theron 2007; Goldman 2003; Richter 2001). Therefore, what is at stake in developing countries is not only the use of tourism resources (Fabricius et al 2004; Homewood, et al. 2009), but also the very process of community involvement in tourism development (Diamantis 2000; Dieke 2000; Emerton 2001). What should be considered when dealing with application of community based tourism in LDCs is the fact that many of these countries differ significantly in terms of their

political, environmental, economic and socio-cultural situations. Thus, there should not be just one way of implementing community tourism because, simply stated, local differences matter. In other words, given the often different contexts in LDCs, a Western-centric community tourism development model is not always appropriate.

Nelson and Agrawal (2008) suggest that a number of factors may influence or dictate the extent to which tourism in general, and community tourism in particular, may be successfully implemented in Sub Saharan Africa (most of countries located in this region are economically categorized as LDCs). They argue that it is more useful or relevant for tourism researchers to first put more emphasis on the different factors that influence the process of how the community may be involved in tourism development in LDCs, before attempting to generalize implementation templates across all countries. In other words, despite the evident rapid pace of investment in community tourism (Ashley & Garland 1994), the development of theoretical understandings of community tourism processes remains limited (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008; Okazaki 2008; Mbaiwa 2005; Dei 2000). While there is no argument that local participation is a key concept in the tourism-community relationship literature (Poteet 2009; Rohe 2004), there are clearly important factors which may represent obstacles to the implementation of community tourism in the LDCs.

In short, to date no conceptual model has been developed with respect to community tourism in LDCs, and nor has empirical research been undertaken into how LDCs should address the challenges of implementing community tourism. Such a gap in the literature points immediately to the necessity of examining the entire development chain of community tourism in LDCs. This is the central theme of this thesis. Where comprehensive studies of community tourism have been undertaken (Tosun 2000; Li 2004; Hatton 2002, Mitchell & Reid 2001; Timothy 1999), very few have been built upon knowledge and understanding of tourism development in LDCs (McCool, Moisey & Nickerson 2001). Moreover, it is recognized that there remain gaps that still need to be addressed within community tourism research. Li (2009), for example, recommends that more studies on community tourism should be undertaken which pay attention to the specific factors / characteristics of countries with regard to implementation of community tourism, thus contributing the general theory of the tourism-community relationship.

Thus, following the call made by Li (2009), this thesis aims to address a number of questions that remain unanswered, questions that are of direct relevance to the implementation of community tourism. Four questions in particular guide this research:

- 1 Why and how has community tourism in LDCs been implemented?
- 2 Have these implementation strategies varied from those proposed by traditional community tourism theories? If so how?
- 3 What have been the factors that have represented obstacles to these implementation strategies?
- 4 How are different forms of capitals interconnected within the context of destination communities and how may they be exploited to enhance community tourism development in LDCs?

#### **1.4 Objective of the study**

This thesis combines the study of the separate fields of tourism and community capitals into one interdisciplinary study, addressing demands by researchers for more interdisciplinary approaches to community tourism research (Ellis 2000; Li 2009). It aims to make a contribution to the development of a more holistic and comprehensive implementation mode that would facilitate the operation of community tourism in Zanzibar, thereby providing a mode for the development of community tourism in LDCs more generally. The conceptual framework developed for this purpose will draw on and extend the work of researchers who have developed similar frameworks, such as DFID's (1999) work on livelihood strategies (see Figure 4.2, p. 115), Sharpley's (2009) concept of destination capitals (the concept of capital is addressed in Chapter Four), the sustainable livelihood framework for tourism developed by Shen *et al.* (2000), and the five capital model ([www.forumforthefuture.org](http://www.forumforthefuture.org)). The overall purpose of this thesis is to develop a conceptual model for community tourism. That is, the intended outcome of this thesis is a conceptual model that might act as a blueprint for the implementation of community based tourism in Zanzibar; it is not the purpose of this thesis to test the model. More specially, this thesis aims to:

- 1 Explore and analyze community tourism practice in LDCs and Zanzibar in particular in order to identify key issues for its implementation.

- 2 Develop a conceptual model for community tourism based on the theory of community capitals.
- 3 Examine the general views of local communities toward the [proposed] capital asset model and to found out the appropriateness of the model for actualizing community tourism in Zanzibar.

<b>Guiding questions (section 1.3)</b>	<b>Research Objectives (section 1.4)</b>	<b>Data Collection</b>	<b>Expected outcomes</b>
Why and how has community tourism in LDCs been implemented?	1 Explore and analyze community tourism practice in LDCs and Zanzibar in particular in order to identify key issues for its implementation.	Secondary research (literature review: community participation, tourism planning, community empowerment) complemented by a stakeholder interviews. <b>(See Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7.)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Develop an initial understanding of the community tourism concept as applied to LDCs from both leaders and local people perspectives</li> <li>● Determine if community tourism is a future priority for the LDCs</li> </ul>
Have these implementation strategies varied from those proposed by traditional community tourism theories? If so how?	1 Explore and analyze community tourism practice in LDCs and Zanzibar in particular in order to identify key issues for its implementation.	Secondary research complemented by qualitative information from focus groups discussion, and stakeholder interviews, and participant observation. <b>(See Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7.)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Identify if strategies applied are viable for implementing community tourism in LDCs and Zanzibar</li> </ul>
What have been the factors that have represented obstacles to these implementation strategies?	1 Explore and analyze community tourism practice in LDCs and Zanzibar in particular in order to identify key issues for its implementation.	Secondary research complemented by information from focus group discussion, stakeholder's interviews and participants observations <b>(See Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7.)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Identify factors that represent obstacles to implementation of community tourism in LDCs and Zanzibar</li> </ul>
How are different forms of capitals interconnected within the context of destination communities and how may they be exploited to enhance community tourism development?	2 Develop a conceptual model for community tourism based on the theory of community capitals 3 Examine the general views of local communities toward the model and to found out the appropriateness of the model for actualizing community tourism in Zanzibar	Secondary research complemented by a tourist survey and strategic conversations. <b>(See Chapters 2, 3 4, 5, 6 and 7.)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Develop a conceptual model that serves as a blueprint for implementation of community in Zanzibar</li> </ul>

**Table 1.1:** Summary of thesis.

## **1.5 Significance of the Research**

The contributions of this study are twofold: it makes both a theoretical and a practical contribution.

### ***1.5.1 Theoretical Contribution***

The research on tourism and capitals in the context of communities provides a fertile picture of the capabilities of LDCs to practice community tourism. It identifies the need to include the concept of ‘capitals’ in rural policies for socio-economic development and it suggests ways in which community tourism might be operated in recognition of factors that are different to those espoused by the traditional tourism theories (Fadahunsi 2000; Gartner 2008). This research, therefore, contributes to developing a deeper theoretical understanding of the importance of mainstreaming community capitals in sustaining and developing small and medium tourism enterprises (hereafter referred to as the community tourism product), developing the appropriate conditions for practicing community tourism in LDCs and, hence, contributing to regional and national economic development. The study also develops a more complete understanding of the capitals that underlie community tourism implementation.

### ***1.5.2 Practical Contribution***

In LDCs, community tourism is typically linked to rural economic development (Clark 1997; Dieke 1992; Gossling & Mattsson 2002) and, therefore, all strategies that lead to an improvement in community tourism performance may be seen as contributing to an improvement in rural community livelihoods (Francis 2000; Goodwin 2006; Gössling 2006). Thus, it may be argued that new research is needed and new frameworks should be developed to provide enhanced strategies for practicing community tourism and, hence, improving rural livelihoods in LDCs (Gössling 2001; Hampton 2003; Hanjra et al. 2009). The conceptual framework that is developed in this study provides a tool for analyzing the implementation strategies for community tourism in Zanzibar and the factors that may influence these strategies. Furthermore, the framework also serves as a model for community tourism in other developing countries.

## **1.6 Scoping Literature**

The objective of this introductory literature review is to contribute towards a clearer understanding of the nature and meaning of the problem that this thesis addresses. Though a more detailed review is provided in subsequent chapters, there is a need for a thorough background knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon under review in order to conduct the research successfully (Strauss & Corbin 1998; Yuksel et al. 1999). Therefore, an initial review of the literature is essential as it provides a more deeply informed insight into the dimensions and complexities of the problem. It also equips the researcher with a complete and thorough validation for the subsequent steps, as well as demonstrating the underlying assumptions behind the general research questions. Finally, it facilitates the refining and redefinition the research questions. Thus, sections 1.6.1 to 1.6.8 below provide a brief overview and meaning of the terms and concepts that will be critically explored in more detail in Chapter 2 and beyond.

### **1.6.1 Tourism in LDCs and SIDS**

Globally, tourism has become a significant source of foreign exchange earnings for many countries, not least for many LDCs and so-called small island developing states (SIDS) (Armstrong & Read 1998, 2006; Ashe 2005; Baldacchino 2006). It should be noted, of course, that SIDS are, by definition, a sub-group of the 160 or so countries that, by a variety of indicators, are collectively characterized as ‘developing’ or ‘less developed’ (Potter *et al* 1999; Tosun 2001) (see Chapter 2 for more detail). Equally, those countries or states defined as ‘least developed’ – that is, the 49 countries (including Tanzania/Zanzibar) that are formally recognized by the United Nations as facing major obstacles in achieving even limited development (UN, 2010) – also comprise a subgroup of LDCs more generally. Therefore, for convenience and in recognition of the uniqueness and specific challenges facing SIDS, particularly as tourist destinations, the terms LDC and SIDS are both used in this thesis, sometimes interchangeably.

According to the United Nation World Tourism Organization (UNWTO 2009), the average annual growth in tourism receipts for LDCs has been somewhat faster than the growth in their international tourist arrivals, particularly from the year 2000, whilst more generally the growth of tourism in the less developed regions of the world has

outstripped that in developed countries (UNWTO 2009), For example, the Middle East and Asia-Pacific regions have significantly increased their share of global tourist arrivals and receipts, enjoying much higher growth rates than elsewhere, whilst, in recent years, certain least developed countries, including Tanzania, have enjoyed the world's highest rates of growth in tourist arrivals (see Table 1-1).

**Table 1.2:** Percentage share of international tourist arrivals by region 1960-2010

	<b>Africa</b>	<b>Americas</b>	<b>EAP</b>	<b>S. Asia</b>	<b>Europe</b>	<b>M. East</b>
<b>1960</b>	1.1	24.1	1.1	0.3	72.6	0.9
<b>1970</b>	1.5	25.5	3.2	0.6	68.2	1.1
<b>1980</b>	2.6	21.6	7.4	0.8	65.6	2.1
<b>1990</b>	3.3	20.4	12.0	0.7	61.6	2.2
<b>1995</b>	3.6	19.8	14.8	0.8	58.6	2.5
<b>2000</b>	4.0	18.6	15.9	0.9	57.1	3.5
<b>2005</b>	4.6	16.6	18.2	1.0	54.8	4.7
<b>2006</b>	4.9	16.0	18.6	1.1	54.6	4.8
<b>2007</b>	4.9	15.8	19.3	1.1	53.6	5.3
<b>2008</b>	4.9	16.1	19.0	1.1	52.9	6.0
<b>2009</b>	5.2	15.9	19.4	1.1	52.3	6.0
<b>2010</b>	5.2	16.2	20.6	1.2	50.4	6.4

**Source:** adapted from UNWTO (2008; 2011)

This trend bears witness to the comparative advantage that LDCs and SIDS enjoy within the global tourism market compared to the so-called advanced tourism destinations (Baker 2007; Bishop 2010). This sharp growth in tourism receipts in LDCs/SIDS is also evidence, of course, of the attractiveness of (and increasing dependence upon) the tourism industry as an immediate source of income and foreign exchange earnings (Kakazu 1994; Lockhart & Drakakis 1997). For example, in 2006 the overall contribution of tourism to the economy of The Maldives was 66.6% of gross domestic product (GDP) whilst in Vanuatu, the same year, the tourism sector contributed 47.0% to GDP and 73.7% to total export earnings (WTTC 2006). In the case of Zanzibar Island, the tourism sector accounts for some 25% of GDP (MoFEA) and, remarkably, some 80% of government revenues. Interestingly, the 'top' 25 destinations in terms of the contribution of the tourism economy to GDP are all islands, the great majority of which can be considered SIDS (see Table 1.3).



**Table 1.3:** Countries ranked by contribution of tourism economy to GDP

Rank	Country	% GDP	Rank	Country	% GDP
1	British Virgin Islands	95.2	14	St Vincent/ Gren's	34.1
2	Antigua & Barbuda	82.1	15	Other Oceania	32.1
3	Maldives	74.1	16	Virgin Islands	31.9
4	Anguilla	71.9	17	Mauritius	31.0
5	Macau	61.3	18	St Kitts & Nevis	30.0
6	Seychelles	56.7	19	Malta	28.5
7	Bahamas	56.0	20	Grenada	27.8
8	Aruba	54.5	21	Cyprus	27.6
9	Vanuatu	52.4	22	Kiribati	27.5
10	Barbados	52.2	23	Fiji	27.2
11	Saint Lucia	47.9	24	Guadeloupe	26.9
12	Cayman Islands	37.6	25	Dominican Rep.	25.5
13	Jamaica	36.0			

Source: WTTC (2006)

Other benefits of tourism for LDCs can be described in terms of employment (Butcher 2003; Chen 2000), economic linkages (Harrisson 1996; Mowforth & Munt 2003; Scheyvens 2002) and enhancing environment awareness (Kakazu 1994; Mazura & Stakhanovb 2008). There are now an increasing number of developing countries that have established dedicated tourism linkages programmes elaborating actions required to amplify links. India, for example, has harnessed tourism's direct and multiplier effects for community employment and poverty eradication (Least Developed Countries Report 2009). Broadly speaking, both LDCs and SIDS have made specific efforts to strengthen key linkages through their national development plans. Such efforts are (a) encouraging domestic ownership of the industry; (b) building domestic employment in the sector; and (c) promoting domestic supplies of goods and services (Least Developed Countries Report 2009).

As illustrated in Chapter 2, growing tourism levels in LDCs have stimulated increased tourism supply capacity and higher levels of investment in human capital (Arnhem 1997; Ekin 1992), infrastructure (Butler 1993) and technologies (Dessai & Potter 2002) to manage and efficiently transact higher levels of tourism activity (Butler 1993; Cawley et

al. 2002). While domestic resources are limited in LDCs (McCool & Moisey 2001; Sklair 1994), foreign direct investment, especially in infrastructure services, can help support and propel the tourism sector (Gössling 2001; Gwynne & Kay 1999). However, it is estimated that FDI inflows to LDCs tourism sector account for only around 10% of global FDI inflows (Dieke 1992; UNCTAD 2010). Nevertheless, the growing presence of foreign tourism investment in LDCs justifies the importance of domestic investment in the tourism sector (Least Developed Countries Report 2009). In many LDCs and SIDS, leakage remains a main challenge to be addressed. Research points to high levels of leakage in LDCs tourism sectors (WTO 2010a; WTO 2010b). For example, in The Gambia, large shares of tourist expenditure have been repatriated to developed countries from where multinational hotels, international tour operators and foreign airline companies originated, ‘with only 14 and 27 per cent of total tourism expenditures reaching the poor living in destination areas’ (UNCTAD 2010).

As will be explained in Chapter 3, in LDCs/SIDS, tourism may, in principle, also contribute to the improvement in wellbeing and social cohesion amongst the communities within the destination (Butler 1993; UNCTAD 2010; WTO 2010b). In other words, tourism has the potential to enhance development, peace and security in LDCs (Ashley et al 2006; Chang 2001; UNWTO 2005). However, the major implication of this growth of tourism for LDCs and SIDS is the challenge to sustainability (Becken & Hay 2007; Stonich 2000; Weaver & Lawton 2007). That is, on the one hand, tourism in LDCs and SIDS may act as a catalyst for economic growth and diversification; on the other hand, there exists a high risk of significant negative side effects (Graci & Dodds 2010; Hampton 2003) and vulnerability to external factors (Campbell 2009; Clawson 2000; Scheyvens and Momsen 2008; McElroy 2003). For instance, in the event of downturns in international tourism markets, such as those following the global economic crisis of 2008/9, or natural disasters, such as the Indian Ocean tsunami in December 2004, these tourism-dependent countries may suffer (Ashe 2005; Croes 2006; Kull 2002). Moreover, in those LDCs where culture, heritage and the environment are the main tourism assets (King 1993; Scheyvens & Momsen 2008), the most critical issue is maintaining a balance between economic development and well-being on the one hand, and cultural and environmental well-being on the other hand, reflecting what Telfer and Sharpley (2008) refer to as the ‘tourism development dilemma’.

## **1.6.2 Sustainable Tourism Development**

Following the global policies set forth to United Nations in 1987 (WCED 1987) and the subsequent Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro 1992, sustainability emerged as a key issue in development in general. From the late 1980s onwards, scholars such as Clarke (1997), Jope 1996; Liu (2003), and Sharpley (2009) also began to consider the implications of sustainable development for the tourism industry in particular and, since then, the concept has continued to come under increasing attention from both tourism theorists and practitioners (Choi & Sikaraya 2005; Johnston & Tyrell 2005; McCool & Moisey 2001; McIntyre 1993). Broadly speaking, the basic principles of sustainable development have received widespread acceptance as a desirable outcome of tourism development (McCool & Moisey 2001), as has been reflected in the proliferation of sustainable tourism development plans (HwanSuk & Sirakaya 2006; Mason 2003; Mason & Cheyne 2000), policy statements and guidelines (Briassoulis 2002; Mill and Morison 2006; Sharpley 2002; Telfer & Sharpley 2008).

The World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), for example, has addressed the importance of tourism and sustainable development within a variety of contexts and policies, most recently within its somewhat controversial (Gartner 2008; Johnson 2009; Nawjin *et al.* 2008) ST-EP – Sustainable Tourism-Eliminating Poverty – programme (UNWTO 2011), and it provides technical support to many countries to apply sustainable development principles in all of its tourism planning and development (WTO 1998). Similarly, at its special session to review the implementation of Agenda 21, the UN General Assembly noted the importance of tourism (Mathieson & Wall 1982; Mazura & Stakhanovb 2008) and, therefore, requested the development of an action plan specific to tourism development, whilst specific attention was paid to tourism in the Plan of Implementation at the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg in 2002:

*Promote sustainable tourism development, including non-consumptive and eco-tourism... in order to increase the benefits from tourism resources for the population in host communities while maintaining the cultural and environmental integrity of the host communities and enhancing the protection of ecologically sensitive areas and natural heritages. Promote sustainable tourism development and capacity-building in order to contribute to the strengthening of rural and local communities. (WSSD 2002: IV, Para 43).*

However, though much attention has been paid to the concept of sustainable development, both generally and in the specific context of tourism, it has proved difficult to define and operationalise (Mathieson & Wall 1982; Mowforth & Munt 2003; Okazaki 2008; Sharpley & Telfer 2002). As Harrison (1996: 72) states, ‘by combining development ... with sustainability ... we thus arrive at the doubly vague concept of sustainable development, only then to focus on one aspect of this dubious process – that of sustainable tourism’. Sustainable tourism has been variously described as the outcome and / or the process of tourism development (Beeton 2006; D’Hauteserre 2005; Mbaiwa 2008; Tosun 2000; Zeppel 2007). The lack of consensus on the meaning and application of sustainable development to tourism has led to the suggestion that ‘defining sustainable development in the context of tourism has become something of a cottage industry in the academic literature of late’ (Garrod & Fyall 1998: 199). In fact, the broad variety of proposed definitions of sustainable tourism development falls within two categories (Dei 2000; Diamantis 2000; Emerton 2001; Gössling 2002).

The first category includes those definitions which focus on sustainable tourism as an economic activity, and essentially adopt a parochial, tourism-centric perspective (Hunter 1995; Hardy et al. 2002; Greenwood 2006; Mbaiwa 2008); that is, they are concerned with the sustainability of tourism itself as an economic activity. Conversely, the second category of definitions comprises those which view tourism as an element of wider sustainable development policies (Brohman 1996; Honey 2008; Sharpley 2000; Yasarata et al 2009). Both approaches have merit, although the second most closely reflects both early (Cronin 1990) and contemporary conceptualizations of sustainable tourism development (for example, UNWTO 2011c). However, as Sharpley (2000) argues, both perspectives fail to build an effective theoretical link between the concept of sustainable development and the particular context of tourism. In other words, there appears to be little doubt that the concept of sustainable development should be applied to tourism (Yasarata et al 2009; Mowforth & Munt 2003; Shunnaq *et al.* 2008), for if tourism is to be utilized as a vehicle of social and economic development, then that development should be in accordance with contemporary principles and objectives of (sustainable) development (Burns et al. 2004; Mbaiwa 2005; Mitchell et al. 2009; Okazaki 2008).

Nevertheless, a number of fundamental questions about tourism's role in development in general and the validity of the concept of sustainable tourism in particular have not been fully addressed and, as Sharpley (2009) has recently suggested, not only has the sustainable tourism development debate reached something of an impasse but also the time has perhaps come when it is necessary to look 'beyond' the principles of sustainable development. The critical issues of sustainable tourism development in the context of LDCs are explored in more detail in Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis.

### **1.6.3 *Meaning of Tourism***

The term 'tourism' is variously defined (see Appendix 2). Indeed, it would appear that the growth and expansion of tourism has been paralleled by attempts to defining its meaning and nature (Hall 2000; Lepp 2007; Okello & Yerian 2009; Oyewole 2004). According to Hunt and Layne (1991), inconsistencies in the meaning and interpretation of tourism have existed since the early 19<sup>th</sup> Century and there is little doubt that such inconsistencies will continue as long as new tourism concepts and theories continue to emerge. Generally, however, it could be argued that each definition reflects the objectives and purposes of those proposing that definition (Branwell 2001; Cooper 2002; Cooper & Vargas 2004); thus, we witness different definitions for different purposes, from critiques of 'mass tourism' to support for 'pro-poor tourism' (see Chapter 3). According to Hunt and Layne (1991), more than 550 definitions of tourism have been proposed although all forms of tourism comprise three fundamental elements. These are people, place and time. 'People' represents the individual or groups who will choose to engage in tourism for particular purposes (Hunt and Layne 1991); 'place' represents both the geographical setting of tourism and the residence of those engaging in tourism (i.e. where tourists go to – destination countries – and where they come from – generating countries); and, time represents duration of travel (Hunt and Layne 1991). As a consequence, most of not all definitions of tourism refer, with greater or lesser emphasis, to these factors (Choi & Sikaraya 2005; Go & Jenkins 1997).

Having reviewed a substantial number of articles, reports and working papers, this study classified definitions of tourism into three groups, namely: conceptual, technical and holistic (Neto 2003; Pearce et al. 1996; Mowforth & Munt 2003; Lipman & Kester 2008). Conceptual definitions focus on the essential nature of tourism as a human / social activity (Gill & William 1994; Jafari 2001). Hunzieger and Krapf, as cited in

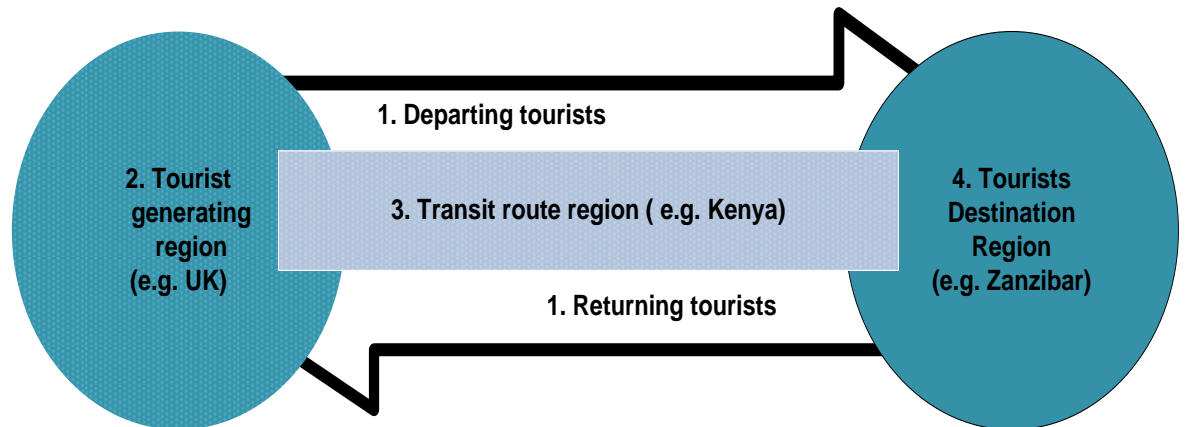
Burkhardt and Medlik (1997: 41), proposed one of the first conceptual definitions of tourism. They defined tourism as, 'a sum of relations and phenomena resulting from travel and stay of non residents, in so far as it does not lead to permanent residence and is not connected with any permanent or temporary earning activity.' Evidently, this definition gained wide acceptance, though it did not clearly define the purpose and length of stay (Lipman & Kester 2008; Neto 2003). Under the conceptual definitions, tourism is regarded as a composite phenomenon embracing the incidence of a mobile population of travelers who are strangers to the destinations they visit, and where they represent a distinct element from the residents and working population (Brown 1998). Sharpley (2009: 9) argues that 'tourism is one manifestation of mobility; the dramatic growth in the scope and scale of tourism reflects, or has contributed to, the increasing mobility of both people and the services (finance, information, communication and so on) that facilitate tourism'.

Unlike conceptual definitions, technical definitions provide typologies of tourists and constituents of tourism activity. Ogilvie (1933: 5-6) defined tourists as 'all persons who travel away from home for any period of less than a year and ...while they are away they spend money in the place they visit without earning it there'. The definition was refined in 1972 and, thus, a tourist was defined 'as a person staying in a locality situated outside his place of residence during minimum of 24 hours and a maximum of one year' (OECD 1974:7 cited in Leiper 1979). The most accepted technical definition of tourism is that derived by World Tourism Organisation (WTO, 1999). This definition is broad to extent that it includes the elements necessary to facilitate the collection of data and comparison between countries (Hunt & Layne, 1991). According to the WTO (2001), tourism comprises the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business, or other purposes. Tourism can also be defined by using system model (Gunn & Var 2002; Gunn 1994; Leiper 1990). Thus, it is very important to understand tourism as a system (Leiper 1995; Mill & Morrison 2006) (see Figure 1.1).

According to Leiper (1995), tourism is a systems framework which constitutes the tourists' generating region, the transit route region and the tourist destination region. Understanding the tourism system model is necessary as it helps to explore the multiplicity of forward and backward linkages into the destination community,

especially in the context their participation as detailed in the Chapter 4 of this study.

**Figure 1.1:** Tourism System Model



**Source:** Adapted from Leiper, 1995

Tourism as a system is ‘integrated not only into the private sector as businesses but as a service industry linked into more sectors of the economy than virtually any other area of economic activity’ (Sofield et al. 2004: 8). Considering tourism as a system, composed of a large number of inter-related businesses and support services, reveals the ways in which tourism could provide opportunities for poor sections of destination communities (Gunn & Var 2002; Solified & Bhandari 1998). As explained in Chapter 4, the system approach combined with complex capitals theory provides a dynamic framework for understanding how community tourism may function in LDCs (Ashley & Roe 2003; Ashley et al. 2001). That is, recognizing tourism as a system provides the basis for a much deeper analysis of community involvement in tourism and host-guest relationships (Faulkner & Russell 2003). Therefore, an holistic approach is considered the best way of defining tourism.

#### **1.6.4 Meaning of community**

Many, if not all, community tourism researchers address the meaning of the term community (Goodwin 1998; Igoe 2001; Swarbrooke, 1999; Tosun 2000; Mowforth & Munt 2003) and the determination of who participates and who benefits from community tourism to a large extent depends on how the concept is operationally defined (Emerton 2001; Hampton 2003; Harrill 2004; Honey 2008). The term ‘community’ has long been contested; many commentators perceive it as an objective

entity (Bhattacharyya 2004; Botes and van Rensburg 2000; Dei 2000) yet, as others argue, its conceptualization is subjective and culturally constructed (Beeton 2006; Mason, 2003; Meyer 1994). As Aref (2011) points out, for example, the term community is normally defined in favour of local elites and, therefore, bears little relationship to local concepts and structures. Nevertheless, community participation is widely considered a fundamental aspect or requirement of sustainable development (Dei 2000; Mowforth & Munt 2003; Tosun & Timothy, 2003). However, what constitutes community, in a tourism context, is still not clear and the need exists for further investigation (Ashley 2006; Harrison & Schipani 2007; Swarbrooke, 1999; Mason, 2003; Sharpley 2009).

For example, in those developing countries and LDCs where there are no tight immigration laws and regulations, tourism entrepreneurs within a community may not actually be part of that community (Brockington 2007; Chen, 2000; Kitwana 2000). They may be 'off-comers' who do not stem from the group itself, or they may be in some ways marginal, perhaps better equipped to profit from tourist enterprises (Kitwana 2000). This not only points to the relevance of a detailed understanding of the concept but also indicates the complexity of demarcating community and non-community members (Okazaki 2008; Scott 1992; Stone 1996). In this study, the term community will be fully considered in Chapters 3 and 4. Specifically, however, amongst the most important features of any community is heterogeneity (Jargowsky 1997; Logan & Rabrenovic 1990); that is, any community consists of many different groups of people and their interests tend to be different (Mason, 2003). Community heterogeneity has significant implications for the practice of community tourism, particularly the poor countries where, in some cases, heterogeneity is rooted from the destination/country's political system (Chaskin 1997). More generally, Swarbrooke (1999) indicates that community participation in tourism is a complicated subject because of various complex issues, including elite and democratic systems in the community. Moreover, vague definitions of the term community have, arguably, militated against the effective implementation of sustainable tourism.

### ***1.6.5 Community Tourism***

Community tourism has long been seen accepted as an effective approach for enhancing participation in tourism (Britton 1991; Murphy 1985; Mowforth & Munt 2003; Prentice



1993; Scheyvens 2002). As a result, a number of definitions exist and many commentators are eager to claim legitimacy of their definitions and models (Li 2004; Sharpley & Telfer 2002; Tosun 2000). Community tourism is a form of sustainable tourism development that is usually understood to be small scale (Ateljevic & Doorne 2004; Richards & Hall 2000), destination focused development in which the community has primary control over decision-making and profit (Sharpley & Telfer 2002; Scheyvens 2002; Timothy & Tosun 2003). The concept of community tourism originated in developed countries, especially Greece, Italy, England and Canada (Li 2004; Scheyvens 2002; Murphy 1985) and, in these countries, tourism in rural areas is managed and driven to a large extent by the people themselves through the practice of their cultural activities.

Community tourism essentially refers to the construction and management of tourism destinations from the perspective of the local community, with objective of empowering members of that community (Ashley et al. 2001; Scheyvens 2002). This implies that any community tourism model should enable the community to exploit their tourism resources, rather than being exploited as a tourism product. Broadly speaking, there are a number of issues which have not been fully considered in the theory of community tourism, including the nature, scope, level, form and mode of community participation (Bhattacharyya 2004; Blomley & Ramadhani 2006). Although community participation is strongly supported by many (Gebremedhin & Theron 2007; Mbaiwa 2005; Tosun 2000; Tosun & Timothy 2003), there are in fact four prerequisites for such participation, namely, (i) legal rights and opportunities to participate; (ii) access to information; (iii) provision of sufficient resources for people or groups to get involved; and (iv), genuinely public, that is, broad instead of selective, involvement amongst the concerned communities (Pearce *et al.* 1996; Tosun, 2000; Tosun & Timothy 2003 ; Walpole & Goodwin 2001).

The success of community tourism depends mainly on improved legislative and political structures that are frequently lacking in LDCs (Sofield & Daugherty 2002; Speer & Hughey 1996; UNCTAD 2001). For this reason, perhaps, there is more limited evidence of the successful development or operationalization of community tourism in LDCs, where a number of barriers exist (Ashley et al. 2000; Bah & Goodwin 2003; Sindiga 1999; Murphy 1985; Mowforth & Munt 2003). These include: a lack of

community proprietorship of natural resources (Aref & Ma'rof 2008; Sindiga 1999); a lack of skills (Aref et al. 2009; Ashley & Roe 2003); difficulties in obtaining funds (Steven & Jennifer 2002; Timothy 1999); community heterogeneity (Tosun 1998; Tosun 2000); and, élite domination (Din 1997).

Such barriers can be categorized as political-structural, business-operational and socio-cultural and, collectively, they potentially create obstacles to the empowerment of the community at the economic, psychological, social and political levels that are crucial to residents confronting the opportunities and responsibilities of citizenship (Fukuyama 1995; Scheyvens 1999; Steven & Jennifer 2002; Timothy 1999). In Zanzibar, for example, the political-structural barrier manifests itself primarily in the government's dominant role in and control of economic development (Issa, 2010). Conversely, in the community livelihood asset context, these barriers can be grouped into human, financial, cultural, social, political and physical capitals (Garrod *et al.* 2006; Simmons 1994; Timothy 1999); the poor management of different forms of capitals within the community may be seen as restraining the application of community tourism in LDCs yet, to date, community tourism development has not been explored within the conceptual framework concept of community capitals.

### **1.6.6 Community Capitals**

The theory of capital has been rarely linked to tourism (Bridger & Alter 2006; Cole 2007; Flora & Emery, 2006; Flores & Rello 2003; Rohe 2004). Traditionally, capital is associated with wealth (Flora & Emery, 2006; Flores & Rello 2003; Rohe 2004). However, the current social science literature expands the theoretical frontiers of capital beyond the monetary boundary to include other essential aspects of capital, such as natural, social, cultural, financial, human, political and physical capitals (Cochrane 2006; Hancock 1999; Pretty 2003; Vidal 2004) (see Table 1.4). Capital means resources invested to create new resources based on a long term horizon (Cochrane 2006; Hancock 1999; Flora and Emery, 2006).

In this context, communities possess several capitals which need to be harnessed, invested in and exploited in order to take advantage of opportunities offered by tourism development (Jones 2005; Perkins et al. 2002; Rohe 2004). Thus, defining a community in the context of its capitals emphasizes the essential assets owned by that community

that are needed to build its well-being (Flora & Emery, 2006; Flores & Rello 2003). The concept of community capital in tourism is not new as it has been applied in different contexts (Flora & Emery, 2006; Flores & Rello 2003; Murphy 1985; Li 2004; Scheyvens 2002; Tosun 2000). What is new, however, is the idea of grouping them as an asset (Perkins et al. 2002; Rohe 2004), where each interconnects with each other in the process of developing the tourism product. Thus, further research is needed to examine critically the inter-relationship between community capital and tourism (Harriss 2001; Flora 1997; Jenson 1998; Woolcock 1998). More specifically, and as this thesis will explore, it is suggested that the identification and exploitation of all natural and artificial capitals may, to a great extent, provide a basis for overcoming the barriers to local /poor community participation in tourism and, in particular, for facilitating the implementation of community tourism in Zanzibar

**Table 1.4:** Typology of community capitals

<b>Types of capitals</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Sources</b>
Natural capital	Natural resource stocks from which resource flows and services useful for livelihoods are derived.	Flora & Emery 2006; Cochrane 2006; Hancock 1999
Human capital	The skills, knowledge, ability to work and good health that together enable people to pursue different livelihood strategies and achieve their livelihood objectives’	Flora & Emery 2006; Cochrane 2006; Hancock 1999
Social capital	The social resources upon which people draw in pursuit of their livelihood objectives.	Flora & Emery, 2006; Cochrane, 2006; Hancock, 1999
Financial capital	Refers to the financial resources available to support civic and social entrepreneurship, and to accumulate wealth for future community development.	Flora & Emery 2006; Cochrane 2006; Hancock 1999.
Political capital	All about the power structures in communities.	Flora & Emery 2006; Cochrane 2006; Hancock 1999
Built capital	Refers to the infrastructure that supports the community development	Hogan & Owen 2000; Fukuyama 1995; Flora et al., 1992; Carter & Beeton 2004; Bebbington 1999; Baker 2000
Cultural capital	Reflects the way people “know the world” and how to act within it. It is also include ethnic festivals, multi-lingual populations, or a strong work ethic.	Baker 2000; Hancock 1999; Fukuyama 1995 Beeton 2004;
Aspiration capital	It refers to the ability to maintain hopes and dreams for the future, even in the face of real and perceived barriers..	Patricia, 1995) Delgado-Gaitan 1992, 1994; Solórzano 1992; Auerbach 2001
Linguistic capital	This capital includes the intellectual and social skills attained through communication experiences in more than one language and/or style	Faulstich Orellana 2003; Gutierrez <i>et al.</i> , 1995; Delgado Bernal 1998, 2002.
Resistance capital	It refers to knowledge and skills fostered through oppositional behavior that challenges inequality. This form of cultural wealth is grounded in the legacy of resistance to subordination exhibited by rural poor communities.	Carter & Beeton 2004; Delgado Bernal 1997; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal 2001)
Familiar capital	Are those cultural knowledge’s nurtured among families (kin) that carry a sense of community history, memory and cultural intuition.	Baker 2000; Delgado Bernal 1998, 2002; Hancock 1999
Navigation capital	Refers to skills of maneuvering through social institutions. Historically, this infers the ability to maneuver through institutions not created with Communities of Color in mind.	Alva 1991; Allen & Solórzano 2000; Auerbach 2001; Arrellano & Padilla 1996; 1998..

### 1.6.7 Community tourism in Zanzibar

As in LDCs more generally, it is evident that tourism is playing a central role in development throughout East Africa and in Zanzibar in particular (Issa 2011; MoFEA 2007). Indeed, the growth of tourism in Sub-Saharan Africa has been among the strongest in the international tourism market over the last ten years (see Table 1.5) and, as a consequence, tourism has become an increasingly important economic sector in many countries in the region (Ahmada 2010: personal communication). Moreover, tourism in East Africa depends very much on cultural and natural resources (Kitwana 2000; Narman 2007) and, thus, tourism is creating important economic links and incentives for local communities (Emerton, 1997; Faulkner & Russell 2003; Sofield & Bhandari 1998). As Ashley et al. (2001) note, tourism activities that exploit natural or cultural heritage resources in remote rural areas can be an important source of economic diversification and livelihood opportunities for local communities.

**Table 1.5:** Growth of Tourism in East African: 2000-2010

Countries	2000	2010	Average Growth Rate 2000-2010 (%)
<b>Africa</b>	26,500,000	49,400,000	<b>6.4</b>
<b>North Africa</b>	10,200,000	18,700,000	<b>6.2</b>
Sub-Saharan Africa	16,200,000	30,7000.00	6.6
<b>Kenya</b>	1,036,537	1,095,945	0.6
<b>Uganda</b>	193, 000	880,000	16.4
<b>Tanzania Mainland</b>	501,669	800,000	4.8
<b>Zanzibar</b>	97.165	132.836	31.8

*Sources: WTO, 2010; [www.data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx](http://www.data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx); Ministry of Tourism and Natural Resource, Tanzania (2010); Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Kenya (2010)*

According to Fred et al. (2007), there has been an impressive tourism growth in East Africa, and tourism plays a major role for macroeconomic growth in all counties. In other words, tourism is a major strategic national importance in term of creating employment, attracting capital flows and generating foreign exchange earnings (Dieke 2000). Generally, Africa's tourism market share is growing, increasing from 1.5% of the total international tourist arrivals in 1970 to 4.7% in 2008, and is expected to continue to increase. While in Mozambique the tourism industry represent only 2.5% of GDP, in Tanzania it accounts for about 17% of GDP. In Kenya, tourism represents around 10% of GDP.

Zanzibar is one of East African's centres of nature, culture and tourism. It is, perhaps, best known for its scenic beauty, traditional culture and the production of spices, whilst Stone Town, the old section of Zanzibar City, is renowned for its nineteenth century architecture (Narman 2007). Since 2000, Stone Town been included in UNESCO's list of World Heritage Sites and, unsurprisingly, is also one of the major tourist attractions in Zanzibar (GoZ 1993; Scholz 1990; Koth 1990). However, the country is also known for its pride in preserving its traditional cultures through the promotion of minority group cultures (Mbaiwa 2008). Over the last two decades, tourism in Zanzibar has recorded significant increases (MoFEA 2007; ZCT 2010). It was forecast that the direct and indirect employment in the tourism sector would increase by 24% per annum between 2006-2010, with over 11,500 workers employed in this sector in 2010 (MoFEA 2007; ZCT, 2010). Table 1.6 summarises current indicators of the tourism industry in Zanzibar, and Table 1.7 the growth in tourist arrivals since 1985.

**Table 1.6:** Tourism in Zanzibar: indicators (2010)

<b>Categories</b>	<b>Operating establishments</b>
Accommodation (hotels and guest house)	225
Total number of international rooms	5,301
Total number of international beds	10,522
Tour Operators/Tourism Agent	102
Curio and gift shops	136
Diving Center	26
International Restaurant	21
Tour guides	500
Foreign exchange earnings	US\$160,258,272
Contribution to GDP	20%
Average Growth rate	6%
Direct contribution to employment	11500+ persons
Occupancy rate	46%

**Sources:** Exit Survey Report (2009) and ZCT (2010)

The economic growth of tourism has been equally impressive at 25% per annum. Hotel occupancy rate has also grown to an average of 46% per annum (ZCT 2010), though this remains low by international standards. It should be noted, however, that problems surround the collection and dissemination of tourism statistics in Zanzibar with respect to

scope, frequency and accuracy. Consequently, data may vary across different government departments.

**Table 1.7:** Zanzibar International arrivals 1985-2008

Year	Number of arrivals	Year	Number of Arrivals
1985	19,368	2004	92,161
1990	42,141	2005	125,443
1995	56,415	2006	137,111
2000	97,165	2007	143,283
2001	76,329	2008	128,440
2002	87,511	2009	134,919
2003	68,365	2010	132,836

**Source:** Zanzibar Commission for Tourism (2010)

Within Zanzibar, it is recognized that the development of rural tourism enterprises may help to diversify rural livelihoods and to empower local people to derive a direct benefit from the resources on their lands (Issa 2011; Mbaiwa 2008; McElroy 2003; Lankford 1994). For example, the growth of tourism at Fumba Village proves the significance of rural/farm tourism in Zanzibar. However, just as tourism growth at the national scale faces macroeconomic constraints, local community tourism is similarly hindered by a number of factors (Issa 2011; Narman 2007; Mbaiwa 2008; McElroy 2003; Silima 2011). Amongst such hindrances to the growth of sustainable tourism in Zanzibar are: limited legal rights on resource ownership (Gossling 2001; Narman 2007, Silima 2011) and use that are reflected in existing local conflicts over resources uses (Issa Mlingoti 2010: personnel communication; Li 2006); confusing or contradictory policies and statutes (ZATI 2010); limited local capacity for managing tourism (Gossling 2001; MoFEA 2007; ZCT 2003); and, most critically, an external finance dependence syndrome, which is most severe at the level of local communities (Ahmada 2011; MoFEA 2007; Kitwana 2000).

As subsequently explained in the Chapter 5 of this study, local communities in Zanzibar are unable to capitalize on the resources surrounding them for community tourism development whilst the most significant element in community tourism, the local community, is generally overlooked during the implementation of tourism policy (Gossling 2001; Koth 1990). If community tourism is not enabled in the short and long

term, Zanzibar's tourism development may be threatened and the growth that does occur will most likely accrue benefits largely to urban classes at the expense of rural communities. Ultimately, this may lead to greater inequality, limited rural opportunities, and the continued failure to link macroeconomic growth with rural poverty reduction.

## **1.7 Research Design**

### **1.7.1 Case study approach**

The case study approach is widely utilised within tourism research (Beeton 2005: 37). It can be described as a holistic empirical inquiry used to gain an in-depth understanding of the subject on hand (Dei 2000; Fadahunsi 2000; Kellehear 2002; Yuksel et al 1999). A number of factors render the case study approach a valid methodological tool in tourism research (Fadahunsi 2000; Kellehear 2002). In particular, it is adopted in this study as it enables the researcher to explore as well as test theoretical concepts (Beeton 2005; Tosun 2001). More generally, the case study approach will contribute to an understanding of tourism planning, management and operations from the perspective of local communities and, given that no such study of community tourism projects in Zanzibar has to date been undertaken, it may also contribute to the establishment of benchmarks for the assessment of similar cases.

### **1.7.2 Ethical Considerations**

Social research, such as that undertaken in this thesis, by definition involves interaction and enquiry with people (Kellehear 2002) and it may, therefore give rise to a number of ethical concerns (Mason 2004). Thus, as Ryan (2005: 15-16) suggests, 'care and nurturance might be the ethical stance appropriate to the research complexities of contemporary tourism experiences.' According to Marczyk *et al.* (2005), the fundamental ethical principle of social research is to protect human participants. This research is undertaken having met the ethical clearance requirements of the School of Sport, Tourism and Outdoors Ethics Committee at the University of Central Lancashire. As such, all participants for this research were informed of the project purposes and other necessary information about the research. Before each interview commenced, an informed consent statement/form was presented to the participants. The participants' confidentiality and privacy were strictly protected during and after the research process, in both data



collection and presentation. A summary of the findings of the completed thesis will also be sent to those participants who expressed the wish to see it.

### **1.7.3 Methodology**

To complete this research, data were collected from both secondary and primary sources (Long 2007; Yin 1994; Wood & Dowling 2002). The secondary sources used in this research include academic books and journals, archival records, government reports, statistical compilations, journal and newspaper articles and development reports that are more specifically focused on Zanzibar. They were collected from library research, internet searches and access provided by government offices, NGOs and other local organisations and individuals in Zanzibar. The validity and reliability as well as their authenticity and consistency were carefully checked before they were used (Marczyk *et al.* 2005; Yin 1994). Primary data were collected through three main methods: questionnaires, observation and interviews (Yin 1994). They were collected in two phases. The data collection was carried out in Zanzibar between January/June 2010 and January/June 2011 for phase one and phase two respectively.

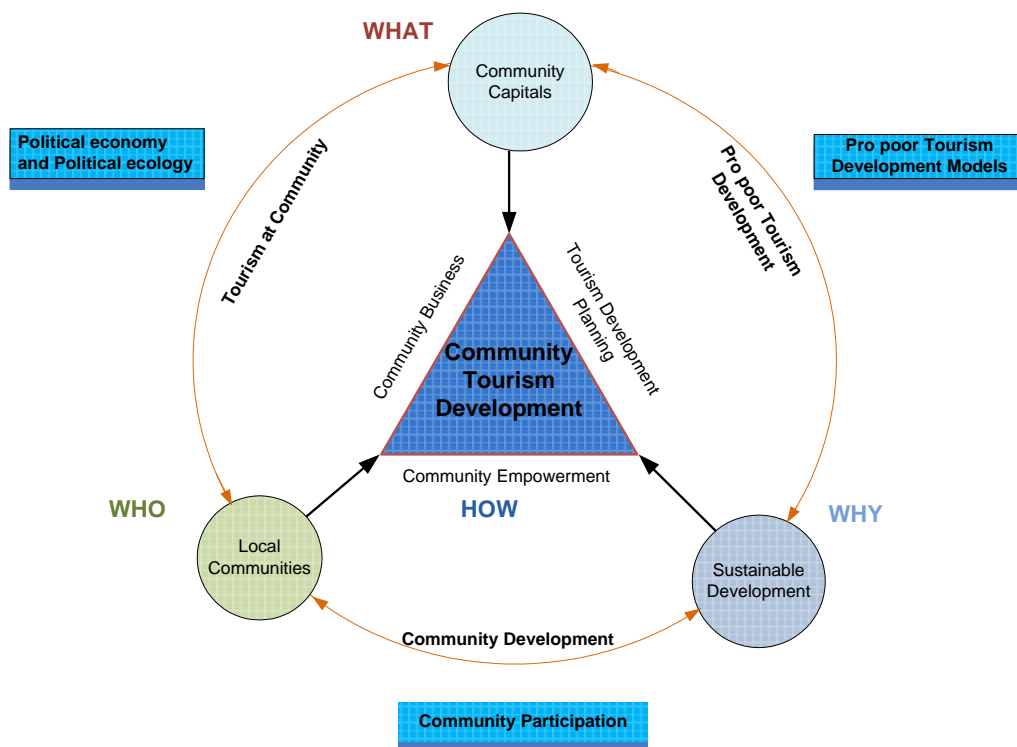
The interview participants were recruited through purposeful sampling (Sekaran 2000; Yin 1994). According to Long (2007), this is a strategy in which particular settings, persons, or events are selected deliberately in order to generate necessary information that is unlikely to be accessible from other choices. Participants in the research are as shown in the methodology chapter. Generally, the interviews focused on exploring the role of government and its decision-making process in planning for tourism development and management of tourism in the context of local communities. All participants provided important comments and suggestions for developing prosperous community tourism in Zanzibar. Participation in interviews was on a voluntary basis. The methodology is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

## **1.8 Scope of the study**

The study focuses on the practice of community tourism and emphasizes the issues of participation of local destination communities in tourism. Accordingly, there are three main components that constitute the scope of the study. That is, the study examines community capitals: [WHAT] as a tool for local destination communities; [WHO] to practice sustainable development: and [WHY]. As discussed in Chapter 4, these three

components have their own functions and development concepts. When integrated, they create a framework for community tourism development [HOW], as illustrated in Figure 1.2. The link between any pair of these components can be explained or analyzed by the theories or approaches of pro-poor tourism development models, political economy/ecology, and community participation. Conceptually, and as a result of considering tourism as a system (see Chapter 3), it is necessary to integrate tourism development into community development holistically for community business. If ‘community capitals’ are used as a tool in consideration of the principle of sustainable development, then it becomes possible to optimize the local community’s participation as is necessary for community tourism development. In particular, it is vital that the community tourism project is linked with communities’ needs and constructed through local institutions which have the support of the majority of the community (Sofield & Bhandari 1998).

**Figure 1.2:** Scope of the study

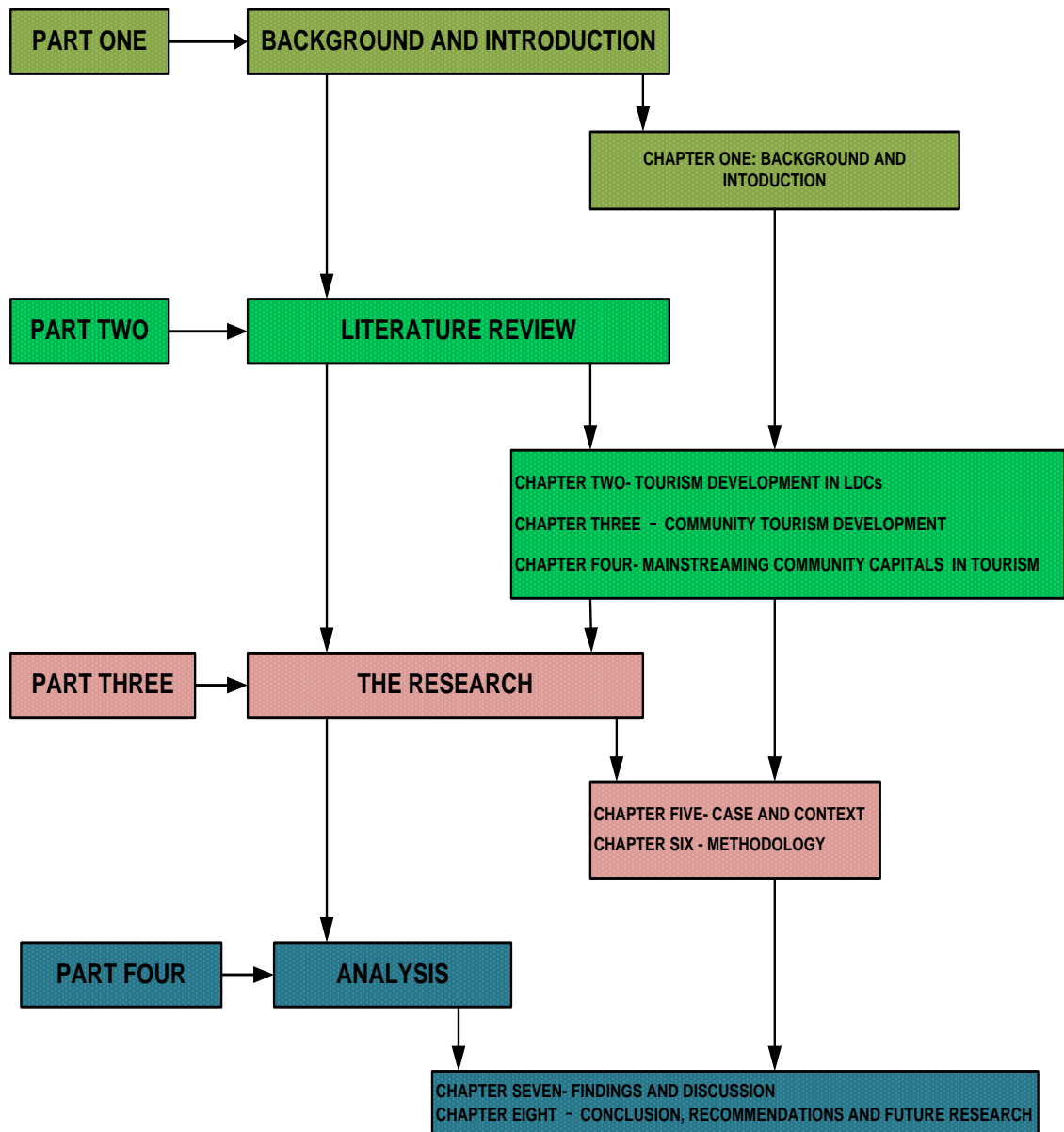


## **1.9 Dissertation Structure**

The dissertation is structured broadly into four sections. The first section introduces, justifies and provides the background to the topic to be studied, as well as highlighting the research question and objectives. This is followed by the second section, which reviews the literature relevant to the research questions as a basis for developing the conceptual framework and, specifically, a model of community capitals for the subsequent research. The third section details the empirical research, the first phase of which explores contemporary policies, practices and structures with respect to community tourism in Zanzibar and informs the second phase, which assesses the relevance and applicability of the proposed community capitals model to the development of community tourism. Finally, the fourth section includes both a systematic analysis of the research findings and the final discussion regarding links between theory and findings (see Figure 1.3) below.

More specifically, the introduction represents the first part of thesis and, therefore, Chapter 1 includes the significance, aims and objectives of the research as well as its contribution. It also describes briefly the research design and methodology. The second part of the thesis comprises the literature review. Thus, Chapter 2 reviews tourism in LDCs/SIDS, including its potentials, performance and problems/ barriers, Chapter 3 explores the concept of community tourism and Chapter 4 introduces and considers the role and values of community capitals in community tourism. Chapter 5 focuses on the research methods, research approach, methodology and limitations of the investigation, whilst Chapter Six presents the research findings. Chapter 7 examines the research findings, the implications of which are then considered in Chapter Eight within the context of the research questions. Conclusions, recommendations, themes of further studies and a retrospective analysis are provided in the last part of this chapter.

**Figure 1.3:** Structure of the Dissertation



# CHAPTER TWO

## 2 Tourism Development in LDCs and SIDs

### 2.1 Introduction

As noted in Chapter 1, tourism is widely considered and utilized as an appropriate, effective and, in many cases, the only viable means of stimulating development, particularly in the less developed world (Dieke 1992; Mowforth & Munt 1998). Indeed, this developmental role of tourism has, according to Sharpley (2002: 13), long been officially sanctioned; in 1980, the World Tourism Organization asserted in its Manila Declaration on World Tourism that:

*...world tourism can contribute to the establishment of a new international economic order that will help to eliminate the widening economic gap between developed and developing countries and ensure the steady acceleration of economic and social development and progress, in particular in developing countries. (WTO 1980: 1).*

Since then, of course, not only has tourism become integral to the development policies and activities of many countries in both the developing and developed worlds (Jenkins 1991), but increasing academic attention has been paid to the policies, processes, benefits and challenges of employing tourism as a catalyst of development. More specifically, attention in recent years has focused upon the limited benefits accruing from tourism development to local communities in general and to the poor in particular, in LDCs, and upon ways of addressing this problem (for example, Mitchell & Ashley 2010). Of particular relevance to this thesis, community tourism has become increasingly viewed as a means of addressing and supporting the long term viability of employment and income in LDCs whilst, at the same time, protecting and enhancing local culture in the face of globalization (Richards & Hall 2000).

Given the focus of this thesis on community tourism within the broader context of tourism development in LDCs, the first chapter in this second, literature review section of the thesis examines this contextual setting. It commences with a consideration of the definition and nature of LDCs before going on to provide an overview of tourism development in LDCs in general and SIDS in particular. More specifically, and as a framework for the review of community tourism development that follows in Chapter 3, this chapter explores tourism development in LDCs / SIDS, addressing the characteristics of tourism, the nature of the tourism system and, in particular, critical issues for tourism development in LDCs/SIDS.

## **2.2 Least Developed Countries**

Economic disparities across the globe are reflected in the grouping of countries into two broad categories (Croes 2006; Jones & Murphree 2001; Mbaiwa 2005). On the one hand, there are those countries that are referred to as ‘developed’, that is, a group of countries for which no commonly agreed definition exists but which are generally considered to be economically and technologically advanced, benefiting from modern social and political structures and institutions and enjoying a relatively high standard of living (Dieke 2001; Honey 1999; Kingsbury et al., 2008; Mbaiwa 2005). There are no clear criteria for inclusion in the list of developed countries (Beckerman 2002; Harrison 2008), although the UNDP’s annual Human Development Index, which categorizes countries according to both economic and non-economic indicators (recognizing that high per capita GDP alone is not evidence of development) currently lists 21 countries as ‘developed’ (see Table 2.1 below).

On the other hand, there are those countries that comprise what may be referred to as the developing world, sometimes alternatively referred to as the ‘Third World’ or the ‘South’. Collectively, and in comparison to the developed countries, the inhabitants of developing countries generally tend to be poor with a low human development index

(Table 2.1) Nevertheless, the countries that comprise the developing world may be divided, somewhat simplistically, into two groups, namely, those that are ‘developing’ (that is, making advances against accepted measures of human development) and those that are not. The former group comprises around two-thirds of all countries not formally recognized as ‘developed’ and embraces an enormous diversity of countries with respect to, for example, population, economic and technological development, healthcare and education (Potter, Binns, Elliott & Smith 1999; Tosun 2001). According to Sharpley (2009: 339), these countries ‘are making notable advances against accepted measures of human development, ...collectively comprise around two-thirds of all countries not formally recognized as ‘developed’ and are notable for their diversity with respect to land area, topography, population, economic and technological development, healthcare, education and so on’.

The latter group, the Least Developed Countries (LDCs), comprises those that have yet to meet accepted international development measures as developed by World Bank (Potter, Binns, Elliott, & Smith 1999; Tosun 2001). As shown in Table 2.1, LDCs are, with a few exceptions, located primarily in the African and Asian continents, and include countries such as Nepal, Mauritania, Tanzania, Mali and Haiti. Specifically, these countries have never exceeded the most accepted poverty line; that is, an average per capita income of US\$1 per day. In other words, these countries are not demonstrating any significant economic progress and, therefore, they do not fulfil the basic needs of their residents/citizens (UNWTO 2008). Such needs include healthcare, quality education, safe water, and so on. Forty-eighty countries are currently identified by the United Nation as LDCs (UN 2011), based on meeting (or suffering) all of the following criteria:

**Table 2.1:** List of Developed Countries and LDCs with highest HDI

RANK	DEVELOPED COUNTRY	HDI		RANK	LEAST DEVELOPING COUNTRY
		New 2010 estimates for 2010	New 2010 estimates for 2010		
1	Norway	0.938	0.437	1	Senegal
2	Australia	0.937	0.436	2	Timor-Leste
3	New Zealand	0.907	0.431	3	Rwanda
4	United States	0.902	0.425	4	Guinea
5	Ireland	0.895	0.421	5	Benin
6	Liechtenstein	0.891	0.407	6	Tanzania
7	Netherlands	0.890	0.399	7	Cote d'Ivoire
8	Canada	0.888	0.389	8	Zambia
9	Sweden	0.885	0.388	9	Malawi
10	Germany	0.885	0.381	10	Angola
11	Japan	0.884	0.379	11	Chad
12	South Korea	0.877	0.365	12	Congo
13	Switzerland	0.874	0.361	13	Central African
14	France	0.872	0.359	14	Ethiopia
15	Israel	0.872	0.354	15	Mozambique
16	Finland	0.871	0.350	16	Guinea-Bissau
17	Iceland	0.869	0.339	17	Burundi
18	Belgium	0.867	0.326	18	Mali
19	Denmark	0.866	0.302	19	Burkina Faso
20	Spain	0.863	0.292	20	Niger
21	Hong Kong	0.862	0.273	21	Sierra Leone

Source: UNDP 2010 (www.undp.org)



- i. *Low per capita income*: (under \$905 for inclusion, above \$ 1,086 for graduation
- ii. *Human resource weaknesses* based on indicators of: (a) nutrition: percentage of population undernourished; (b) health: mortality rate for children aged five years or under; (c) education: the gross secondary school enrolment ratio; and (d) adult literacy rate.
- iii. *Economic vulnerability* based upon a complex combination of a number of indicators, such as the instability of agricultural production and the relative economic importance of non-traditional activities, which comprise an economic vulnerability index.

Referred to elsewhere at the ‘bottom billion’ (Collier 2007), not only are these LDCs home to the world’s poorest people, but also the development gap between them and developing countries more generally (and developed countries too), is becoming greater. Collier (2007: 9) claims, for example, that per capita income in LDCs declined by 0.5% per annum during the 1990s – by 2000, ‘they were poorer than they had been in 1970’. Interestingly, however, in recent years some LDCs, such as Uganda, Tanzania and Cambodia, have experienced rates of growth in tourist arrivals and receipts significantly higher than the world average, while their economies have become increasingly reliant on tourism; it now represents over 70% of service exports in LDCs. In particular, and as the following section discusses, SIDS, a number of which are also LDCs, have also turned to and become increasingly dependent upon tourism for its potential contribution to economic growth and development.

### **2.3 Tourism development in SIDS**

As noted above, this section focuses on tourism development within Small Island Developing States (SIDS), some of which are included in the list of LDCs. SIDS, as a sub-group of all island territories, is a recognised classification of land mass, yet no commonly agreed definition exists (Hein 2004). Nevertheless, they are generally considered to be island nations (and, curiously, a small number of low lying coastal nations) that fall under the broader heading of less or least developed countries.

Typically, they are ‘remote, small in land area and population (less than 1.5 million), with a very narrow resource base and fragile land and marine ecosystems that are highly vulnerable to natural disasters. Their economies are open and heavily dependent on trade for national income’ (SIDS Unit 2011).

**Table 2.2:** Small Island Developing States

American Samoa	Mauritius
Anguilla	Montserrat
Antigua & Barbuda	Nauru
Aruba	Netherlands Antilles
Bahamas	New Caledonia
Barbados	Niue
Belize	Northern Marianas
British Virgin Islands	Palau
Cape Verde	Papua New Guinea
Comoros	Puerto Rico
Cook Islands	Samoa
Cuba	São Tomé & Príncipe
Dominica	Seychelles
Dominican Republic	Singapore
Federated States of Micronesia	Solomon Islands
Fiji	St. Kitts & Nevis
French Polynesia	St. Lucia
Grenada	St. Vincent & the Grenadines
Guam	Suriname
Guinea-Bissau	Timor-Lesté
Guyana	Tonga
Haiti	Trinidad & Tobago
Jamaica	Tuvalu
Kiribati	Vanuatu
Maldives	US Virgin Islands
Marshall islands	

**Source:** UN-OHRLLS (2011)

Some inconsistencies do, however, exist within this classification. For example, as can be seen from Table 2.2 above, Cuba (population 11 million; land area 109,866 km<sup>2</sup>) is included in the formally recognized list of SIDS. Though not strictly a SIDS, Zanzibar, the subject of this thesis, may be considered as such. It is a semi-autonomous part of the

United Republic of Tanzania (a recognized LDC) but, as an island ‘nation’, displays many of the characteristics of under-development (see Chapter 5 for more detail).

Numerous researchers have explored tourism development in the context of islands, with many focusing on specific case studies. For example, French Polynesia is the subject of work by Salvat and Pailhe (2002), whilst other island destinations that have been studied include the Seychelles (Shah 2000), Boracay Island, Philippines (Trousdale 1999), Malta (Briguglio & Briguglio 2002), the Canary Islands and the Hawaiian Islands (Sheldon et al. 2005). Others address island tourism from a more conceptual perspective (Croes 2006; McElroy 2003; Scheyvens & Momsen 2008) whilst, since the early 1990s, numerous academic texts have been published on tourism in islands, either adopting a general approach (for example, Briguglio *et al* 1996; Conlin & Baum 1995; Lockhart & Drakakis-Smith 1997), or focusing on particular regions (for example, Duval 2004; Ioannides *et al* 2001), on particular types of islands, such as tropical (Gössling 2003) or cold-water islands (Baldacchino 2006), or on particular themes, typically sustainable development (for example, Carlsen & Butler 2011; Graci & Dodds 2010).

In SIDS in particular, tourism has increasingly become promoted as an opportunity for economic diversification; as Ashe (2005: 5) observes, tourism has long been an ‘essential component of... economic development’ in SIDS’ The rapid growth of international tourism in the latter half of the twentieth century ‘coincided with the restructuring of small island economies’ away from traditional commodity exports towards the service sector, specifically tourism (McElroy 2003: 231) and, in many cases, this has resulted in significant economic dependence on tourism as well as related environmental and social-cultural impacts. Thus, in recent decades tourism has come to be considered a main driver for economic growth in SIDS (MoFEA 2007; United Nations Environment Programme 1996; WTO 2010). According to Duval (2004), SIDS have been receiving a substantial number of international arrivals and, despite limited domestic markets and limited resources, tourism in SIDS is perceived as an attractive

export (Din 1993; Jones & Murphree 2001; Mbaiwa 2005)

However, the development of tourism in SIDS is not without cost. King (1993: 14) defines islands as the ‘most enticing form of land. A symbol of the eternal contest between land and water, islands are detached, self-contained entities whose boundaries are obvious; all other land divisions are more or less arbitrary’. As a result, although tourism has potentially negative consequences for all destinations and host communities, island communities in particular may be subject to more intense pressures because of their ‘contained’ nature (King 1993; Salvat & Pailhe 2002; Scheyvens & Momsen 2008; Shah 2000).

The nature and profile of tourism in SIDS differs from one island to another and from tourism in other LDC countries more generally (Pailhe 2002; Shah 2000). For example, in SIDS, the tourism experience and level of tourism development differ according to the heterogeneous features of the islands (Baldacchino 2006; Carlsen & Butler 2011). In other words, the physical setting of the islands affects tourism development in several ways. Thus, at a basic level, there are two main types of island, namely: warm water islands and cold water islands (Baldacchino 2006). The former are located in tropics and enjoy a comparative advantage of sunnier and warmer weather throughout the year. It has been revealed that tropical islands are highly dependent on tourism as 42 out of 43 tropical SIDS depend on tourism for economic development (Baldacchino 2006; UNCTAD 2010; UNWTO 2010). Although cold water islands also possess environmental and cultural features and lifestyles attractive to tourists, typically they receive a more limited number of tourists (Sharpley 2009; WTO 2010). Consequently, while the tourism in warm water islands has often resulted severe socio-environmental damages (Uyarra et al 2005), in cold water islands the tourism industry tends to be more sustainable (D'Hautesserre 2005; Baldacchino 2006). Carlsen and Butler (2011: 140) point out that:

*Tourism development is small in relatively isolated islands; especially those in cold*

*waters face certain advantages in achieving a more sustainable form than does development in islands in warm water, primarily because of the likelihood that the smaller numbers of tourists will be attracted to cold water destinations than to their tropical or subtropical counterpart. Conversely the islands may face greater difficulty in attracting tourists at all unless they have specific attractions that make them stand out as desirable destination.*

In warm water SIDS, tourism development tends to be characterized in terms of large scale infrastructural developments and the promotion of beach tourism, and such destinations focus more typically on quantity rather than quality (Mowforth & Munt 2003; Uyarra et al 2005). In other words, tropical island destinations tend to support extensive hotel developments which, in turn, accommodate large number of visitors (Uyarra et al 2005). Mass tourism is, thus, common in warm water islands. And, as will be considered in Chapter 3, mass tourism is more likely to result in negative consequences for destination communities and to impact upon socio-cultural features of SIDS (Kemp et al. 2005). Thus, SIDS must address issues of economic impacts, environmental consequences and those relating to the social, cultural and political fabric of the island, all of which are affected by the density of tourism on the island.

The level of tourism penetration (measured on a tourism penetration index) within the destinations is one method that has been used to explain the growth and potential impact of tourism in SIDS (McElroy 2003; UNWTO 2008). The tourism penetration index includes three variables, namely: visitor spending per capita of population, average daily visitors per 1000 population, and hotel rooms per square kilometer of land (McElroy and Albuquerque 1998). Using the index, McElroy (2003) segments small island tourism destinations into three categories: Most Tourism Developed, Intermediate Tourism Developed, and Least Tourism Developed. Table 2.3 below summarizes the characteristics of each category.

**Table 2.3:** Categories of Small Island Tourism Destinations

Category	Characteristics	Example
Most Tourism Developed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Highly tourism developed islands which are in the mature stage of the destination life cycle.</li> <li>● High visitor and hotel room densities but relatively slow visitor and room growth rates (McElroy 2003)</li> <li>● The length of stay per visitor is relatively short with an average of 6.2 nights.</li> <li>● They have highest rates of hotel occupancy and promotional spending.</li> <li>● Tourists have a higher preference for hotels, large scale comfortable facilities and man-made attraction.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Maldives</li> <li>● Seychelles</li> <li>● Mauritius</li> <li>● Cyprus</li> </ul>
Intermediate Tourism Developed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Average per capita visitor spending of approximately \$2000,</li> <li>● An average daily density is 55 visitors per 1000 residents,</li> <li>● An average of six rooms per kilometer square</li> <li>● Promoted as a mass market destination</li> <li>● Very rapid visitor, hotel and infrastructure growth</li> <li>● Seasonality</li> <li>● Lower levels of promotional spending</li> <li>● Low cruise ship traffic.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Anqulia</li> <li>● Bahamas</li> <li>● Bahrain</li> <li>● Barbados</li> </ul>
Least Tourism Developed*	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Located at the beginning stage of the resort cycle</li> <li>● Low an average of \$231 per capita visitor spending,</li> <li>● An average of only eight visitors per 1000 population</li> <li>● Around one room per square kilometer of land area</li> <li>● Larger in size and population</li> <li>● Possess more diversified economies.</li> <li>● Controlled visitor growth and less disturbed ecologies</li> <li>● Spend least on promotion</li> <li>● An average length of visitor stay of 10 nights.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Reunion</li> <li>● New Caledonia</li> <li>● Fiji</li> <li>● Iceland</li> </ul>

\*Consists of 16 islands mostly from the pacific and Indian Ocean regions.

By their very nature, island tourism destinations face a number of challenges (Sharpley 2002; Sheldon et al 2005). Such challenges include: a scarcity of resources (Cross & Nutley 1999; Gössling 2001), external dependency (Butler 1993; Croes 2006; Lockhart 1997; McElroy 2003; Telfer and Sharpley 2008) and diseconomies of scales (Carlsen &

Butler 2001; Lockhart 1997; McElroy 2003). Consequently, island destinations often have limited economic bases and have very few economic options to provide revenue, employment and basic services to their citizens (Cross & Nutley 1999; Gössling 2001). More generally, it has also been argued that SIDS suffer from a number of what Briguglio (1995: 1615) refers to as 'vulnerabilities', or factors that may 'render the economies of these states very vulnerable to forces outside their control – a condition which sometimes threatens their economic viability'. In his seminal work, Briguglio goes on to identify the most significant vulnerabilities of SIDS. These are classified under five headings and are summarised in Table 2.4 below. Nevertheless, such vulnerabilities are not universal to SIDS; as McElroy (2006) notes, a number of islands, particularly those in the Caribbean with a significant dependence on a mature and extensive tourism sector, also enjoy high levels of socio-economic development.

Despite these challenges facing SIDS, the literature suggests that tourism can be used as a tool for SIDS to enlarge their economies, to encourage new start up business and to increase competition (Butler 1993; Croes 2006; Lockhart 1997; McElroy 2003; Schofield & George, 1997; World Bank 2000). However, it is also accepted that SIDS governments should set up clear tourism policies and laws so that tourism revenue remains in the island. As discussed below, it is essential that SIDS governments formulate policies that will maximize linkages and minimize leakages (see section 2.6). More specifically, according to Conlin and Baum (1995), the main challenge facing the growth of island destinations is seasonality (see section 2.4 more detail). Fluctuations in visitor arrivals may have a severe impact on the local employment and government revenues and, thus, attempts should be made to mitigate this through market and product diversification (Butler 1993; McElroy and de Albuquerque 1998; Singh & Singh 1999).

It is now widely recognized that unplanned tourism development is likely to cause environmental degradation which, in turn, poses a serious threat to tourism activities particularly in SIDS (Butler 1993; Singh & Singh 1999). However, despite some

commonalities, islands can vary considerably because of their size, geographical and socio-cultural characteristics, as well as in their degree of separation or isolation

**Table 2.4:** The economic vulnerabilities of SIDS

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***Small size***

- i. Limited natural resource endowments and high import content
- ii. Limitations on import-substitution possibilities
- iii. Small domestic market and dependence on export markets
- iv. Dependence on a narrow range of products
- v. Limited ability to influence domestic prices
- vi. Limited ability to exploit economies of scale
- vii. Limitations on domestic competition
- viii. Problems of public administration

***Insularity / remoteness***

- i. High per-unit transport
- ii. Uncertainties of supply
- iii. Large stocks

***Proneness to natural disasters***

***Environmental factors***

- i. Pressures arising from economic development
- ii. Environmental characteristics of SIDS

***Other characteristics***

- i. Dependence on foreign sources of finance
  - ii. Demographic factors
- 

**Source:** adapted from Brigulio (1995)

According to Schofield and George (1997: 5), ‘some islands are so large as to not have the feeling of islands at all’ whilst others ‘cease to exist as true islands, perhaps following the construction of bridges’. In a literal sense, ‘smaller islands often face severe problems of how to provide their inhabitants with a living from an absolutely restricted resource base and/or find restrictions placed on their development because of the lack of, or shortage of, a necessary resource such as water (Royle 1989: 111). It has



been argued that the integrity of SIDS is under threat because of mass tourism (Royle 1989; UNEP 1998). Consequently, the literature has suggested numerous structural and institutional measures to overcome or mitigate the negative effects of tourism in SIDS (McElroy 2003; Briguglio et al 1996; Jenner and Smith 1992). Broadly speaking, sustainable tourism is perceived as potential solution for tourism development in Small Island states (Carlsen & Butler 2011) although, as discussed in Chapter 3, this remains a controversial and contested concept.

SIDS faces complex socio-cultural issues, particularly those with indigenous populations. Sharpley (2009) contends that in SIDS, tourism brings hosts and guests into closer contact, creating a more vulnerable situation for social disruption. At the same time, Butler (1993) argues that tourism creates resources conflicts in many SIDS. According to Martin (1999), such resource conflicts often serve to decrease social ties between investors and communities. For example, the over-consumption of water for tourist facilities limits the water supplies to local population (Butler 1993; Martin 1999; Mbaiwa 2005) (this is further discussed in Chapter 5). However, there are many instances where tourism can actually be conducive towards the protection of the environment (Spencerely & Goodwin 2007) and act as a catalyst for positive political and cultural change in SIDS. Tourism creates an awareness that the island's environment needs to be attractive (Mbaiwa 2008; Okazaki 2008; Skof 2008), that the sea should be unpolluted (Gössling 2003, 2005; Narman 2007), that the air needs to be clean and that local culture should be preserved (Smith & Duffy 2003). Indeed, with regards to tourism and the political development of small islands, the literature reveals a positive relationship between the two phenomena (Leiserowitz et al 2006; Martin 1999; McDonald 2009).

## **2.4 Characteristics of Tourism in LDCs**

Having reviewed the characteristics of tourism development in SIDS, it is also important to consider the characteristics of tourism in LDCs more generally. Although not all SIDS are recognized as LDCs (indeed, a number of officially listed SIDS, such

as Singapore, are evidently relatively highly developed), many share similar issues and challenges with respect to tourism development as in LDCs. Therefore, highlighting these makes an essential contribution to the conceptual framework within which the subsequent research in this thesis may be located.

For the purposes of this thesis, four specific features are used to describe tourism development in the less or least developed countries (LDCs), namely: the nature of tourism development; seasonality; low volume, and trigger markets. Understanding these features is very important because not only do they highlight general areas of concern associated with tourism as an economic development option for developing countries, but they also provide a wider platform for corrective actions. Before discussing these factors, however, it is important to discuss and understand global tourism trends since it helps conceptualize tourism trends in Least Developed Countries in particular.

The roots of contemporary tourism lie in economic, technical and social transformations in wealthier, western nations from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, in particular developments in transport technology and increases in both personal wealth and leisure time, whilst an emerging travel industry also played a significant role (Cater 1995; Edward 1996; Mowforth & Munt 1998; Sirakaya et al. 2001).

Nevertheless, although participation in domestic tourism was increasingly widespread by the mid-twentieth century (Gill & Williams 1994), international tourism prior to the late 1960s remained perceived as an activity that only wealthier, leisured classes could enjoy (Mill & Morrison 2006). However, continuing advances in transport technology (specifically, air transport), socio-economic transformations, including increases in disposable income and enhanced rights to paid holidays and, perhaps most importantly, the expansion of an innovative and sophisticated travel sector, have enabled most of the social classes to participate in international tourism (Hardy & Beeton 2001; Holden 2000; Mitchell & Muckosy 2008) or what Urry (2002) refers to as the democratization of

tourism. Thus, international travel, a luxury once enjoyed only by the wealthy, has over the last half century or so become more affordable to and increasingly participated in by the masses (Syriopoulos 1995; Seaton & Alford 2001; Telfer 2002). As a consequence, international tourism, in terms of both the number of international arrivals and the receipts from tourism, has in absolute terms grown remarkably rapidly (see Table 2.5)

**Table 2.5:** International Tourists Arrivals and Receipts

Regions	International Tourism Arrivals (million)		Change		International Tourism Receipt(US\$ bill)		Changes	
	2009	2010	2008/2009	2009/2010	2009	2010	2008/2009	2009/2010
<b>World</b>	882	940	-3.8	6.6	851	919	-5.6	4.7
<b>Advanced Economies</b>	474	498	-4.3	5.1	547	580	-6.5	4.4
<b>Emerging Economies</b>	408	442	-3.2	8.3	304	339	-3.8	5.1
<b>Europe</b>	461.5	476.6	-4.9	3.3	410.9	406.2	-6.7	-0.4
<b>Asia and the Pacific</b>	180.9	203.8	-1.7	12.7	203.1	248.7	-0.7	12.8
<b>Americas</b>	140.6	149.8	-4.9	6.4	166.2	182.2	-9.9	5.0
<b>Africa</b>	46	49.4	3.7	7.3	28.8	31.6	-4.1	4
<b>Middle East</b>	52.9	60.3	-4.3	15.1	42	50.6	0.8	14.4

Source: UNWTO (2010)

In 1950, total international tourists numbered just 25 million and generated some US\$ 2.1 billion (Sharpley 2009). By 1999, international tourist arrivals were estimated to number approximately 700 million, resulting in over US\$500 billion in tourist receipts (Edgell 1999), and tourism was generating nearly 250 million jobs worldwide (WTO 1999). By 2010, tourism receipts had reached US\$ 919 billion and it is estimated that this figure will rise to US\$ 2 trillion by 2020, along with an increase of international tourist arrivals to 1.6 billion (UNWTO 2010). Thus, over the last half century or so, tourism has demonstrated consistent and remarkable growth and, in particular, resilience to external ‘shocks’, such as oil price rises, political turmoil and, most recently, the global economic downturn. However, it must be questioned whether

further growth, though undoubtedly possible given the emergence of new markets, is either sustainable or desirable.

Interestingly, although domestic tourism is often overlooked (Mitchell et al. 2009; Weaver 2006; Williams & Hall 2000), it too provides major opportunities for economic development (Sharpley 2009; Tosun 1998; UNCTAD 2001). In both industrialized and developing countries, domestic tourists have emerged as a significant market (Lim & Cooper 2009; Reid 2003), often using the same facilities as international tourists. Indeed, in many countries the value of international tourism is far less than that of domestic tourism. For example, VisitBritain (2008) report that, in 2008, domestic tourism in the UK (including day trips) generated approximately £67 billion; in contrast, international tourism accounted for £16 billion. Table 2.6 provides relevant statistics for selected countries. For example, in 2003, India had more than 100 domestic tourists for every international tourist, while in Vietnam the ratio was 5:1.

**Table 2.6:** Comparing international and domestic tourism statistics in selected countries

Country	Year	International Tourist Arrivals (million)	Estimated Domestic Tourist (million)	Ratio of international to domestic
China	2005	46.8	1,212.0	1 : 26
India	2003	2.8	30.9	1 : 11
Indonesia	2005	5.0	31.3	1 : 6
Thailand	2005	11.6	79.5	1 : 7
Vietnam	2003	2.4	13.0	1:5
UK	2009	29.889	126.006	1:4

**Source:** UNWTO, 2010

Both international and domestic tourism generate significant levels of indirect expenditure within the destination. According to the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC 2008), in 2008 total tourism expenditure, or the tourism economy (direct expenditure, combined with indirect expenditure) was worth US\$ 7 trillion, equivalent to 10.47% of global GDP. As previously noted, by 1999, tourism accounted for nearly

250 million jobs worldwide (WTO 1999); by 2010, tourism's contribution was estimated in the order of 6-7% of the overall number of jobs worldwide (Sharpley 2009; UNWTO 2010).

In terms of the share of global tourist arrivals, according to UNWTO (2010), 'in 1950 the top 15 destinations absorbed 88% of international arrivals, in 1970 the proportion was 75% and 55% in 2010, reflecting the emergence of new destinations, many of them in developing countries'. However, as previously observed in Chapter 1 (see Section 1.6.1 and Table 1.1, developed countries continue to dominate the market share of international tourism (WTO 2010).

This rapid growth in tourism has resulted two main competing consequences (Sharpley 2009). On the one hand, the increasing fascination with tourism has been motivated in large part due to its potential economic benefits, such as foreign exchange earnings and employment generation, for destination areas. It has already been observed that in 1980, the World Tourism Organisation (now the United Nation World Tourism Organisation) emphasized and sanctioned the role of tourism in economic development, particularly for developing countries (WTO 1980). Since then, tourism has become a significant source of foreign exchange revenues for many developing countries (Dieke 2001; Clancy 1999), whilst the potential of tourism to contribute to the development of LDCs has become widely recognized. As shown in Table 2.7, tourism has featured prominently in their economic development.

Although Europe continues to attract the highest proportion of international visitors, many LDCs have enjoyed rapid growth in their tourism sectors. According to the UNWTO (2008), international tourism in emerging and developing markets has, in recent years, grown at twice the rate of developed countries. For example, between 1996 and 2006, international tourism in developing countries expanded by 6% as a whole, by 9% for LDCs, and 8% for other low middle income economies.

**Table 2.7:** The importance of tourism in developing countries.

Visitor Spending as % of GDP (2006)			
>50%	25-50%	10-24%	5-9%
Macao; Anguilla; Palau; Cook Islands	Seychelles; Cape Verde; Maldives; Aruba, Turks and Caicos Islands; Saint Lucia; Antigua and Barbuda; Bahamas; Barbados; Vanuatu	Mauritius, Zimbabwe; Sao Tome and Principe; Gambia Morocco; Bahrain; Lebanon, Jordan; Cambodia; Belize; Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Vincent and the Grenadilines; Grenada; Dominica; Cayman Islands; Jamaica; Montserrat; Dominican Republic; Samoa, Fiji, French Polynesia	Tanzania; Madagascar, Comoros; Eritrea,; Kenya; Ghana; Tunisia,; Egypt; Namibia, Botswana; Mongolia,; Hong Kong; Syria; Thailand, Singapore; Costa Rica; Panama; El Salvador; Honduras; Suriname; Micronesia; Tonga; New Caledonia

Source: UNWTO (2007)

Considering the growth of tourism in emerging economies, it is therefore perhaps not surprising that international tourism is increasingly promoted by organizations such as government agencies, the World Tourism and Travel Council (WTTC), the UNWTO and others in the international development community as an important element in development financing and in national poverty reduction strategies (UNWTO 2008; WTTC 2008; MoFEA 2007). In 2005, the UNWTO, reflecting its specific focus on the LDCs, effectively sanctioned the developmental role of tourism by stating that:

*Tourism development, if properly developed and supported, can be “quick-win” in overcoming the economic and social condition that prevail in LDCs and in accelerating their integration into world economy (UNWTO 2005:3).*

Nowadays, tourism is regarded as an opportunity to augment foreign exchange flows in order to work towards poverty reduction (Kasahara 2004; Komlev & Encontre 2004;

UNCTAD 2001). In fact, tourism is the only economic sector in LDCs to have stimulated a significant trickledown effect to grass root level (Issa 2011). According to UNWTO (2007), tourism is a primary source of foreign exchange earnings in 46 out of 48 of the world's LDCs. In most cases, the LDCs tourism data show that average annual growth in receipts has been somewhat faster than growth in international tourist arrivals as a whole, particularly during the period from 1990 to 2000. This would tend to reinforce the attractiveness of the tourism industry as an immediate source of employment and foreign exchange earnings (Sharpley and Telfer 2002; Tosun 2009; Brown 1998). Notable examples include the Maldives, Vanuatu and Lao, where tourism has become a favored means of export.

On the other hand, the rapid growth of tourism in LDCs has increased the attention paid to its negative social, cultural and environmental impacts and, as a consequence, there have long been calls for more careful planning and management of tourism development (Mathieson & Wall 1982; Wahab 1997; WTO 1996). In particular, sustainable tourism development has been widely promoted and adopted as a planning approach for tourism, although, as discussed in Chapter 3, not only has the concept proved to be highly ambiguous and contested and but also there is relatively limited evidence of its implementation in practice. In LDCs, the tourism sector tends to be dominated by foreign companies. As a result, much of tourism revenue has been repatriated to tourism generating countries (Freitag 1994; Mathieson & Wall 1982; Wahab 1997; Nustad 2001; Sharpley, 2009). It is important to note that a large percentage of tourism related goods and service are being imported from outside LDC countries (Ashley 2000; Fennell & Eagles 1990). The tourism figures above underline several interesting features. The statistics highlight the extent to which countries have focused on promoting tourism. The statistics also justify the competitive nature of tourism activities in which many countries fiercely engaged to increase their market share, both values and volume terms. Having reviewed global tourism trends, the following sections (2.4.1 to 2.2.4) consider a number of specific features of tourism in LDCs.

### **2.4.1 Low volume:**

Concern has long been expressed about the relatively low share of global tourism enjoyed by LDCs (Bryden 1973; Brohman 1996; Cleverdon 1979; Sharpley 2009). In other words, many commentators point out that the pattern of global tourist arrivals is disproportionate; although the balance is moving more in favour of the developing world, it is developed countries that continue to attract the greater proportion of tourists. Hence, within the context of the UNWTO's long-held aspiration of reducing global economic inequality and '*accelerating their* {LDC's} *integration into world economy* (UNWTO 2005: 3), many commentators draw attention to more limited tourism activity in LDCs and, more importantly perhaps, the consequential implications for tourism receipts accruing to them (Dieke 1992).

According to Crouch (1994), the demand for global tourism varies according to the origin of the tourist and the specific destination involved whilst, more generally, it has been observed that although destinations compete in a global market, most tend to attract tourists from a relatively small number of key markets, reflecting ease of access and cultural, historical and political ties (Seaton & Alford 2001). This implies, of course, that the demand-elasticity for international tourism varies by country-of-origin (tourist generating country) and country-of-destination (tourist receiving country). Similarly, Bryden (1973) argues that the internal proportions of tourist spending can be different depending on the tourist destination regions (receiving destinations) and different tourist activities (tourism supply in the destination regions). Thus, different types of tourists have different spending habits (for example, backpackers usually pay less for tourism services compared with up-market nature based tourists) and different kinds of tourism activities are generally differently valued by spent costs (Brohman 1996; Dieke 1992).

Within this context, Christie and Crompton (2001) argue that the greatest obstacle to the growth of the tourism sector in LDCs is its lack of price and quality competitiveness. They point out that, despite the increasing incidence of independent travel, the worldwide tourism industry and its structures and operation still consist largely of tour



operators, travel agents and transport services that sell integrated tour package to tourists. Whether competitive tour packages can be put together to a particular destination will depend on relative prices, the safety of the destination and the quality and type of product offered. Within such a package, the airfare can have a significant impact on the price (Dieke 1992 Freitag, 1994) and, according to Christie and Crompton (2001: 9), airfares on scheduled flights to LDCs are amongst the highest in the world. Thus, tourism to LDCs remains relatively expensive to tourists in the principal tourism generating countries, whilst poor infrastructure and the limited supply and poor quality of facilities and amenities (often reflecting a lack of local investment in tourism) further serve to limit the potential increasing the volume of tourism in LDCs.

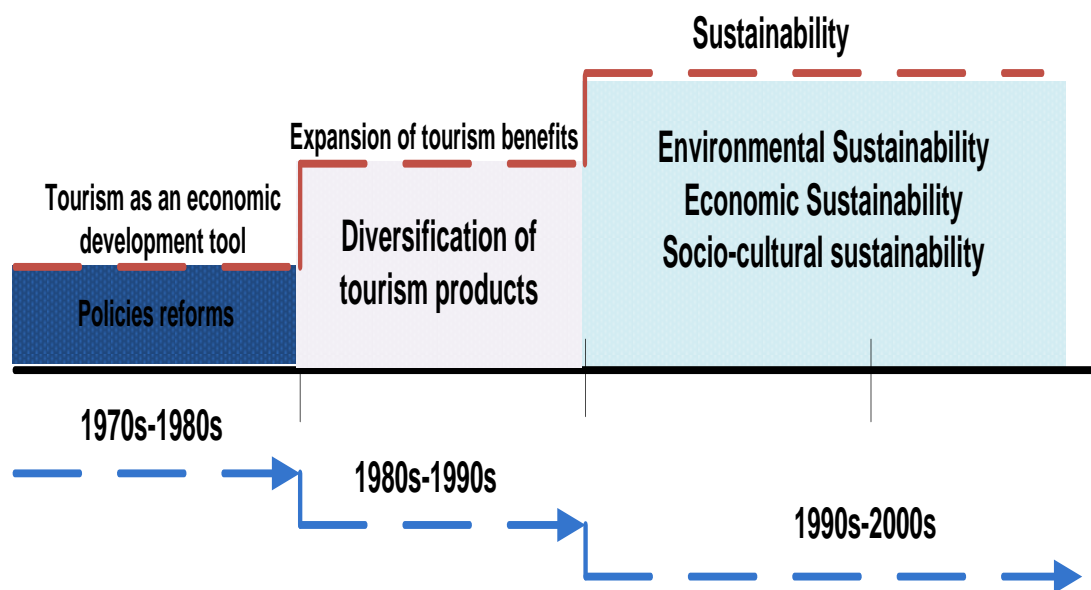
Moreover, it has been reported that domestic tourism in LDCs is low compared with developed countries (Brohman 1996; Christie and Crompton 2001). Because of the low number of domestic tourists, it is suggested that LDCs should also focus on intra-regional tourism (Brohman 1996; Freitag, 1994). It is estimated that about 40% of developing countries' tourists come from neighboring developing countries (WTO 2009). Thus it is argued that LDCs should improve transport links with neighboring countries so as to enhance the movement of people and contribute to increase visitors and tourism receipts for economic development.

#### ***2.4.2 Nature of tourism development***

According to Goodwin (1998) and Freitag (1994), transformations in the nature of tourism development in LDCs can thought of as occurring in three temporal stages (see Figure 2.1 below). In the late 1970s, many LDCs began to adapt to tourism, typically due to the failure of the primary agricultural sector to compete in global markets. As a consequence, tourism came to be regarded as the most appropriate means for revitalizing the economy of LDCs (Duffy 2002; France 1997; Richards & Hall 2000; Sindiga & Kanunah 1999), the main objectives being to create employment and to generate foreign exchange earnings and government revenues.

During the second stage, from the 1980s to the early 1990s, the scale and extent of the economic benefits accruing from tourism became the concern of conferences, journals and wider socio-economic debate (Mazura & Stakhanovb 2008; Mbaiwa 2005; McMichael 2004; Scheyvens 2002).

**Figure 2.1:** The Tourism Development Path in LDCs



Consequently, during this stage of tourism development, the governments of LDCs put more focus on expanding revenues through diversifying tourism products and attracting mass tourists (Politica 2004; Reid 2003; Richter 2001). However, from the mid-1990s the issue of sustainability was raised, emphasizing the need for a more responsible approach to tourism development which respects the quality of environment and the needs of local communities (Kirsten & Rogerson 2002; Mason 2003; Scheyvens 1999; WTO 2001). Since then, a variety of different approaches have been proposed to achieve the objectives of sustainable development (see Chapter 3), but the hope has not yet been fulfilled (Scheyvens 1999; Sharpley 2009; WTO 2001). That is, success in realising the concept of sustainable development (ensuring sustainability) in tourism has remained elusive.

Typically, tourism development in LDCs is manifested primarily in two 'core' forms,

namely, heritage (cultural) tourism and nature-based tourism, including beach, eco- and agri-tourism (see Lumsdon & Swift 1998). In other words, tourism in LDCs is mainly based upon the appeal of landscape and natural resources. Therefore, many LDCs have encountered a number of natural resource problems (Butler 1990; Sindiga 1999 & Sindiga & Kanunah 1999; Kousis 2000) and, generally, it is suggested that tourism in LDCs continues to destroy, or at best degrade, the unique natural resources and biophysical environment required for sustainability of the industry (Smith 2003; Simmons 1994; Singh & Singh 1999). Moreover, many question the economic development benefit of tourism, since many tourists in LDCs arrived on pre-paid package tours (Freitag 1994; Tosun and Timothy 2003; Tosun 2000). According to Mbaiwa (2005), package tourism permits few benefits to accrue to host communities which, as a consequence, are often unable to break out of the poverty trap. That is, local people are either excluded from the sector or the benefits of tourism do not reach down to the local level. It is for this reason that strategies to alleviate poverty through pro-poor tourism have begun to dominate the national and international tourism development agenda (Scheyvens 2007).

### ***2.4.3 Trigger markets***

Another characteristic of tourism in LDCs is the unequal power relationships which can be identified at various levels of the tourism system (Fennel 1999; Henderson 2000; Leiper 1990; Ratz & Puczko 2002). At the macro-level, for example, unequal power relations exist between LDCs and developed countries and may be illustrated by the volume as well as the 'wealth and mobility' of tourists from developed countries (Duffy 2002; France 1997; Hall & Lew 1998). Technological, human and financial competencies have also enabled developed countries to control and gain from tourism activities in LDCs (Davidson & Maitland 1997; Faulkner & Russell 2003). At the same time, unequal relationships have been clearly experienced at the micro level within LDCs, 'with a powerful minority of wealthy elite with power over poor local communities' (Ashley 2000; Ellias 2000; Ekin, 1992). In LDCs, tourism is also considered to represent a form of re- or neo-colonization, since tourism development is

often controlled by multination companies with a large proportion of foreign earning leaking abroad (Din 1997; Elliot 1997; Fennel 1999; Stabler 1997).

Such unequal relations suggest that the development of and demand for tourism in many LDCs is dependent on businesses, investment and tourists originating in particular developed countries. That is, demand in tourism is exogenous and often the host destination has limited control; moreover, given that demand factors are outside the influence of host destination, a subsequent strong reliance on a single market is likely to weaken LDCs by increasing their dependency (Duval 2004; Cooper et al 1998; Li 2009). In their study, Høivik and Heiberg (1980) reveal the extent to which certain LDCs depend on specific countries for their tourism business. Similarly, Sharpley (2009) points out that The Gambia is dependent on the UK for more than 50% of its arrivals, whilst such single market dependence also can be found in Zanzibar where the Italian market is dominant. The risks of Zanzibar became apparent in 2001 when, owing to political instability, the majority of Italian-owned hotels suspended their operations and the number of Italian tourists visiting Zanzibar fell by almost 80% (MoFEA 2007). Another form of single market dependence is related to the tourism product offered (Duval 2004; Cooper et al 1998; Li 2009). Many LDCs offer similar or 'identikit' products are therefore competing for price sensitive tourists.

#### ***2.4.4 Seasonality***

According to Duval (2004), seasonality refers to the season-dependent fluctuating pattern of tourist arrivals. It can be also described as a relatively short span of the tourism season (Ashley 2003; Bull 1995). Butler (1994: 332) defines seasonality as . . . 'a temporal imbalance in the phenomenon of tourism, and may be expressed in terms of dimensions of such elements as number of visitors, expenditure of visitors, traffic on highways and other forms of transportation, employment, and admissions to attractions'. The causes of seasonality may be natural or institutional (Duval 2004; Bull 1995). Institution seasonality reflects influencing factors in tourist generating countries, such as school holidays (Gössling & Schulz 2005), and are essentially socially constructed,

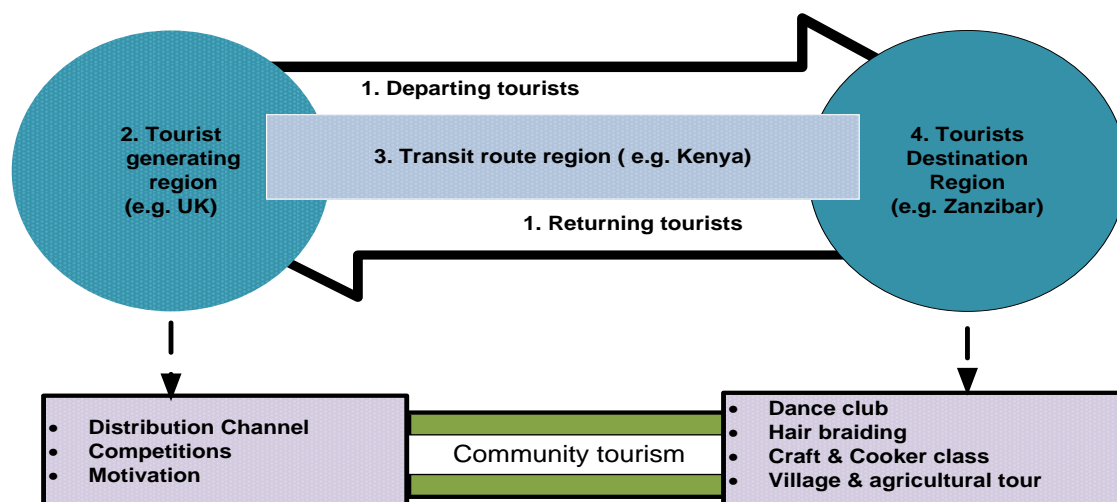
including actions and policies regarding culture, religion or social life as well as public holidays or specific events (Hylleberg 1992). Conversely, natural seasonality reflects conditions in destination and typically results from variations in the weather (for example, wet vs. dry season), the characteristics of the location or accessibility.

As explained by Butler (1994), both seasonality types cause an imbalance between supply and demand in both developed and developing countries (Duval 2004; Graci & Dodds 2010). However, according to Greenwood (2006), the tourism season in LDCs is longer than in most developed countries (for the case of Zanzibar see Chapter 5), with most experiencing a low season of about six months. Nevertheless, a limited domestic tourism market in LDCs is unable to compensate the absence of the foreign tourists and, thus, even though tourism may generate significant foreign exchange earnings, significant seasonality in tourism creates a number of economic problems. For example, a large proportion of the workforce may become temporarily unemployed during the low season.

## **2.5 The tourism system in LDCs**

Since demand and supply forces play a major role in the direction of tourism development in developing countries in general and in LDCs in particular, it is important here to consider the nature of the tourism system in LDCs, particularly with relating to the development of community tourism. Sustainable community tourism requires both the sustainable use of resources and environment, and the sustainable growth of tourism's contribution to the local economy (Cooper et al. 2000; Dieke 1992; Sharpley 1999). Neither of the aforementioned goals can be achieved without a clear understanding and proper management of tourism supply and demand (Butler 1994; Hall 2000; Cooper et al. 2000; Dieke 1992; Ryan 2003). As shown in the figure 2.2, community tourism development is both supply led and demand driven since the provision of tourism facilities and services arise as a response to growing demand or aim to stimulate tourism demand (Cooper et al. 2000; Dieke 1992; Ryan 2003).

**Figure 2.2:** The tourism system in LDCs



Sources: Adopted from Leiper,

According to Liu (2003) the successful community tourism development necessitates a balance of demand and supply in term of range, quality, quantity and price. In other words, an evolution of one side of the demand-supply equation will usually be accompanied by changes in the other (Liu 2003). According to Leiper (1995), the nature and extent of demand and the associated facilities and services provided will also directly influence the broader aspects of tourism development. Liu (1994) had a similar view by indicating that tourism development is a dynamic process of matching tourism resources (supply) to the demand and preferences of actual or potential tourists. Like any form of tourism, community tourism requires three levels of resources, namely: attraction for tourisms (such as cultural, natural and purpose built), the infrastructure and superstructure; and physical and social settings - including the hospitality of local community (Burns et al (2004); Bull 1995; Butler & Boyd, 2000; Cooper et al. 2000; Dieke 1992). The transformation of these resources into an effective community based tourism product usually requires the effort of tourism agencies (such as national tourism organisation and tourism operators) for packing and promoting the product. The subsequent sections will discuss tourism system (demand and supply consideration) in the context of LDCs.

### ***2.5.1 Demand considerations.***

Demand factors or influences occur within tourist generating countries, with potential implications for tourism in developing countries (destination regions), particularly LDCs. It should be noted that international tourism is a dependent sector (Ashley 2006; Briassoulis 2002; Hampton 2003; Dieke 2000); thus, while the type, level and extent of tourism flows to LDCs are determined by factors outside of their control, the nature and scope of tourism policies and development in LDCs must reflect these demand determinants (Cater & Lowman 1994; Dieke 2000). Therefore, if a LDCs wishes to increase its global tourism market, it is necessary to consider four important demand elements, namely: (i) competition; (ii) image; (iii) investment expertise; and (iv), distribution systems (Dieke 2000; Din 1997). It has been stressed that tourism is a complex industry and that distribution channels serve as the lifeblood for the industry (Hardy et al 2002). Hall (2000) contends that world tourism distribution system has been dominated by few companies located in developed countries (tourism generating countries). Given the extensive market connections (Harrill 2004), expertise and reputation they have established, it is difficult for LDCs to challenge the considerable influence of these companies.

In order to attract sufficient visitors, LDCs should create appropriate images, invest in appropriate products and work closely with international tourism companies (Ashley 2006; Briassoulis 2002; Hampton 2003; Dieke 2000). It is important to note that tourism demand is based on created imagery; as discussed earlier, it is not enough that the LDCs possess a potential for becoming a covetable tourist destination. To turn that possibility into reality, marketing is a pre-condition. Nowadays, promotional activities through the internet and other electronic media including television can be utilized with reasonable costs (Manyara and Jones 2007; Mitchell et al. 2009; Dieke 2000). LDCs National Tourism Organizations should take necessary measures to encourage the international companies to play positive role in the development and diversification of tourist facilities to promote international and domestic tourism in the countries.

### ***2.5.2 Supply considerations:***

Tourism supply has to do with the provision of key elements of tourism industry by the tourist receiving destinations (Mowforth & Munt 1998; Torell 2002; Tosun 2000; Walpole & Goodwin 2001). Such provision should extend to maintenance, promotion and management of the tourism facilities and resources (Gössling 2003; Harrison 2000; Honey 2008; Mbaiwa 2005; Mooney 2004). Tourism resources that are necessary for tourism supply range from natural to manmade. The one underlying characteristic of tourism supply that distinguishes it from other services is the way in which the mobile populations who visit destination areas consume a tourism product, service or experience. In contrast, the supply elements are often found in the tourist receiving destinations. As in developed countries, tourism development in LDCs is highly dependent on the resources available within a country, such resources being physical, human or capital resources. The availability and competitiveness of these resources are fundamental to successful tourism development in general and community tourism in particular (see Chapter 4).

Both the quantity and quality of tourism attractions and activities in a destination will increase the propensity of tourists to visit LDCs, to extend their average length of stay and to increase their expenditure (Gössling 2003; Harrison 2000; Honey 2008). It can be argued that the markets for tourism in LDCs are seeking more challenging or experimental holidays and, therefore, LDCs have the opportunity to develop small scale tourism products that enable rural communities to engage in tourism and to profit from it. In principle, and as discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis, community tourism may be used in the development of complementary tourism products, such products including, for example, performing cultural music which complement the core tourism products and facilities. Those tourism products often provide experiences that are not provided by tour operators but which enrich their products. In fact, the development of appropriate community tourism products may increase the attractiveness of the LDCs as tourist destinations and increase tourism expenditure within the local economy.



Given the abundant resources available in LDCs, it is the responsibility of tourism authorities within LDCs to match the available resources with requirements of different types of tourists in the global market. Rural and poor communities can often engage in the provision of complementary tourism services because it requires less capital and is, therefore, less risky (Harrison 2000; Honey 2008). Tourism is often best considered as an economic diversification option for rural communities and it plays an important part in improving living standards. Under such circumstances, rural communities can maximize their return by choosing forms of participation which complement their existing strategies and which realize their culture and social assets. This issue is considered in more detail in Chapter 4.

## **2.6 Critical issues for tourism development in LDCs**

As noted in Section 2.3 above, LDC's share of the global tourism market has been growing rapidly in recent years (WTO 2010). Nevertheless, the growth of tourism in LDCs has not been unproblematic; like any destination, LDCs face a number of challenges and barriers, some of which may be specific to them. Therefore, this section discusses the common problems encountered by LDCs in developing tourism.

### ***2.6.1 Administrative procedures***

The first set of issues in developing tourism in LDCs relates to administrative procedures (Murphy & Murphy 2004; Oyewole 2004). It is claimed that, over the last decade, substantial policies changes have been embraced and implemented by many LDCs (Sindiga 1999; Money 2004; Nelson & Agrawal 2008), the purpose being changes to improve the general business climate for tourism development (Honey 1999). Nevertheless, a number of studies have looked deeper into the issues that act to the detriment of tourism development in LDCs (Elliot 2005; Singh & Singh 1999 Spencerely & Goodwin 2007) identifying a lack of clear procedures, lines of authority, and departmental responsibilities at the governmental level (Clawson 2000; Pattulo 1996). For example, licenses for establishing and operating tourism business may have

to be obtained from different ministries and at different levels (for the case of Zanzibar, see Chapter 5). Indeed, more generally there is increasing evidence of a lack of government support for and investment in tourism development in LDCs (Sharpley 2009), reflecting perhaps increasing acceptance of the fact that the nature of governance or the effectiveness of state intervention is a significant factor in the development process in developing countries in general, and SIDS in particular (Ghani and Lockhart 2008). These issues of governance and administrative barriers have to a large extent militated against the tourism development process in LDCs, lowering tourism growth rates and increasing the failure rate of tourism projects, especially locally owned tourism projects (Simpson 2008; Sofield & Daugherty 2002; Vaughan et al 2000). In order to solve this problem, radical changes in government structures and systems may be required, the objective being to alter government behaviour from ‘command and control’ to a service orientation aimed at development facilitation.

### ***2.6.2 Infrastructure***

The second issue in developing tourism in LDCs related to poor or limited infrastructure. Numerous studies contend that inadequate infrastructure and services deter tourism growth in less developed countries (Mcharo 2009; Okazaki 2008; Reid 2003; Richter 2001). Conversely, in research carried out by MIGA (2002), the ‘reliability and quality of infrastructure and utilities’ was cited as the most important factor attracting tourism developers in Tanzania. Similar findings have emerged in other tourism studies (see Knack and Keefer 1995; Okello & Yerian 2009; Skof 2008; Sumich 2002; Vaughan et al 2000). The development of infrastructure can be both a precondition and a consequence of the development of tourism. While the destination must have a minimal infrastructure to start tourism development, income from tourism and tourists increasing expectations contribute to infrastructural development.

In addition, poor infrastructure and facilities in LDCs may negatively affect both relative prices and the quality of products (Kirsten & Rogerson 2002; Mbaiwa 2005). According to Kester (2003), the major obstacles to tourist arrivals in LDCs are

insufficient air transport, a deficiency in facilities and accommodation. Conversely, countries with good roads and communication networks and a reliable power supply are likely to attract quality tourism developers which, in turn, provide a quality service to tourists (Kirsten & Rogerson 2002; Mbaiwa 2005). Thus, poor tourism-related infrastructure may result in LDCs receiving low quality visitors (Kulindwa 2002; Lepp 2007; Timothy et al 2003), and prevent them from competing effectively in the global tourism market (Kinsella & Brehony 2009; Kironde 2009). It is interesting to note that, in 2006, only an estimated 15% of roads in LDCs were fully paved, compared to 55% in other developing countries and 94% in the developed world (UNCTAD 2007, 2008).

The issue of infrastructure not only is associated with an increase in capital and operating costs (Mabaya & Christy 2004; Mitchell & Faal 2006; Mitchell et al. 2009), but also with the repatriation of profits back to the developed (tourist generating) countries, thus preventing tourism earnings from circulating in the local economy (Ashley and Roe 2003; Brohman 1996; Gray 1998). Frequently, tourism developments in LDCs are foreign-owned and, therefore, investments in tourism may contribute little to the economic development of the country (Kirsten & Rogerson 2002; Mbaiwa 2005). This, of course, undermines the major goal of developing a tourism industry, namely, to generate foreign exchange for the host country. However, as Ryan (2003) notes, the greater the proportion of foreign ownership in enterprises, the greater the outflow of money from the local market and, as a consequence, the more limited will be the economy stimulating impact of tourism.

### ***2.6.3 Competition***

The third issue in developing tourism in LDCs is competition. Competition can occur at both international and sub-national levels (Ceballos-Lascuráin 1996; Bianchi 2002; Bramwell 2001; CHL Consulting Group 1996). At the international level, different LDCs are competing with each other for tourists (Enright and James 2005); at the subnational level, within particular LDCs, multinational companies may be competing with local businesses (Cole 2007; Cronin 1990; Cooper 2002). Therefore, it is

suggested that LDC tourism destinations should identify and market those distinct features that provide them with competitive advantage over a competitor's destination (Ashley 2006; Blomley & Ramadhani 2006; Chen 2000; Cooper & Vargas 2004). This, in turn implies, that each LDC should strive to develop a unique and comprehensive tourism product.

Additionally, it is suggested that LDCs should target specific markets rather than aiming indiscriminately at the undifferentiated global tourism base (Dieke 2000). A niche market strategy allows LDCs to market tourism products by targeting to those consumers who engage in that particular form of tourism. Today, mass tourism is characterized by the highest level of competition at both the international and subnational levels (Dieke 2001; Ellis 2000; Emerton 2001; Goldman 2003). Thus, LDCs face the challenge of providing a unique tourism experience in an industry where so much is standardized.

#### ***2.6.4 Linkages***

The fourth issue related to the development of tourism in LDCs relates to linkages (see section 2.3) and the multiplier effect. Simply stated, the multiplier effect refers to the extent of the circulation of money generated from tourism expenditure within a local economy (Gössling 2001, 2009; Hampton 2003). According to Harrison and Schipani (2007), LDCs enjoy a very low multiplier effect. As discussed in Section 2.4, many large resorts import food, beverages and other products necessary to meet the needs of tourists. This increases the amount of foreign earnings that are used to pay for tourism related imports (Harrison & Schipani 2007). There is a need, therefore, for LDCs to establish policies that will link tourism with other economic sectors, such as agriculture and fishing, in order to reduce the level of leakages at the same time as stimulating local economic growth.

### ***2.6.5 Information / image***

Among the significant barriers to development of tourism in LDCs, detailed information concerning history, image and available tourism resources are some of the most important (Dieke 2001; Harrison 2000; Held et al 2000; Honey 2008). Without detailed and correct information concerning tourism industry, it is impossible for LDCs to get large tourism market share and, hence, effectively increase improve national economy (Ashley et al 2001; Diamantis 2000; Gartner 2008). In the global tourism market, there is very limited information about LDCs' tourism industry (Dieke 1992; Fadahunsi 2000). Apart from attending international tourism exhibition, it is difficult for LDCs to organize any other international tourism promotion events, such as road shows. Many LDCs have limited marketing and promotion budgets which enable them to portray their image to global tourism (.Dieke 2001; Harrison 2000; Held et al 2000). Based on that fact, there is a distinct need for LDCs to deliver information that reflects the nature and image of their tourism products.

### ***2.6.6 Employment***

As discussed in section 2.4, many jobs in tourism are seasonal. During the peak season, many local people may have the opportunity to be employed in tourism businesses (subject, of course, to the possession appropriate knowledge and skills). However, during the low season, many local employees are laid off. These employment fluctuations may have a severe impact on the host destination economy, particularly in resort areas. Another problem with respect to employment is the distribution of job positions (Harrill 2004; Butler 2003; Lepp 2007). In LDCs, the local community typically lacks the human capitals and skills necessary for acquiring managerial position (Narman 2007), resulting in the importation of labour from outside. It should be noted that importing skilled labour from outside increases the level of competition for a limited number of jobs (Woodley 1993), with evident consequences for local unemployment levels.

### ***2.6.7 Environment***

The final issue of significance to the development of tourism in LDCs is the environment. As previously noted, LDCs rely mainly on international tourist markets located primarily in developed countries; for them, the tourism product in LDCs is perceived as exotic, attractive and enticing (King 1993; Scheyvens & Momsen 2008). Tourism has both a direct and indirect relationship with its environment and some of the effects are local and others are directed from the outside of the tourism region (Davidson & Maitland 1997; Green & Hunter, 1992). The extent of tourism's impact on the environment depends largely on the type of tourism, the form of travel, scale of tourism development, and the volume and concentration of tourists (Davidson & Maitland 1997; Green & Hunter, 1992). In LDCs, the growth of tourism, especially mass tourism, has had a range of impacts on all natural and built environments (Kweka et al 2001; Lepp 2007; Mbaiwa 2008), but has often led to the direct destruction of the environment. The two main areas of environmental impacts of tourism are pressure on natural resources and damage to ecosystems (King 1993; Roberts & Hall 2001; Scheyvens & Momsen 2008).

The main natural resources at risk from tourism development are land, freshwater and marine resources (Davidson & Maitland 1997; Roberts & Hall 2001; Green & Hunter, 1992). The intensive tourism development has threatened natural landscapes, notably through deforestation and soil erosion (King 1993; Roberts & Hall 2001; Scheyvens & Momsen 2008). Tourism development in coastal areas has caused beach erosion other forms of land degradation, such as sand mining (Roberts & Hall 2001; Scheyvens & Momsen 2008). Indeed, tourism development, in LDCs, has threatened the growth of fisheries and other marine resources. According to Hall (2001), anchor damage is regarded as one of the most serious threats to coral reefs in the LDCs.

Another environmental problem caused by tourism development in LDCs is the disposal of liquid and solid waste. The disposal of untreated waste has, in turn, contributed to

reducing the availability of natural resources (King 1993; Roberts & Hall 2001). Tourism can also lead to land contamination from solid waste and the contamination of marine waters and coastal areas from pollution generated by hotels and marinas, as well as cruise ships. According to Scheyvens and Momsen (2008), uncontrolled tourism activities can cause severe disruption of wildlife habitats and increased pressure on endangered species. Table 2.7 provides a summary of environment risk from tourism.

Table 2.7: Environmental risk to tourism

<b>Element</b>	<b>Examples of risk from tourism activities</b>
<b>Ecosystems</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● The construction of accommodation, visitor centers, infrastructure, and other services has a direct impact on the environment, from vegetation removal, animal disturbance elimination of habitats, impacts on drainage etc.</li> <li>● Wildlife habitat may be significantly changed (travel routes, hunting areas, breeding areas, etc.) by all kinds of tourist development and use.</li> </ul>
<b>Soils</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Soil compaction can occur in certain well-used areas.</li> <li>● Soil removal and erosion also occurs, and may continue after the disturbance is gone.</li> </ul>
<b>Vegetation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Concentrated use around facilities has a negative effect on vegetation.</li> <li>● Transportation may have direct negative impacts on the environment (e.g. vegetation removal, weed transmission, animal disturbance).</li> <li>● Fire frequency may change due to tourists and park tourism management.</li> </ul>
<b>Water</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Increased demands for fresh water.</li> <li>● Disposal of sewage or litter in rivers, lakes or oceans.</li> <li>● Release of oil and fuel from ships and smaller craft.</li> <li>● Propeller-driven watercraft may affect certain aquatic plants and species.</li> </ul>
<b>Air</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Motorized transportation may cause pollution from emissions (from plane, train, ship or automobile).</li> </ul>

<b>Wildlife</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Hunting and fishing may change population dynamics.</li> <li>● Hunters and fishers may demand the introduction of foreign species, and increased populations of target animals.</li> <li>● Impacts occur on insects and small invertebrates, from effects of transportation, introduced species, etc.</li> <li>● Disturbance by visitors can occur for all species, including those that are not attracting visitors.</li> <li>● Disturbance can be of several kinds: noise, visual or harassing behaviour.</li> <li>● The impact can last beyond the time of initial contact (e.g. before heart-rate returns to normal, or before birds alight, or mammals resume breeding or eating).</li> <li>● Marine mammals may be hurt or killed by boat impacts or propeller cuts.</li> <li>● Habituation to humans can cause changed wildlife behaviour, such as approaching people for food.</li> </ul>
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Adapted from Paul et al. (2002)

## 2.7 Summary

This chapter has examined the tourism development in LDCs. Compared to developed countries, tourism in these countries are characterized with low volume, high seasonality and high dependence on foreign operators. Despite the lack of competitive advantages, it found that LDCs experiences remarkable number of international arrivals and tourism receipts. Tourism development has created both positive and negative impacts on LDCs depending mostly on their level of development. In order to contribute to community well being in LDCs, it is imperative to balance the benefits and costs of tourism development. Since international tourism is adopted by a large number of LDCs as a vehicle for economic growth, it is essential that the destination develops this industry so as to reap economic benefits over the long term and at the same time contribute to good change for the destination communities. A community based approach to development is desired if tourism is to contribute to community well being and hence to sustainable development. The next chapter examines community tourism as a form of development in LDCs and discusses other key concepts related to study.



# CHAPTER THREE

## 3 Community Tourism Development

### 3.1 Introduction

As noted in the preceding chapters, changes in social policies, increasing levels of wealth and technological advances, especially in the transport sector, have together facilitated the rapid growth of global tourism; consequently, tourism is now considered one of the world's largest service industries (Stonich 2000; Suzuki 2002; Tosun 2006). Moreover, given its ability to create job opportunities and to generate foreign exchange earnings, tourism is regarded as an appropriate tool for socio-economic development in general, and for rural economic development and pro-poor growth in particular (Ashley 2006; Nkwame 2008; Okello & Yerian 2009). However, many commentators have also concluded that tourism may be a principal source of environmental degradation and socio-cultural impacts in the host destination (Adler & Kwan 2002; Ashley et al 2001; Cater 1995; Briassoulis 2002), these impacts often being more evident or severe in those countries with unplanned tourism development (Domet 1991; Hall & Lew 1998; Hidinger 1996; Mowforth & Munt 2003).

As a result of negative consequences of tourism, many non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have worked towards raising awareness of the need for conservation and the preservation of cultural and national resources (Butler & Boyd, 2000; Dei 2000; Richards & Hall, 2000). More specifically, the perceived shortcomings of mass tourism, perhaps the most common form of tourism in developing countries, has driven the search for alternative approaches tourism development (Mowforth & Munt 2003; Sharpley 2009; Sharpley & Telfer 2002). Consequently, different forms of tourism have emerged based on the principles of so-called 'sustainable development', a concept which remains contentious in terms of both theory and practice (Ashley 2006; Richards & Hall 2000; Redclift 1999; Sharpley 2009). This chapter critically explores the concept

of community tourism development as a specific approach to sustainable tourism, the primary purpose being to consider why community tourism is proposed as an approach to tourism development, its characteristics, potential barriers, and how it has been developed and implemented in practice. In so doing, it provides a broad framework for exploring and developing the concept of community capitals for tourism development in Chapter 4.

### **3.2 The Concept of Community Tourism**

The study of tourism and the community is necessarily complex as it involves several factors (Jamal & Getz 1995; Kneafsey 2001). For more than twenty years, numerous studies have been undertaken into the planning, development and management of community tourism (for example, Ashley 2006; Ashley et al 2001; de Boer & Huening 2004; Dei 2000; D’Hautesserre 2005; Diamantis 2000; Gössling 2003; Murphy & Murphy 2004; Tosun 2000). Given the principles of sustainable development, these studies have attempted to link destination communities with their resources for tourism development, an issue that is considered in more detail in the following chapter. However, the development orientation implicit in the contemporary meaning and principles of destination community participation in tourism planning and management arguably still remains unclear (Boyd and Singh 2003; Honey 1999; Murphy and Murphy 2004). Indeed, according to McIntyre (1995) and Li (2004), the concept of community tourism remains poorly understood; there has been a failure to establish a generally accepted definition, although it is generally seen to be an approach to tourism development that considers the local community as a key development partner, the notion being that the communities may develop a greater sense of responsibility for the sustainable use of resources (Douglas 1989; Kneafsey 2001).

An early perspective on the concept of community tourism can be found in the work of Murphy (1985). In his book, *Tourism: A Community Approach*, Murphy explored the relationship between tourism development and the local community, suggesting ways in which the community might participate in and, hence, better benefit from the

development of tourism. In so doing, he paved the way for new lines of investigation into community-based tourism and the development of other, more specific approaches, such as the Community Benefits Tourists Initiative and Pro-Poor Tourism. Following Murphy (1985), a number of other commentators have considered the relationships between destination communities and tourism (for example, Richard & Hall 2000; Simpson 2008; Manyara and Jones 2007; Murphy and Murphy 2004; Nyaupane *et al.*, 2006; Okazaki 2008; Kayat 2010). Unsurprisingly, common to all these studies is the basic requirement that destination communities should be included in the tourism planning, management and decision-making process (Clarke 1997; Dyer *et al.* 2003; Lepp 2007; Manyara & Jones 2007; Kayat 2010; Kibicho 2008; Nyaupane *et al.* 2006; Okazaki 2008; Zorn & Farthing 2007).

According to Hall (1996 cited in Blackstock 2005: 39), community tourism is a form of tourism that ‘emphasizes the involvement of the host communities in planning and maintaining tourism development in order to create a more sustainable industry’. This definition firmly establishes destination communities at the center of tourism development (see section 3.5.2 below). According to Fitton (cited in Timothy 2000: 150), community tourism seeks to develop the tourism industry in accord with the ‘needs and aspirations of host communities in a way that is acceptable to them, sustains their economies rather than the economy of others, and is not detrimental to their culture, traditions or, indeed, their day-to-day convenience’. Thus, community tourism evidently correlates with community development more generally (Reed 1997; Kibicho, 2008; Harrill 2004). However, according to Ashley and Mitchell (2005), the concept of community tourism will continue to remain amorphous because of the difficulty of defining precisely its parental term. Shuntie Tang (1998) provides a broad definition of community tourism by noting that community tourism should:

*consider the construction of tourist destinations from the angle of community, ... instruct the overall planning and arrangement of tourist districts with the mutuality theory of community, and ... improve the efficiency of tourist flow by optimizing the structure of tourist community in order to seek for the harmonious unification and*

*optimization of the tourist destinations' economic, environmental and social benefits* (Shuntie Tang, 1998).

In effect, this definition prescribes a specific means of implementing the principles of sustainable development within the tourism context through integrating tourism development with the construction of the local community. By its very nature, community tourism is generally a form of local tourism, focused on interpreting and communicating the local culture and environment (Torell 2002; Walpole & Goodwin 2001; Zeppel 2007). This means that community tourism seeks to build a close link between the destination community's assets and visitors (Godfrey & Clarke 2000; Tosun 2000; Vaughan et al 2000). Community tourism is considered to be suited in particular to rural and regional areas (Nkwame 2008; Sharpley 2009; Zeppel 2007). In developed countries, for example, tourism in rural areas has been successfully managed and driven by local people themselves through the practice of their natural and cultural activities (Dyer *et al.*, 2003; Ellias 2000; Fridgen 1991). According to Horn and Simmons (2002), it is the destination community that creates the base for community tourism development because they possess all the components required for the development of tourism services.

Thus, community tourism may serve as a tool for community development and the conservation of cultural and natural resources. However, as discussed shortly (see Section 3.4) the concept is closely related to other alternative forms of tourism, such as ecotourism, and is oftentimes referred as community-based ecotourism. Nevertheless, the purposes of community tourism are twofold. Whilst, on one hand, it provides opportunities for improved community livelihoods, on the other hand it provides contributions and incentives for natural and cultural conservation. According to Hatton (2002), the community tourism industry is the collection of small scale business that creates and sells a variety of goods and services to visitors. As such, the growth of community tourism is the result of destination community's response to the opportunities and the threats in their localities (Davis and Morais 2004; McCool, Moisey & Nickerson 2001; Roe et al. 2004). In other words, the more local

communities are willing to participate in tourism activities, the more the community tourism is viable (Li 2004). Table 3.1 below presents a summary of the characteristics of community tourism projects.

Some environmentalists, such as Hamza (2010), argue that community tourism exists when individuals confront the opportunities and responsibilities of citizenship, thus highlighting the role of social capital for community economic development. This issue is discussed further in Chapter 4 but, in general, tourism depends on the environment and, therefore, the community should acquire a 'social and political will' to conserve the environment. In many developing countries, community tourism may serve as a springboard for economic development, contributing to the conservation of nature and providing employment opportunities for destination communities (Godfrey & Clarke 2000; Fennel & Weaver 1997; Hamza 2010). However, as the destination area welcomes increasing numbers of visitors the less desirable impacts of tourism may, of course, be experienced (Davis and Morais 2004; McCool, Moisey & Nickerson, 2001).

According to Gebremedhin and Theron (2007), there are five principle characteristics of community tourism projects. According to them, such projects should be: (i) nature based (see Ceballos-Lascuráin 1991; Cater 1994; Groom et al. 1991); (ii) ecologically sustainable (see Torell 2002; Walpole & Goodwin 2001; Zeppel 2007); (iii) environmentally and culturally educative (see Brockington 2007; Kousis 2000; Hassan, 2000); (iv) bring local benefits (see Stankey, 1985; Whelan 1991; Getz 1994; Fridgen, 1991; McDonald 2009); and , (v) generate tourists satisfaction' (Gebremedhin and Theron 2007; Norris 1992). In principle, community tourism is an ecologically sustainable form of tourism undertaken in natural settings (Torell 2002; Walpole & Goodwin 2001; Zeppel 2007; Whelan 1991; Getz 1994; Fridgen, 1991). Thus, it should employ sound environmental management and the maintenance of environmental capital which, in turn, provides a viable economic alternative to the exploitation of the environment (Cater 1994).

**Table 3.1:** Characteristics of community tourism

	<b>Characteristics</b>	<b>References</b>
<b>Involvement</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It should be run with the involvement and consent of local communities.</li> <li>• Involve community rather than individuals</li> <li>• Local communities should have the opportunity to become involved in tourism operations, and in the provision of knowledge, services, facilities and products.</li> </ul>	Ceballos-Lascuráin(1991); Cater( 1994); Groom et al.(1991); Lindberg (1994); Wilson (1997); Jenner and Smith (1992); Barker and McGregor (1995)
<b>Ownership and profit sharing</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Give a fair share of profits back to the local community</li> <li>• Allocating all or a proportion of ownership, rights and control over natural resources to a section or group of local communities.</li> </ul>	Stankey (1985); Whelan (1991); Getz 1994; Fridgen, (1991); Cater (1995)
<b>Decision making</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Decision-making authority must be at community level</li> </ul>	Getz(1994); Fridgen (1991)
<b>Planning and development</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Planning and development must focus on capacity-building</li> <li>• Planning and development must be coordinated</li> </ul>	Stankey (1985); Whelan (1991); Getz (1994)
<b>Environment</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The project should be environmental sustainable</li> <li>• Benefits distribution must be linked to natural resources conservation</li> </ul>	Torell (2002); Walpole & Goodwin (2001); Zeppel (2007)
<b>Culture</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The project should respect traditional culture and social structure</li> </ul>	Cater (1994); Groom et al. (1991); Lindberg (1994)
<b>Education</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Environmental education aims to satisfy the tourist demand for providing information regarding natural and cultural attractions, thereby providing a satisfying recreational experience</li> <li>• changing in a pro-environmental way, the knowledge, attitudes and/or behaviors of tourists, with a view to minimizing negative impacts and producing a more environmentally and culturally aware citizenry</li> </ul>	Rutten (2002); Diaz (2001); Wilson (1997); Hassan (2000); Mitchell & Muckosy (2008); Hall (2000); Harper (1997); Swarbrooke (2002); WTO (1998)
<b>Satisfaction</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It also improves the quality of the tourism experience</li> </ul>	Norris (1992), Neto, F. (2003)

*Source:* Compiled by the author

According to Li (2004), community tourism studies often incorporate different social and organizational theories in order to progress towards more sustainable approaches (see Chapter 4). Reed (1997), for example, draws on theories of power relations (community power and empowerment) within a community tourism planning process. However, some writers argue that community tourism still fails to address the issues of power relations and empowerment (Blackstock 2005; Beeton 2006). For example, Beeton (2006: 50) points out that:

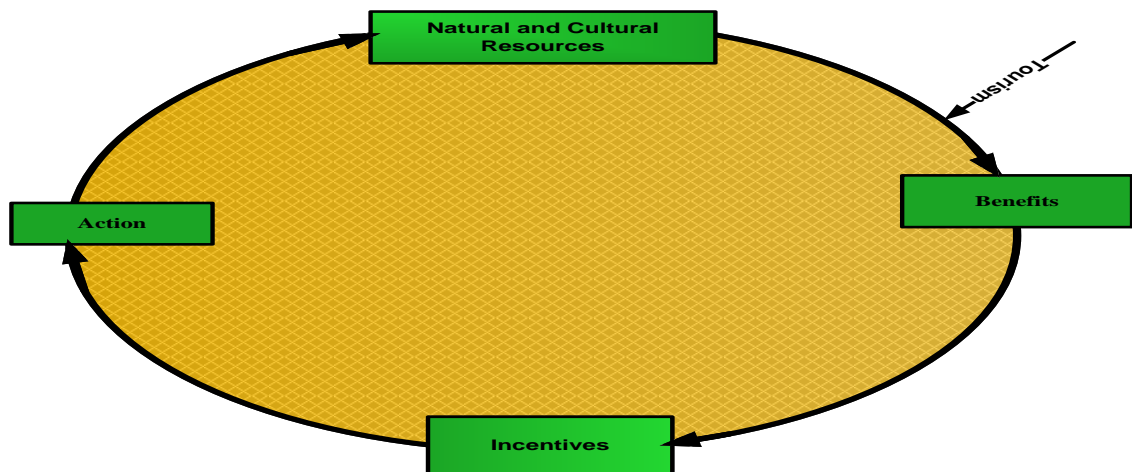
*Firstly, community tourism accounts lack transformative intent of community development, as community tourism is presented as a way of ensuring the long-term survival of a profitable tourism industry rather than empowering local residents. Secondly, local communities are presented as homogeneous blocks, devoid of internal power struggles of competing values. Thirdly, community tourism accounts ignore the external constraints to local control.*

To summarize, then, there remains a lack of agreement about the meaning of community tourism and, according to some, a major gap exist between academic definitions of the concept and the way it is implemented in practice (Dyer *et al.* 2003; Goodwin 2009; Lepp 2007; Manyara & Jones 2007; Pretty 1995). Moreover, although the concept of community tourism has been long developed in western countries in the search for sustainable approaches to tourism development (Tosun 2000; Li 2004; Hatton, 2002), as suggested in Chapter 1, there is less evidence of its application in the context of developing countries in general and LDCs in particular (Mitchell and Reid 2001; Timothy 1999; Tosun 2000). In other words, it appears that the concept of a participatory development approach in tourism has not been fully considered in the context of developing countries, especially LDCs (Dyer *et al.*, 2003; Okello & Yerian 2009; Lepp 2007; Manyara & Jones 2007; Tosun, 2005). Therefore, the need exists to consider ways in which community tourism may be effectively applied and implemented in LDCs, hence the focus of this thesis.

### 3.3 Rationale for the concept of community tourism

The rationale underlying the principles and objectives of community tourism is that community tourism, through an increase in the intensity of participation of local people, (see Section 3.5.2 below) may not only provide decision-making powers to the community, but also endow them with environmental and social-economic benefits (Spenceyley 2001; Nyaupane *et al.* 2006; Wearing & Neil 1999). Many scholars support a system of community participation in which the destination community would derive economic benefits from tourism activities and the subsequent tourism would be a solution to the environmental and ecological damage that prevail in the destination (Nyaupane *et al.* 2006; Spenceyley 2001). For example, the potential economic benefits may serve as an incentive for rural communities to actively participate in tourism which, in turn, acts a means of conserving the cultural and natural resources on which income is generation depends (see Figure 3.1).

**Figure 3.1:** Rationale for community tourism



**Source:** Author

According to Tosun (2000), community tourism based on cultural and natural resources reflects the principles of sustainable tourism since it can positively contribute to the protection of the environment and the conservation of cultural resources through promoting alternative sustainable livelihoods (Nyaupane *et al.* 2006; Scheyvens 2002; Wearing & Neil 1999). However, in order to apply the concept of community tourism,



the destination should consider a shift from a ‘command and control’ approach to a participatory approach where active destination community involvement is taken into consideration, and serves as a vital input in the process of tourism development (Dyer *et al.* 2003; Lepp 2007; Nyaupane *et al.* 2006; Manyara & Jones 2007; Spencey 2001)

As mentioned in Chapter 2, community tourism, by definition, focuses at the local community level, yet for the concept to be successful it is necessary to consider and incorporate a critical link with other sector operations at a wider scale (Hustler & Strasdas 2002; Richards & Hall 2000; McCool & Moisey 2001). Some environmentalists, particularly the ‘strong sustainability’ school of thought, tend to idealize that the goals of community tourism as the retention and distribution of benefits entirely at the level of the local community (Hamza 2010). However, the contemporary literature suggests community tourism should be considered and planned inclusively, that is, with other sectors and stakeholders (Richards & Hall 2000; McCool & Moisey 2001). This suggests that community tourism policies should be linked into key policies originating from a variety sectors (see Chapter 5). It is also important to note that tourism experiences rely on all aspects of the community and, therefore, partnership is required for delivering a higher quality products (Fennel and Eagles 1990; Nyaupane *et al.* 2006).

According to Hustler and Strasdas (2002), destination communities should enjoy substantial control over the tourism resources in their community; if they are excluded from the exploitation of tourism resources, conflicts may occur (Richards and Hall 2000; McCool and Moisey 2001). These conflicts may, in turn, result in detrimental impacts which deter tourism development at the community level (Hustler & Strasdas 2002; Sindiga 1999), a situation that Boyd and Sign (2003) describe as a ‘lose – lose’ scenario as both parties, the community and the wider tourism industry, will be affected.

In short, the literature on the concept of community tourism suggests that a community participatory approach to tourism development should become an inherent ingredient of

sustainability (Richards and Hall 2000; McCool and Moisey 2001). This implies that community tourism should optimize the socio-economic benefits to destination communities by allowing destination communities to participate in tourism planning (Husler & Strsdas 2002; Sindiga 1999; McCool and Moisey 2001). However, in the context of LDCs such participation may be difficult to achieve.

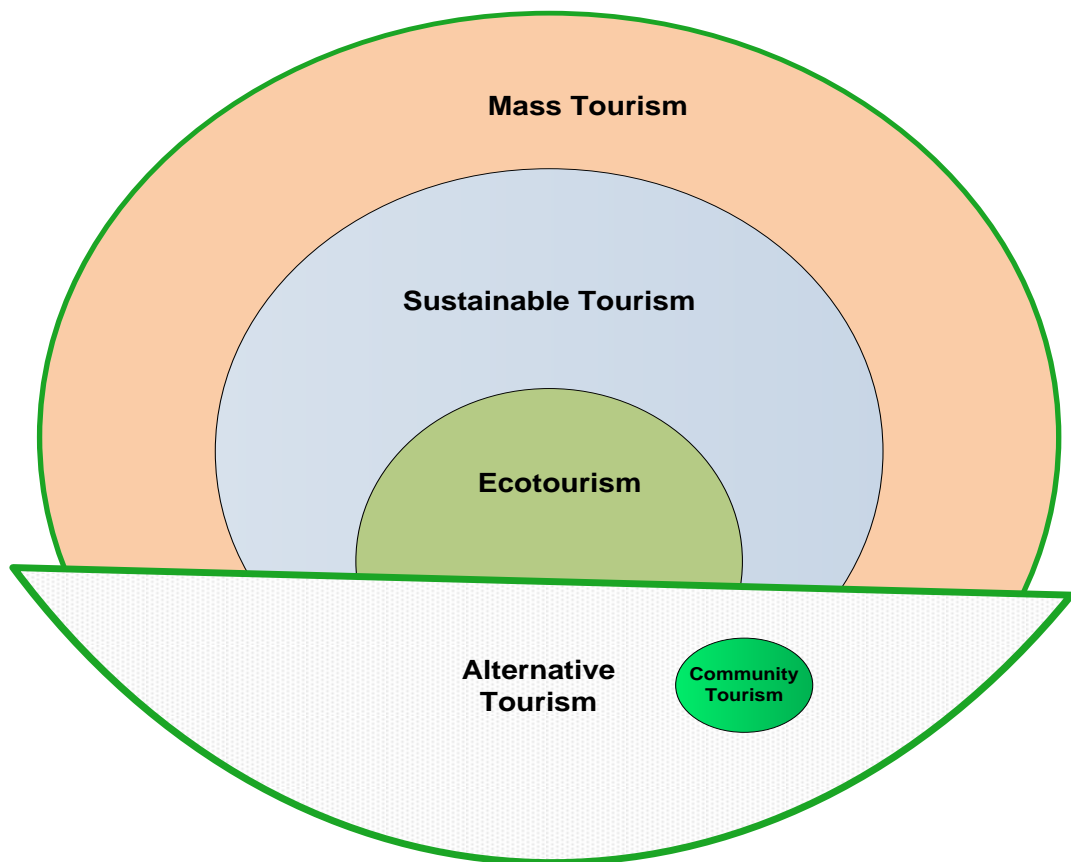
### **3.4 Other Alternative forms tourism development**

Defining the precise meaning of community tourism is problematic since there exists a wide range of tourism forms and terms that display commonalities and share characteristics (Ashley 2006; Brohman 1996; Botes & van Rensburg 2000; Dei 2000; Diamantis 2000). As discussed above, not only is the definition of community tourism contentious (Brohman 1996; Hunter & Green 1995), but also there is a lack of agreement over terminology. For example, some commentators use the simple term 'community tourism' (Jones 2005; Tosun 2000; Vaughan et al 2000), others specify it as community-based tourism or ecotourism (Gartner 2008; Greenwood 2006; Leiserowitz et al. 2006; Lepp 2007), whilst yet others equate it with rural tourism (Richards & Hall 2000; McCool & Moisey 2001).

As Figure 3.2 below demonstrates, community tourism is a subset of alternative tourism, while there also exists a relationship between community tourism and ecotourism, alternative tourism and mass tourism given the contemporary focus on sustainable tourism across all forms of tourism development, including mass tourism. However, it is important to note that these other specific types of tourism, such as ecotourism or rural tourism, are not synonymous with community tourism (Gartner 2008; Greenwood 2006; Leiserowitz et al. 2006; Lepp 2007).

According to Scheyvens (2002), alternative tourism generally is a form of tourism which is small scale, low density and dispersed. It aims to minimize environmental and cultural interference and it gives precedence to community needs, involvement, interests and culture (Aref 2011; Brohman 1996; Beckon 2004; Che et al. 2005).

**Figure 3.2:** Relationship between Mass Tourism, Alternative Tourism and Community Tourism



*Source:* Adapted from Weaver (2001).

Some commentators, such as Fennell (2003), Wearing & Neil (1999) and Smith and Eadington (1992) assert that alternative tourism is the only form of tourism that can generate benefits for individual households, for local communities and for host countries. Alternative tourism is often described as a form of tourism that not only enhances tourist-host relationships, but also considers natural, social and community values (Hunter 1996; Weaver 2006; Weaver & Lawton, 2002). Alternative forms of tourism include sustainable tourism, which may be considered to be a force that strives to develop tourism with a human face and care for the environment and its ecology (Fennell 2003; Wearing & Neil 1999; Smith & Eadington 1992; Leong 2008).

**Table 3.2:** Characteristics of mass vs. alternative tourism

<b>Conventional Mass Tourism</b>	<b>Alternative Forms of Tourism</b>
<b>General features</b>	
Rapid Development Maximises Socially/environmentally inconsiderate Uncontrolled Short-term Sectoral Remote control	Slow development Optimises Socially/environmentally considerate Controlled Long-term Holistic Local Control
<b>Development strategies</b>	
Development without planning Project-led schemes Tourism development everywhere Concentration on ‘honeypots’ New building Development by outsiders Employees imported Urban architecture	First plan, then develop Concept-led schemes Development in suitable places Pressures and benefits diffused Re-use of existing building Local developers Local employment utilised Vernacular architecture
<b>Tourist Behaviour</b>	
Large groups Fixed programme Little time ‘Sights’ Imported lifestyle Comfortable/passive Loud Shopping	Singles, families, friends Spontaneous decisions Much time ‘Experiences’ Local lifestyle Demanding/active Quiet Bring presents

**Source:** (Sharpley 2009: 44)

The main objective of alternative tourism is to create a better quality of life for all people (including tourists themselves), economic sustainability and a reduction in environmental degradation (Higgins-Desbiolles 2008). The broad characteristics of alternative tourism are described in opposition to those of conventional mass tourism in Table 3.2 above

### **3.4.1 Ecotourism**

Broadly, ecotourism can be defined as travel to natural areas that conserves and sustains the wellbeing of local people (Ashley & Garland 1994; Daily & Ellison 2003; Hill et al 2004). According to Boo (1992), ecotourism is nature tourism that promotes conservation and sustainable development, introducing the element of pro-active conservation and economic development. Honey (1999) argues that ecotourism should not only consider financial benefits for conservation and local people, but also it should provide support for human rights and democratic movement. Ecotourism has been a popular form of community-based natural resource management (Ashley 2006; Salafsky et al. 2001; Honey 1999; 2002). The wide range of interpretations of the conservation and community development objectives of ecotourism underlie much of the debate surrounding the concept of ecotourism (Boo 1992; Daily & Ellison 2003; Honey 1999; Honey 2002). According to Weaver and Lawton (2007), ecotourism should generally satisfy three core criteria. First, attractions should be nature based; second, the interaction of visitors with natural attractions should be educational and focused on learning; and third, the principles and practices of ecological, socio-cultural and economic sustainability should be followed. The third criterion corresponds with Ceballos-Lascuráin's (1996) idea that conservation should be promoted and active socio economic involvement of local populations should be provided.

### **3.4.2 Pro Poor Tourism**

Pro-poor tourism (PPT) is a development approach that originates in the poverty alleviation agenda adopted in the 1990s, and it is one of the most recent phenomena in tourism development (.Ashley 2006; Jones 2005; Cooper & Vargas 2004; Kibicho 2008). Pro-poor tourism is described as 'tourism that results in increased net benefits for poor people' (PPT, no date), and is any form of tourism which is designed to provide both economic and non-economic benefits to the poor (Ashley 2006; Ellias 2000). Importantly, it is not a specific niche of alternative tourism (Binn and Nel 2002; Emerton 2001; Greenwood 2006; Hanjra et al. 2009); it can be in the form of mass

tourism, sustainable tourism or alternative tourism (Hardy et al 2002; Harrison 2000; Butler 2003). According to Binn and Nel (2002), there is an overlap between pro-poor tourism and ecotourism and community tourism.

However, while ecotourism mainly focuses on environmental sustainability, albeit with benefits accruing to local people (Cooper & Vargas 2004; Hardy et al 2002; Ellias 2000), the main concern of pro-poor tourism is poverty reduction and enhancing opportunities of the (excluded) poor to engage in tourism (Hill et al 2004; Igoe 2001; Kulindwa 2002; Neto 2003). It does not necessarily require community participation in and control of tourism whereas community tourism aims at increasing the destination community's involvement in and benefit from tourism (Ap 2002; Kull 2002; Taylor 2001). In other words, pro-poor tourism seeks mechanisms 'to unlock opportunities for the poor at all levels and scales of operation' (Pro Poor Tourism 2009: 1); it explicitly takes the concerns and needs of the poor into account and it generates net benefits for the poor within or outside tourism zones (Cooper & Vargas 2004; Ellias 2000; Neto 2003; Scheyvens 2002).

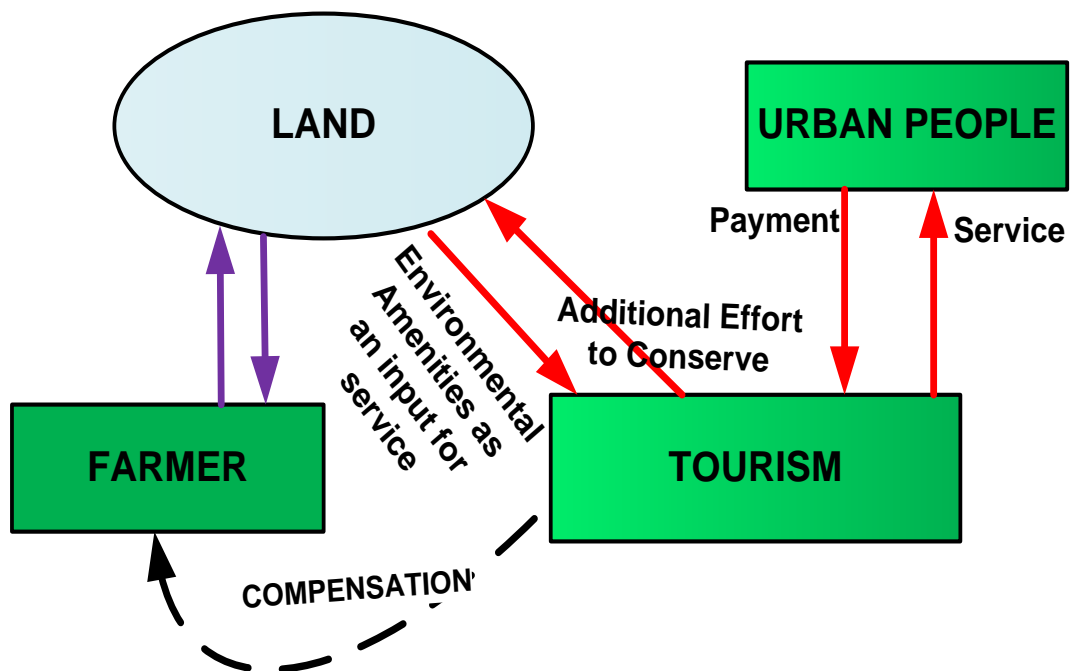
### ***3.4.3 Rural Tourism***

Rural tourism constitutes a different form of tourism (Ashley 2000; Getz 1994; Li 2006; Mitchell & Muckosy 2008). It is, essentially, tourism activity which takes place in the countryside (Sharpley & Sharpley 1997). Rural tourism is multi-faceted and may involve eco-tourism; cultural tourism, farm/agricultural tourism, nature tourism and adventure tourism (Long et al. 1990; Prentice 1993; Wall 1996). It is also frequently referred to as agritourism, an increasingly common approach to rural tourism development in developed countries. However, agritourism is a sub-set of rural tourism more generally, defined by Weaver and Fennel (1997) as rural enterprises which include both working farm and commercial tourism businesses within an agricultural context.

Agritourism has largely emerged due to the decline of agriculture in many rural

communities, compelling the latter to search for a new, alternative path to economic growth (Long et al. 1990; Allen et al 1993; Andereck and Vogt 2000). Within Europe and North America there is significant interest in the development of agritourism; however, it is less commonly seen in the context of LDCs. Figure 3.3 shows that agritourism is a development option in marginalized areas with the potential to bring economic benefits and improve living condition of the local communities (Che et al. 2005; Barbier and Mahoney 2009; Weaver and Fennel 1997). Essentially, rural environmental amenities are exploited as an input to produce recreational services; thus, the rural environment is conserved and enhanced as a basis for economic gain through the provision of tourism experiences.

**Figure 3.3:** Structure of agritourism



Again, however, rural / agritourism is not necessarily a form of community tourism, although members of the local community may become involved through, for example, the development of networks. Rather, it is a form of economic diversification away from traditional agricultural enterprise, the focus being not primarily on community

participation but on economic and social regeneration.

### **3.5 Community Tourism Planning**

Evidently, tourism planning generally has evolved from a rigid approach into one which is comprehensive, flexible and participatory (Inskeep 1991; Dowling 1993; Pearce 1995; Hall 2000; Murphy, 1985; Simmons, 1994; Tosun 1998). The nature of community tourism development requires comprehensive planning and management that brings together a series of interests and concerns in a sustainable manner (Simmons 1994; Tosun 1998) although, as discussed in Chapter 2, community tourism planning continues to be contentious because of different definitions and parameters of the task (Hall 2000; Tosun 1998).

According to Getz (1987: 3), tourism planning is ‘a process, based on research and evaluation, which seeks to optimize the potential contribution of tourism to human welfare and environmental quality’. Similarly, Elliot (1997:116) points out that ‘planning is a very important part of the process by which tourism is managed by governments at the national, local and organisational levels’. In recent years, several tourism planning paradigms have emerged with the general aim of reducing rigidity in its implementation (Hall 2000; Tosun 1998; Timothy 1999; Simmons 1994). In his article: *Toward Integrative Tourism Planning in Rural America*, Marcouiller (1997: 342) states that:

The literature on tourism planning has shifted from nonintegrated approaches during the 1950, 1960, and 1970s... to more integrated approaches during the 1980s to the present. Nonintegrated approaches typically focused on specific projects or programmes without accounting for broader implications, linkages and trade off. Integrated approaches explicitly incorporate the regional economic, social, political and environmental context within which tourism operates.

Timothy et al (2003) suggest three planning approaches namely: (i) participatory



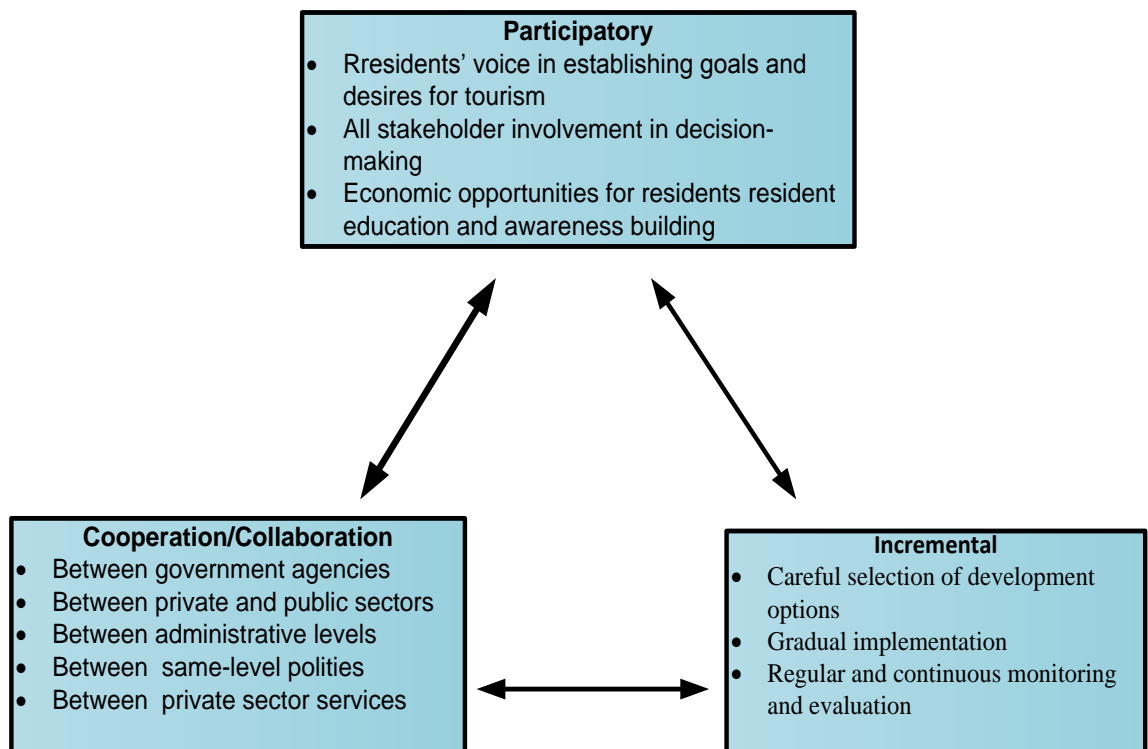
planning, (ii) incremental planning and (iii) collaborative/cooperative planning. The participatory approach promotes a local tourism development control scheme so that local residents are the ones who benefit the most from that development. In reality, however, destination planners almost always face situations of limited time, limited knowledge, limited budgets, limited time horizons and unpredictable influences (Lewis 2007). Planning in such a setting is described as incremental. Broadly speaking, incremental planning is the type of planning where the plan is based on a limited number of alternatives. According to Mbaiwa (2008), these alternatives are based on the planner's experience and require small steps to accomplish a part of the goal. According to Macleod (2007: 2), incremental planning 'occurs when high level of decisions are made based upon previous experiences and expedited consultations, resulting in smaller decisions being distributed to mid management and front line personnel to form alliances and contribute to administrative goals'.

On the other hand, numerous publications including Jamal and Getz (1995) have demonstrated the shift towards a more integrated and participatory tourism planning process. Such approaches to tourism planning appear to be imperative to the achievement of sustainable development (Jamal & Getz 1995; Healey 2006). The concept of collaborative planning suggests a pluralistic society where local conflicts arise between people from different cultural communities. Jamal and Getz (1995: 188) describe collaborative planning in a tourism context as 'a process of joint decision-making among autonomous, key stakeholders ... to resolve planning problems ... and/or to manage issues related to the planning and development'. According to Bramwell & Sharman (1999), collaborative planning in tourist destinations usually involves direct dialogue among the participating stakeholders, this having the potential to lead to negotiation, shared decision-making and consensus-building about planning goals and actions

Collaborative planning can be characterized by concepts such as integrative place making, collaboration in policymaking, inclusive stakeholder involvement and the use

of local knowledge. According to Jamal and Getz (1995), integrative planning seeks to integrate tourism into the overall plan and total development strategy of a country or region. Moreover, integrated planning requires the collaboration of large numbers of stakeholders (Inskeep 1991) and, thus, this approach is less evident in the tourism industry (Inskeep 1991; Dowling 1993; Pearce 1995). In their book *Tourism in Destination Communities*, Timothy et al (2003) create a normative planning model of destination community by combining three prominent planning theories. The model is called PIC model where P, I, and C represent participation, incremental and collaboration respectively (see Figure 3.4).

**Figure 3.4:** PIC planning



**Source:** Timothy et al. (2003)

It is important to note that the PIC model does not replace procedural planning; rather, it 'should function as the broader context within which the rational comprehensive planning steps should be taken'. (Timothy et al. 2003: 194). They further note that 'participatory and collaborative principles should be included at every stage of the

planning process while the principles of incremental planning fit best towards the end of the process when plans have been drafted and recommendations made' (Timothy et al, 2003: 194). According to Timothy et al (2003), the PIC model can lead to destination sustainability if its principles are effectively utilized. Likewise, Jamal and Getz (1995) assert that, in studying the issues and applications specific to collaboration, tourism planning offers a good understanding of the variables needed for community tourism planning. Since this thesis is about application of community tourism (see chapter 1), the subsequent section will further discuss the two important aspects of PIC tourism planning model: collaboration and participation.

### ***3.5.1 Collaboration and cooperation***

Despite its importance and effectiveness in solving organizational or social problems, collaboration as a theoretical concept remains under-researched (Gray & Wood 1991; Jamal & Getz 1995). Nevertheless, there has long been a recognized need for collaboration in tourism planning (de Kadt 1979; Hall 1994; Murphy 1985; Roberts & Simpson 1999), particularly given the number and diversity of stakeholders who have interest in the tourism planning process (Murphy 1985; Roberts & Simpson 1999). While many definitions of collaboration exist, Jamal and Getz (1999: 188) consider it 'a process of joint decision-making among autonomous, key stakeholders of an inter-organizational, community tourism domain to resolve planning problems of the domain and/or manage issues related to the planning and development of the domain'. More specifically with reference to power relationships, '... collaboration can overcome power imbalance by involving all stakeholders in a process that meets their needs. (Jamal and Getz 1995: 567).

In tourism planning, it has been demonstrated that involving diverse stakeholders is an important activity. Therefore, collaborative planning has been proposed by many planners and decision makers because no party dominates management (Blomley & Ramadhani 2006; Clancy 1999; Jamal and Getz 1995). In order to implement a tourism development plan effectively, every stakeholders should be involved in the decision

making process. In other words, decision making in the collaborative process is shared between insiders and outsiders, both groups also being actively involved in implementation (Lankford 1994; Lepp 2007; Mason 2003; Mbaiwa 2008).

Marcouiller Dave (1997: 342) states that:

*It is important to consider how involved different stakeholder groups are in the process. The very real possibility of excluding certain stakeholder group can easily derail implementation of comprehensive tourism plans. ...more integrative approach approaches to tourism planning are collaborative and incorporate careful assessment of local and regional impacts.*

On the same lines, in his chapter *Ecotourism and sustainability in the tourism sector*, Hanrahan (2010: 50) argues that:

*Though it is often difficult, costly and time-consuming to involve a range of stakeholders in the tourism planning process, this involvement may have enormous benefits for sustainability. In particular, participation by multiple stakeholders with varying interests and sometimes conflicting perspectives might encourage more consideration for the associated social, cultural, environmental, economic and political issues affecting sustainable development.*

According to Gray (1985), collaboration passes through three stages, namely, problem setting, direction setting and implementation (see Table 3.3). At Stage 1 (i.e. problem setting), the key stakeholders and issues are clearly identified, whilst at Stage 2, stakeholders 'identify and create a shared vision for future collaborative interpretations, allowing a sense of common purpose to emerge (Hanrahan 2010: .50). Finally, at Stage 3, the shared vision, plan or strategies are implemented. At this stage the tasks and goals may be assigned and along with monitoring of ongoing processes to ensure compliance to collaboration decisions.

**Table 3.3:** A Collaborative Process for Community-Based Tourism Planning.

<b>Stages</b>	<b>Facilitating Conditions</b>
<i>Stage 1:</i> Problem-setting	Recognizing interdependence, indentifying required number of stakeholders, sharing access power, and so on.
<i>Stage 2:</i> Direction-setting	Coincidence of values; distribution of power among stakeholders and so on.
<i>Stage 3:</i> Implementation	High degree of ongoing interdependence; external mandates; redistribution of power; influencing the contextual environment

Sources: Modified from Gray (1985), Jamel and Getz (1995)

The literature (see Bahaire & Elliot-White 1999; Burns 2004; Bramwell & Lane 2000; Hall, 2000; Mason 2003; Murphy 1985; Jamal & Getz 1995; Tosun 2001) suggests several potential benefits resulting from collaboration when the diverse sectors affected by tourism attempt to work together and design tourism plans. For example, Bramwell and Lane (2000: 1-2) state that ‘stakeholder collaboration has the potential to lead to dialogue, negotiation and the building of mutually acceptable proposals about how tourism should be developed. Partnerships involved in tourism planning usually bring together interests in the same destination but in different sectors’. Other benefits of a collaborative approach in tourism planning are minimizing adverse tourism impacts, decreasing conflicts amongst stakeholders and increased competitiveness and enhanced equality (Bahaire & Elliot-White 1999; Bramwell & Lane 2000; Gray 1985; Jamal & Getz 1995; Murphy 1985).

However, a collaborative planning approach may not always be easy to achieve, the main challenge being the identification and legitimization of potential stakeholders (Roberts & Simpson 1999). As discussed earlier, the potential for collaboration in tourism planning is also complicated by the existence of multiple and varied organizations and individuals that hold different viewpoints and have differing vested interests (Murphy & Murphy 2004; Miller 2001), whilst other barriers to collaborative

planning include: a lack of commitment amongst stakeholders; mistrust between stakeholders that may already exist in the tourist destination; competition for resources; a political tradition that favours the centralization of authority; and, lack of consensus on specific structures and processes (Bramwell & Lane, 2000; Gray 1985; Miller 2001). Despite these challenges, however, there are a number of case studies in the literature of successful collaborative community tourism planning (Murphy 1985; Jamal & Getz 1995; Bahaire & Elliot-White 1999; Bramwell & Lane 2000; Hall 2000; Mason & Chen 2000; Tosun 2001). Thus, to summarize, the collaborative process in tourism planning may provide dynamic strategies and processes that be applied to community- based planning in particular (Jamal and Getz 1995).

### ***3.5.2 Community Participation in Tourism***

Among the criteria crucial to the conditions of sustainable tourism planning is participation of the destination community, as evidenced by numerous suggestions in the literature that the local community should be actively involved in planning for tourism (see Doxey 1975; Knopp 1980; Mason 2003; Murphy 1985; Murphy & Murphy 2004; Lankford 1994; Long & Richardson 1989; Reisinger & Turner 2003). Indeed, the term ‘community participation’ is widely used in the tourism literature and, generally, it refers to a form of voluntary action in which individuals confront opportunities and responsibilities of citizenship (Bramwell & Sharman 1999; Hall 1994; Parker 1999; Skelcher, 1993). Community participation can be seen as an educational and empowering process whereby people identify problems and needs and increasingly assume responsibility themselves to plan, manage, control and assess the collective actions that are proved necessary (Bramwell & Sharman 1999; Gajda 2004; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Timothy, 1999; Palmer & Bejou 1995; Tosun 1998).

According to Timothy (1999), community participation involves a shift of power from central authorities to residents at community level. Thus, the concept of community participation attempts to balance (or re-balance) power relations, thereby reasserting local community views against tourism developers or government (Ashley and Garland

1994; Gajda 2004; Palmer & Bejou 1995; Watkins, 2002). Timothy (1999) is supported by Tosun (2000: 615), who states:

*It is believed that a participatory development approach would facilitate implementation of principles of sustainable tourism development by creating better opportunities for local people to gain larger and more balanced benefits from tourism development taking place in their localities.*

Community participation is a special form of the community-based planning approach designed to encourage destination communities to take an active role in tourism development. It is well documented in the literature that, if tourism makes use of a local community's resources, then that community should be the key partner in the process of planning (Tosun 1998; Bramwell & Sharman 1999; Hall 1994; Parker 1999; Skelcher, 1993). Similarly, Murphy (1985: 17) argues that 'as tourism relies upon the involvement of local people, as part of the tourism product, then if the industry is to be self-sustaining, it should involve the community in decision making'.

In fact, it is suggested that community participation is a powerful tool that educates the local community about their role and responsibility (Bramwell & Sharman 1999; Hall 1994; Parker 1999; Tosun 1998; Skelcher, 1993) and, in that context, community participation will enhance the sustainability of the tourism industry (Gajda 2004; Jamal & Getz, Palmer & Bejou 1995; Low 1991). However, Salafsky et al (2001) and Adams and Hulme (2001) point out that the concept of community participation seems to have focused primarily on the political dimension and ignored the economic and financial considerations which are often the primary drivers at the local level. That is, their arguments validate the notion that it is the country's political structure or system that determines the pre-conditions for participation in the development process. In other words, the higher the level of political capital at the local level (see Chapters 4 and 7) the more likely it is that local communities may participate in tourism planning, development and operation. As HwanSuk & Sirakaya in Ebru K & Hale (2008: 24) note:

*Sustainable development is a political concept, and therefore achieving the goal of sustainable community tourism depends heavily on the society's political system and power distribution. For example, despite the fact that one goal of sustainable community tourism is improved quality life for local residents in both developed and developing countries, government control tourism development. As a result, local residents are often excluded from the decision making process. In order to make sustainable tourism a reality, residents must have decision making role.*

According to Blackstock (2005) and Boo (1992), the negative consequences of tourism impacts most on the local communities. Accordingly, the tourism literature suggests that local communities must be empowered to participate in tourism development in their locality (Jamal & Getz 1995; Palmer & Bejou 1995; Tosun 1998; Low 1991). For example, Murphy (1985) argued that communities are the destination and therefore it is in communities that tourism happens. Thus, the tourism industry must be brought effectively to bear in communities. According to Keogh (1990: 450), the outcome of numerous tourism impact and resident attitude studies in host communities has been a call for increased public participation and, in particular, a more community-oriented approach to tourism planning. This implies that community participation in the tourism development process is essential for the long-term success of the tourist destination (Ritchie 1988; Haywood 1988; Tosun 2001; Wall 1996). In his book, Inskip (1991) points out that host communities must have a voice in shaping their future community and, thus, he called for maximum involvement of the local communities.

In many tourism destinations, community organizations have started to raise their concerns about their limited role in the decision making process since they have realized that there is little public involvement in tourism planning (Timothy 1999; Bramwell & Sharman 1999; Hall 1994; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Skelcher, 1993; Wahab 1997; Whelan 1991). According to Simmons (1994), local involvement in the tourism development process is vital since it helps the destination to deliver the desired tourism experience as well as providing adequate benefits for residents. Brohman (1996) contends that community participation has been used to solve many tourism related problems in



developing countries. However, others argue that involving destination communities in the tourism development decision-making does not necessarily ensure success (Ritchie 1988; Haywood 1988; Tosun 2006; Whelan 1991). For example, Brohman (1996) claim that there is no convincing evidence that effective community-based planning has been implemented whilst, according to Hanrahan (2010: 195), the community approach has failed because the ‘community does not really exist and therefore obtaining consensual view on tourism development is virtually impossible’. Indeed, as indicated by Murphy (1985), it is often very easy for the local community to unite in opposition against tourism development, but is difficult for the destination community to conceptualize, agree and then achieve their own long term tourism future. Specifically, Jenkins (1993: 62) suggests six impediments to local participation in tourism planning (Table 3.4).

**Table 3.4:** Impediments to local participation in tourism planning

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ The local community does not understand complex and technical planning issues;</li> <li>✓ The local community does not necessarily understood how planning processes operate and decisions are made;</li> <li>✓ Local communities often have difficulty i attaining and maintaining representation of all views in the decision making;</li> <li>✓ Apathy among majority of citizens;</li> <li>✓ The cost of decision-making increases since it take much longer due to community participation</li> <li>✓ Because of time and money, the overall efficiency of the decision-making process is adversely affected.</li> </ul>
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Sources: Jenkins (1993)

### ***3.5.2.1 Typologies of community participation***

While the necessity for involvement of the local community in tourism development is generally accepted (Haywood, 1988; Mowforth & Munt, 2000; Tosun, 2004), concern is

nevertheless focused on the degree to which participation should be pursued by planners (Arnstein 1969; Inskip 1987; Haywood 1988; Green & Hunter 1992; Gunn 1994; Pretty 1995; Tosun 2000; Mason 2003; Tosun 2006). There are various forms of community participation, allowing for varying degrees of participation, and a number of models or frameworks have been developed (Arnstein 1969; Inskip 1987; Haywood 1988; Green & Hunter 1992; Gunn 1994; Pretty 1995; Tosun 2000; Mowforth & Munt 2003). These frameworks have laid out the foundation for local community involvement in many tourism destinations (Arnstein 1969; Pretty 1995; Tosun 2000).

For the purposes of this dissertation, it is useful to review the typologies that have been developed by Arnstein (1969), Pretty (1995), and Tosun (1999). Arnstein (1969) defines ‘citizen participation’ as the redistribution of power that enables the poor communities (‘have-not’ communities) to be deliberately included in the future. Arnstein (1969: 216) argues that citizen power is:

*The redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens to be deliberately included in the future. It is the means by which they can induce significant social reform, which enables them to share in the benefits of affluent society.*

Arnstein’s ladder of participation consists of categories that distinguish between eight different degrees of participation, from manipulation, therapy, information, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power through to full citizen control (see Table 3.5). While the highest category represents degrees of citizen power, the lowest category refers to manipulative participation (Arnstein 1969).

The importance of Arnstein’s model has been well documented by tourism literatures (Inskip 1987; Haywood 1988; Green & Hunter 1992; Gunn 1994; Pretty 1995; Mason 2003; Mowforth & Munt 2003; Murphy and Murphy 2004; Tosun 2000; Tosun, 2006).

**Table 3.5:** Arnstein’s typology of community participation

<b>Typology</b>	<b>Characteristic of each typology</b>
Manipulation	Public cannot change what has been predetermined. Involves educating the public as to what will be done Community involvement in the decision-making process is nonexistent There is no distribution of power from the planners to the community.
Therapy	Involve a very low level of participation Provide limited opportunities for them to suggest small changes
Consultation	Involves minor degrees of participation - special forums exist for the public to share its views The distribution of power is still quite minimal and remains with the planners.
Placation	Involves a moderate level of participation Public seems to influence the decision in a broad-based manner Task force created to represent the broader interests of the community
Partnerships	The actual decision-making is shared with members of the public Redistribution of power is through negotiation between the established decision-making bodies and members of the public through the establishment of joint committees.
Delegated power	Involves a very high level of participation in terms of actual decision-making being led by members of the public

**Source:** Adapted from Arnstein (1971) and Hanrahan (2010).

Indeed, it has proved useful in determining the degree of participation afforded to the poor local communities in sustainable community tourism planning in LDCs generally and, in this thesis, Zanzibar in particular (Chapter 5).

However, to enrich this study it is also important to consider other typologies. In particular, the typology proposed by Pretty (1995) is frequently referred to in the literature (see Jones 2007; Kumar 2002; Mason 2003; Mowforth & Munt 1998; Scheyvens 2002; Tosun 2006). This typology identifies different forms of participation, from limited involvement to full control by people. In contrast to Arnstein’s model, Pretty (1995) proposes seven levels of community participation: passive participation;

**Table 3.6:** Petty’s Typology of community participation

<b>Typology</b>	<b>Characteristic of each typology</b>
Manipulative participation	Participation is simply pretence. Peoples’ representatives on official boards but they are unelected and have no power. It is a unilateral announcement by planners without listening people responses. The information being shared belongs only to external professionals.
Passive participation	People participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened. Involves announcements without listening to people’s responses.
Participation by consultation	People participate by being consulted or by answering questions: External agent defines problems, does not concede any share in decision-making
Participate for material incentives	People participate by contributing resources (e.g. labour) in return for food, cash, yet people have no stake in prolonging practices when incentive ends
Functional participation	Participation seen by external agencies as a means to achieve project goals, especially reduce costs: People may participate by forming groups to meet predefined project objectives
Interactive participation	People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and strengthening of local institutions: Participation is seen as a right; the process involves interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives. Groups take control of local decisions and have a definite stake
Self-mobilization	People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems: They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and advise; self-mobilization can spread if governments and NGOs provide an enabling framework of support. This may or may not challenge existing distributions of wealth and power

Sources: Hanrahan 2010 (adapted from Pretty, 1995)

participation in information giving; participation by consultation; participation in material incentive; functional participation; interactive participation; and self-mobilization (see Table 3.6 above).

Although the literature offers various community participation typologies, a participation ladder model specific to tourism was not developed until that proposed by Tosun (2006). According to Tosun (1999), the level of participation accords well with the superimposed nature of tourism activity that is infrequently grafted onto an

economy and society in a top-down manner (Hanrahan 2010) and has been used as a tool to identify the spectrum of community participation from passive to authentic and interactive (Haywood 1988; Mowforth & Munt 2003; Mason 2003; Tosun 2006). Based both on the ladder of participation developed by Arnstein (1971) and on Pretty's (1995) model, Tosun classifies the degree of community participation in tourism at three levels, namely, spontaneous community participation, induced community participation, and coercive community participation (see Table 3.7). Arguably, this typology is very useful since it builds a better appreciation of community participation in tourism development and of the extent to which participation of people should be encouraged to a greater degree of involvement.

As shown in Table 3.7, spontaneous community participation is similar to the degree of citizen control in Arnstein's (1969) participation ladder and to the level of self mobilization and interactive participation in Pretty's (1995) typology of participation. Spontaneous community participation represents the stage where overall management and full control is taken by local people in the tourist destination (Jones 2007; Kumar 2002; Mason 2003; Mowforth & Munt 1998; Scheyvens 2002; Tosun 2006). Induced community participation equates with the level of participation by consultation as suggested by Pretty (1995), equivalent to functional participation, and to the degree of citizen tokenism by proposed by Arnstein (1969). At this level, destination communities have the opportunity to give their views to, and get information from, development authorities (Jones 2007; Kumar 2002; Mason 2003; Mowforth & Munt 1998; Scheyvens 2002; Tosun 2006). Nevertheless, according to Mowforth and Munt (1998), in reality there is no a guarantee that local interest and demand are considered and addressed in the process of tourism planning which, more often than not, is decided by government.

According to Tosun (2006), this type of community participation reflects the degree of tokenism. Induced community participation is characterized by top-down management including passive and indirect participation and sharing of benefits from tourism (Jones 2007; Kumar 2002; Mason 2003; Scheyvens 2002; Tosun 2006).

**Table 3.7:** Tosun's Normative Typologies of community participation in tourism

Pretty's (1995) typology	Arnstein's (1971) typology		Tosun's typology (1999)
7. Self mobilization	8. Citizen control	of Degree of citizen control	<u>Spontaneous Partnership</u> Bottom up; active partnership; partnership in decision making; authentic participation; self planning.
	7. Delegated power		
6. Interactive participation	6. Partnership	Degree of tokenism	<u>Induced Participation</u> Top down; passive; formal; mostly indirect; degree of tokenism; participation in implementation and sharing benefits; choice between proposed alternative and feedback
5. Functional participation	5. Placation		
4. Participation for material incentives	4. Consultation		
3. Participation by consultation	3. Informing	Non participation	<u>Coercive Participation</u> Top down, passive; mostly indirect; formal; participation in implementation but not necessarily sharing benefits; choice between proposed limited alternatives or no choice; paternalism, non participation, high degree of tokenism and manipulation
2. Passive participation	2. Therapy		
1. Manipulative participation	1. Manipulation		

**Source:** Tosun (2006: 494)

However not all local people are allowed to take part in the process of decision making (Jones 2007; Kumar 2002; Mason 2003). According to Tosun (2006: 495), induced community participation is very common in developing countries where decisions related to tourism development issues are made *for* host communities rather than *by* local people themselves, and local communities can only endorse what has been proposed in the plan. Coercive participation represents the degree of non-participants in Arnstein's (1969) model and the levels of passive and manipulative participation in Pretty's (1995). This form of community participation aims to empower authorities to reduce and cure host communities to turn away potential and actual threats of future

tourism development (Tosun 2006) rather than empowering destination communities to significantly influence the process of tourism planning and development.

Applying these general typologies of participation to the specific context of tourism development suggests two points. Firstly, three main levels or degree of community participation in tourism development may be suggested, as indicated in Table 3.8. According to Tosun (2006), the first level represents full or genuine participation. At this level, host communities have the power to influence decision making. For example, host communities can enter into partnership that allows them to negotiate and engage in tradeoffs with traditional power holders. Many authors including Pretty (1995) have noted that, at the level of symbolic participation, communities gain some experience though it is still a form of tokenism as local elites and government authorities continue to have right to make decision over all matter related to tourism development in their areas. Strictly speaking, at the symbolic participation level, the local community may indeed hear or be heard. At the non-participation level, host communities are allowed to participate, however they are not given any opportunities to change the set programme to their own need and, as a result, the status quo in power relations is maintained (Tosun 2006). In other words, the object is to enable power holder to educate or cure the host communities, rather than enable them to participate in palling or conducting programs (Mason 2003).

The second point is that, according to Burns et al (2004), there is no level of participation that fits all communities and destination. Broadly speaking, the appropriate degree of community participation varies from community to community and from place to place (Jones 2007; Kumar 2002; Mason 2003), and depends not only on the ability of destination communities to take part in the process of tourism development, but also, of course, on the willingness of decision makers to promote participatory tourism development (Gunn, 1994; Pretty, 1995; Tosun, 2000; Mowforth & Munt,

2000).

**Table 3.8:** Summary of community participation in tourism development

Level	Characteristic
Active/Genuine Participation	Local people may directly contact explorer tourists and develop tourism by themselves. Local people have control over all development without any external force or influence (that is tourism reflect wishes of local people)
Limited /Symbolic Participation	There are some degrees of local influence in tourism development process. The rights of local people are recognized and accepted in practice at local levels. Developers may accept some contribution from the locals that benefits their projects. However, the decision making is still in the hand of outsiders
Non-Participation	People are told about tourism development program, which have been decided already, in the community. The developers run the projects without any listening to local people's opinions. Tourism development is generally developed by some powerful individuals, or government, without any discussion with the people

**Source:** Adapted from Aref and Redzuan (2009)

Tosun (2000) argues that it is difficult to promote the level of citizen control in tourism development where destination communities have limited abilities or skills and / or lack interest in such development. This, in turn, means that it is important to build knowledge and understanding amongst local people with respect to tourism; when destination communities have appropriate abilities and interest, greater participation may be encouraged. According to Govan et al (1998), full control and active participation by destination communities in tourism planning and development is the most desirable



degree of participation. However, this level does not need to be reached immediately, but may be achieved through time and with the longer-term process of participation and ongoing development of local capacity (Gunn, 1994; Pretty, 1995; Tosun, 2000; Mowforth & Munt, 2000).

### **3.6 Barriers to community participation in tourism planning**

The tourism literature suggests that community participation in the tourism development process is the best way to practice sustainable tourism and community tourism (Timothy, 1999; Tosun 2006; Bramwell & Sharman 1999; Hall 1994; Jamal & Getz 1995; Parker 1999; Skelcher 1993). However, a significant gap exists between theory and practice; that is, the implementation of community tourism has proved difficult to achieve in practice, facing as it does a number of challenges (Jones 2007; Kumar 2002; Mason 2003; Scheyvens 2002; Tosun 2006). Within the literature, a number of problems can be identified which constrain community participation in tourism development in general. For brevity, these are summarized in Table 3.9 below whilst, of specific relevance to this thesis, the following section considers potential barriers to community tourism in LDCs in particular.

**Table 3.9:** Barriers to community participation in tourism development

<b>Problems</b>	<b>Explanation</b>
Centralized and political system	Parties that make decision for tourism development are mainly politicians, government officials and private sectors (Tosun 2000; Botes & Renburg 2000; Jones 2007).
Participation as a means for achieving political interests	Local people are involved in development programme by direction and control, but distribution of profits usually depends on interests of political elites, and outcome usually threatens minority or peripheral people in society (Arnstein 1969; Botes & Renburg 2000).
Inappropriate legal systems	Legal system often has a inherent bias both in the way it is conducted and in the way in which it maintain the status quo (Dei 2000)
Expert led development and attitude of professional toward community participation	People are often imposed, or dominated by professional who are known as well educated and experienced , while local people are presumed to know less experiences (Dalton et al. 2001; Tosun 2001)
Tangible issues outweighing intangible processes	Development program concentrate on the result (product) rather than community participation (process) lead to paying no attention to capacity building and not assessing real wish of local peoples.
Product orientation at the expenses of processes and over reporting of development success	Success of development are interested to be reported and recorded by developers, while failures and mistakes are overlooked (Botes & Renburg 2000; Dasgupta 2005; Tosun 2001)
Discrimination in participation or elite discrimination	Participants in development process are often upper class or elite people such as well educated, rich and influential people. No commitment and consistent process for authorities to encourage participation and to success the diversity of interests from poor and marginalized people(Tosun 2000; Jones 2007)
Lack of information and insufficient training for local people to take part in tourism development	Increasing the distance of local people from the process of tourism development, and thereafter result low level of participation of local people in tourism development (Tosun 2000; Ashley & Roe 1998; Woodley 1993; Mbaiwa 2008)
High cost requirements for community participation	It requires considerable resources for implementation in term of expertise, time and money (Butler 2003; Jones 2007; Jenkins 1993; Tosun 2000; Tosun and Timothy 2003)

**Source:** Adapted from Janchai 2009

### **3.7 Barriers to CT Development in LDCs**

Although the potential exists for the community tourism in LDCs, the future looks bleak if a number of existing barriers remain unresolved (see Ashley 2006; Botes and van Rensburg 2000; Dei 2000; Diamantis 2000; Neto 2003; Timothy, 1999; Tosun, 2000). In other words, there are particular barriers that need to be overcome if local people are to significantly participate in tourism development in. Of course, each local community faces its own distinct set of barriers to community tourism development; however, there are persistent barriers that arise in rural communities in LDCs, including inadequate resources, inadequate infrastructure and poor market access (Graci 2008; Tillmar 2005; Tosun 2000; Wahab 1997). For example, a lack of funding is a chronic problem commonly encountered in tourism development, most particularly in rural communities in LDCs (Graci 2008; Tillmar 2005; Tosun 2000; Tosun 2000). It is also important to note that a lack of training and financial resources limit or discourage community participation in the tourism development process, which is crucial to the success of community tourism development. (Graci 2008; Tillmar 2005; Tosun 2000; Tosun 2000)

The barriers to community tourism in LDCs can be categorized as political-structural, business-operational and socio-cultural (Aref & Ma'rof 2008; Kumar 2002; Liu 2003; Green & Hunter 1992; Mason & Cheyne 2000; Murphy 1985; Pretty 1995; Simmons 1994; Tosun, 1998, 2000). These barriers have created obstacles to empowering the community at the economic, psychological, social and political levels that are crucial to the residents confronting opportunities and responsibilities of citizenship. For example, and as discussed in Chapter 5 in this thesis, the political-structural barrier manifests itself in Zanzibar mainly as the powerful control of the government in economic development. Here, a list of nine different types of barriers considered to restrain community tourism in LDCs is identified (Table 3.10).

**Table 3.10:** Barriers to implementing community tourism in LDCs

<b>Barrier to implementing community tourism</b>	<b>Example</b>
1. Lack of human capital	Low literacy and poor job skills.
2. Lack of social capital	Local [poor] communities are often not represented in civil society and tourism planning.
3. Lack of financial capital	Lack of micro credit, or revolving loan facilities.
4. Regulations and red tape	Many certificates required from different ministries to set up small business
5. Inadequate access to tourism market	Tourism market may be geared to imports, or package tourism may avoid contact with the poor.
6. Lack of land ownership and tenure	LDCs have no effective rights of land ownership
7. Low capacity to meet tourist expectations	Poor communities may be unaware of tourist expectations, or lack language skills
8. Lack of linkages between formal and informal sectors and local suppliers	Tourism enterprises may build on existing relationships with foreign suppliers, rather than seek local linkages.
9. Inappropriate tourist market	Segment may be largely package that ignores unique culture of destination.
10. Cultural and religious barriers	In some LDCs, tourism is seemed to be against the culture and religion
11. Lack of infrastructure	Many LDCs do not have an adequate infrastructure to accommodate sustainable community tourism
12. Lack of community power	Local community lack power which bring them together to strategically acquire necessary for economic development

**Source:** Adapted from Aref (2011)

### **3.8 Summary**

In conclusion, in principle, community tourism serves as the best option for improving the living standards of poor communities through tourism. Community participation is not only vital to community development more generally; it is fundamental to community capacity building in tourism development in particular (Simmons 1994; Tosun, 2000; Tosun 1998). Thus, quite evidently, without community participation

there can be no community tourism. Generally, there are various issues which greatly influence the quality of participation in terms of an active participation and a wide range of local people who come from different group or many have different interests and demands (Hall 1994; Mowforth & Munt 2003; Mason & Cheyne 2000). As summarized in Table 3.10 above, these issues include legislative and political structures, lack of community proprietorship of natural resources, a lack of skills, difficulties in obtaining funds, community heterogeneity and elite domination (Din 1997; Hall 1994; Mowforth & Munt 2003; Mason & Cheyne 2000). Arguably, these issues may be embraced by one of seven sets of community capitals: human capital, financial capital, and cultural capital, social capital, political capital and physical capitals. The next chapter therefore explores the potential capitals required by the community to facilitate or enable participation in tourism development. These capitals are a key consideration in the development of community tourism and, thus, the next chapter not only discusses the meaning of the term 'community' but also concludes with a proposed model community tourism within a community capitals framework.

# CHAPTER FOUR

## 4 Mainstreaming Community Capital in Community Tourism

### 4.1 Introduction

The concept of capital has been referred to generally as the creation of value through the transformation of natural assets into means of production and products/services (Dalton et al. 2001; Ricketts & Phipps 2008). In the context of tourism and this thesis, the preceding discussion of local community participation typologies in Chapter 3 illustrated the importance of the community's assets or capitals in securing and fostering local destination communities' wellbeing. That is, the environmental and socio-economic prosperity of the local community is dependent upon the possession of or access to a variety of different forms of capitals (Dalton et al. 2001; Ricketts & Phipps 2008). The purpose of this chapter is to explore critically the role of different types of 'community capital' in community tourism development. More specifically, the chapter considers how different forms of 'community capital', such as human capital, natural resources, social capital and so on, can be linked with and support the development community tourism.

Community capitals constitute two broad concepts, namely, 'community' and 'capital'. Along with a discussion of these two terms, this chapter develops a theoretical framework based on the concept of community capitals to guide the subsequent development of a model for community tourism in LDCs (see Chapter 7). In the tourism literature, the term 'community' has often been accompanied by prefixes such as 'host', 'local', 'destination' and 'residents', sometimes to represent different sectors of the community in tourism areas. (Dalton et al. 2001; Mason 2003, Sproule & Suhandi 1998). For the purposes of this study, the terms are used here interchangeably, though 'community' is generally understood to refer to those sections of the destination society

with the potential to engage in and benefit from the production of tourism goods and services

## **4.2 Understanding the Meaning of Community Capitals (CC)**

There exist numerous definitions of the term of concept of community. It is necessary, therefore, to establish clearly the context in which the term community will be used in this thesis as a basis for developing an understanding of community capitals. Thus, the following section considers definitions of community as a framework for the subsequent discussion of community capitals and their relevance to understanding and enhancing the role of communities in tourism development.

### ***4.1.1 What is Community?***

Defining the term community is highly problematic (Sproule & Suhandi 1998; Tesoriero & Life 2006). Although it has long been debated within the tourism literature (Castells 2001; Delanty 2003; Mancini et al. 2003), there remains no common agreement on definitions or the basic characteristics of a community (Berggren & Jordahl 2006; Joppe 1996; Mayo 2000; Sproule & Suhandi 1998). Moreover, according to Castells (2001), the difficulty in defining the term 'community' has been accelerated by the growth of the virtual community, the development of information and communication technology having resulted in the emergence of virtual communities representing new kinds of social groups that are often expressive and highly personalized. Nowadays, for example, virtual communities play a crucial role in reconstituting the structure of families or as political movements (Delanty 2003; Mancini et al. 2003).

In many studies of tourism, the concept of community is often based on people sharing a common location (Bush et al. 2002; Chaskin et al. 2001; Gunn 2002; Jamal and Getz 1995; Li 2006), for instance, define the term community as a body of people living in the locality. However, the term community has also been used to represent a group of

people that share common characteristics or interests (Joppe 1996; Mayo 2000; Berggren & Jordahl 2006; Sproule & Suhandi 1998) whilst others adopt a broader perspective. Delanty (2003: 194), for instance, argues that ‘contemporary community is essentially a communication community based on new kinds of belonging. No longer bounded by place, we are able to belong to multiple communities based on religion, nationalism, ethnicity, lifestyles and genders’. That is, communication technology allows us to simultaneously be members of different communities according to different ‘membership’ criteria.

In the more specific context of tourism, Bush et al (2002) suggest that, for the purpose of exploiting the opportunities offered by tourism, a community can be any existing or potential network of individuals, groups and organizations that share or have the potential to share common concerns, interest and goals. Nevertheless, the term community still falls conceptually within two major classifications, namely: territorial conceptualizations and relational conceptualization (Dalton et al. 2001). While the latter refers to a community based on social network relations, the former evidently represents community based on its geographical location or boundaries. According to Ricket & Phipps (2008), however, the term community combines both conceptualizations, a community consisting of people who engage in social and cultural interaction living within a specific geographic area and having one or more additional common ties. Similarly, Mattessich & Monsey (2004: 56) define the term community as ‘people who live within a geographically defined area and who have social and psychological ties with each other and with the place where they live’. However, it may more generally be argued that different uses or applications of the term ‘community’ are unavoidable given the dynamic nature of contemporary society and the forces that act upon it. This, in turn, suggests that the term community should not necessarily be conceptualized only in geographical terms.

When discussing the term ‘destination community’, it is wrong to assume that the destination community is a homogenous entity. Just like the tourists who visit them,



destination communities are a heterogeneous entity (Boyd & Singh 2003; Doxey 1975; Lankford 1994; Long & Richardson 1989; Murphy 1985). Swarbrooke (1999: 125) divides destination communities into nine groups, as shown in Table 4.1.

**Table 4.1:** Classes of destination communities

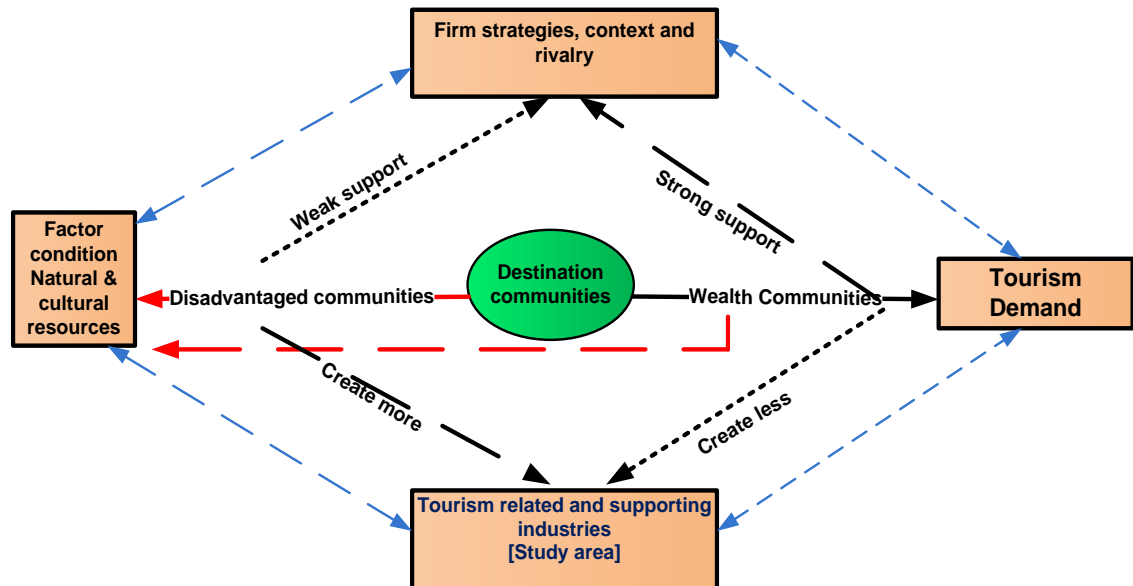
1	Elites and the rest of the population;	6	Employers, employees and self employed;
2	Indigenous residents and immigrants;	7	Those with private cars and those relying on public transport;
3	Those involved in tourism and those not involved	8	Affluent and less well off residents
4	Property owners and property renters;	9	Majority communities and minority communities
5	Younger people and older people;		

**Source:** Swarbrooke (1999: 125)

Building on Swarbrooke’s classification, it could be assumed, however, that a destination community comprises two broad sectors: the ‘wealth community’ and the poor or disadvantaged community. The main differences between the two groups are the degree to which they possess and are able to exploit assets. For example, within rural communities there may be groups that lack financial assets and political power (Swarbrooke 1999); however, they may be rich in terms of social and cultural assets. However, in many cases, economic activities are dominated by the ‘wealth communities’ to the cost of disadvantaged communities (Beugelsdijk & van Shaik 2001; Boyd & Singh 2003). These two groups clearly highlight the heterogeneous nature of destination communities which must be recognised and understood by the relevant authorities in order to ensure the successful development of the community (Mason 2003; Murphy 1985).

In particular, in the context of community tourism the two groups that broadly comprise the destination community depend upon each other. While the disadvantaged group may use its more limited capitals to develop tourism experiences, the wealth destination community creates demand for the former, as conceptualised in Figure 4.1.

**Figure 4.1:** Multiple functions of destination communities in tourism development



**Source:** Adapted from Porter's Model (1998)

The tourism system model (Figure 4.1) adopts both a micro and macro approach to tourism, and assumes a cyclical nature among its components. The model includes four basic dimensions:

- **Demand condition:** The demand conditions for products or services in the internal market. It has been well documented that demand stimulates innovation and the search for new production methods for host communities (Murphy 1985). In many emerging countries, local wealth communities play a crucial role in buying the products and tourism experiences from the local poor. For example, in South East Asia, domestic tourists tend to buy more from local vendors than Western tourists (Shah 2000). This implies that domestic tourism represents a major market for the local tourism product.
- **Factor conditions:** The experience of many developing countries demonstrates that tourism can become a leading sector for disadvantaged communities who decide to conserve natural and cultural resources as a basis of the livelihood. In many cases,

though poor in material wealth, disadvantaged communities use their unique characteristics, such as culture, as an income generating dynamo. Where these people have access to dynamic and flexible forms of social capital, the potential for delivering tourism experience may be greater.

- **Related industries:** The tourism management literature indicates that the existence of efficient support industries, such as such as entertainment and handcraft production, helps foster the performance of tourism destination. In order to make the destination competitive, it is crucial that there is a dynamic support system. Unlike wealth communities, disadvantaged communities play a crucial role in providing additional tourism services in the form of the informal sector. For example, in Zanzibar, the informal facilities are linked to spice tours and Stone Town tours, servicing international tourists with interests in nature and culture.
- **Strategy, structure and rivalry:** According to Porter (1998), competition is dependent upon an environment that promotes innovation and efficiency. Evidently, the role of wealth communities in stimulating innovation and performance improvement is higher compared with disadvantaged communities.

According to Murphy and Murphy (2004), a community may embrace three dimensions, namely: a social function, a spatial area and external recognition. The social dimension involves, for example, people working together to create a place of their own, for the community. Thus, as Dalton and Dalton (1975: 1) suggest, ‘social cohesion can take on a community development approach, which encourages citizen participation, with or without government assistance, in an effort to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of the locality, with emphasis on self help’. Strictly speaking, and as considered in more detail shortly (Section 4.4 below), the social function dimension of a community has a strong link with role of social capital in the development of community tourism (Boyd & Singh 2003; Long & Richardson 1989).

However, it can be difficult to separate the social function from the spatial context, since both two are frequently synonymous. Thus, when a group of people possess

common features (for example, similar socio-economic status), they often like to live close together. Such closeness helps the development and continuity of the common features which, in turn, provide both physical and symbolic context to the community (Murphy and Murphy 2004). Schiwilgin (1973, cited in Murphy and Murphy 2004: 20) states that:

*The residents commonly recognize some association with each other based on similarities of socio-economic status, or their desires in general for the future of the area; and its shape from an intelligibly identifiable functional unit.*

People always require some form of external social recognition; therefore, they can group together and create a sense of belonging (Murphy & Murphy 2004). Any community needs sufficient external recognition to legitimize its existence and territories (Flora & Flora 1995). In other words, if a community wishes to preserve its ways of life and the character of its geographical location, it needs to have its existence and right to self determination acknowledged by others (Murphy and Murphy 2004). According to Suttles (1972), any people neighborhood should not only be recognized and defended internally but should also receive outside recognition and sanction, leading to an official and more permanent identity. He further argues that, when a community has such external recognition, it is likely to be consulted about potential changes and to be able to seek its share of development funding.

To summarise, then, the concept of ‘community’ is open to varying definition, embracing as it does a number of different factors or dimensions, including a spatial element, socio-cultural relationships or ties and, perhaps, a sense of community amongst its members. Nevertheless, as a foundation to developing an understanding of the concept of community capital, the following definition of community will be used in this chapter and throughout the study. According to (Joppe 1996: 475), a ‘community is self-defining in that it is based on a sense of shared purpose and common goals. It may be geographical in nature or a community of interest, built on heritage and cultural values shared among community members’. This definition neatly avoids the specific and sometimes problematic geographic definition of community as it may also include

the notion of the virtual, or electronic community, whilst recognizing the argument that, ultimately, communities are metaphysical systems that tend to outweigh even their physical or anthropological constructs (Boyd & Singh 2003: 30).

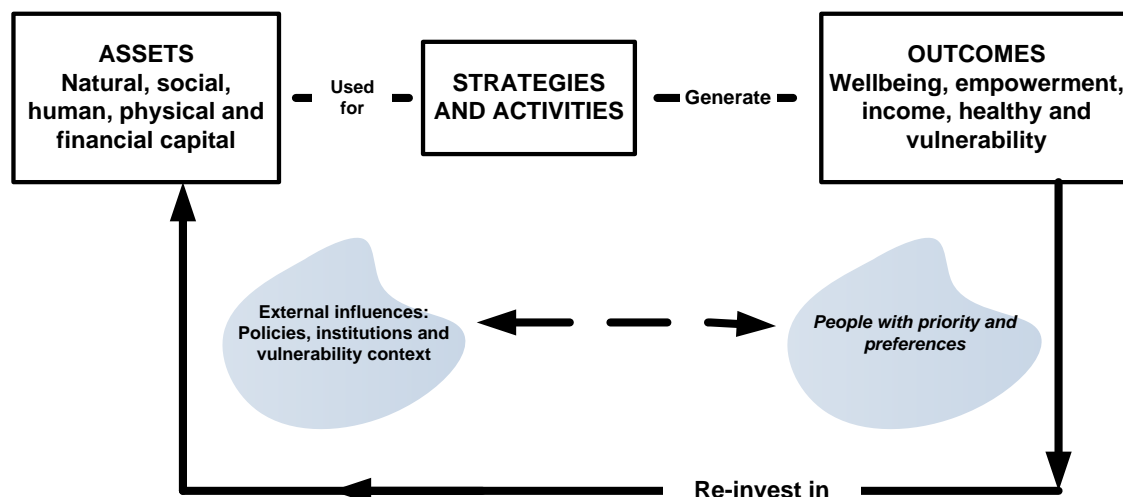
#### ***4.1.2 What is Community Capital?***

The term capital has typically been used as an economic construct; from an economic point of view, capital is described as assets (such as land, machinery and labour) from which particular benefits (typically, economic gain or profit) can be derived (Coleman 1990; Flora et al 1992; Fukuyama 1995; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). More recently, however, the concept of capital has been applied beyond the economic sphere (Park et al. 2008; Robert 2004); that is, not only have other forms of capital, such as human capital, come to be considered important elements of economic production, but also the concept of capital is now considered within alternative (to economics) disciplines and is being increasingly used in other, non-economic settings. However, although the concept of capitals provides the framework for more recent approaches to sustainable community development more generally, such as Ashley's (2000) livelihood model, one area where it has yet to be fully applied is the context of community tourism development. This is, perhaps, surprising that given that, arguably, community capitals are critical components in the understanding of community economics and community tourism.

Broadly speaking, community capitals can take on many different forms. At one level, for example, Baker (2000) argues that economic capital cannot exist without human capital, social capital and institutional inputs, whilst Fukuyama (1995) refers to capital as the material needed for the production of valuable goods and services, but points out that productive capital of some sort is needed to satisfy needs. More generally, there are, according to Bourdieu (1986), three primary types of capital, namely: economic capital, cultural capital and social capital. Moreover, these capitals are inter-convertible one into another, although such inter-convertibility is not equally possible in all directions (Bourdieu 1985; Baker 2000; Flora, 2002). More specifically, Ashley (2000) describes

community capitals as a building block upon which people or communities may develop their activities. Within his livelihood model, referred to above and shown in Figure 4.2, Ashley (2000) identifies five types of capitals, namely, natural, financial, physical, human and social capital.

**Figure 4.2:** Ashley’s Livelihood Framework (simplified version)



**Source:** Adapted from DFID (1999)

Castle (1998) suggests that the community capital stock, which encompasses natural, human, social, and built forms of capital, is a key measure of the community economic health. The amount and quality of the four capitals, as identified by Castle (1998), help to satisfy community aspirations through providing a meaningful measuring tool with which to assess the effectiveness of the actions that affect the productivity the community. Thus, generally, community capital stock provides a conceptual basis for addressing community social and economic problems, and permits community members to be more productive by meeting their aspirations. It is evident, however, that there is no consensus or agreed definitive division of types of capital (Costanza & Daly 1992; Ekin 1992). Nevertheless, for the purposes of this thesis, the definition provided by Flora (1997) is considered most appropriate. Flora (1997) defines capital as involving stock assets tied up in natural (environmental) resources, plus the physical,

intellectual/human, social, cultural, political and financial resources of communities. However, there are other capitals that, arguably, also demand consideration, such as technological capital and knowledge capital. Therefore, the following section discusses nine elements that potentially reflect a community's asset base.

#### ***4.1.2.1 Human Capital***

Human capital is a broad concept which identifies human characteristics which can be acquired and which increase productivity (Jacobs 2007). The concept of human capital is generally related to the possession of knowledge (a good education) and strong health, although attention is typically concentrated on the first of these (Dasgupta 2005; Roseland 2005; Woolcock & Narayan 2000). For example, the OECD (1998: 9) defines human capital as 'the knowledge, skills and competences and other attributes embodied in individuals that are relevant to economic activity.' According to Flora (2002), human capital involves the attributes of individuals that contribute to their ability to earn a living and to strengthen their community.

Human capital may be built or developed in a variety ways, such as through attending formal or informal education, or through leadership and experience (Jacobs 2007; Roseland 2005; Woolcock & Narayan 2000). Whilst experience is arguably more conducive to the acquisition of tacit and context-specific knowledge, education equips local people with a general, explicit knowledge base and enhanced analytic and problem solving skills. In their study, Reynolds and White (1997) attempted to determine the individual impact of different human capital factors on business formation and gestation. They found that education and work experience play a crucial role in the identification and pursuit of opportunities, implying that successful business start-ups are likely to be dependent on the skills and experiences that individual(s) and their networks bring to a new enterprise. For any community, human capital or resources can, therefore, be considered the principal driver of both socio-environmental and economic change (Jacobs 2007; Parker & Belghitar 2006).

Human capital is abstract in nature and it is often measured by using the UNDP's annual Human Development Index (Jacobs 2007). Sometimes, however, human capital may be measured in terms of the economic value produced by labour, or net profit when education or other costs of developing human capital that taken into account (Porritt 2007). Indeed, investment in human capital may increase the quality of the production of goods and services in general whilst, in the context of tourism in particular, an increase in staff training or, perhaps, the recruitment of new, more qualified staff potentially adds value to the end service and, hence, enhances tourist satisfaction (Roseland 2005; Woolcock & Narayan 2000). According to Porritt (2007), human capital should be viewed in terms of physical capacity, intellectual capacity, emotional capacity and spiritual capacity, because these factors not only contribute to an individual's development and life changes, but collectively contribute to the development of a more sustainable society. For tourism destinations and, in particular, community tourism businesses, human capital is therefore most appropriately perceived as the supply and capability of individuals to contribute effectively to the production and delivery of touristic services and experiences (Jacobs 2007; Roseland 2005; Woolcock & Narayan 2000).

Of course, not all members of the community within the destination are able to deliver tourism experiences to visitors; such delivery of tourism services depends upon the possession of appropriate levels of skills, education, motivation and innovation. Indeed, the tourism sector is highly sensitive to the available destination stock of human capital and, therefore, its success usually reflects existing human capital. According to Sharpley and Vass (2006), not only do destination communities often experience difficulty in exploiting tourism opportunities, but also that this reflects the fact that local communities possess inadequate entrepreneurial skills for tourism sector. Thus, Sharpley and Vass (2006) suggest that a prerequisite to the successful and widespread development of rural tourism is an emphasis on public sector-led training. In other words, the government should focus on investing in education and training.



#### *4.1.2.2 Social Capital*

A plethora of academic literature discusses the concept of social capital (Durlauf 2002; Helliwell and Putnam 1995; Jacobs 2007; Knack and Keefer 1997; Nordin and Westlund 2009; Roseland 2005; Porritt 2007, Sanginga et al. 2007; Woolcock & Narayan 2000; Zukewich & Norris 2005). Views are divided with respect to its definitions (Fukuyama (1995; Hadjimichalis 2006; Johnston and Percy-Smith 2003), how it may be measured (Beugelsdijk & van Shaik 2001; Grootaert and Narayan 2004; Krishna & Uphoff 1999) and its significance to social structure and cohesion (Grootaert and van Bastelaer 2002; Jacobs 2007; Nordin and Westlund 2009; Roseland 2005; Woolcock & Narayan 2000). Generally, however, four features have been used to define social capital, as follows (Berggren & Jordahl 2006; Coleman 1988; Dasgupta 2005; Ostrom 2000; Perreault 2003; Pretty & Ward 2001; Pretty 2003; Svendsen & Svendsen 2004):

- i. relations of trust;
- ii. reciprocity and exchanges;
- iii. common rules and norms; and
- iv. connectedness in networks and groups.

As a concept, social capital emerged in the works of certain sociologists in the 1970's. However, it may be traced back to the works of Marx (Burke 2000). In his works, Marx (as noted in Burke 2000) had explored the importance of economic factor that influence others. His analysis was in the individual proletariat where workers learn to identify with each other and support each other's initiatives (Woolcock & Narayan 2000). It seems that this solidarity is an emergent of product of a common fate. In traditional societies social capital is the only means to achieve coordinated action and thus economic modernization was seen as antithetical to traditional culture and social organisation. According to Fukuyama (1995), modern societies consist of a large number of overlapping membership and identities. As a matter of fact, social capital is concept that not only includes the instrumental aspects of social relation, but also it

includes the constitutive principles behind the existence of these relations, including principle of justice. Sen (1999) argues that an individual freedom to live the way one would like has intrinsic value and therefore it is constitutive of an individual well being; this implies that not only achieved outcomes are valued but also the individual's capability of choosing and discriminating among the possible living (see section 4.2).

According to Adler and Kwon (2000), social capital is a form of social responsibility, a corresponding atmosphere of social trust and interconnecting networks of communication. Dasgupta (2005) hold a similar view, describing social capital as the shared knowledge, understandings and patterns of interactions that a group of people bring to any productive activity. According to the Lin (2001), social capital is the institutions, social relationships, networks and norms shaping the quality and quantity of a society's social interaction. Similarly, Ostrom (1993) defines social capital as the features of social organizations, such as networks, norms and trust, that increase a society's productive potential, whilst Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) effectively summarize social capital as the sum of the actual and potential resources embedded within, available through, and derived from the network of relationships possessed by an individual or social unit. They further divide social capital into three dimensions, namely, structural, relational and cognitive. While the structural dimension is concerned with the overall pattern of connections within a network of social relationships, the relational dimension of social capital refers to the quality or strength of social ties. Cognitive social capital refers to the resources providing shared representations, interpretations and systems of meaning among parties. In his seminal work, Bourdieu (1986) defines social capital as:

*a possible resource or asset of individuals and/or small groups, stemming from their membership in a group. Each of the members can make use of capital that is collectively owned. The possible creation of social capital is inherent in social relationships and the volume of social capital possessed by a given agent does thereby depend on the size of the network he/she can effectively mobilize.*

Social capital can be divided into two groups. The first group is civic social capital, the second is government social capital (Coleman 1988; Knack & Keefer 1997; Solow 1997). According to De Silva et al. (2007), civic social capital can be thought of as comprising three basic dimensions, namely: 'bonding', bridging, and linkages. The importance of distinguishing these three dimensions is that they capture the reality that communities do not exist in isolation, but in relationship with other communities, as well as with institutions (Szreter and Woolcock 2004; Sabatini 2005; Owen and Videras 2006). It also allows communities to identify whether they are strong or weak in internal relationships (bonding), in relation to other communities (bridging) or in relation to institutions (linking) (De Silva et al. 2007; Jacobs 2007; Roseland 2005; Woolcock & Narayan 2000). Indeed, social capital is a process that relies on the actions of social actors who are again influenced by the structural formation of social networks. However, Woolcock and Narayan (2006) assert that the nature and forms of social capital change over time, shifting the balance between informal and formal institutions.

As has already been noted above, local communities possess various amounts of capitals and, thus, tourism entrepreneurship depends to some extent on the capacity of individuals to invest and accumulate different kinds of capitals (Grootaert & Narayan 2004; Pretty & Ward 2001). In particular, by practicing social relations, local people can accumulate social capital for economic development (Grootaert and Van Bastelaer 2002; Jacobs 2007; Nordin and Westlund 2009). According to Woolcock and Narayan (2006: 32), communities endowed with a diverse stock of social networks and civic associations will be in a stronger position to confront poverty and vulnerability, or to take advantage of new opportunities, contributing to higher incomes, better health and higher educational achievements. Similarly, Castle (1998) and Townsend (1994) argue that diffuse sets of social ties are crucial for providing informal insurance mechanisms and have important impacts on the success of development projects.

The application of the social capital concept in tourism research is relatively limited (Johannesson et al. 2003), whilst a small number of studies have considered the role of

social capital in community tourism development. The common view amongst these studies is that social capital is a factor that can influence the extent and outcomes of community participation in local tourism development (Baumann 2000; Jones 2005; Johannesson 2005; Nordin & Westlund, 2009; Macbeth & Northcote 2004). According to Pretty and Ward (2001), the social capital embedded in participatory groups may play a crucial role in providing a sustainable solution to local tourism development problems. Community tourism projects, by their very nature, involve venturing into an unfamiliar domain that is characterised by ambiguity and risk. In this context, social capital can facilitate the availability of information and valuable resources such as capital, facilities, space, equipment and labour. For example, formal financial institutions are often unwilling to loan to micro entrepreneurs because of their weak collateral and asset base. As such, a large proportion of local people have to rely mainly on their social networks to secure venture capital (see Section 4.4).

Social capital not only facilitates co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefit but, as a consequence, also improves the ability of communities to manage natural resources. It also contributes to the generation of appropriate social norms and rules, and to the enhancement of trust and reciprocity (Coleman 1988; Knack & Keefer 1997; Solow 1997). In other words, social capital provides communities with stability, cohesion, mutual trust, support and respect. Thus, in conclusion, the possession of social capital may be seen as the necessary foundation for communities to be able to accumulate other types of capitals, such as natural, political, economic and cultural capital, and thereby develop successful tourism enterprises (Fukuyama 2000, Pretty & Smith 2004; Pretty & Ward 2001, Paavola & Adger 2002).

#### ***4.1.2.3 Natural Capital***

A common view among tourism academics is that a sustainable community tourism industry is directly related to the type, amount and quality of natural capital in the community (Coleman 1988; Knack & Keefer 1997; Solow 1997). The natural capital of any given area provides valuable natural resources and ecosystem services (Fukuyama

2000; Paavola & Adger 2002); also sometimes referred to as environmental capital, it has been described as those natural assets that abide in a location or region (Baumann 2000; Macbeth & Northcote 2004). For many tourism destinations, natural beauty is among the top attractions or motivators (Boyd & Singh 2003). For example, in island destinations such as Zanzibar, beaches have been largely used to attract the development of mass tourism. In this dissertation, natural capital refers to any stock of natural assets that yields a flow of valuable goods and services into the future (Roseland 2005). It can comprise either non-renewable resources or renewable resources, or a combination of the two.

The importance of natural capital in general has been acknowledged by many prominent economists and environmentalists (Adams 2001; Bridger & Alter 2006; Boulding 1966; England 2000). According to Healy and Ilbery (1990), natural assets or capital can be classified, according to its availability, into four main groups, namely: univities, which occur in one place only; rarities, which occur in very few locations; commodities, which are widely available across many areas; and ubivities, which exist everywhere. This implies that preserving the first two groups is the key to achieving competitiveness in tourism (Baumann 2000; Macbeth & Northcote 2004). It should be noted that, with greater competition for market share, destinations need to offer competitive value. Thus, the destination is required to offer unique products (which cannot be easily replicated by competitors) to their guests. Exploiting univities and rarities, as sources of competitiveness, is likely to increase the likelihood of the destination achieving a greater market share.

More specifically, Kenneth and Jonet (2003) categorize tourism natural assets under three main headings: wildlife, including birds, marine mammals, land mammals, reptiles, fish and amphibians; vegetation; and physical assets, which include geothermal landforms and aquatic assets. It is widely accepted that tourism development in a destination is largely dependent upon the natural resources that the destination possesses in terms of their quality and quantity. The common view among tourism scholars is that

areas rich in scenic and recreational amenities are more likely to attract substantial numbers of tourists than those areas with low level of natural amenities (Baumann 2000; Macbeth & Northcote 2004). However, it is also argued that natural resources by themselves do not of course generate tourism; that is, the productivity of natural resources for tourism is the function of the application of labour and management (see section 4.2.2.1)

### ***4.1.3 Political Capital***

It is well documented that political capital is an important dimension for community economic development (Baumann 2000; Macbeth & Northcote 2004). More specifically, economic studies suggest that political capital is one of the most effective tools for alleviation of income poverty in developing countries (Fukuyama 2000, Pretty & Smith 2004; Pretty & Ward 2001, Paavola & Adger 2002). Booth (1998, cited in Rakodi 1999: 782) refers to political capital as ‘a gatekeeper asset, permitting or preventing the accumulation of other assets upon which successful poverty-reducing growth depends’. Similarly, Pari (2000: 6) points out that political capital is one of the key capital assets on which people draw to build their livelihoods whilst John and Patricia (1998: 782) argue that, in order for associational activism to have political significance, it needs to go beyond social capital and ‘foster attitudes and behaviors that actually influence regimes in some way’. Thus, the concept of political capital helps to explain where local people are situated in terms of the balance of power in relation to other groups (Baumann 2000).

According to Birner and Wittmer (2000), there are two manifestations of political capital, namely, instrumental political capital and structural political capitals. Whilst instrumental political capital refers to the resources that individuals can use to influence policy formation process and realize the outcome of their interest, structural political capital is the variable within the political system which conditions how the actors believe they can accumulate instrumental political capital (Coleman 1988; Knack & Keefer 1997; Solow 1997). However, some authors define instrumental political capital more simply as empowerment (Alexander 2001; Fukuyama 2000; Lacoste 1999).

Generally, the literature on political capital is largely centered on the challenges of poverty and activism, whilst Birner and Wittner (2000) argue that studies of political capital have tended to dwell on the links between political capital and poverty reduction, rather than those between low levels of political capital and poverty itself or otherwise.

Political capital becomes most useful when it is embedded in a network of reciprocal social and civic relations that build trust (Coleman 1988; Knack & Keefer 1997; Solow 1997; Birner & Wittmer 2000). Putman (2000) asserts that political capital should create interaction that enables people to build communities, commit themselves to each other, and knit social fabric. It is important to note, however, that political capital is slightly different from 'civic capital'; they are similar in that they both focus on the connections and networks between people, their economies, and their government (Birner & Wittmer 2000; McGregor 1984). However, whilst civic capital is set of values and beliefs that foster cooperative behaviour, political capital is essentially about power, or the ability to create a situation that otherwise would not happen or to prevent an event from occurring that others wish to make happen (Flora 2004). Hunter (1953: 2) asserted that power is a 'necessary function in the community, for it involves decision-making and it also involves the function of executing determined policies.'

With regards to tourism, the term 'political capital' is often used to reflect access to power or power brokers. According to Golden et al (1990: 589), power is the ability to 'impose one's will or advance one's own interest', while power in the decision-making process has been defined as '[t]he potential or actual ability to influence others in desired direction'. According to Tosun (2006), the level and nature of community involvement in tourism development varies dramatically, from degrees of tokenism to full community control, and level of participation that the public obtains is a direct reflection of the local power dynamic. This implies that power is very important for communities' participation in tourism development and, thus, there is a need to address power in relation to destination community participation in tourism planning (Arnstein 1971; Cater & Lowman 1994; Pretty 1995; Tosun 2000).

#### **4.1.4 Built Capital**

Built capital refers to all infrastructures that support community development. According to Flora et al. (2004, cited in Cheryl n.d.: 1), built capital is:

*something that needs to be managed by a community. Often, built capital is in the background; it is the things we don't notice until they are not there or are in poor condition. They are the basic services, facilities, and structures that communities expect to have: Built capital enables individuals and businesses to be more productive within the community. Although the built capital of a community is necessary, it cannot ensure the economic health and well-being of that community. People must be able to use the infrastructure in productive ways.*

In the context of tourism, built capital includes infrastructure, such as roads, power plants, telecommunications, water and sewer systems, that can be used to deliver a complete tourism experiences. It may be argued that, generally, built capital (or, more precisely, a lack of built capital) is a principal challenge facing the development of community based tourism enterprises in developing countries (Ap & Turgut 1990; Askjellerud 2003; Baumann 2000; Johannesson 2005; Nordin & Westlund, 2009; Macbeth & Northcote 2004). Rural communities in many developing countries, for example, lack adequate road transport, telecommunications networks, regular power supplies and so on, As a result, relatively few tourists visit the area and, hence, established local tourism businesses are deprived of revenue. In other words, although infrastructural development is a precondition for tourism development (Tosun 2006), the sector requiring physical resources and utilities to facilitate business transactions, this is frequently lacking in developing country tourism destinations.

#### **4.1.5 Cultural Capital**

Warde et al (1999: 125) describe cultural capital as 'cultural knowledge, competence and disposition, identified through embodied traits, educational qualifications, material



possessions, and involvement in cultural practices'. In a broad sense, cultural capital can be viewed as the 'stock of cultural value embodied in an asset and this stock may in turn give rise to a flow of goods and services over time (Coleman 1990; Flora et al. 1992; Fukuyama 1995; Woolcock & Narayan 2000). Bourdieu (1986) divides cultural capital into two types, namely, tangible cultural capital and intangible cultural capital. Whilst tangible cultural capital includes items such as historic buildings and monuments (Coleman 1988; Knack & Keefer 1997), intangible (or invisible) capital includes abstracts, such as beliefs, tradition and values, which serve to identify and bind together a given group (Cater & Lowman 1994; Duncan and Lawson, 1997; Jones, 2005; Johannesson 2005).

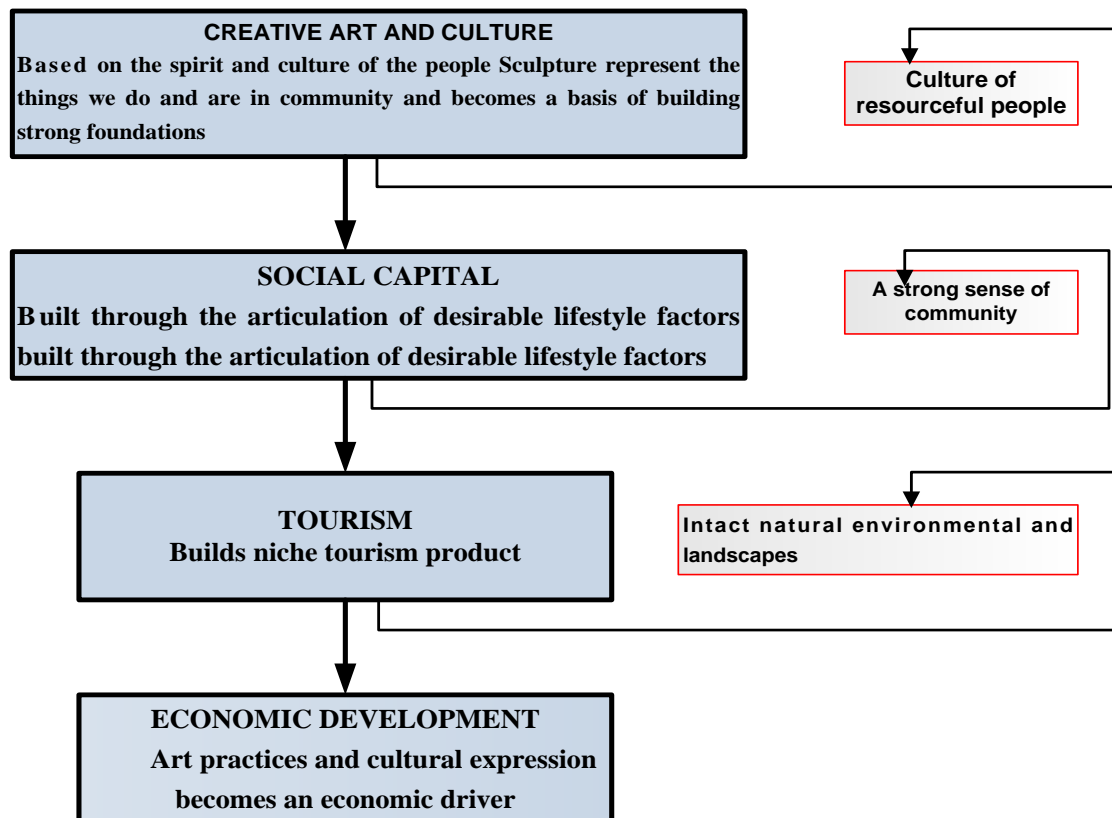
Both forms of cultural capital may, however generate income flows from tourism. Indeed, cultural capital is of direct relevance to tourism development because a destination's stock of cultural capital, both tangible and intangible, is an asset that attracts tourists and, hence, that directly or indirectly generates income. According to Wade et al (1999), cultural capital may be enhanced or accumulated through its supply to tourists. However, it has long been argued that the process of commoditization may reduce the cultural significance or meaning to the local community (Cohen 1988). Traditionally, cultural capital is perceived to be a subset of social capital; however, the more recent literature has illustrated clearly that cultural capital is distinct from social capital (see Baumann, 2000; Wade et al 1999; Macbeth & Northcote 2004).

According to Wade et al (1999), community cultural wealth consists of an array of knowledge, skills, abilities and contacts possessed and utilized by communities to survive and resist macro- and micro-forms of oppression. In this context, cultural capital encompasses at least six forms of capital, these being: aspiration, navigational, social, linguistic, familial, and resistant capital (Auerbach 2001; Castle 1998; Faulstich 2003; Stanton-Salazar 2001). These various forms of capital are neither mutually exclusive nor static but, rather, are dynamic processes that build on one another as part of community cultural wealth. For example, aspiration capital is the ability to hold onto

hope in the face of structured inequality and often without the means to make such dreams a reality (Stanton-Salazar 2001; Faulstich 2003). Yet, aspirations are developed within social and familial contexts, often through linguistic storytelling and advice that offer specific navigational goals to challenge (resist) oppressive conditions (Auerbach 2001; Wade et al 1999). Therefore, aspiration capital overlaps with the social, familial, navigational, linguistic and resistant capitals referred to previously.

As noted, aspiration capital refers to the ability of an individual in a society to maintain hopes and dreams for the future. The presence of aspiration capital in a society and communities may be considered a fundamental necessity for a community to engage in the development and management of community tourism (Zukewich & Norris 2005). In other words, the destination community should be aspired toward their ability to maintain a tourism sector in their locality. Indeed, aspiration capital has been witnessed in many rural communities where local people dream of possibilities beyond their present circumstances, often without the objective means to attain those goals (Auerbach 2001; Patricia 1995; Solórzano 1992). In conclusion, cultural capital cannot be understood in isolation from the other forms of capital. However, it remains not only an important resource but, for local communities, it can pave a way for the development of community-based tourism in LDCs. For example, Figure 4.2 demonstrates how public art can stimulate community cultural expression and innovative practices, and become a key driver of diverse social, economical and environmental developments.

**Figure 4.3:** Role of cultural (art) capital in community development



**Source:** Adapted from Campbell and Adam (no date)

#### ***4.1.6 Financial Capital***

Among the key elements in community tourism is the availability of finance or access to financial capital markets (Auerbach 2001; Patricia 1995; Solórzano 1992). Financial capital is essentially a medium of exchange, a common value equivalent for products and services that are traded on markets (Beck *et al*, 2004; Markley and Shaffer 1993; Sanginga *et al*. 2007). According Ron *et al* (1993), financial capital is the mechanism permitting the community to purchase or develop labour and physical capital for community development. At the community level, there are two critical issues relating to financial capital. The first is how the community can generate financial capital, the second is it can then channel financial capital in positive ways to address their needs. Evidently, local communities must have access to the financial capital required to modernize their business and remain competitive, or to support new business formation

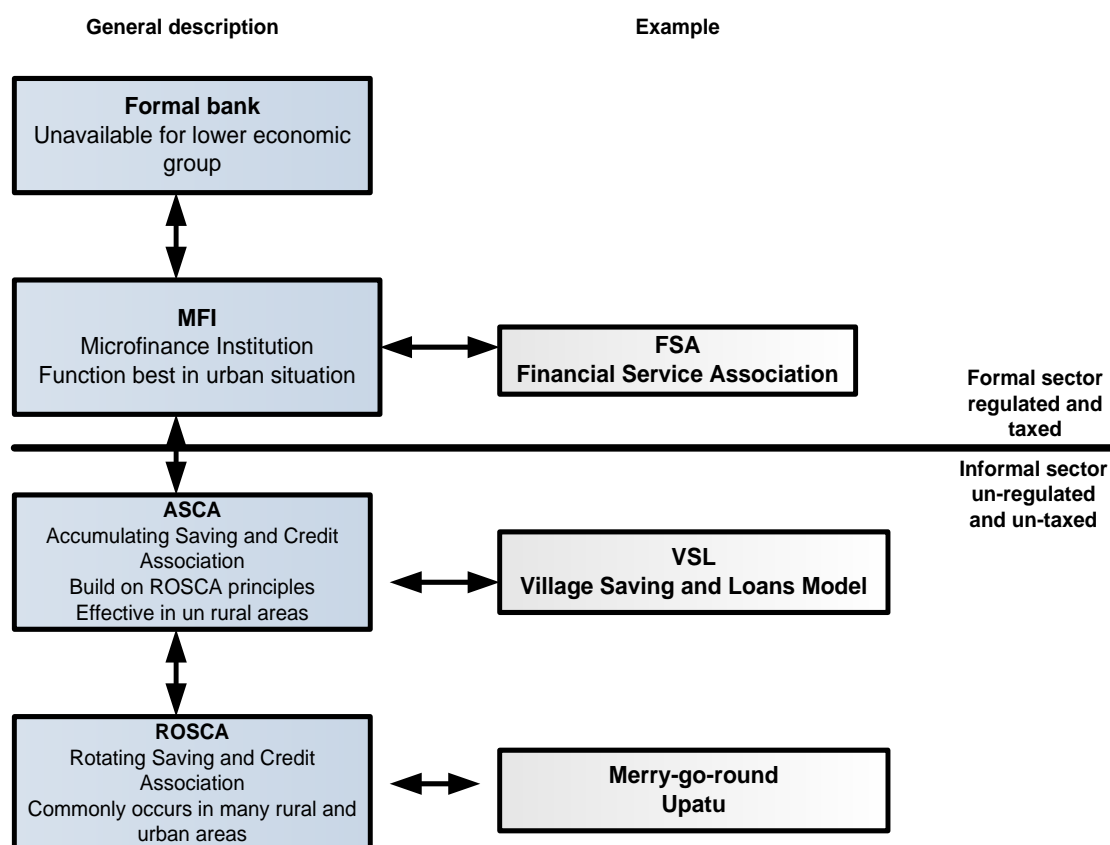
and expansion (Beck et al, 2004; Markley and Shaffer 1993). The main source of financial capital is the financial market, including formal community bankers. These kinds of financial institution provide debt capital for a local community's enterprises. However, in many cases their ability to meet demand is limited (Auerbach 2001; Patricia 1995; Solórzano 1992). Many formal financial institutions assume that providing small loans is risky and not profitable, with the result that poor communities have been excluded from formal financial markets. Ron et al (1993) point out that:

*Traditional financial institutions continue to be constrained from providing equity capital. For start-up enterprises and expanding industries, future capital needs may be for equity like capital rather than debt. ... Regulated community bankers must be sensitive to the risk involved in lending activities. Lending to support community economic growth may be risky and involve loans with limited or untraditional collateral, loans to new enterprises with limited business experience, or loans to existing firms that want to expand into new markets.*

The gap between supply and demand of financial services has affected the poorest segments of the populations (Beck *et al*, 2004). Consequently, various forms of microfinance have been established in order to make financial capita available to poor communities (see Figure 4.4). The most common microfinance model is the Village Saving and Loan Association (Beck *et al*, 2004; Markley and Shaffer 1993). According to Allen (2006), Village Savings and Loan Associations (VSLA) are:

*Informal voluntary groups consisting of 30 individuals, established for the purpose of mobilizing savings for lending back to group members. The members are normally mixed gender, and they should reside in the same village. The associations are built on the principle of pooled individual savings as the foundation for building capital with the motivation to save coming from the groups. The groups then finance member's income generating activities through loans from the general fund.*

**Figure 4.4:** Generalized and simplified hierarchy of financial institutions



**Source:** Allen (2006)

As discussed earlier, the existence of social capital may support the acquisition of financial capital in community economic development through a variety of channels, including peer lending, credit unions and rotating credit associations, and union pension investments. Both informal financial institutions rely on social bonds and good relations among members and participants.

According to Jazayeri (2000), the Financial Services Association (FSA) involves the mobilization of local financial resources in the form of equity capital in order to establish a locally owned and managed financial institution. Generally, the main objective of microcredit is to give priority to the local communities who need a small amount of funding to carry out their business. Although experience in microcredit is primarily prevalent in farming communities, it has the potential to be applied to the tourism sector because most of tourism service is delivered through micro-enterprise.

#### ***4.1.7 Technological Capital***

As observed elsewhere in this thesis, technology has played a major role in the growth of international tourism (Burn & Holden 1995; Chen 2000). Buhalis (2005) refers the use of technology within the tourism sector as the ‘e-Destination’, which is typically based on website development. Undoubtedly, tourism businesses that possess and utilize advanced technology are likely to operate more efficiently and capture the international markets (Dei 2000; Garrod & Fyall 1998). Nowadays, the use of information technology is found in every aspect of the tourism industry, including e-ticketing in the airline sector or reservation systems in the hotel sector (Gössling et al. 2008; Hall et al. 2005). Technological capital has served to improve and facilitate dramatically the relationship between producers and consumers. For example, consumers (tourists) are able to access information or construct their own holiday package on the Internet in what has become known as dynamic packaging. Moreover, selected holiday packages can also be purchased using electronic systems. Simply stated, technology has become an essential requirement for tourism destinations and it is considered a fundamental elements for community tourism development (Buhalis 2005; Chen 2006; Wu and Chang 2006).

#### ***4.1.8 Knowledge Capital***

A more recently recognized form of capital is knowledge capital (Gössling et al. 2008; Hall 1994; Hall et al. 2005). Generally, knowledge or innovation capital is an outcome of human and social capitals. It may be defined as:

*Know-how that results from the experience, information, knowledge, learning, and skills of the employees of an organization. Of all the factors of production, knowledge capital creates the longest lasting competitive advantage. It may consist entirely of technical information (as in chemical and electronics industries) or may reside in the actual experience or skills acquired by the individual.*  
(www.businessdictionary.com)

In explaining the importance to a firm’s growth process of competencies that arise from

investment of intangible assets, John and Guy (2006) conclude that capital, both tangible and intangible, drives the growth process. Their emphasis on the importance of knowledge capital stems, in part, from the recognition that intangible capital contributes as much as physical capital does to a firm's success. They state that:

*The recent emphasis on the importance of knowledge capital is ... recognition that there is another intangible aspect to capital employed by firm... Knowledge capital is synonymous with intangible capital. Its existence is difficult to pinpoint precisely and to measure with any degree of accuracy. It comes from investments that firms make in their employees. These investments produce knowledge whose benefits extend beyond the years in which the expenditures occur (John & Guy 2006).*

According to Baker (2000), knowledge capital can be obtained in numerous ways, both formal and informal. Generally, however, knowledge capital is empirical and stems from the experience of past successes and mistakes (Baker 2000; Bebbington 1999) In developed countries, particularly in Europe and America, knowledge capital is mainly stored in physical and electronic forms (Bebbington 1999). However, in developing countries' societies, knowledge capital may be in oral form (Badwin & Sabourin 2004; Roseland 2005). In both cases, if access to knowledge is eroded, distorted, inappropriately emphasized or never gained, community dysfunction and environmental decline follows (Badwin & Sabourin 2004; Bebbington 1999; Carter and Beeton, 2004; Roseland 2005).

## **4.2 The Role of Community Capital in Tourism Development**

The study of 'community capital' in tourism has been viewed from different perspectives (Coleman 1990; Woolcock & Narayan 2000; Flora and Flora 1995). From a micro perspective, for example, community capital has been studied as an essential component of community economic development (Hall 1994; Hall & Jenkins 1995) as well as an issue that relates tourism to conservation (Coleman 1990; Woolcock & Narayan 2000; Flora and Flora 1995). Generally, however, it has been argued that 'community capital' in tourism development is considered essential if tourism is to

build capacity to local communities (Coleman, 1990; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000; Flora and Flora, 1995). Flora and Flora (1995) describe 'community capital' as a spectrum from passive to active involvement to full participation, where there is active local community ownership in the tourism industry. In this context, it is considered that 'community capital' is an important factor for successful tourism development in general and community tourism in particular.

As previously discussed, capital is any store of value that facilitates action (Marx 1992). Tracing its theoretical roots back to Marx capital is part of the surplus value captured by capitalists between modes of production and processes of consumption (Marx 1990). According to Coleman (1990), the subsequent modifications of the concept retain the basic elements of surplus value and an investment with expected return. For instance, cultural capital theorists, including Bourdieu and Passon (1977), posit that a dominated class may generate return from the acquisition of symbols and meanings produced by the pedagogic action of a dominant class. Similarly, human capital practitioners, such as Johnson (1960) and Schultz (1961), conceive capital as an investment (for example in knowledge and skills) for which return (for example earnings) are expected and negotiated. According to Woolcock et al (2000), the distinctive feature of the two theories resides in the potential investment and capture of surplus values by individuals and masses. Based on Marx (1991) ideology, community capitals (such as cultural, social and human capital) enable those who generate it to invest and capture surplus value.

According to Coleman (1988), social capital is productive making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible. With this regard the value of social capital depend on the personal capital which according to Max (1992) is made up by two components, namely processing and leverage. Processing can be described as the cognitive thinking that enables one to make sense of the world round him (or to exploit socio-economic opportunities around him). It has been noted that processing can be shaped by many factors such as race, gender, and race. Marx (1990)



argues that the results become less dependent on resources as one's processing abilities increase. On the other hand leverage has been referred to as the ability to raise the productivity of others by using one's own expertise. According to Marx (1990) producing new knowledge and sharing it with others increases one's leverage, and thus increases one's personal capital. As individuals' personal capital increases, so does the social capital of the group or communities, those individuals belong to. This implies that where poor people have built and maintain social capital, they can have a capital that permits them to trade on the capital markets, individual or collectively, possibly earning profits that will ultimately better their comprehensive social and economic condition. When this process works, social capital has metamorphosed into financial capital, human capital, physical capital and cultural capital which are highly needed for community tourism development (Marx 1991).

Sen (1983; 1999) proposes a powerful new directive for understanding tourism development. Thus, tourism development is not only to increase rate of tourism growth. Instead, it involves structured change in the community, especially in how resources are used, the functioning of the institutions, and the distribution of the resources in the community. In his seminal work, Sen (1999) describes development as freedom and argues that high levels of economic and social inequality present barriers to development because the local community do not have the same opportunities to develop their capacity. The word freedom is referring to the enhancement of human capabilities which involve processes of decision making, as well as opportunities to achieve valued outcomes. This includes the concept of political capital, human capital and social capital (as discussed above), but Sen (1999) approach is much broader than this, in particular, he refers to the five distinct 'instrumental freedoms' of: i) political freedom; ii) economic facilities; iii) social opportunities; iv) transparency guarantees and v) protective security. The five instrumental freedoms are interrelated and none is inherently more important or salient than others.

Political freedom refers primarily to civil liberties; implying that there should be an

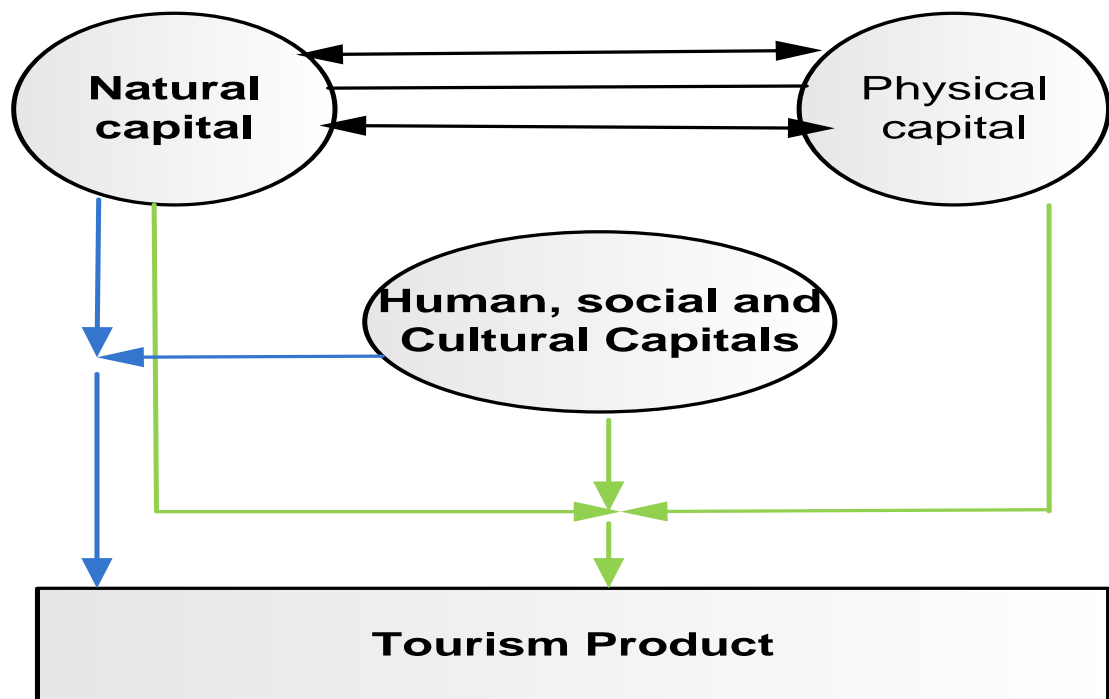
opportunities that allow local people to participate in all areas of the political realm (such as freedom to speech, freedom to vote, freedom of assembly and all area of civil liberties). Economic facilities are the resources that families hold to produce, consume, or exchange in the marketplace (see Sen 1999. p. 39). Social opportunities are the societal arrangements for the conditions to improve quality of life, such as health care and education (Sen 1993). Transparency guarantees can be defined as the level of trust that exists among individuals and between individuals and their government. The protective security includes institutional arrangements that “provide a social safety net for preventing the affected population from being reduced to abject misery, and in some cases even starvation and death” (Sen, 1999, p. 40).

Based on the Sen (1999), we suggest that tourism development should be viewed as much broader process that improves the opportunities and quality of life for local communities. Thus, tourism development which benefits a minority of the population, while being based on the restriction of political freedoms and social opportunities for the majority is not real tourism development, no matter how it may be reflected in levels of (country) growth of domestic product. Sen (1999) argued that increasing individual freedoms (e.g. access to the market and politics, security, skills, and better education) is a crucial instrument in promoting tourism development and the further expansion of human freedoms. In other words, freedom ultimately contributes to the enhancement of human, social and political capitals which in turn contribute to overall capability expansion and tourism development. Based on this discussion we can see that capital assets of the local community may lead to community tourism development.

Stocks and flows of different capital assets available to people within and outside households have an important influence on a person’s capabilities and their chosen set of potential functioning’s. According to Sen (1985) these assets have both instrumental and intrinsic significance for a person’s well-being. When the different assets that communities possess are used in combination, they can give rise to flows of goods and services (Coleman 1990; Woolcock & Narayan 2000; Flora and Flora 1995). However,

there is a considerable debate on how community resources should be exploited. Such a debate is based broadly on the concept of sustainability that considers the needs of future generations alongside those of today's society (Mowforth & Munt 1998). In fact, the debate can be clearly described by two schools of thought namely, weak sustainability and strong sustainability (Turner 1993). While weak sustainability stands on the premise that welfare is not normally dependent on a specific form of capital and can be maintained by substituting human-made for natural capital, the strong sustainability school holds that such substitutability is seriously limited by such environmental characteristics

**Figure 4.5:** The interaction between forms of capital & production of tourism services



**Source:** adapted from Cochrane (2006)

Figure 4.5 shows the interaction between the different forms of community capitals that are often used for the production of tourism services. Natural capital can be used to produce physical capital through provision of raw material and environmental services. Indeed, natural capital can be used to deliver tourism experiences to visitors; however, the process of delivering tourism experiences is influenced by human, social and

cultural capitals (Coleman 1990; Woolcock & Narayan 2000; Flora and Flora 1995). Broadly speaking, all forms of capital combine to produce tourism services, and it is the nature of the types of capital that dictate the types of tourism services that can be produced. In fact, the tourism literature has highlighted the importance of a community's assets in securing local community livelihood through tourism. Moreover, this importance has been reflected in rural residents' attitudes to tourism (Boyd & Singh 2003; Long & Richardson 1989; Murphy 1985; Murphy & Murphy 2004).

### **4.3 Signs of possession and dispossession of capital assets**

Section 4.2 and 4.3 of this chapter have demonstrated that diverse livelihood assets (both tangible and intangible capital assets) have a direct influence on communities' well-being and economic growth. Broadly speaking, there are hundreds if not thousands of signs that could potentially be used to describe and identify capital assets within a given community (Hooghe and Stolle 2003; Flora 2000). However, deciding how many and which ones to use can be difficult and mainly is dependent on the topic to be investigated. In this research, it was assumed that sustainable community tourism must include livelihood assets and, therefore, concepts and ideas developed in previous work, including Fukuyama's framework, are drawn upon in order to facilitate the creation of the new framework for this study. In other words, for the purposes of this thesis, a framework identifying the signs of capital possession and dispossession has been developed (see Table 4.2). In fact, a sign framework is one way of organizing a set of signs so that possessed livelihood assets within the community can be identified and explained. In addition, this framework will be subsequently used in Chapter 7 to help identify the amount of capital assets existing within the community in the study area.

**Table 4.2:** Framework for identifying capital possession & dispossession on local communities

	<b>Sign of capital possession ( ✓ )</b>	<b>Signs of capital dispossession ( x )</b>
Financial capital	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Tourism provides continuous economic gains for a local community</li> <li>2. Cash earned is equitably shared between many households in the community</li> <li>3. There is an increasing number of formal sources of finance for local community</li> <li>4. There is an openness to alternative ways of earning a living and economic activity</li> <li>5. SACCO's demanding group borrowing rather than individual companies</li> <li>6. Government developing professional activities for younger people (Budget allocations).</li> <li>7. Restructuring of bank reforms in terms of collateral, urban area</li> <li>8. There is no discrimination in local communities against the poor, women and other marginalized social groups</li> <li>9. There is good knowledge about available loan services</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Tourism results in small cash gains for the community as a whole</li> <li>2. Most cash gains go to local elites, outside operators and government agencies</li> <li>3. Only a few individuals and families receive direct financial benefits</li> <li>4. Little cash earned is spent on individual family improvement</li> <li>5. Interest rates for commercial banks is between 18 and 25%, and Sacco's is over 50%</li> <li>6. Lack of transparency, for example, conditions and requirements are not shown in advance.</li> <li>7. Small and medium business enterprises should have a good track records to access loans</li> <li>8. Government requiring unmovable collateral, such as land ownership.</li> <li>9. Local people borrow and do not pay back loans</li> <li>10. There is a slow in processing loans and corruption</li> </ol>

Human capital	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Self esteem of many community members is enhanced</li> <li>2. Increasing confidence of community members lead to seek out further education and training opportunities</li> <li>3. Access to employment and cash leading to an increase in status for traditionally low status community members</li> <li>4. Training to improve awareness and knowledge of community members to solve community problems</li> <li>5. Increasing number of enrolment in higher education institutions</li> <li>6. Construction of more primary, secondary and higher education institutions</li> <li>7. Public investment in health care an basic education d is high and used effectively.</li> <li>8. A credit markets for schooling has been developed to allow students to borrow against their future earnings.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Many people have not shared in the benefit of tourism</li> <li>2. Local people may face education hardships because of reduced access to the economic resources</li> <li>3. Few locals are employed in high skilled businesses enterprises</li> <li>4. There is free movement of labour</li> <li>5. There is no any formal training programmes for local people</li> <li>6. Education level of all villagers is still low.</li> <li>7. Decreasing number of enrolment in primary &amp; secondary schools</li> <li>8. Only highly status people in the community have an opportunity to seek for further education</li> </ol>
Built Capital	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Substantial fund/budget leveraged for infrastructure improvements</li> <li>2. Substantial part of development budget is spent for up keep of infrastructure; improved accounting for infrastructure depreciation and replacement</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Community development does not includes infrastructure improvement</li> <li>2. Economic policies discriminate against or exclude the rural poor from the development process</li> <li>3. There is no subsidies for capital-intensive technologies</li> <li>4. Urban bias in public investment for infrastructure</li> <li>5. Poor accessibility in the remote areas</li> </ol>

Political capital	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Locals have regulations to control migration into tourism resources.</li> <li>2. Locals have self regulation to ensure community equilibrium</li> <li>3. Locals has greater control over their development</li> <li>4. Local people influence the policy-making process and participate in decision-making</li> <li>5. Government is listening ideas from community and discussing issues openly</li> <li>6. Collectively decide on future directions for their community's development</li> <li>7. Elected leaders are visionary, shares power and builds consensus</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. They are confused, frustrated, disinterested or disillusioned with the initiative,</li> <li>2. Tourism industry is dominated by local elites, foreign operators and government agencies.</li> <li>3. The community has an autocratic or self interested leadership</li> <li>4. Locals feels like they have little say over their resources</li> <li>5. Low degree of decentralization of government</li> <li>6. Bias in favor of foreign investors with respect to rights of land ownership and access to credit</li> </ol>
Social capital	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Tourism maintain or enhance the local community's equilibrium</li> <li>2. Community cohesion is improved as individuals and family work together to build a successful ecotourism venture.</li> <li>3. Most people in the community are honest and can be trusted</li> <li>4. Local people spend a lot of time visiting friends and relatives</li> <li>5. Large number of locals attend public meetings on the community</li> <li>6. There are strong and positive relationships between people from different backgrounds in the workplace, in schools and other institutions within neighbourhood</li> <li>7. There is a strong sense of an individual's rights</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Disharmony and social decay in the community</li> <li>2. There are few nonprofit organizations in the communities</li> <li>3. Disadvantaged groups bears the brunt of problems associated with tourism initiatives and they fail to share equitably in its benefits</li> <li>4. Local people do not like to volunteer work in their community</li> <li>5. Large percentage of communities has not been involved in a local organization</li> <li>6. Those from different backgrounds do not have similar life opportunities, access to services and treatment</li> </ol>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Natural and cultural capital</b></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Local communities have access to natural and cultural resources which positively affect their wellbeing</li> <li>2. The community has an economic development plan that guides its development</li> <li>3. Government seeks out the opinions of community groups.</li> <li>4. Local communities are directly involved in the identification, design, and implementation of programs to ensure effective use of cultural and natural resources and equitable distribution of benefits.</li> <li>5. A high degree of participation and control by the public over decisions affecting their lives</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. A large and increasing proportion of the rural poor depends on wage labor, because they have either no asset other than raw labor or very few assets.</li> <li>2. Owing to lack of regulations, local community overuses cultural and natural resources</li> <li>3. The government has prohibited local people from using forests traditionally used for livelihoods activities</li> <li>4. Local people, especially youths, no longer respect their culture</li> </ol>
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#### **4.4 Understanding the tourism system model**

Prior to the discussion of the framework that will guide the development of a model for community tourism in Zanzibar, it is necessary to gain an understanding of the tourism model and, specifically, how livelihood assets can be accommodated in the tourism system model. Of course, the term model has many connotations. According to Cooper and Schindler (2001), model is a term that has been used throughout business and allied disciplines but with little agreement as to its actual definition. This is due, perhaps, to the fact that most definitions are related to the numerous functions, structures and types of models in existence. In tourism studies, reference is usually made to forecasting models (partly or wholly mathematical in nature), diagrammatic models of the planning process, and those which seek to demonstrate some theoretical aspects of the tourism system. Hankon and Thornhill (1983) define a model as a physical representation of something, which has a selection of characteristic, numbers, or a structure of even indicates relations that are identified in the model.

Conversely, De Coning and Cloete (2000) describe a model as a representation of a complex reality that has been oversimplified in order to describe and explain the relationship between variables, or prescribe how something should happen. In addition, they argue that a model can be used in a neutral, descriptive way or normative way by expressing a preference for a particular value judgment. According to Page and Meyer (2000), models go little further than theories, meaning that they are a 'full representation or description of a phenomenon or a set of relationships, including statements about assumptions and interactions in the models'. In that case, models are ways of thinking and expressing ideas and interrelationships between ideas.

It is important to distinguish between theoretical models (that in the context of tourism seek to describe or explain some aspect of the functioning of the tourism system) and management/planning process models. In the tourism literature, theoretical models have often been subdivided according to the way they model the whole tourism system or

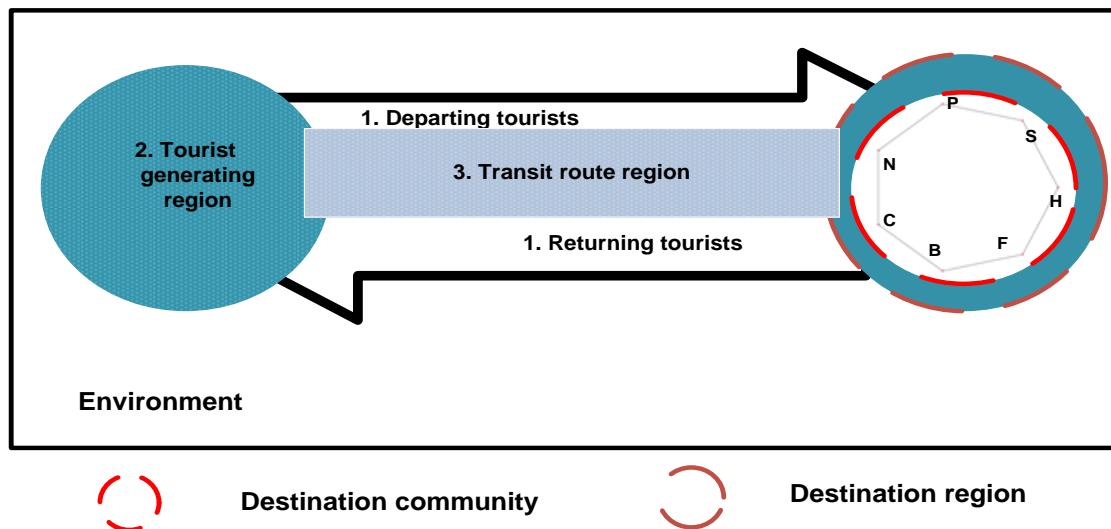
parts of tourism system. Generally, tourism models can be descriptive (defining the tourism system's components), explanatory (purporting to demonstrate how a system or subsystem functions) or predictive (relying on knowledge of causal relationships to permit forecasting). The importance of the tourism sector to the global economy has led to the creation of a number of models of tourism development. However, most models have focused on the tourist destination region (Leiper 1990; Gunn 1994).

As argued in Chapter 2, the holistic tourism system is the best model to explain the independence of the various elements that make up a holiday experience (Gunn 1994; Leiper 1990; Mill & Morrison, 2006). In fact, any policy or operational changes are brought about because of the way the system functions and because of the environment within which the industry operates. The structure of the tourism system has been conceptualized from different perspective. For example, Leiper (1979) looks at the whole tourist journey from the tourists' home region to the place they are going to visit. The system constitutes three components: tourists' destinations, transit routes and generating regions (see Figure 2.2).

According to Gunn (1994), the supply side constitutes five interdependent components of attractions, information, transportation, promotion and services. Generally, any change in one component will have an effect on other components of the system and the functioning level of each component largely depends on many external factors including cultural and natural resources, finance, the community, competition, government policies, leadership, and labor (Gunn, 1994; Mill & Morrison 2006). All features presented by Gunn (1994) and his followers can be easily found from one of the following capital assets: political capital (P), social capital(S), financial capital (F), human capital (H), build capital (B), natural capital (N) and cultural capital (C). Figure 4.5 presents the proposed whole tourism structure for community tourism. This adapted model represents a departure from the original model in that the tourist destination region element has been modified to reflect the seven community capital assets. The significant of each type of capital assets for community tourism development will be

further elaborated in section 4.6 of this chapter. Furthermore, this adaptation will serve as a basis for the tourism system framework as shown in Figure 4.7.

**Figure 4.6:** Tourism system model for community tourism



## 4.5 Development of a Conceptual Framework

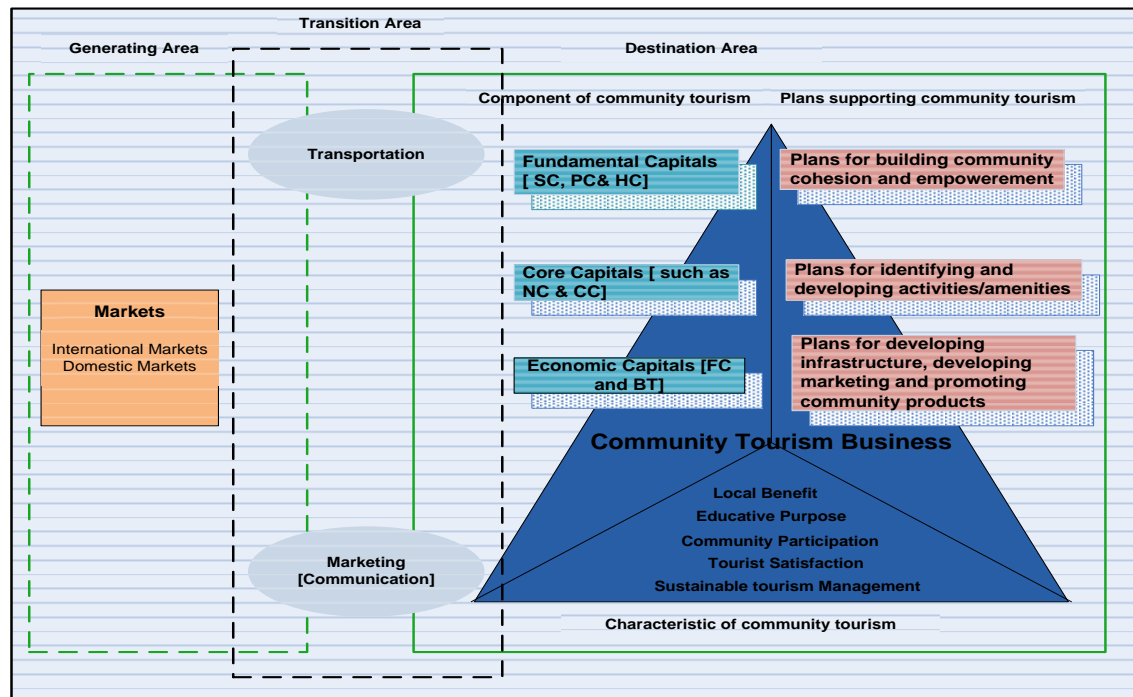
It is possible for tourism to become a complementary activity to the traditional economic sectors of the local community, but this is only possible if it is the community residents who develop and manage the process (Mowforth & Munt 2003; Sharpley 2009; Sharpley & Telfer 2002). Certainly, this could favour the development and progress of destination communities, offering them the opportunity to enjoy their natural resources and cultural heritage. The tourism literature suggests that the initiative for the management of cultural and natural resources for tourism purposes must come from the destination community itself (Ashley 2006; Ashley et al 2001; de Boer & Huenting 2004; Dei 2000; D’Hautesserre 2005; Diamantis 2000; Gössling 2001; Murphy & Murphy 2004; Tosun 2000). According to Mowforth and Munt (2003), tourism based on community management provides LDCs with diverse development opportunities for the creation of small-scale tourism enterprises. In this context, community tourism should be regarded as the best tool for community socio-economic development.

According to Murphy and Murphy (2004) and as discussed in Chapter 3, community tourism is an important mechanism in the socio-economic development of rural areas since it establishes opportunities to sell certain (tourism) goods and services through the development of the area's natural, cultural and social resources. Certainly, the limited adoption of community tourism in LDCs to date is due to multiple and complex reasons, not just the often stated impediments of political-structural, business-operational and socio-cultural barriers (Douglas 1989; Dann 1999; Jamal & Getz 1995; Kneafsey 2001; Sharpley, 2000). In other words, many community tourism models do not appear to be easily understood or interpreted by LDCs, which may be a significant reason for the limited application of the community tourism concept in LDCs (Adler & Kwan 2002; Ashley et al 2001; Nyaupane *et al.* 2006). Overall, LDCs exhibit a complex set of factors and influences which are rarely translated or reflected in a holistic way by the [available] community participation models. Therefore, focusing on the capital assets of destination communities in practicing the concepts of community tourism in LDCs contexts, this dissertation employs a case study analysis of Zanzibar to assess how community tourism should be developed.

It is important to note that community tourism services and products can take many forms, from simple roadside farm market stands to accommodation, experiential activities, and festivals and events (Adler & Kwan 2002; Ashley et al 2001; Nyaupane *et al.* 2006). Within each of these categories, there are opportunities for the use of the assets of communities. Figure 4.7 provides a framework where the capital assets of the communities are used to provide tourism services. The framework has to be interpreted within the realities of the current global tourism system where LDCs remain as tourist receiving countries (the destination area) and developed countries serve as tourist generating regions (the generating area). The tourism system approach is used to formulate the study framework because the nature and extent of demand and the associated facilities and services provided will also directly influence the broader aspects of tourism development (Mitchell & Muckosy 2008). Thus, the community tourism product should match the demands and preferences of actual or potential

tourists.

**Figure 4.7:** Community tourism system at destination



**Source:** developed by the author.

Another reason of employing the system approach as baseline for the framework is that a complete community tourism system requires the co-operation or involvement of tour operators for promoting and packing the product (Bull 1995; Cooper et al. 2000; Mitchell & Muckosy 2008). Three important aspects related to application of community tourism as conceptualised in Figure 4.7 are now discussed. These are: (i) the components of community tourism; (ii) plans supporting community tourism; and (iii) characteristics of community tourism.

#### 4.5.1 Components of the Framework

The framework in Figure 4.7 indicates that the basic requirements for community tourism development are cultural and natural resources. These two capitals may enter directly into final consumption, or may be combined with financial and built capitals to produce tourism services. For example, wildlife as natural capital may be combined with human capital, financial and built capital to yield consumption experiences for

visitors at a park. Similarly, the service of artworks may be combined with economic capital to yield tourism consumption. In reality, the implementation of community tourism requires more than cultural and natural resources. Based on the previous discussion, it can be seen that natural and cultural capital is necessary for community tourism development, but these two capitals must be supplemented with social and political capitals (Butler 1993; Cooper et al. 2000). Indeed, the effective interaction of fundamental capitals (which involve political, human and social capitals) and core capitals (which involve natural and cultural capitals) may result in economic capital (which involves built capital and financial capital).

By their very nature, local communities in LDCs lack power (political capital) to influence their own socio-political and economic environment (Butler 1993; Cooper et al. 2000). The assumption is made that the interaction of political, social and human capital is the fundament element for practicing community tourism in LDCs. For example, social capital can play a crucial role in the development of community tourism. In particular, it may enhance power sharing within communities, through organising local people into groups or institutions in order to increase the leverage that arises from combining their assets and from the relative reduction in their dependence. Flora and Flora (1995) argue that the acquisition of political capital depends upon the level of social capital among community members; the higher degree of social cohesion, the higher degree of political capital. On the other hand, social capital provides financial support through credit unions (Cooper et al. 2000). As discussed above, credit unions are a common form of social lending organisation in LDCs (Halseth & Ryser 2006). In the community tourism context, this kind of credit union can play an important role in easing access to financial capital and lending to local tourism enterprises. Moreover, the development of community tourism products and infrastructure often requires access to financial capital (Ashley 2006; Ashley et al 2001; de Boer & Huening 2004; Dei 2000; D'Hautesserre 2005; Diamantis 2000; Gössling 2001) and, therefore, the presence of a local lender can make accessing this capital easier for local tourism enterprises.

To summarise, the application of community tourism in LDCs in general and Zanzibar in particular requires at least three groups of capitals namely: fundamental capital (human capital, political capital and social capital); core capital (natural and cultural capital) and economic capital (financial and built capital).

#### **4.5.2 Characteristics of the Framework**

Due to the negative impacts that tourism activities may have on the destination communities, the sustainable development of tourism requires local participation, the principal being that the local community's participation should lead to the conservation of tourism resources and contribute to the retention of the destination area's identity and community environment (Gössling 2003; Harrison 2000; Honey 2008; Mbaiwa 2005; Mooney 2004). The tourism literature suggests that tourism development may benefit destination communities through creating employment and income opportunities, offering a marketing system for local products, and providing tax revenue for local administration (Ashley 2006; Ashley et al 2001; de Boer & Huenting 2004; Dei 2000; D'Hautesserre 200). However, destination communities should be aware of the negative consequences of the tourism industry and more emphasis should be placed on encouraging positive and mitigating negative outcomes from tourism (Mbaiwa 2005; Money 2004; Nelson & Agarwal 2008).

Community tourism should, therefore, provide learning opportunities to both tourists and the local community, implying that the mutual exchange of knowledge and information should be directed to learning about decision-making, adjustment, and responsibility (Cooper et al. 2000). Broadly speaking, destination communities should play a major role in planning, decision-making and serving tourists, bearing in mind that it is the local people who understand the local area problems. Accordingly, tourists should be given opportunities to experience nature and culture of the locality (Gössling 2003; Harrison 2000; Honey 2008). This process creates a positive impression and additional knowledge, awareness, and experiences (de Boer & Huenting 2004; Dei 2000; D'Hautesserre 2005). Community tourism development should be appropriate to its

locality and adopt an approach that demonstrates an awareness of tourists' needs (Cooper et al. 2000). However, in building tourists' satisfaction, the government and destination communities should be aware of the equilibrium that exists between physical environment and the needs of local communities and tourists (Cooper et al. 2000).

### **4.5.3 Plans supporting a framework**

The application of community tourism in LDCs needs to be supported by different plans. We should note that political power exists in social relationships and, therefore, the government should develop plans to facilitate the building of social cohesion amongst the community members. In most LDCs, (Zanzibar being no exception), there is typically no proper plan for identifying and developing tourism activities at the community level (Coleman 1990; Woolcock & Narayan 2000; Flora and Flora 1995). It is, thus, necessary to draw up plans to enable communities to develop themselves as tourism operators / providers. That is, communities should be enabled to develop their local resources into a tourism product. The plan should focus on creating tourism activities within the communities, to create more tourism alternatives for tourists and to generate more tourism related income for the communities. For community tourism to be sustainable, there must be good infrastructure to attract tourists (Ashley et al 2001; de Boer & Huenting 2004; Dei 2000; D'Hautesserre 2005). Development and improvement of infrastructure must be carried out on a continuous basis. The main objective of the plan should be to improve infrastructure while preventing the degradation of the resources and environment (Ashley et al 2001; de Boer & Huenting 2004; Dei 2000; D'Hautesserre 2005). With regard to the marketing plan, the focus should be publicizing community tourism information. However, the marketing development plan should be undertaken cautiously to prevent overexploitation of the resources.

## **4.6 Summary of chapter**

This thesis is concerned with the ways in which community tourism can be



implemented in LDCs. The literature review presented in Chapters 2 and 3 was broadly concerned with the obstacles that poor developing countries face when attempting to develop successful community tourism. Different forms of sustainable tourism were addressed in Chapter 3, and it was clear that local people can play a meaningful role in all forms of sustainable tourism, although in varying degrees. In this chapter, the ways in which the local community can utilize the assets they possess, beyond being wage earners, for developing tourism have been explored. The intention was not to downplay the significance of employment made available to the local community, but to highlight the ways in which value could be increased by encouraging the local community to be more entrepreneurial.

Capital is evidently crucial to the process of economic development and community tourism development. However, although capital is necessary, it is not sufficient in itself for successful community tourism. There are external forces that facilitate implementation of community tourism. Moreover, core capital by itself is not sufficient for community tourism development, although it is necessary component. Political, social and human capitals are equally if not more important to community tourism development. Financial capital, however, is an important ingredient once the other factors are available. Given the political challenges and the lack of adequate resources in LDCs (Chapters 2 and 3), the need for capital assets model for these countries has been argued for in this chapter. Furthermore exploration of existing tourism models also helps to identify the gaps in these models for community tourism.

The recent work of Sharpley (2009) has provided a better understanding of the dimensions needed for effective capital assets model and, in particular, the criteria important to community tourism in LDCs. These criteria are useful for analyzing and building a capital assets model and have been used in this chapter to develop a framework that will provide a conceptual direction for the development of a capital asset model (which is the prime purpose of this thesis) in Chapter 7. In other words, at this stage, the proposed framework is a guide that may be used within the context of

Zanzibar as an exemplar of LDCs (see Chapters 2 and 5). Thus, the next chapter, the case and context, presents current status of tourism development in Zanzibar. The chapter will contextualise both social-cultural and political economic forces upon which the tourism industry has been developed in Zanzibar. Moreover, the chapter will provide a brief analysis on how tourism industry and community tourism in Zanzibar has been administered and managed.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## 5 The Case and Context

### 5.1 Introduction

The successful development of sustainable tourism in today's highly competitive business environment requires a comprehensive understanding of many economic, political, social cultural and environmental forces that might impact on tourism development. The literature review in the previous chapters identified that sustainable development practices on the part of the tourism industry not only depend on the socio-cultural resources and related forces, (such as social integrity, ecological integrity, cultural integrity, community participation, economic contribution and tourist satisfaction), but also are configured and interwoven within the global, national and local political contexts. The purpose of this chapter is to contextualise both the social-cultural and political-economic forces within which the tourism industry has been developed in Zanzibar. Specifically, this chapter presents an analysis of current tourism development in Zanzibar with particular regard to three important aspects, namely: the social context, economic structures, and the environment. It then goes on to provide a brief analysis of how the tourism industry and community tourism in Zanzibar has been administered and managed to date, thereby establishing the background for the research in the latter part of this thesis.

### 5.2 The Case Study Area Profiles

#### *5.2.1 Zanzibar – a geographical perspective*

Located on the Indian Ocean in East Africa, Zanzibar is an LDC island nation with a total land area of approximately 2,643 square kilometres. Zanzibar cannot be strictly considered a small island developing state; indeed it is not included in the list of formally recognised SIDS, for two principal reasons. Firstly, it is not a single island.

Rather, is an archipelago comprising two larger islands, Unguja (frequently referred as Zanzibar) and Pemba, as well as around fifty smaller islets, including several sand and coral banks. Of the country's population of almost 1.1 million, 64% live on Unguja, one third in the capital, Zanzibar Town. Pemba accounts for most of the remaining 36% of the population, although two other islands support small populations. Secondly, Zanzibar is not formally an independent state but, having formed a union with Tanganyika in 1964, is a semi-autonomous part of the United Republic of Tanzania. Nevertheless, and as discussed shortly, it has its own government and, for the purposes of this thesis, is considered a separate, identifiable country.

According to the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock (2010), Zanzibar's territorial



water is 12 nautical miles, which equates to one million square kilometres of privileged economic waters. Surrounded by the Indian Ocean, and having favourable conditions for the development of seaport, Zanzibar has long had the opportunity to be an important gateway to

East Africa, competing with both mainland Tanzania and Kenya (Issa Mlingoti 2010). Zanzibar is located in a tropical climate region where both the equatorial ocean air stream and the continental air stream are blowing. Consequently, the climate is influenced by the East African monsoon, especially the winter and summer monsoons. Zanzibar thus has two distinct seasons, namely, the rainy season from March to May,

and the dry season from December to April (ZCT 2010). The rainy season impacts negatively on the development of the tourism industry; not only is there a high degree of seasonality in tourism arrivals, but also the poor weather often results in damage to the infrastructure. Geographically, Zanzibar enjoys a strategic location in East Africa, and serves as important point of entry to the region in general and to Tanzania in particular. Due to its geographical location, international tourists are likely to visit island as a stopover on their long haul tours (ZCT 2010; Walid 2010).

Mlingoti (2011) states that the Zanzibari government has major ambitions for the future development of hospitality and tourism. The basis of this is the islands' environment; Zanzibar boasts a variety beautiful natural features and mostly untouched coastline with beautiful lagoons, pristine beaches and tropical forests which are endowed with diverse ecosystems and landscapes that form attractive tourism resources. There are three main natural forest reserves in Zanzibar, and there are hundreds unique natural features throughout the island (Ministry of Natural Resource 2009). These natural resources have been recognised as potential tourism attraction and offer significant potential for sustainable tourism development.

### ***5.2.2 Zanzibar – a socio-cultural perspective***

Early settlers from Persia first established Zanzibar as a trade centre in East Africa (hence the Swahili language being partly derived from Arabic), and the first European settlers were the Portuguese. In the late seventeenth century, the country fell under the control of Oman and, from 1832, it became an autonomous Sultanate, remaining so until 1895. It was during this period that Zanzibar became renowned for the production of spices whilst, reflecting the Arabic influence, Islam became the dominant religion; today, over 95% of the population is Islamic. At the same time, Zanzibar was also a centre of the East African slave trade, although this was abolished when the country became a British protectorate in 1895. Independence was achieved in 1963, followed by the union with Tanganyika the following year.

Zanzibar has a long cultural history and, consequently, features ancient and modern arts, music festivals and religious customs, and a cosmopolitan society with mixture of inhabitants, such as Arab and Hindu. In particular, over 200 years of Arabic influence has left its mark on the country. This is reflected in the more than 50 cultural and historical remains scattered in ten districts (Stone Town Authority Report 2008). Indeed, according to Walid (2010), Zanzibar has more historic relics than many other East African Countries. In 2000, Zanzibar Stone Town, the country's capital, was recognised as a UNESCO World Heritage Site (UNESCO, 2010) and is the principal cultural attraction for tourists. More generally, however, Zanzibar does have the potential for the development of tourism focused on its architectural monuments, whilst the Arabian architecture, along with folk literature and arts, are interwoven with the local scenery to potentially create unique visitor experiences. Zanzibar also has a number of traditional festivals attracting large numbers of visitor arrival each year (Mlingoti, 2010). Among the most famous festivals are Mwaka Kongwa, the 'Sauti ya busara' festival (a music festival, an annual celebratory event, held in Zanzibar) and the Dhow festival. A recent tourism exit survey (TTB 2011) revealed that a majority of respondents had visited Zanzibar because of its beautiful scenery and its rich cultural heritage.

### ***5.2.3 Zanzibar – political and economic perspective***

As noted above, Zanzibar is not a formally independent state but, having formed a union with Tanganyika in 1964, is a semi-autonomous part of United Republic of Tanzania. Nevertheless, the country retains some degree of independence. Despite being politically and economically, though controversially (Bakari 2001) linked with Tanzania through the Act of Union, it retains its own government – the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar – it has its own Assembly (or House of Representatives) and, as a consequence, raises its own foreign exchange earnings. Zanzibar is a developing country that, since 1964, has been characterized by rapid socio-economic reform (MoFEA 2007). Like many socialist countries, however, the development process of Zanzibar can be viewed in two distinct stages namely: a central planned mechanism; and economic reform towards a market mechanism (MoFEA 2009; MUZA 2007).

In early 1970s, the Zanzibar government instituted strong control over most forms of economic activity (MKUZA 2007; MTIMT 2006). Industry and services were nationalised and the agriculture sector was collectivized (MTIMT 2006). From the 1970s to mid 1980s, both domestic and international trade were tightly restricted by the government and dominated by the state owned enterprises (MTIMT 2006). Consequently, the government restricted the circulation of good within country and assigned the state-owned enterprises to monopolise the distribution of basic goods, such as clothes, rice and sugar, and services (electricity and transport) around the island. While the task of distributing goods was given to BIZANJE (Biashara za Nje- Swahili words representing *Foreign Trade*), the electricity and transport were given to ZECO (Zanzibar Electrical Corporation) and SUZA (Shirika la Usafiri Zanzibar- Swahili words representing *Zanzibar Transport Corporation*) respectively (MoFEA 2007). Thus, up to the mid-1980s, Zanzibar exported large quantities of agricultural products, such as cloves and coconuts, and imported fertilizers and pesticides and machinery. More than 80% of Zanzibar' machinery and other goods were imported from the European Union and Soviet Union.

The government monopoly on trade (that is, the central planning mechanism) did not however produce the expected results as every sector of economy dramatically declined (MTIMT 2009). For example, the country's agricultural output fell – the fall intensified by a collapse in the world price of cloves, the island's principal export, from \$9000 per ton in 1970 to \$600 in the mid-1980s, productivity rapidly decreased, industry stagnated and commerce froze (MTIMT 2009). The task of shifting from an economic system based on a centrally planned mechanism (with its poor infrastructure and many socio-economic issues) imposed enormous challenges for the government. It is argued that, from the early 1980, Zanzibar was one of the poorest countries in the world and its economy suffered high unemployment, double digit annual inflation rate and inadequate food production (MoFEA, 2010). Government bureaucracy, inadequate human capital (a low labour productivity) and the underutilisation of resources hampered not only the

development of the industrial sector and services, but also production in the country's agriculture.

As a result of these economic difficulties, and in response to an IMF structural adjustment plan, in the early 1990s the government of Zanzibar broke from the rigidity of the central planning mechanism and began the reform of its economic policies (Honey 2008). These reforms aimed to move Zanzibar from a centrally-planned economy to a market-based system (MoFEA 2007); that is, to build a market-based economic mechanism regulated by the central government. Consequently, the government of Zanzibar shifted the priority in its development strategies from a focus on the agricultural economy to the promotion of services (MoFEA 2007). Broadly speaking, the government's domination of the economic sector was being replaced by diversification (ZIPA 2009). Many co-operative and collective economic sectors began to focus on free markets economic activities, in which they became more autonomous in determining their business decision-making. However, the government continued to maintain a crucial role in the national economy and, in particular, its control over the export of cloves which, despite the collapse in production, continue to account for almost 48.9% of the export of goods but just 9.9% of total exports (Beyadi 2010)

Along with economic reforms, there were also many changes in the legal environment (MoFEA 2010). New laws, regulations and guidelines were introduced to adapt to the new economic context, and they also enabled the market-based economic system to integrate further with the global economy. Such laws include the Environmental Protection Acts of 1995, the Investment Act of 1992 and Land Tenure Act of 1995. The implementation of these Acts opened up the Zanzibar economy to the external world and attracted substantial foreign investments, particularly in the tourism sector. According to Ahmed (MoFEA 2010), these economic reforms are seen as the turning point that released Zanzibar's domestic power, mobilised external resources and enabled integration with the global economy. Indeed, during the twenty years or so of economic reforms, Zanzibar has made significant progress in both social improvement



and economic development – though it must be recognized that this has occurred against a low starting point; the country still suffers high levels of poverty and under-development that places it firmly in the least developed country bracket. Selected indicators of development are provided in Table 5.1 below.

**Table 5.1:** Zanzibar: selected development indicators

GDP	\$664 million
Per capita GDP	\$548
Population under 15 years old (% of total)	44
Population over 60 years old (% of total)	3.7
Life expectancy at birth	58
Infant mortality (per 1000 births)	61
Under-5 mortality rate (per 1000 births)	101
Adult literacy rate	75.8
Net primary school enrolment (%)	77
Net secondary school enrolment(%)	33
Households with electricity (%)	23.6

**Source:** RGZ (2007); RGZ/UNDP (2009); UN(2011)

At US\$548, per capita GDP still represents an average daily income of just US\$1.50 (UN 2011). Moreover, according to the 2004/05 Zanzibar Household Budget Survey, 13% of the population live below the food poverty line (that is, unable to afford basic dietary requirements) and 49% below the basic needs poverty line (RGZ 2007), whilst a Gini coefficient of 0.28 indicates low income inequality. Thus, poverty in Zanzibar remains endemic whilst other indicators point to continuing severe under-development and, as a consequence, the country's first Human Development Report focuses on pro-poor growth with, interestingly the development of tourism and the promotion as a key target (RGZ / UNDP 2009).

Nevertheless, against this background Zanzibar has achieved what might be considered remarkable economic growth. In recent years, for example, GDP has grown at an annual

average of 6% (MoFEA 2010), whilst the growth in per capita GDP is shown below in Figure 5.2. As shown in the Table 5.2, the industry sector come to make a greater contribution to the economy, it's share of GDP increasing from 16.3% in 2003 to 17.6% in 2007. However, it is the services sector that has made the most significant contribution to economic diversification, now representing 51% of GDP. Of this, tourism has emerged as the dominant activity; although no official economic figures for tourism are collated or published, it is estimated that direct tourism expenditure accounts for around 25% of GDP (RGZ / UNDP 2009) and, remarkably, approximately 80% of export earnings (Beyadi 2010), whilst the tourism economy as a whole accounts for almost 44% of GDP. Not surprisingly, perhaps, tourism and associated services have also remained the principal focus of investment. Between 1997 and 2007, for example, over 72% of all investment in the Zanzibar economy was in the tourism sector (RGZ/UNDP 2009: 92). As a result the supply of accommodation has demonstrated consistent growth.

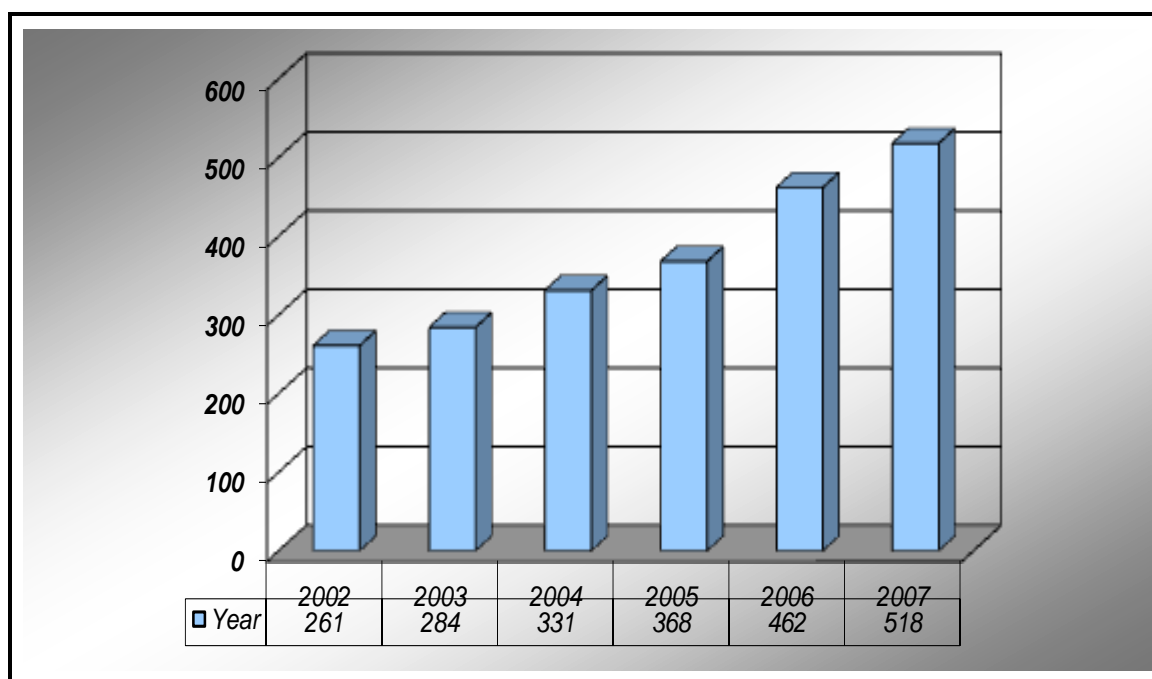
**Table 5.2:** Agricultural GDP growth rates vs. other sectors 2002-07

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
GDP at Market price	5.9	6.5	4.9	6.0	6.5
Agriculture sector	4.2	2.8	2.8	18.7	-1.7
Industry	16.3	12.5	6.6	17.6	7.6
Services	4.3	6.7	5.3	-2.8	10.5

**Source:** MKUZA (2010)

As noted, per capita GDP has increased steadily since 2002 (Figure 5.1), whilst more generally it is claimed that the restructuring and growth of the economy more generally has improved living standards in both rural and urban areas (MKUZA 2010). To an extent, progress towards the elimination of poverty has been relatively successful. According to the Zanzibar Chief Statistic Office (2010), although 49% of the population still live below the basic needs poverty line, this proportion has fallen from a figure of 61% in 1991/92. Similarly, the number of Zanzibaris who live below the food poverty line has been reduced from 22% in 1991/92 to 13% in 2004/05 (see Table 5.3).

**Figure 5.1:** per capita GDP, Zanzibar: 2002-2007



Sources: MKUZA (2010)

However, as already argued, the incidence of poverty in Zanzibar remains relatively high, although it is not uniform across the country: ‘there are more poor persons in Unguja than in Pemba who cannot adequately meet their basic needs. On the contrary, there are more poor persons in Pemba than in Unguja who cannot get adequate food’ (MKUZA 2007:16) (see Table 5.3). Moreover, it has been stated that there is a significant disparity in poverty levels between districts; for example, the proportion of people living below the basic needs poverty line in Micheweni district is 74%.

**Table 5.3:** Number of people living below the Food and Basic Needs Poverty lines

Areas	Total Population	Number of Poor People	%	Number of Basic Needs Poor People	%
Unguja	67,938	63,958	9	229,997	42
Pemba	376,987	75,192	20	288,122	61
Zanzibar 2004/05	1,055,925	139,150	13	518,119	49
Zanzibar 1991/92	878,688	193,311	22	536,000	61
<b>Micheweni</b>	<b>87,017</b>	<b>29,020</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>64,593</b>	<b>74</b>

Sources: MKUZA (2007)

The overall adult literacy rate is relatively high, with little disparity between male and

female (86% and 77% respectively). There are a higher literacy rates for male and female in Unguja than their counterparts in Pemba, as shown in Table 5.4. The disparity in literacy rates between males and females is also much higher in Pemba, where the illiteracy rate for women is 40% compared to only 20% for men.

**Table 5.4: Adult Literacy Rates (Zanzibar, Pemba and Unguja)**

	1988(in percent)		2002 (in percent)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
<b>Zanzibar</b>	66	46	86	76.8
<b>Unguja</b>	74	54	88.8	83.2
<b>Pemba</b>	53	32	80.3	62.5

**Source:** Zanzibar Growth Strategies (2010)

The benefit of the open market system has also resulted in increased competitiveness, the expansion of export markets, and greater efficiency of local economy (MKUZA 2007). The total value of exports value increased from 7,423.6 Tshs million in 2002 to 21,177.7 Tshs million in 2007 (at the time of writing, £1 = roughly 2,500 Tshs). However, the structure of exported value has changed. That is, there has been an increase in the value of the export of services and compensating for a sharp decline in the value of agricultural products. The value of agricultural products in the total value of exports declined from 74.6% in 1990 to 54.8% in 2000 and then to 45.3% in 2005. Table 5.5 below indicates that imports of goods are progressively growing relative to exports, evidenced by the trade deficit increase during 2006 and 2007. Moreover, the increase in exports in 2007 did not reduce the balance of trade deficit.

To a great extent, the rapid economic growth in Zanzibar has been fuelled by high levels of investment in tourism sector (MoFEA 2010). Following the establishment of Zanzibar Investment Promotion Agency (ZIPA) in 1991, Zanzibar has attracted large amounts of foreign capital in the service sector, especially in tourism sub-sector. For example, in 2006, about 289 projects worth US\$ 891.26 million were registered (ZIPA 2009). In general, tourism investments increased from 45 projects (worth US\$ 120.7 million) in 2006 to 48 projects (worth US\$ 480.0 million) in 2007.

**Table 5.5:** Import, Export and Balance of Trade, 2002-2007 (Tanzanian shillings)

<b>Year</b>	<b>Import</b>	<b>Export</b>	<b>Balance of trade</b>
<b>2002</b>	56,309.5	7,423.6	-48,885.9
<b>2003</b>	715,38.9	17,093.3	-54,445.6
<b>2004</b>	79,611.7	14,221.6	-65,390.1
<b>2005</b>	120,700.9	12,703.1	-107,997.8
<b>2006</b>	874,65.3	15,424.3	-7,2041
<b>2007</b>	107,689.9	21,177.7	-86,512.8

**Source:** Zanzibar Statistical Abstract (2007)

The government has strategically encouraged private companies in conducting direct export business. To stimulate further investment, comprehensive revisions to the relevant laws have been announced in recent years, with special emphasis on a simplification of the regulatory framework (MKUZA 2007). Nevertheless, in spite of the gradual shift towards a market economy, the Zanzibar government still continues to dominate important sectors of Zanzibar economy, including energy sector. Yet generally, the economic reforms have created significant opportunities and considerable progress in socio-economic development (MoFEA 2010). However, there are still macroeconomic issues that could have negative impacts on socio-economic development in the future. For example, the priority of access to the country's main resources has been given to state owned companies. This has caused not only unequal distribution of these resources, but also unfair competition between private companies (both local and foreign) and state owned enterprises.

### **5.3 Zanzibar tourism – growth and development**

Prior to the mid-1980s, many visitors to Zanzibar were from neighboring East African countries, such as Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania mainland, but relatively few non-African international tourists visited the country. Certainly, international arrivals were welcomed in the interests of fellowship (Walid 2010), but there were few hotels – only the then British Club (which, following renovation, opened in 2003 as the African House Hotel) could offer accommodation for any quality of visitors – and tourism more

generally was discouraged both to protect local culture and, more significantly, to protect the country from counter-revolutionary elements (Zanzinet 2010). However, by the mid-1980s, the local economy was, of course, facing the severe challenges discussed above, whilst the whole of the United Republic of Tanzania was suffering the consequences of a centrally-planned economic agenda (Issa 2011). According to Dieke (2000), centralised economic administration has a number of limitations, including improper practices of public administration and over centralisation of planning activities, whilst similarly, Gartner (2008) argues that a centralised tourism planning approach always results a rigid and inflexible tourism development plan.

Thus, in the early 1990s, Zanzibar began to encourage tourism as part of its general policy of liberalization and economic diversification (MoFEA 2007). The main aim was to develop tourism that would satisfy tourists' demands while making contributions to both the improvement of the national revenue accounts and community socio-economic development (MoFEA 2007). Given the recognition of the tourism industry as an important economic sector, the state tourism businesses were restructured into strong tourism companies that could perform effectively within the competitive international environment (Walid 2011). Moreover, the government introduced policies that welcomed private investments (local and foreign) into tourism industry (MoFEA 2007; Walid 2010). Private tourism operators were encouraged in tourism development by the central government and from within the communities themselves. Due to the involvement of private businesses, the Zanzibar tourism industry has been characterised by rapid growth (ZCT 2010) though, more generally, the opening up of the economy to the external world of foreign investment has been the principal catalyst in the growth of the tourism sector in Zanzibar. However, according to Walid (2011), many investors were initially cautious about investing in a revolutionary country although Italian companies, established in tourism developments in Kenya, began to lead the way. As a consequence, Italy became, and has since remained, the dominant market for tourism in Zanzibar.

### 5.3.1 The demand for tourism

#### 5.3.1.1 Tourist arrivals

Prior to beginning of economic liberalization, tourists to Zanzibar numbered only a few thousand (ZCT 2010). The statistics in Table 5.6 reveal that 19,368 tourists visited the Island in 1985 (ZCT 2010). At the early stage of Zanzibar's tourism development, non-institutionalized types of tourists were attracted (that is, explorers and drifters) who, according to Gössling (2001) and Harrill (2004), are typically the first visitors to discover most tourist receiving destinations. Walid (2010) notes that, in the 1980s only small numbers of foreigners, mainly from Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania mainland, arrived in Zanzibar to attend sports activities, to visiting friends and relatives or to perform holy pilgrimage. However, the number of international tourists started to increase after 1990 and, over the past ten years, Zanzibar has recorded impressive increases in the number of arrivals.

**Table 5.6:** International Arrivals (as a % of all arrivals in URT)

Year	Number of arrival	% of TZ	Year	Number of Arrival	% of TZ
1985	19,368	-	2004	92,161	15.81
1990	42,141	-	2005	125,443	20.47
1995	56,415	19.10	2006	137,111	21.23
2000	97,165	19.36	2007	143,283	19.92
2001	76,329	14.43	2008	128,440	16.67
2002	87,511	15.21	2009	134,919	20.23
2003	68,365	11.86	2010	132,836	16.10

Source: Zanzibar Commission for Tourism (2010)

In 1995, the total number of international tourists was 56,415, which was 19% of national total (Tanzanian arrivals), although 15 years later, the number had increased to 132,836, or 20% of the national total. The highest increase in arrivals has been recorded on Unguja Island and the lowest in the Pemba (ZCT 2010); this is not, however, surprising as it is on Unguja Island that the majority of development has occurred.

Domestic tourism has increased by only 7% between 1995 to 2010, again with the lowest increase in the Pemba and the highest in Unguja (ZCT 2010). However, any reference made to statistics of domestic tourists should be treated with caution. It is difficult to have a clear number of domestic tourists in Zanzibar because they usually prefer to stay to the houses of friends and relatives, or in rooms to let. The total bed nights of international tourists increased from 169,245 in 2005 to 797,016 in 2009.

The proportion of arrivals by charter flight has increased from 57% in 1995 to 65.3% in 2009. Among the 88,102 package tourist arrivals (in 2009), over 90% were recorded at the airport of Zanzibar (ZCT 2010). Nevertheless, charter flight arrivals declined in both 1992 and 2001, in the former year due to the civil war in neighboring countries and in the latter, the terrorism of September 11. However, Zanzibar has recovered quickly after each decline in arrivals. As discussed earlier, seasonality appears to be a significant problem. For example, while three months period of July-September perceived as the high season, the low season falls between March and June, during which time average room occupancy rate falls to 34%; during the high season, average room occupancy is 77%, the annual rate being 56%. However, this is not spread evenly across all hotels or guesthouses, reflecting imbalances in the accommodation sector.

### **5.3.1.2 Market Segmentation**

According to the Zanzibar Commission for Tourism (2010), Zanzibar attracts mainly the younger segments of the market; specifically, 9.9% of tourists belong to the age group 20-25, 57% are between the ages of 26-45, 25.7% are between 46 and 55 and just 7.4% are in the over-60 years old age group (TTB 2009). The statistics also show that Zanzibar is dominated by package tourism. There are two principal reasons for the domination of package tourism: (i) a tourism policy based on cost leadership which seeks to increase number of arrivals through price competition (Gössling 2001; Harrill 2004), and (ii) the government has allowed the construction of large numbers of lower quality accommodation establishments which attract the lower-spending market segments (Walid 2010). It is estimated that about 80% of tourists to Zanzibar are



organized through tour operators, 12% are individual tourists and 8% are conference participants (TTB 2009). Furthermore, the consumption patterns of international tourists in Zanzibar vary according to accommodation type, age and nationality (ZCT 2010). It is believed that the expenditure by tourists staying in the resorts and international hotels is almost triple that of staying in the guest houses (ZCT 2010).

**Table 5.7:** Hotel Grading in Zanzibar

Grade	Average Price/night	Grade	Average Price
No grade	45US\$	Two stars	90US\$
A	55US\$	Three Stars	250US\$
AA	65US\$	Four stars	450US\$
One star	75US\$	Five stars	>500US\$

**Source:** ZCT (2010)

As shown in the Table 5.7, tourists staying in class “A” spend relatively little on their accommodation and tourists staying at Class ‘no grade’ spend the least (ZCT 2010). On the other hand, older tourists spend more than younger tourists (ZCT 2010). Regarding expenditure by different nationalities, tourists from Italy together with British spent the highest amounts of money for the purchase of the package holiday, followed by American and Germans (ZCT 2010). Importantly, the average length of stay for international tourists is estimated to be 6 days for package tourists and 5 days for non-package tourists (see Table 5.8). This is relatively low by international standards and a major issue facing the Zanzibar tourism sector – yet it reflects the fact that, for many, Zanzibar is an ‘add-on’ after visiting the game parks of Tanzania or Kenya.

In 2010, the majority of tourists travelling to Zanzibar were Europeans, especially Italian (31%) and British (10%). It is evident that Asian countries offers a new potential market for the Zanzibar; however, these have not yet been fully exploited and, thus, appropriate marketing strategies are required (ZCT 2010). Thus, to summarize, not only do tourists in Zanzibar stay for a relatively short period of time, but many are either lower spending independent travellers or package tourists on prepaid holidays, with significant implications for levels of spending in the local economy. Moreover, there is also a low level of repeat visitors (Walid 2010).

**Table 5.8:** Expenditure and Length of Stay for tourists visiting Zanzibar, 2009

Country name	Package tourist		Non Package Tourists	
	Expenditure	Length of stay	Expenditure	Length of stay
Italy	146	8	90	8
United Kingdom	227	7	141	6
USA	313	4	213	4
Germany	269	7	145	6
Spain	305	5	232	5
France	312	6	160	4
South Africa	286	7	178	6
Netherland	224	6	138	6
Australia	210	6	193	4
Canada	260	5	164	4
Japan	153	5	159	2
Switzerland	300	7	166	7
Kenya	285	4	150	4
Belgium	250	7	140	57
Ireland	350	6	172	5
<b>Average</b>	<b>231</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>194</b>	<b>5</b>

Source: ZCT (2010)

#### 5.4 Tourism supply – evolution and patterns

In common with a number of other destinations in the SIDS, although tourism represents a relatively significant source of government revenues, limited local investment is made in the tourism sector. In the other words, Zanzibar is, in essence, a tax based economy; that is, with limited private financial resources available, the economy remains largely dependent upon the governments' ability to generate and invest revenues. As a consequence, and has long been recognized (Jenkins 1991), governments in developing countries are, in principle, required to adopt an active role in tourism development, not only establishing policy and regulative frameworks but also managing and investing in the development of the sector. For the past ten years, tourism has been considered as the priority sector for the development of the Zanzibar economy

(MKUZA 2007). It is estimated that, during the mid-1990s, a large proportion of private and public investments were directed to tourism industry and its related sectors (MoFEA 2010). These investments have led to rapid growth of tourism supply in Zanzibar, as detailed in the following section.

#### **5.4.1 Tourism accommodation and other enterprises**

Like most other small island developing states that have a tourism sector, in Zanzibar it is only the coastal areas that have benefited from tourism development (MoFEA 2010). In the mid 1990s, tourism facilities on the coast were very limited and only few beds for tourists were available (Walid 2010). For example, in the north zone of Zanzibar, there were then only approximately five hotels (each offering around 100 beds) which operated without essential services (ZCT 2009). Indeed, at that time, there were no other tourist facilities available, except of very poor quality (Walid 2010).

Harrison (1992) argues that for the modernization of a destination to occur, in the initial stages of development the local elite becomes an agent of change. This has certainly been in evidence in Zanzibar, where the local elites have played a crucial role in the expansion of the tourism industry (Walid 2010). In early 1990's, for example, on the beach of Nungwi, there were a number of small bandas<sup>1</sup> owned by one Mr. Vuai Simba, a retired politician (Simba 2011). Since there were no facilities to accommodate foreign tourists, Mr. Simba started to host foreign tourists in his bandas and, when more tourists showed the interest in staying at Nungwi, over the next few years he had extra rooms built as an extension to his bandas (Simba 2011). Indeed, this was the first officially recorded tourist accommodation in the area (ZCT 2010). Nowadays, the area has been developed by the local Jambo Brother Company which provides a quality accommodation service (Kimti 2011). Similarly, many local elites elsewhere on the island turned their entrepreneurial activity towards restaurants and hotels construction and their decision has changed the development process of the Zanzibar.

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1 Banda is Swahili word used to represent small house that made by bamboo.

In 1995, about 72% of accommodation establishments were owned by retired politicians, although majority of them were of low grade (Mlingoti 2010). This implies that, during the early stage of tourism evolution, the local [elite] had the necessary capital (both financial and political) to invest in tourism; they were able to control many facets of the tourism development in Zanzibar. Later, many other local Zanzibaris constructed hotels and other tourism enterprises (Walid 2010). In the late 1990's, Zanzibar reached the development stage (ZCT 2010; ZCT 2003) and attracted numerous foreign tourism investments (ZIPA 2007). The first foreign hotel was opened in 1997, the Mawimbini Hotel, with a 100-bed capacity. From 1998 to 2005, many other hotel establishments were built and the number of beds increased more than tripled (ZCT, 2010). In 2002, Zanzibar had 173 accommodation units with 3,089 rooms and 6,159 beds. By 2010, the numbers had increased to 1,229 units with more than 10,522 beds (ZCT 2010). The Zanzibar hotel classification system is not different from the international 'stars' system.

Generally, hotel establishments, bungalows and furnished apartments can be classified into one of five categories according to their standards (ZCT 2010). Most five star hotels in Zanzibar are located in resorts to the north and along the eastern coast of the island, whilst Pemba has only one five-star hotel, and many other low class hotels are under construction. As far as the other categories are concerned, most accommodation units in the south coast were rated 'Two Star', followed by 'One Star' and AA. However, the number of no-grade category establishments, which are usually small in size, may be higher.

Indeed, an analysis of data provided by the Zanzibar Commission for Tourism (ZCT) reveals that just 72 properties are star-rated hotels, whilst 291 are lower quality 'A' rated hotels or guest houses. Of the star-rated hotels, 15 are five star, 12 are four star and 13 are three star. Five and four star hotels are also, perhaps unsurprisingly, the largest with an average of 154 and 93 bed spaces respectively per hotel whilst, collectively, the three

star to five star hotels (40 in total, or just over 10% of all accommodation units) account for one third of all bed spaces in Zanzibar. The great majority of four and five hotels are foreign-owned, self-contained (in effect, all-inclusive) hotels located in resorts to the north and along the eastern coast of the island; they also enjoy relative high occupancy rates. Conversely, the lower-graded hotels and ‘A’ rated units are locally owned and, perhaps reflecting the lower standards of service and accommodation, typically suffer poor occupancy levels.

Generally, it would appear that Zanzibar targets the medium-spending tourism markets because majority of accommodation establishments (though not bed spaces) are within the three and four star categories.

Despite the increasing number of hotels and international tourists, Zanzibar still has a low hotel occupancy rate (ZCT 2010). In other words, the rate of increase in new beds is



higher than an increase in arrivals. Zanzibar has an average occupancy rate of 40%. The low occupancy rate has led to low profitability in the hotel sector and to low government revenue in general. Regarding the concentration of accommodation units, the map here shows the over-concentration of accommodation

establishments in the north coast of Zanzibar; over 60% of hotels in Zanzibar are

located in the north region, including Nungwi, Matemwe, and Kiwengwa; the marked areas are tourism zones.

However, there is little or no evidence of investment in other tourism facilities or attraction in Zanzibar. For example, the ruins Maruhubi Palace near Stone Town, built by the third Sultan of Zanzibar in late a nineteen century and an important cultural site, have been left to deteriorate further, whilst only recently was an outdoor check-in area at the airport roofed over to protect passengers from the elements.

#### **5.4.2 Transportation – Accessibility – Infrastructure**

Air transport plays a crucial role in transporting tourists to Zanzibar, since over 80% of international tourists arrive by charter flights. Zanzibar has only one international airport in Unguja, and a smaller one in Pemba for domestic flights. However, in order to receive direct charter flights in Pemba, work is being carried out at the airport on that island (ZCT 2010). Though there are charter flights from Italy and Germany, direct scheduled flights to Zanzibar from abroad are very limited. Nevertheless, trade liberalization has result the growth of the domestic flight market (Mlingoti, 2010). A number of domestic private carriers have been established, including Zan Air, Coastal Air, and Precision Air. Zanzibar International Airport at Kisauni is being upgraded in order to improve its facilities and services (ZCT 2010); after completion of an expansion project, the airport will be able to cope with increasing numbers of domestic and international flights. As far as Pemba Airport is concerned, its present provision is not appropriate for the needs of the large number of international tourists (ZCT 2010) and, thus, there is an undoubted need to upgrade its facilities and services and to lengthen the runway.

Similarly, the seaport plays an important role in the development of both domestic and international tourism in Zanzibar (ZCT 2010); not only do most domestic tourists, especially from the Tanzanian mainland, cross by sea, but numerous foreign independent travellers take the ferry from the mainland to Zanzibar. Zanzibar has only

one international seaport, which is located in Unguja. The port provides a reliable sea connections with mainland Tanzania and Indian Ocean countries. However, there are numerous problems regarding service provision, operation and, to a lesser extent, with the appearance of the port. For the growth and prosperity of tourism, Zanzibar needs to enlarge and upgrade its seaport, with at least two docks. With regard to ground transport, many roads to tourism areas have been neglected and it is sometimes very difficult to reach the areas, although some stretches of road have been constructed to speed up tourism development (Table 5.9).

**Table 5.9:** Recent Development in the Road Sector

<b>Year constructed</b>	<b>Road Section</b>	<b>Kilometers</b>
<b>2006</b>	Chukwani-Mazizini	6
	Airport-Mbweni	1
	Donge-Mkokotoni	13.2
	Pongwe -Matemwe	20.2
<b>2007</b>	Paje - Pingwe	16.6
	Mkwajuni - Nungwi	18.8
	Jangombe - Mpendae	2
	Paje - Makunduchi	17.3
	Bububu - Jeshini	1.2
<b>Total</b>		<b>95.3</b>

**Source:** Ministry of Transport and Communication-Zanzibar (2010)

For economic development to evolve, infrastructural improvements of all kinds are necessary, with water and electricity supply a vital factor. In the tourism sector of Zanzibar, for instance, the unreliable supply of key utilities, such as electricity and water, and the high costs related to these have been pointed out as limits to further investments (Office of Chief Government Statistician, Zanzibar, 2005). Based on this evidence, it is clear that tourism development in Zanzibar has been negatively affected by the unreliable supplies (ZCT 2010). However, as yet no studies have been made measuring the economic effect of this shortage in Zanzibar, although the consequences of infrastructural shortage in other developing countries have been studied (Adenikinju

2005; Steinbuks & Foster 2009). Certainly, in Zanzibar there are insufficient quantities of safe water, meaning that tourism operators are obliged to buy water from water-wagons (Walid 2010). In this context, as the number of tourists continues to increase, additional water is required to meet the increasing demand.

## **5.5 The consequences of tourism development**

### **5.5.1 Economic consequences**

Before the introduction of tourism, the economy of Zanzibar was mainly dependent upon the agricultural sector (MoFEA 2010). Since the mid-1990s, however, tourism has evolved into the island's main economic driver and the largest source of foreign exchange earnings (MoFEA 2007). Significantly, tourism also makes a major contribution to government revenues; currently, and as an indication of the dependence of public finances on the sector, some 80% of annual government revenues come from tourism (RGZ 2007).

Thus, the country's economy has been transformed from one focused on the traditional agricultural sector to one based upon a modern tourism-oriented sector. Nevertheless, although government investment (such as it is) is currently directed towards tourism, Zanzibar still tries to maintain a balance between tourism and agriculture (MoFEA 2010). However, regional and economic disparities have been observed; not surprisingly the economy of coastal areas is dependent upon intense tourist activity, whereas the hinterland is geared towards agriculture, with tourism supporting only a small part of the economy. As noted earlier, tourism's overall economic contribution to the Zanzibar economy represents approximately 25% of GDP and 80% of exports.

In 2010, the 132,836 foreign tourists who visited Zanzibar generated spending of approximately US\$160,258,000 (ZRB 2010). It is estimated that 40% of the amount was paid to foreign tour operators for the purchase of tourism packages, such as



transport and accommodation. Furthermore, around 23% was spent on catering, 15% on shopping, 17% on local transport and 5% on other services, though the accuracy of these figures is debatable; calculating the economic impact of tourism in Zanzibar is a complicated task since very few studies have been conducted in the area (Narman 2007; MoFEA 2009; ZATI 2008). Indeed, according to ZATI (2008), the official data underestimate both tourist arrivals and foreign exchange receipts. It is claimed that Zanzibar relies on foreign exchange transactions recorded by Bank of Tanzania, which are far lower than actual tourism consumption (ZATI 2008). Similarly, Zanzibar depends on tourism statistics recorded by Tanzania Tourist Board, which are also thought to be lower than actual arrival and expenditure figures.

Owing to the importance of tourism to the Zanzibar economy, the government has used tourism as a mean of addressing the country's socio-economic problems (MoFEA 2007). Through tourism receipts, funding has been directed towards the provision of improved infrastructure and social services, such as health and education (Walid 2010). Moreover, there are also examples of how tourism revenues have been re-invested in the sector; for instance, the improvement to the check-in area at the international airport discussed earlier (essentially, providing shading in the check-in area) was financed by airport charges. Tourism has also been seen as an important source of employment, and government has used tourism development as strategy to reduce unemployment rates. Indeed, to an extent the tourism industry has created significant employment opportunities in Zanzibar, contributing to a decline in the rate of unemployment from 7% in 2005 to 4% in 2010 (ZCT 2010). However, there is wide variability in the rate of unemployment across age groups, gender, and geographical areas. For instance, the unemployment rate is claimed to be as low as 1.6% in rural areas compared to 11.4% in urban areas. According to the Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs (2010), the direct employment in tourism in Zanzibar has increased from 5%, of total employment in 2005 to 12% in 2010. However, these data should be treated with caution; not only is it difficult to construct accurate indicators for direct employment in tourism, but levels of unemployment are likely to be higher than official statistics indicate. Indeed, given

that there is a lack of data with respect to the number of people indirectly employed in tourism, as well as the number of undeclared employees, the real contribution of tourism to employment creation is uncertain (ZCT 2010). It is estimated that over 30% of the Zanzibar workforce is directly or indirectly involved in the tourism sector. For example, based on the ratio of employees to numbers of hotel beds (between 1: 8 to 1:20 for low grade hotels and from 1: 3 to 1:4.5 for high grade hotels), the number of hotel employee in 2010 can be calculated to be 63,224 (Table 5.10) Generally, however, establishing the level of employment in the Zanzibar tourism industry is a challenging task

**Table 5.10:** Employment in Hotel Sector

<b>Grade</b>	<b>Number of Beds</b>	<b>Employment Ratio</b>	<b>Number of Employees</b>
A	3,553	1:8	28,424
AA	765	1:6	4,590
One star	1,679	1:4.5	7,556
Two stars	774	1:4.5	3483
Three Stars	1,251	1:4	5004
Four stars	1,048	1:4	4192
Five stars	3,325	1:3	9975
<b>Total</b>	<b>12,395</b>		<b>63,224</b>

**Source:** Compiled by the Author

It is also important to point out that tourism development in Zanzibar has attracted significant numbers of expatriate workers and immigrants (Gössling & Schulz 2005). There are two types of immigrant workers in Zanzibar tourism industry (Gössling & Schulz 2005). The first group constitutes those seeking to fill the undesired, low paid jobs in the primary and tertiary sectors (ZCT 2010), and includes people from the Tanzanian mainland, Rwanda, Burundi and Kenya who move to Zanzibar because of high unemployment in their own countries. The second group includes tourism workers attracted by employment prospects who, as EAC citizens, are able to enter Zanzibar legally (ZCT 2010). As a consequence, a significant proportion of jobs in the tourism sector in Zanzibar are held by non-Zanzibaris. For example, according to Walid (2010),

the local population in the resort of Nungwi is approximately 3,000, but the incoming workforce is estimated to be approximately 1,000, most of whom are Tanzanian although there are also a large number of other foreign employees, particularly in managerial positions.

It has been well documented that local Zanzibaris lack relevant skills to work in tourism, hence the number of positions held by people from the Tanzanian mainland who, according to Gössling (2001), possess better language and service skills. In 1998, Zanzibar established the Hotel and Tourism Institute to prepare local people for a career in the tourism sector. However, it charges fees of around \$800 per course (Walid 2010), well beyond the means of most Zanzibaris. Consequently, the majority of students are from the Tanzanian mainland. Some non-government organizations do provide financial support for local Zanzibaris to undertake tourism training courses although, by and large, the majority of the country's poor remain excluded from relevant training and education opportunities.

In common with other SIDS, much of what consumed by tourists in Zanzibar cannot be produced locally in either sufficient quantity or quality. According to the Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs (2009), around half of the country's food requirements in general are imported and, for the tourism sector in particular, the proportion is significantly higher. According to SNV/VSO (2009), virtually all meat and poultry consumed in the tourism industry is imported from the Tanzanian mainland and South Africa, representing a major leakage from the Zanzibar tourism economy. The SNV/VSO (2009) report reveals that 80% of vegetables are imported, although just 20 percent of fruit is imported. According to Kassim (2010), the majority of fish consumed by tourists is locally caught and sold. However, this increases market prices for local people during the high season and, overall, it has been suggested that at least 80% of all food and beverages consumed by tourists in Zanzibar is imported (SNV/VSO 2009). Moreover, the bulk of arts and crafts sold to tourists are not locally produced also imported from mainland.

### 5.5.2 Social consequences

Tourism development has created a number of serious problems for the social life of many Zanzibar communities. According to Mlingoti (2010), for example, certain forms of tourism, such as backpacker tourism, have given rise to social issues; backpackers have been associated with various statutory criminal offences, including pushing drugs (Mlingoti 2010). Through close contact with tourists, the habits and social values of young people have changed. According to Kull (2002), it is often the behaviour of foreign tourists that may have an unfavorable impact on the behaviour of the local people, whilst Ahmada (2010) found that people living in the tourist areas were more likely to disregard their own customs compared with residents of non-tourism developed areas.

It has been reported that in the resort of Nungwi, owing to the rapid growth of tourism, young people have gained more sexual freedom (Labaika 2010). More positively, in many tourism areas women became autonomous as business owners or wage earners. In Matemwe, for instance, many women have opened small shops and are selling their products to tourists. Indeed, as a result of tourism, women have achieved more power and control of decision making within the families (Walid 2010). However, most women are employed in low paid jobs. This thesis found that, in 2010, over 60% of all hotel employees in Nungwi were women, and fewer than 5% held managerial positions.

In common with other tourism destinations, the development of tourism in Zanzibar has led to the abandonment of the traditional agricultural industry, tourism-related jobs being perceived as generating higher income and more attractive (Mowforth & Munt 2003). In Nungwi, for example, the number of farmers has decreased dramatically whereas the number of wage earners and small shopkeepers has increased considerably. Moreover, according to Walid (2010), local people's sense of hospitality in Zanzibar has declined whilst the relationship between local Zanzibaris and tourists has become commercialized. However, others hold an opposite viewpoint; it is suggested that local residents believe that foreign tourists are friendly and helpful, and that foreign tourists

spending on souvenirs and crafts and, therefore contribute to revitalization of traditional arts and crafts (Ahmada 2011).

### **5.5.3 Environmental consequences**

As discussed in the previous chapter, tourism is heavily reliant on the supply of both artificial and natural resources. Zanzibar is endowed with remarkable natural resources, particularly its coastline which totals 1,300 km, and 15% of which consists of sandy beaches. However, as in many SIDS, the tourism industry in Zanzibar has been associated with environmental degradation. Uncontrolled building construction, the lack of land-use planning, the concentration of package tourists in the island, insufficient infrastructure and lack of waste and garbage management have all caused serious environmental problems in Zanzibar (Walid 2010). Indeed, uncontrolled development in some tourism areas has not only diluted the quality of tourism attractions, but has also devalued the image of Zanzibar and its natural resources. At the same time, the increase in tourism activity combined with population growth have resulted in resource scarcity, in particular with respect to electricity and water supplies (Walid 2010).

Although many local people living in the coastal areas and other tourism areas have received substantial economic reward from tourism development, their physical and human ecology is under significant threat (Ahmada 2010; Narman 2007). Zanzibar lacks a proper land registry system and an appropriate tourism zoning system (Azan and Ufuzo 2009). As a result, there has been a visible physical transformation of the island; tourism activities have, to great extent, diminished the attraction of (and local access to) the landscape (Azan and Ufuzo 2009). For example, the Zanzibar Land Tenure Act of 1994 declares that beaches are public assets; however, the continuous development of large accommodation establishments along the coastal areas has reduced beach accessibility for local people, especially local fisherman (Azan and Ufuzo 2009). Another tourism-related environmental problem in Zanzibar is the disposal of huge amounts of sewage and refuse generated by tourism businesses, such as hotels and restaurants (Azan and Ufuzo 2009). Nowadays, the beaches have become littered with

indestructible refuse left by both locals and tourists which has contaminated the sea (Walid 2010).

A number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been established to safeguard the natural resources in Zanzibar. These NGOs are often supported by international organizations, such as the World Bank and the Worldwide Fund for Nature (WWF). For example, through the Marine and Coastal Environmental Management Project (MACEMP) a number of projects have been introduced and financed (ZCT 2010). These projects were established for the protection of environmental resources, especially bird and marine species, and the restoration and extension of the only natural forest in Zanzibar (Ministry of Natural Resource 2009). In an attempt to attract environmentally friendly tourists and to increase profits in the long-term, there has also been an increase in the number of hotels that have adopted environmental practices and standards. For instance, the Blue Bay Hotel has adopted a number of environmental measures, including water recycling and the use of energy-efficient technology to safeguard the environment ([www.virginholidays.co.uk](http://www.virginholidays.co.uk)). Similarly, the Zanzibar Association for Tourism Investors (ZATI) has introduced a number of environmental campaigns which aim to preserve and protect the natural resources on which tourism depends; this organisation often advises its members to save water and energy, and to use suppliers which provide eco-friendly and organic products.

## **5.6 The tourism planning & regulatory structure in Zanzibar**

An understanding and explanation of the national management structure of the tourism industry is important as it reveals the nature of government policy and decision-making processes which regulate the operation of the tourism industry. In Zanzibar, the tourism management system ranges from the national to the regional level. Currently, at the national level, the tourism industry falls under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Information, Culture, Sport and Tourism, whilst the Zanzibar Commission for Tourism (ZCT) is the government agency assigned with responsibility for exercising state

administration of tourism operations and activities throughout the country. The ZCT has also been given the responsibility for planning, developing and managing tourism at national level (ZCT 2010). It not only sets out national tourism strategies, but also inspects the implementation of tourism policies and other tourism regulations.

At the regional level, each region has an officer, paid by the ZCT; these officers exercise administration over tourism operations (ZCT 2010). There is no tourism officer at the district or ward level. This implies that local governments are not fully involved in tourism development. However, according to Ashura (2010), local governments have played a major role in executing regulations for practicing sustainable tourism. Overall, this description of tourism administration clearly indicates a top-down approach to tourism planning. The central government, through the ZCT, plays a crucial role in setting out national tourism plans, strategies and policies. On the other hand, regional authorities are crucial for implementation and monitoring these plans and policies, but they are not permitted to design any regulations that relate to tourism development in their areas. Indeed, the regional authorities have a little voice in national tourism master planning as they only provide baseline information to central government (ZCT 2010).

This public sector administration system for Zanzibar tourism industry indicates the lack of involvement that local communities, the private sector and local authorities enjoy in setting up and implementing plans and policies for tourism development. It has been argued that a top-down management approach can limit attempts to address environmental issues and socio-economic problems that are related to tourism development because it largely ignores local stakeholders (Ashley 2006; Ashley et al 2001; de Boer & Huening 2004; Dei 2000; D'Hautesserre 2005; Diamantis 2000; Gossling 2001; Murphy & Murphy 2004; Tosun 2000). Currently, Zanzibar's tourism industry is directed by the (new) Tourism Promotion Act, approved by the Zanzibar House of Representative in 2010. The Act provides the legal and policy foundation for the administration and development of tourism in Zanzibar. It also provides guidelines for the exploitation and protection of tourism resources. At the same time, as a complex

and multi-sectoral sector, tourism in Zanzibar is also subject to a variety of other of laws and regulations; these include the Zanzibar Land Tenure Act, the Zanzibar Environment Law, and the Zanzibar Investment Act.

The overall policy for tourism in Zanzibar is to continue to develop the sector as the country's main economic driver, while still maintaining the natural conditions and cultural values that entice international and domestic tourists (MKUZA 2010). The Zanzibar Vision 2020 serves as a basis for sustainable tourism development in the country. The Vision states that it is 'essential to enhance promote sustainable tourism ... and the vision's policy on promotion of sustainable tourism is to develop a tourism industry which is culturally and socially responsible, ecologically friendly, environmentally sustainable and economically viable; and to promote Zanzibar as the destination for tourists in terms of historic cultures and beach holidays' (Zanzibar Vision 2020:13). Based on the government's Vision 2020, the ZCT has developed a five year tourism plan (2003-2008)<sup>2</sup> that sets out the main targets and strategies for the tourism development of the country. Such strategies focus on 15 aspects, including the utilisation of tourism potential; human resources development; local participation and benefits; tourist image; environmental conservation and protection; culture and tradition; safety and security; and minimising leakage (Indicative Tourism Plan, as cited in Zanzibar Tourism Policy 2003:5-29).

As observed above, the management and administration of tourism resources in Zanzibar is a multi-sectoral issue. Government departments that are involved directly in the management of tourism resources in Zanzibar include the Department of Fisheries, the Zanzibar Institute of Marine Science, the Department of Archives and Antiquity, and the Department of Sports and Culture. However, it has been claimed that there is an overlapping of duties between these departments (Walid 2010). Together with the lack of reliable data about the tourism industry referred to earlier, this results in a lack of effectiveness in the contemporary administration of tourism in areas such as monument

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<sup>2</sup> The Indicative Tourism Master Plan has not yet been updated.



management and waste management (Walid 2010). Moreover, of particular relevance to this thesis, the centralization of the public administration of tourism in general has meant that there is no management of tourism resources at the community levels.

The structure of tourism administration in Zanzibar suggests an inherent contradiction between the Zanzibar government's dual goals of political control and economic liberalization (Issa 2011). Nevertheless, while tourism development in Zanzibar has been supported for its perceived economic benefits, environmental activists and others argue that the tourism industry is too politically and culturally sensitive (Issa 2011), and that it should not be left to the hands of the private sector or foreign investors; instead the government should play the leading role in its development. However, it is clear that the existing management and administrative structure of the tourism industry in Zanzibar is too cumbersome and bureaucratic (ZATI 2009). As widely recognized in the literature, the centralized system of tourism management is often not competent enough to cope with increasing competition in the tourism industry (Ashley et al 2001; de Boer & Huening 2004; Dei 2000; D'Hautesserre 2005; Diamantis 2000; Gössling 2001). The system also cannot meet the requirements of international investors (Ashley et al 2001; de Boer & Huening 2004; Dei 2000; D'Hautesserre 2005; Diamantis 2000).

More specifically, the administration of tourism in Zanzibar faces a number of challenges that have served to limit tourism's developmental potential. That is, in addition to the overtly cumbersome and bureaucratic nature of the current system, it is recognized within the Zanzibar tourism sector (both public and private) that, in a number of respects, there has been a long and continuing failure on the part of the government to implement appropriate policies and processes to not only optimize the contribution of tourism to socio-economic development, but also to minimize its negative consequences. For example, it is widely accepted that a number of the challenges currently facing the tourism sector and its limited developmental contribution relate to the lack of an appropriate policy framework in the early years of tourism and development on the island. Indeed, from the late-1980s onwards there were

plenty of investors, but no plans or regulations with respect to the size / location of hotels, financing arrangements, compensation to local communities for loss of land, and so on (Mlingoti 2010). In particular, it is evident that there are four ways in which the government has failed to meet its responsibilities with respect to the governance of tourism in Zanzibar:

- i. *Lack of investment:* despite the significant contribution of tourism to government revenues, much of it raised through a heavy burden of taxation and levies imposed on tourism businesses and tourists themselves, other than that referred to above there has been little investment in tourism facilities, infrastructure, business development programmes, and so on.
- ii. *Policy failures:* As is often the case in developing country tourism destinations, although tourism development plans have been produced for Zanzibar, such as the 1983 UNDP/WTO sponsored tourism master plan and the 1996 Tourism Zoning Plan, these have not been implemented. Consequently, tourism development in Zanzibar over the last two decades has occurred in what may be described as a policy vacuum
- iii. *Institutional confusion:* attention has already been drawn above to the numerous departments that have some responsibility for tourism; such as situation, compounded by the lack of policy guidance, has resulted in a lack of leadership or lines of authority.
- iv. *Political interference:* again as is common in LDCs, the administration of tourism suffers from what may be described as political interference and patronage (Honey 2008). Even if formal tourism planning policies and mechanisms were in existence, it is likely that these could be over-ruled through political interest and interference.

Of course, as within any economic sector, a complete, defined and appropriate legal framework may positively influence the business environment (Ashley et al 2001; de Boer & Huening 2004). Thus, the relationship between central government, local

authorities and the private sector is of paramount importance to ensure coherence in national tourism policy with regards to sustainable tourism (Dei 2000; D’Hautesserre 2005; Diamantis 2000). In the case of Zanzibar, it could be argued that an alternative form of tourism management / administration should be put in place to address the issues caused by the current top-down planning approach. Such a new approach should be based on an at least partial transfer or decentralization of authority from the central to local level for the management of tourism and its environment; this decentralization would, in turn, facilitate the planning and development of sustainable tourism that benefits local communities.

## **5.7 Towards community tourism in Zanzibar**

Despite its stated policy focus sustainable tourism development, the Zanzibar government continues to seek to increase the number of foreign tourists. That is, it follows a volume rather than quality strategy. Indeed, the current official target is to increase annual international arrivals to approximately one million by 2020 (ZCT 2010). At the same time, the government is continuing to welcome and approve large tourism projects, rather than focusing on small scale sustainable development with local involvement. As discussed previously, there is a clear contradiction inherent in the Zanzibar government’s dual goals of economic benefits and socio-environmental protection (Issa 2011). Whilst the government seeks higher economic growth for the wellbeing of the citizens (MoFEA 2010), too much emphasis is placed on the need to increase foreign exchange earnings through tourism, resulting in unsustainable development practices.

The government of Zanzibar does not wish to lose its political control over tourism industry (Walid 2010); equally, it fears that the rapid growth of tourism may cause negative impacts on environment. Therefore, priority has been given, at least in principle, to the management of environment (Hamza 2010). However, the country lacks infrastructure, the institutional framework needed to promote sustainable tourism

development, and the appropriate strategies for the improvement of human resources (Gössling 2001). In addition, the government lacks the clear standards and processes needed to monitor its strategies for sustainable tourism development (Kitwana 2000). The top-down approach, discussed earlier, also illustrates the absence of collaboration between various actors/stakeholders in the planning and developing tourism in Zanzibar.

More specifically, although numerous government decisions with respect to tourism have affected local communities, particularly regarding their access to tourism resources, local people have not been included in the policy-making processes. According to Issa (2011), during the 1990s, the level of involvement of destination communities in the control and operation of tourism activities in Zanzibar was extremely limited, whilst many local people were disadvantaged by the manner in which land was transferred to investors for hotel development. However, in March 2011, the ZCT introduced its community tourism strategy (Issa, 2011). The objective of this community tourism strategy is to encourage the establishment of Zanzibari-owned enterprises, based in destination communities, which would cater for small number of tourists interested in cultural and nature tourism. In addition, the strategy emphasises the development of tourism products that will encourage tourist to visit, observe, experience and learn about rural communities in Zanzibar.

The development of community-based tourism is considered as the most appropriate tool to help minimize the environmental and social impacts of tourism and to optimize its benefits to local communities in Zanzibar (Mlingoti 2011). Many politicians have in principal accepted this new approach to tourism development tourism as it is considered to enhance the setting and growth of small scale tourism projects for local Zanzibaris. As Singh et al (2002: 140) assert, ‘the roots of many of the negative consequences of tourism can be found in the behaviour of three main groups: (i) tourists; (ii) inhabitants of the visited localities; and (iii) brokers’. Thus, the successful implementation of community tourism depends on the combined efforts of these actors.

However, there are few examples of recognized or successful community based tourism projects in Zanzibar (Gössling 2003). Even the widely feted dolphin tourism experience, claimed to be an example of community tourism in the village of Kizimkazi, is not achieving its sustainability objectives; not only does much of the economic benefit go to tour operators in Stone Town, but a lack of regulation has limited the village ability to manage and promote dolphin tourism in a sustainable manner (Amir & Jiddawi 2001). Indeed, from the experience of the community of Kizimkazi, the main constraint for community tourism development in Zanzibar is the evident lack of co-operation between different actors. Moreover, the policies and regulations are inadequate, inconsistent and not in accordance with the reality of country's environment (Gössling 2003). As demonstrated in this chapter, not only is the institutional framework for the tourism industry in Zanzibar characterized by complex system of policies, acts and regulations, and departmental responsibilities (Narman 2007), but also the regulations and policies are lacking in their guidance and regulation necessary to support the development of community tourism.

Thus, there is a need in Zanzibar to explore and understand the potential for community tourism, and to identify the processes by which community tourism might be implemented. Fundamental to this is an analysis of community capitals in Zanzibar and of the extent to which the community capitals approach to tourism development proposed in the preceding chapter might represent a viable model for community tourism in Zanzibar. It is on these issues that the research considered in the following chapters considers.

# CHAPTER SIX

## 6 Research Methodology

### 6.1 Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is not only to explore and analyze community tourism practice in Zanzibar but also to identify key issues for its implementation. The thesis also aims to develop a conceptual model for community tourism based on ‘community capitals’ (see Chapter 5) and to explore the usefulness of this model in the specific context of Zanzibar as a case study for the implementation of community tourism. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to consider the broad methodological philosophy adopted in this thesis, as well as to introduce and justify the specific research tools employed to address the research questions as set out in the introductory chapter. Following a review of research philosophies, the chapter then considers distinctions between the ‘etic’ and ‘emic’ approaches to tourism research as a framework for explaining the perspective adopted here. It then goes on to explain the specific research design applied to this study, the methods of data collection and its limitations and, finally, the methods of data analysis employed during the two investigative phases that comprised the empirical data collection element of this thesis.

### 6.2 Research paradigms

According to Hassard and Kelemen (2002), a research paradigm is a set of connected beliefs about the social world which represents a philosophical and conceptual framework for the organized study of that world. More specifically, Guba (1990) describes a paradigm as a basic belief system which guides research actions while undertaking disciplined inquiry. In other words, the selected research paradigm is the starting point for any research investigation. It is well documented that all research, whether quantitative or qualitative, is based upon underlying assumptions about what

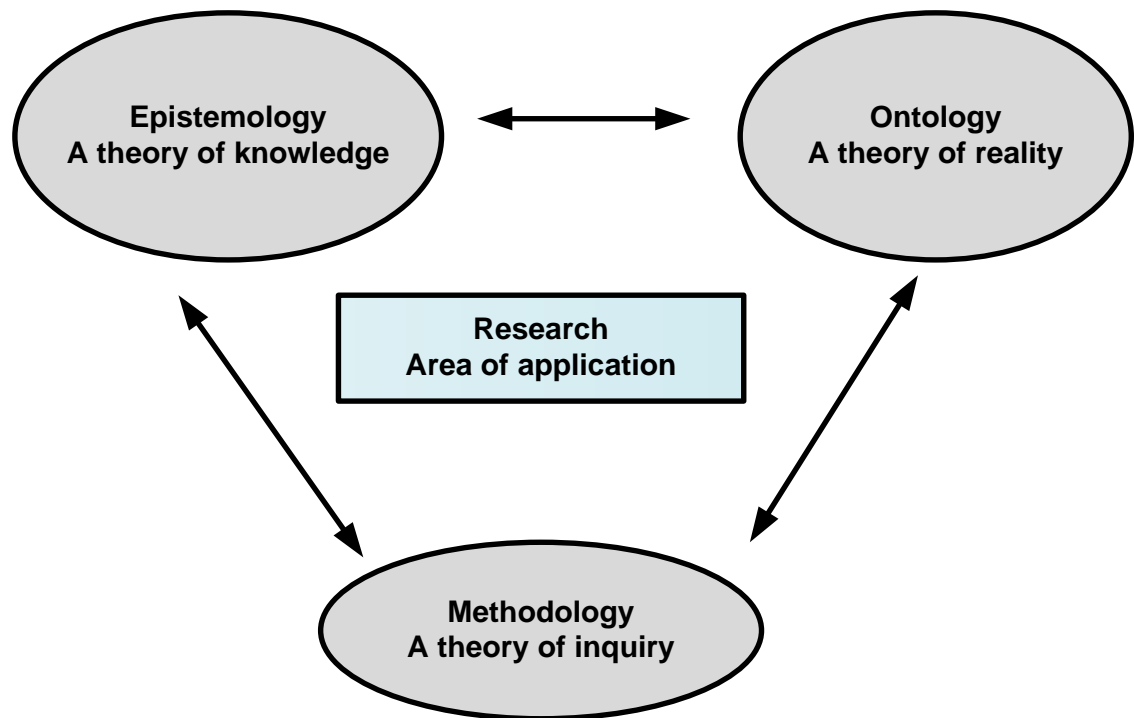
forms 'valid' research and which research methods are suitable (Baskerville & Myers 2004; Denscombe 2002; Fuchs & Weirmair 2003; Hopkins 2002; Mazanec 2005; Yin 2003). In order to conduct and/or evaluate qualitative research, such as that undertaken in this thesis, it is important to explain and justify the research paradigm adopted, as it is that paradigm which dictates the methods to be employed in the study. According to Smith (2010), different paradigms tend to be characterized by different methods, and each paradigm provides different assumptions about the nature of reality and how individuals understand reality.

It appears that the most relevant philosophical assumptions are those relate to underlying epistemology of the research. Hathaway (1995) defines epistemology as assumptions about knowledge and how it can be obtained. Guba (1990) and Jennings (2010), following Chua (1986), suggest four categories of research paradigms namely: positivism, post-positivism, constructivism and critical theory. However, in social studies, distinctions between these four categories may not always be precise (Baskerville & Myers 2004; Denscombe 2002; Fuchs & Weirmair 2003; Hopkins 2002). For instance, qualitative research can be critical, positivist or constructivist. According to Smith (2010), there are three concepts which are vital to the understanding of each research paradigm. These are epistemology, ontology and methodology. Epistemology may be broadly thought of as the theory or study of knowledge; that is, it is concerned with what knowledge is, how it is acquired, and the truth or adequacy of acquired knowledge.

More specifically, Guba (1990) describes epistemology as a branch of philosophy that is concerned with how the researcher knows what s/he knows or how the researcher discovers the knowledge. In other words, epistemology is concerned about the nature of relationship between the knower and the known (Denscombe 2002; Fuchs & Weirmair 2003; Hopkins 2002). Ontology, on the other hand, is concerned with the construction and understandings of realities within which research or knowledge generation occurs (Fuchs & Weirmair 2003), whilst methodology refers to the system of or, perhaps,

guidelines for the generation and analysis of knowledge / data; more simply stated, methodology is concerned with *how* the researcher should generate knowledge Guba (1990). Figure 6.1 below summarizes the relationship between epistemology, ontology and methodology.

**Figure 6.1:** Epistemological assumptions for qualitative research



**Source:** Adapted from Smith (2010)

The implication of Figure 6.1 is that the researcher adopts an appropriate paradigm which supports his/her epistemological, ontological and methodological assumptions. Table 6.1 below summarizes the four categories of research paradigm referred to above and the ontology, epistemology, methodologies and methods relevant to each. These are then considered in more detail in the following sections.



**Table 6.1: Table of research paradigm**

	<b>Positivism</b>	<b>Post-positivism</b>	<b>Critical Theory</b>	<b>Constructivism</b>
<b>Ontology</b>  The nature of reality	Realist  Reality is objective.  Reality exists out there and is driven by unchangeable natural laws and mechanism  Context-free, Generalization of finding	Critical Realist  Reality exists.  It is driven by natural laws but can never be completely understood or uncovered.	Critical reality  Reality is shaped by social, political, cultural, ethnic, and gender values	Relativist  Reality exist in the form of multiple mental representations
<b>Epistemology</b>  Nature of relationship between the inquire and the knowable	Objectivist  Knowledge is scientific. The inquirer adopts detached, non interactive position	Modified objectivist  Objectivity remains an ideal but can only be approximated with special emphasis place on external guardians such as critical community	Subjectivist  Values of inquirer influence inquiry	Subjectivist  The findings are the fused interaction process between inquirers and inquired into.  Personal
<b>Methodology</b>  Whole process of collecting and interpreting data	Experimental/Manipulative  Redress imbalance by doing inquiry in natural settings	Modified Experimental/manipulative  Redness imbalance by doing inquiry in natural settings	Dialogic/Transformative  Eliminates false consciousness and facilitates emantipation	Hermeneutic/dialectic  Inductive and interpretive
<b>Methods</b>  Specific techniques of data collection	Quantitative methods i.e. questionnaires	Mixed methods though quantitative methods are often used	Some mixed methods with care taken to permit views of respondents to be expressed	Qualitative methods i.e. interview, texts analysis of cases

**Source:** Adapted from Lincoln and Guba (1990)

### **6.2.1 Positivism**

The positivist paradigm is common within the physical and social sciences (Guba, 2005). This type of research paradigm is founded upon realistic ontology which believes that truth exists, and it seeks to discover the true nature of reality (Denscombe 2002; Fuchs & Weirmair 2003; Hopkins 2002). Hirschleim (1985: 33) argues that ‘positivism has a long and rich historical tradition. It is so embedded in our society that knowledge claims not grounded in positivist thought are simply dismissed as unscientific and therefore invalid’. Similarly, Alavi and Carlson (1992) contend that positivism has had a particularly successful association with the physical and natural sciences. According to Guba (2005), positivists practice an objectivist epistemology; it is rooted in realist ontology. In other words, a positivist researcher behaves in a standardized manner toward his/her environment (Denscombe 2002; Fuchs & Weirmair 2003; Hopkins 2002). According to Wardlow (1989), researchers employing positivistic research inherently recognize the following primary assumptions as intrinsic characteristics of the positivistic mode of inquiry:

- (i) the physical world and social events are analogous in that researchers can study social phenomena as they do physical phenomena;
- (ii) theory is universal and sets of principles and inferences can describe human behavior and phenomena across individuals and settings;
- (iii) in examining social events, researchers adhere to subject-object dualism in that they stand apart from their research subjects and treat them as having an independent existence;
- (iv) there is a need to formalize knowledge using theories and variables that are operationally distinct from each other and defined accordingly;
- (v) hypotheses about principles of theories are tested by the quantification of observations and by the use of statistical analyses.

Positivists believe that the truth is exact and can be uncovered by testing hypotheses and

through the use of mathematical and statistical methods. There has, however, been much debate on the issue of whether or not this positivist paradigm is entirely suitable for the social sciences (Guba, 2005; Hirschheim 1985; Kuhn 1970; Remenyi & Williams 1996). For instance, truth in the positivistic research is often stated probabilistically and, consequently, the researcher can seldom achieve her/his own goals of having specific truth, but only probabilistic inferences of truth in which theory never becomes regarded as fact (Kim 2003) .

### ***6.2.2 Post Positivism***

Following the criticisms of positivism, the post-positivist paradigm reflects a shift to an ontological position of critical realism (Guba 1990). However, reality remains the central concept (Guba 2005; Hirschheim 1985; Kuhn 1970; Remenyi & Williams 1996). The post-positivist stance asserts the value of values, passion and politics in research (Eagleton 2003); post-positivist research requires the ability to see the whole picture, to take a distanced view or an overview, and a fair degree of passion (Eagleton 2003: 134-135). Broadly speaking, in post-positivist research, ‘truth is constructed through a dialogue; valid knowledge claims emerge as conflicting interpretations and action possibilities are discussed and negotiated among the members of a community (Richie & Rigano 2001: 752).

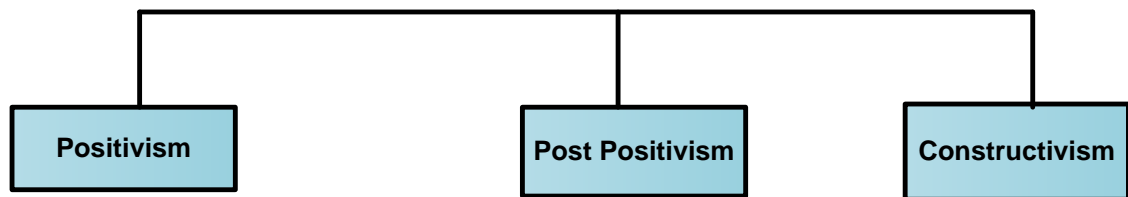
Epistemologically, within the post-positivist paradigm, the researcher moves away from the objectivist approach, as it is recognized that findings emerge out of an interaction between the research and the environment and truth cannot be achieved in an absolute manner (Denscombe 2002; Fuchs & Weirmair 2003; Guba 1990; Hopkins 2002). Therefore, post-positivist researchers are critical about their position and findings but, nevertheless, try to adopt a neutral posture. According to Denscombe (2002), post-positivist researchers tend to adopt modified objectivity multiplication, which is a form of elaborated triangulations of method where mixed methods are carefully used to provide findings which are more likely to be truthful and unbiased. Post-positivist researchers believe that the use of different methods will reduce the distortions of

interpretation of findings.

### 6.2.3 *Constructivism*

Constructivism is an alternative paradigm for inquiry which, according to (Guba 2005), represents a paradigm shift from positivism and post positivism (see also Allenman & Brophy 1998; Smith 2010; Lincoln & Guba 1985). In other words, it is suggested that there is an evolutionary continuum from positivism to constructivism (Figure 6.2) Proponents of constructivism believe that there are many possible ways to construct reality, as a consequence, several interpretations can result from inquiry (Denscombe 2002; Fuchs & Weirmair 2003; Hopkins 2002).

**Figure 6.2:** Paradigm continuum



**Source:** Betzner (2008)

From the constructivist perspective, it is recognized that there is the possibility of multiple realities; consequently, objectivity is impossible to achieve during inquiry owing to the interaction between the investigator and the phenomenon being studied (Guba 1990). Therefore, knowledge is acquired through human interaction and is the outcome of human construction. The constructivist philosophy focuses on the individual as an active constructor of meaning rather than a passive recipient of knowledge (Denscombe 2002; Hopkins 2002). Constructivism contends that only through the subjective interpretation of and intervention in reality can that reality be fully understood (Guba 1990; Smith 2010). Constructivists believe that there may be many interpretations of reality, but maintain that these interpretations are in themselves a part of the scientific knowledge they are pursuing (Denscombe 2002; Guba 1990; Hopkins

2002).

#### **6.2.4 Critical theory**

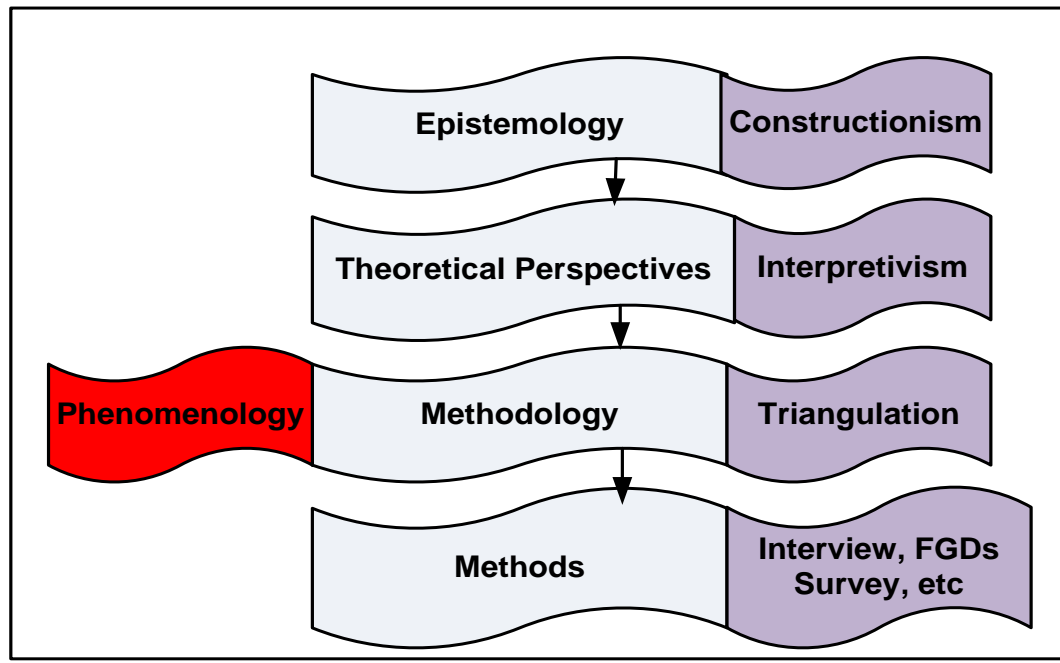
Another paradigm which adopts a subjectivist epistemology is critical theory. Critical theory represents the school of thought that aims to uncover the effects of political structures and their associated power relations (Denscombe 2002; Guba 1990; Hopkins 2002). Smith (2010) describes critical theory as an ideology-oriented inquiry which presents society in terms of conflicts, inequality and power struggles. Critical theory alerts individuals to power issues, such as feminist research which seeks to empower individuals to assist and forge a more egalitarian society (Smith 2010). It is based on human constructions, such as the feminist movement, and thus reflects the values asserted by its advocates. This paradigm recognizes that there is no true reality, as paradigms reflect through a value window (Allenman & Brophy 1998). Since these values are associated with the human inquirer, it is believed that investigations have the purpose of elevating people to a true consciousness where they can rebel from oppression and work to change the world (Guba 2005). A subjectivist epistemology is adopted as the inquiry is directly related to the values of the inquirer. The ideologist adopts critical realist ontology as they believe that a true reality exists and their objectivity is to raise the individuals to this true consciousness.

#### **✧ Thesis paradigm:**

From the above discussion, it appears there are clear ways to understand research design; commentators clearly disagree about the name, the order and the nature of research stages (see Crotty 2007 and Saunders et al. 2007). For example, Saunders et al (2007) classify academic research into six stages and they divide research to include philosophies, approaches, strategies, choices, time horizons, techniques and procedures. On the other hand, Crotty (2007) suggests four research stages: epistemology, theoretical perspective, methodology and methods, as shown in the Figure 6.3. It is suggested here that Crotty's (2007) classification of the research stages is clearer. In other words, Crotty's (2007) classification is adopted in this thesis since it is more

helpful in justifying the researcher’s decision in selecting epistemology, theoretical perspectives, methodology and methods.

**Figure 6.3.** Research main stages



**Source:** Adopted from Crotty (2007)

**(i.) Thesis Epistemology**

In this thesis, constructionism is adopted as its epistemological perspective as it is seen to be consistent with the research nature and its main objectives. This research is built on a critical review of literature to develop LDCs community tourism development model through investigating the key issues facing tourism industry in developing countries and LDCs in particular. The constructionist approach is clear in these objectives. According to constructionism (Crotty 2007), the meanings of community tourism – which are highlighted in the literature review (see Chapters 2, 3, and 4) – could differ between countries and between the communities (see recommendations, Chapter 8). This assumption underpins this research; thus the main issues related to poor implementation of community tourism in LDCs could be different between communities in LDCs and Zanzibar in particular. These issues which are highlighted in the literature reviews are interpreted and investigated to develop a community tourism

model for LDCs.

***(ii.) Thesis Theoretical Perspective***

This research aims to investigate the current issues facing LDCs in relation to their community tourism and to develop a conceptual model for the implementation. The research aim to includes different elements which are influenced by human beings (e.g. local communities and policy makers who formulate policies and plans). In this context, interpretivism is an appropriate theoretical perspective because it allows the availability of unpicked human knowledge (for example getting knowledge from local communities). Crotty (2007: 67) argues that interpretivism:

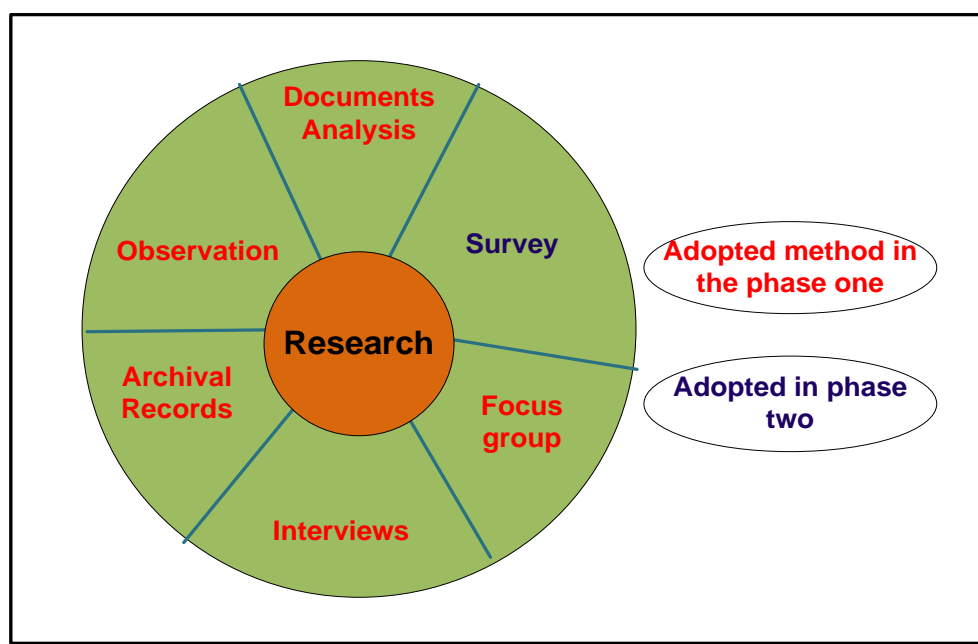
*was conceived in reaction to the effort to develop a natural science of the social. Its foil was largely logical empiricist methodology and bid to apply that framework to human enquiry.*

Further justification for adopting interpretivism is provided by Denscombe (2002: 18) who asserts that 'social reality is something is constructed and interpreted by people rather than something that exists objectively out there'. Indeed, his assertion highlights the difference between interpretivism and positivism. In the context of this thesis, one of the objectives is to investigate current issues facing community tourism in LDCs and their practice in a bid to design a conceptual capital assets community tourism model. This objective reflects the need to investigate the existing capital assets within the community and its relationship with tourism. To achieve this objective, an interpretivism theoretical perspective is employed to develop a conceptual model for implementation of community tourism.

***(iii.) Thesis Methodology***

In this thesis, the multiple sources of evidence are applied, as shown in the Figure 6.4. Document analysis is employed, as well as interviews with different stakeholders. Furthermore, a questionnaire survey was distributed to the selected households. Other sources of evidence, as proposed by Yin (2003), were not applied. For example, during

the field work, the archival records were avoided because a difficult in access was experienced. Many government authorities refused to provide any official documentation. The archival records were supposed to disclose many important issues related to community tourism including the actual budget specifically allocated to local people empowerment, and how government plans/policies integrated for community tourism development. Generally speaking, many government reports were considered confidential documents.



A phenomenological approach shapes part B of the Phase One in the thesis. Cresswell (2007:57-59) describes such an approach as:

*The meaning for several individuals of their lived experiences of a concept or a phenomenon... phenomenology is not only a description, but it is also seen as an interpretive process in which the researcher makes an interpretation of the meaning of the lived experiences.*

According to Cresswell (2007), the basic purpose of phenomenology is to reduce individual experience of a phenomenon to a description of the universal essence. Certainly, this purpose meets with the main objective of the part B of the Phase One of the research which was carried out not only to confirm the finding obtained from Part A,



but also to grasp more knowledge which was not fully covered in the part A. The initial conceptual model and main issues which were discussed and presented in part A (of Phase One) required further investigation to achieve objective two, i.e. to develop a final conceptual model for community tourism in Zanzibar. In the Part B of the Phase One of the research, five key informants were identified for further verification of the emerged issues. These key informants were experts from different fields, such as tourism management and community development. Nevertheless, in the second phase of the research, a questionnaire survey is conducted with the households to explore the applicability of the model as detailed in the subsequent sections.

*(iv.) Thesis Methods*

In order to build the comparative case study, a triangulation approach is employed (Cresswell, 2007). Among the methods applied in this thesis are focus group discussions, stakeholder interviews, participant observation and survey as detailed in Section 6.4 of this chapter.

### **6.3 The emic vs. etic approach to community tourism research**

The words ‘emic’ and ‘etic’ are derived from the terms ‘phonemic’ and ‘phonetic’ respectively, and together derive from a concept developed by the anthropologist Kenneth Pike in 1954. Within the context of this thesis, it is important to distinguish between the two terms as an approach to undertaking academic inquiry. That is tourism research frequently employs qualitative research methods within intercultural contexts; however, the emphasis more often than not is placed upon the content of the research objectives (that is, adopting an etic perspective) rather than the social, environmental and cultural context in which research occurs. Putting it another way, an etic approach to research suggests that it draws upon and is influenced by concepts and ideas that are common across all tourism destinations, or are generalizations that may be applied to all destinations. Conversely, emic refers to those concepts which are destination-specific (Brislin 1993). From the point of view of the individual researcher, this suggests that an

etic approach gives precedence to the needs, objectives or beliefs of the researcher, and that particular theories or case studies will evolve from the research(er's) objectives; conversely, the emic approach focuses on the object of the research (for example, the destination community); the research starts with the place / person / phenomenon being researched.

The distinction between the use of the emic and etic approach is reflected to some extent in the published debate between Lankford, and Ap and Crompton in the *Journal of Travel Research* (2001: 315-18). While Lankford argues that tourism research should be contextually sensitive to reflect local concern, Ap and Crompton posit that tourism research should be strongly based on the existing theoretical framework. Broadly speaking, however, when conducting tourism research, it is crucial that one does not make the assumption that one's own etic-emic concepts are necessarily true for other cultures/tourism destinations. Pearce et al. (1997), for example, acknowledge the lack of consistency in how the concept of community is applied in tourism studies, yet community tourism as an etic concept is frequently applied to related research situations or contexts.

Unlike many previous destination-based studies of community tourism, this thesis accepts the need for contextual sensitivity in addressing community tourism practice and development issues in Zanzibar. That is, the emic versus etic conceptualization of community tourism is significant for this thesis because the term community tourism is often used cross-culturally. Here, it is imperative to explore community tourism from an emic perspective; that is, a perspective that reflects Zanzibaris' understanding of community and community tourism. For example, if community tourism is conceived as being 'mass tourism', 'agro tourism' or 'ecotourism', this should be reflected in the research.

## 6.4 Research Design

Research design is the sequence that relates the empirical data collection to the study's initial research questions and, ultimately, its conclusions (Yin 1994). According to Cresswell (2007), a good research design leads to the collection of relevant data. That being the case, the main purpose of the research design is to facilitate the gathering of relevant information that has fundamental pertinence to the research enquiry. The research design provides a layout to follow throughout the entire study process and, in effect, is the glue that brings all components of the research investigation together (Chisnall 2001). Therefore, any study that does not follow a clear layout is likely to produce results that are not relevant to the research problem. In this thesis, a clear framework is developed which outlines in detail each phase of the research process and ensures that the data gathered is relevant to the research study (Gill and Johnson 2002).

According to Malhotra (2002) and Aaker et al. (2001), there are three main categories of research design: exploratory, descriptive and causal. The selection of an appropriate research design involves a number of decisions, including the nature of the study and the existing level of advanced knowledge relevant to the area of interest. According to Sekaran (2000), the research design increases in rigour as the research itself advances from exploratory to causal though, inevitably, the research design is determined by the problem or issue under investigation. For example, exploratory research design is likely to be more appropriate for 'what' questions, descriptive research design is more appropriate for 'where', 'when' and 'who' questions, whilst 'how' and 'why' questions indicate a causal research design (Brannick 2001).

Exploratory research is usually conducted in situations where there is limited data available in relation to the research phenomena (Sekaran 2000). Exploratory research design is, however, oftentimes considered to be fuzzy, complex and not precise. It may be seen as subjective and not easy or meaningful to generalize. Conversely, a descriptive research design is most suited to describing the relationships, characteristics,

patterns and functions of the research phenomena. Malhotra (2002) points out that descriptive research is generally quantitative and formal. Descriptive research design is typically highly structured, produces hard data and uses larger samples. The main limitation of this research is that because there are no variables manipulated, there is no way to statistically analyze the results. In addition, the difference between the samples (especially for cross section method) may lend bias to the results and thus achievement level differs based on the participants. Many researchers regard this type of study as very unreliable and unscientific. The third type of research design, causal research, is generally considered to be an experimental design which seeks to prove the cause and effect relationships between variables (Domegan and Flemming 2007). According to Domegan and Flemming (2007), this type of research takes time to conduct. In order to achieve the research objectives of this thesis, both exploratory and descriptive research designs are employed.

More specifically, as relatively little is known about community tourism in Zanzibar, an exploratory study is employed to accomplish the objectives of this study. In other words, an exploratory approach was considered most pertinent for addressing the research questions, particularly in relation to exploring community capitals, understanding the barriers to community tourism, and the formulation of the community tourism model derived from community capitals. As noted by Sekaran (2000), exploratory research is conducted when not much is known about the situation at hand or when little information is available on how similar problems or research issues have been solved in the past. In other words, exploratory research is useful for generating new ideas. Here, exploratory research is used to explore and identify all forms of capitals at the community level that, in one way or another, impact upon the application of community tourism in Zanzibar. Based on the data derived from the exploratory research design, the conceptual framework for applying community tourism in Zanzibar is subsequently formulated. The research here is also descriptive in nature. That is, a descriptive research design is used to describe the implementation of community tourism in relation to the aforementioned 'community capitals' (Sekaran 2000). Generally, the application

of a mixed research design provides a more holistic and systematic approach to the research problem and each of these design types fully complements and supports the other in achieving the objectives of the research.

## **6.5 Research methods**

Research method refers to the instruments and techniques employed for data collection. Denzin and Lincoln (2000: 3) define research methods as ‘a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible’. Consequently, with methods that seek to represent the world, ‘the researcher can study things in their natural settings [and] attempt to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them’ (Denzin & Lincoln 2000: 3). As considered in the following section, research methods can be either qualitative or quantitative.

### **6.5.1 Qualitative methods**

According to Berno (1996) qualitative research methods, particularly participant observation and in-depth interviews, allow for additional opportunities of identifying emic conceptualizations of tourism which, in turn, results in its appropriate operationalisation. In particular, in research contexts where an oral tradition exists, participants are likely to be more comfortable with verbal discourse which allows them to illustrate and explain their feelings and thoughts rather than with a structured interview. Qualitative research methods enable the researcher to clarify conceptualizations of the topic under investigation and are the most appropriate means of incorporating the emic perspective. Thus, when assessing the barriers for community tourism, qualitative methods avoid the artificiality of requiring participants to quantify their answer or of having to quantify often complex phenomena. According to Berno (1996), a qualitative research method gives participants the opportunity to identify their answer within the framework of their own setting. However, qualitative studies have some disadvantages. According to Berno (1996) the major problem in qualitative studies is key informant bias where a small number of informants are relied on and there

is no warranty that their views are typical (Cresswell 2007).

Another limitation of qualitative methods was noted by Jennings (2005: 110) who cautioned that the “level of engagement of the researcher, interviewing in small numbers, power relationships, interviewer credibility, when to stop interviewing, using recording equipment or not, ways to report” could always be problematic. Furthermore, Cresswell (2007) argues that the application of purposeful sampling and in-depth interviews also raise the questions of biases. Data collection is a labor-intensive process because the researcher immerses himself or herself into the culture being studied. Qualitative research can be extremely time consuming since time is invested to build an understanding of participants (for example through contact with the members, exposure to their norms, and familiarity with their practices). A further criticism is that there is a lack of transparency in qualitative research, that is, it is difficult to see why and how a researcher might reach their conclusions.

Qualitative research methods consist of the use of observation, interviews and document analysis (Sekaran 2000; Bryman 2004; Kuvan & Akan 2005). Indeed, analysis of secondary data allows for the investigation of evidence with respect to the social-political influences on community tourism on a worldwide. Similarly, government publications, such as tourism, employment and income statistics, as well as policy documents relating to, for example community tourism projects, can be linked theoretically to justify the development and growth of community tourism. This information can then be augmented by qualitative interviews with both the general populations and key informants. Despite the greater time and resources required, qualitative methodologies may incorporate the emic stance of a population and, hence, may result in data of high validity. For these reasons, in this study qualitative methods were used for data acquisition. The qualitative research methods selected for this study were individual interviews, focus groups and observation.

According to Cresswell (2007) and Zamani- Farahani & Musa (2008), the interview is

one of the most common and appropriate tools used by researchers to develop a clear understanding of their fellow human beings. They further state that interviews can facilitate the exploration of people's knowledge, understandings, views, beliefs, values, interpretations, experiences and attitudes. Most importantly, interviews can provide fundamental insights into people's perceptions (Mason 2004), offering deep, rich and meaningful data within 'often multi-layered accounts of respondent experiences' (Sandiford 2007). However, this method has its limitations (the limitations of the conducting individual interviews are probably those inherent to any qualitative research involving interviews). Confidentiality is among the limitation of conducting individual interviews. According to Mason (2004) subjects that researchers are in question may not always be truthful and instead will give answers that they feel that wants to hear. Mason (2004) further argues that it is important to remember that interviews are usually affected by a general tendency and desire of interviewees to be helpful and friendly towards the interviewer. The outcome of this notion is often an attempt by interviewees to try to reveal only what they think the researcher would like to hear. The complexity of the whole idea, which could be a possible source of bias, is practically vested in the way such interviewees attempt to cover or exaggerate their interest in and involvement into a particular issue which they think the researcher is trying to investigate (Mason 2004).

Denscombe (2003: 165) suggests that 'if the researcher wishes to investigate emotions, experiences and feelings rather than more straightforward factual matters, then he or she may be justified in preferring interviews to the use of questionnaires'. Here, the interview was regarded as a complimentary and particularly appropriate method for this thesis as a means of exploring the availability and possession of community capitals in Zanzibar and for assessing the status of community tourism in Zanzibar. It is relatively easy to organise one to one interviews because only researcher and respondent are needed. Moreover, the one to one interview is relatively easy to manage and control as the researcher has to concentrate on only one person's opinions. However, one of the major problems associated with interviews lies in accessing participants (Denscombe

2003). In community tourism research, the key respondents (that is, community members) may be busy with their daily economic activities or, more importantly, there may be language barriers (Cresswell 2007; Tashakkori & Teddlie 2003).

The focus group is another popular interview technique that has recently been applied in many social science studies (Bryman 2004) and is regarded as a potential research method for this thesis. A focus group is, by definition, a group of people purposefully brought together by the researcher in order to identify and discuss their opinion about a topic. It is an effective means of revealing participants' attitudes and insights that 'would be less accessible without the interaction found in a group' (Morgan 1997: 2). In other words, the group context may encourage participants to discuss issues that, individually, they might not normally consider or find difficult to discuss (Kitzinger 1995: 299). Focus groups are also useful in allowing the researcher to study the ways in which individuals collectively make sense of a phenomena and construct meanings around it, whilst they allow participants to challenge one another's views which can lead to insights that might not have otherwise come to light (Bryman 2004); Smith, 2010).

According to Cresswell (2007) the focus group method and data do, however, have some disadvantages including cost (such as participant incentives, facility rental, data analysis and interpretation), subject's conformity (social desirability, or respondents' motivation to provide socially acceptable responses to conform to group norms is somewhat greater in a group than in the anonymous process of survey questionnaire completion), and biased results (the analyst should not generalize from focus group results to the larger population from which the respondents were a sample, and it is well to remember that the respondents are volunteers who may be more extroverted, outgoing, and sociable than the "average" individual). Burn (1997) argues that very rich data is often generated in the focus group discussion and thus making the task of data analysis quite complex and intense. According to him non-verbal behaviour is often critically part of the discussions as co-expressions of the spoken word, but these can be



easily missed or misinterpreted. General speaking the elements of discussion and interactions can produce different responses, necessitating a carefully planned guide or template to be used, probably based on the objectives and/or conceptual framework of the study. Another limitation of focus group discussion is that it is more difficult to determine the validity and reliability of linguistic data.

According to Burns (1997), however, focus groups are not an appropriate and effective tool for studying/exploring sensitive or controversial topics because participants may become reluctant to disclose their through avoiding offending each others. This thesis aims to explore all forms of capitals within the local communities that can be used for implementation of community tourism. The research could, therefore, be considered potentially controversial. Nevertheless, it was assumed that participants would be more open with their thoughts and provide their inner feelings about the subject under discussion. Another useful qualitative research method is observation. Becker and Geer (1957: 28) define observation as a method in which the ‘observer participates in the daily life of the people under study, either openly in the role of the researcher or covertly in some disguised role, observing things that happen, listening to what is said, and questioning people, over some length of time’. Observation is a methodological tool that enables the researcher to gain a rich insight into the research process. It is suited to dealing with complex realities and to eliciting the meanings that members of that setting attribute to their environment and behaviour. However, it places high demands upon the researcher in terms of personal resources, personal commitment and carries with it certain risks to the researcher.

For example, the researcher may become excessively involved to the extent that there is a loss of her or his position / impartiality as a researcher with subsequent difficulties in collecting and interpreting data. Similarly, observation can pose particular ethical problems for the researcher as those being researched may not be aware of the study or their role in it and, therefore, obtaining consent becomes a specific issue. Some commentators, including Sekaran (2000), argue that the observation as a research

methodology is less reliable than other method because the key research instrument is the researcher as a person. Despite these challenges and potential weaknesses, however, the observation research method was regarded as appropriate to meeting the needs of the present study.

### **6.5.2 *Quantitative methods***

Quantitative research methods can be defined as the research strategy that emphasizes quantification in the collection and analysis of data (Tovar & Lockwood 2008). The most common quantitative research tool is the questionnaire which incorporates normal or ordinal style scaling techniques. Sharmer & Dyer (2009) assert that it is relatively easy to administer questionnaires. Equally, Burns (1997) point out that a questionnaire can provide a considerable amount of data at a relatively low cost, both financially and in terms of time. Questionnaires can be developed to supply broader perspectives on a particular research topic and/or standardised data, where all respondents are asked exactly the same questions, thus allowing for pre-coded answers and speedy analysis of data (Denscombe 2002). Quantitative research methods, particularly the use of questionnaires, are the most preferred method for gathering data from a large number of participants.

Questionnaire survey can contain open-ended questions, closed-ended questions or a combination of both (Denscombe 2002). Apart from its merits, several limitations of closed-ended questionnaire has been noted, including fact that respondents are constrained in answering questions; fixed response questions offer only a limited set of pre-determined expression. It therefore, designing a questionnaire is an important task since a poorly designed questionnaire will provide data that can be confusing, difficult to analyze and therefore of little value. According to Burn (1997) a poorly designed questionnaire can be prone to systematic error which can affect the validity and reliability of a survey. Any systematic errors caused by a poorly worded question may cause many respondents to answer in a particular way. This will result in the survey being systematically pulled in a particular direction with the result of low validity.

Sharmer & Dyer (2009) argue that if the survey suffers from low validity then the results obtained will be questionable; however, they makes the point that perfect validity and reliability is virtually impossible to achieve, rather they are ideas to adopt.

Silverman (2000) suggests that quantitative research is most suited where the information required is uncontroversial and relatively straight-forward. In this study, questionnaires were also regarded as suitable tool for data collection. This is due the fact that objective three of this thesis aims to explore and justify appropriateness of the [proposed] capital asset model to implementation of community tourism in Zanzibar. Accordingly, the questionnaire survey was used to collect quantitative information on the perceptions, opinions, and knowledge of a sample of households which adequately represent the population of interest. It was also used to identify key stakeholders for implementation of model, as well as to explore whether the model is in line with existing laws and policies.

To summarise, the researcher believed that by utilising both qualitative and quantitative approaches, supporting and complement each other, the objectives of the thesis would be achieved. The justification for the selected methodological approach is now discussed in the following section.

### **6.5.3 Triangulation and a mixed approach justification**

Silverman (2000) describes triangulation as the use of at least two methods to either cross-check results or because it is necessary for the particular research design. Triangulation can be also referred as a mixed or multi-method approach because it involves data being collected through the use of more than one technique at different points in time. According to Bryman (2004), triangulation involves the use of more than one type of research method and produces separate results which reinforce each other. Triangulation can be classified into two groups. The ‘within’ method of triangulation refers to the use of at least two quantitative methods or the use of at least two qualitative methods in the study. The ‘between’ or ‘across’ method triangulation means the use of

both quantitative and qualitative method in the research. This thesis utilised a multiple strategy research approach within a single case study milieu. In other words, the researcher used both qualitative and quantitative research. Triangulation allows for multi-dimensional methods of investigating the link and interconnection between ‘community capital’ and ‘tourism’ within an operational context.

A number of arguments exist within the literature against the use of triangulation. For example, according to Bryman and Bell (2007: 658), the triangulation method carries ‘epistemological and ontological impediments to the combination of quantitative and qualitative research commitments’. Despite these arguments, the triangulation method remains one of the most popular approaches to tourism research, being widely considered to lead to the increased reliability and generalisation of findings. Moreover, the mixed method approach provides a better understanding of the research area than simply applying just one approach. Again according to Bryman and Bell (2007:648), ‘the in depth knowledge of social contexts acquired through qualitative research can be used to inform the design of survey questions for structured interviewing and self-completion questionnaires’. Based on that reasoning, the triangulation approach was regarded as the most suitable data collection technique for this study. At the same time, throughout the entire research process, the collection of primary data was complimented with secondary data collection. The next section, therefore, distinguishes between the primary and secondary data, both of which have been used in this thesis.

## **6.6 Secondary versus primary data**

Secondary data is always collected from the readily available sources, such as text books, academic journals, electronic databases, academic research and the like (Sekaran 2000). However, Creswell (2007) outlines a number of constraints, for example some information may be protected and thus not available to public scrutiny or may not be accessible. He further argues that, the some documents may also not be authentic or accurate (Creswell 2007). In the initial stages of this research, secondary data was used

to gain an understanding of the topic under investigation, to define the research problems and to develop the research approach. Secondary data is considered to be an easy, quick and a relatively inexpensive data to be obtained. Tull and Hawkins (1993) suggest that academic journals and electronic books are useful sources of information on the area of interest, while Cooper (1989) asserts that secondary sources should form the root of any efficient and comprehensive research. Thus, before primary information is collected it is important that secondary data relating to the subject area is thoroughly examined.

At the beginning of this research project, secondary data was used extensively. Secondary data were obtained from different sources, including online articles, books, academic literature, electronic database and library catalogues.. In addition, numerous government publications were used to obtain information on tourism development and community capital in Zanzibar, local people's perceptions toward their involvement/participation in tourism development, the development of community tourism in Zanzibar and the like. Relevant non-academic literature consists of the information in personal manuscripts and an introduction to Zanzibar community development and the problems of the development of community tourism in Zanzibar in general. These documents included planning and evaluation reports on Zanzibar, policies and plans with regard to Zanzibar tourism development, community economic development, laws and regulations specifically related to land at village level, marketing and management of local tourism products.

Non-official documentation used in this dissertation comprises pamphlets and brochures that have been used for the promotion of tourism products. Magazines and newspapers, such as Karibu Magazine (which is published by Zanzibar Commission for Tourism), provided a valuable source of both current and historical information about the development and promotion of tourism. However, Sekaran (2000) points out that the information obtained from magazines and newspapers may reflect a more politicized view and therefore urges that such data should not be interpreted as being representative

of the 'average' resident. Indeed, in an area with high levels of illiteracy and a strong oral tradition, opinions and information found in magazines and newspapers may represent the views a small and possibly elite minority.

The researcher found major gaps in the literature and, therefore, primary research was imperative. According to Chisnall (1997: 45), primary data is data that has been generated by an individual or organisation for the specific problem at hand. Similarly, Malhotra and Birks (1999) refer to primary data as first-hand information originated by the researchers. Primary data collection involves the gathering and assembly of specific information to the area of research design. As discussed above, in this thesis, four sets of research instruments were employed: observation, interview, focus group discussion and questionnaires.

## **6.7 Sample design**

Numerous commentators (for example, Silverman 2000; Zikmund 2000) have considered the meaning and, more specifically, the implication of sample design for the authenticity, reliability and validity of academic research. Sampling is the process of selecting a small number of elements, parts or items of the research population which, in turn, led to conclusions relevant to the entire population. The main purpose of sampling is to enable the researcher to estimate some unknown characteristics of the population. That is, the sampling process requires clear knowledge on the part of the researcher with respect to the research population (Zikmund 2000). Sampling reduces labour requirements and gathers vital information quickly and, therefore, cuts costs of collecting data. As such, the research can produce sufficient results as long as the sample is properly selected. It is for this reason that research based on limited resources should focus on obtaining a high response rate rather than trying to reach all respondents within the sample (Zikmund 2000).

In most research, different sampling techniques are employed because it is too costly

and time consuming to survey entire populations of interest (Silverman 2000). Salant and Dillman (1994) describe sampling as the selection of target participants from the overall population of research interest to be investigated. They further observe that, when carrying out research, the main consideration should be the sample type and size. Sampling provides a range of methods that enable you to reduce the amount of data you need to collect by considering only data from a subgroup rather than all possible cases (Saunders et al. 2007). The sampling technique can be labelled as either probability or non-probability sampling (Zikmund 2000; Sekaran 2000). Probability sampling means that each individual, element, item or part has a known or equal chance of being chosen in the sampling process. In other words, probability sampling is seen as a being completely random. The point is that probability sampling focuses on ensuring 'that those who participate are a representative sub-set of the research population and, thus, any findings can be generalised or extrapolated to that target population with confidence' (Gill and Johnson 2002: 101).

In contrast, non-probability sampling is a sampling technique whereby the sample has not been selected using a random selection method (Bryman 2004). In other words, in non-probability sampling, some units in the population are more likely to be selected than others. It is a non-random and subjective form of sampling. Non-probability sampling is a more convenient type of sampling, owing to the fact that a specific unit of population are involved; specific people are selected to participate. However, as Bryman (2004) notes, the sample may not be very representative of the population of research interest. Domegan and Fleming (2007) argue that non-probability sampling is convenient, less costly in relation to finances and time, does not require a sampling frame, and easier to carry out. The most common types of sampling are shown in the Table 6.2.

Baker (2003:179) states that, often, probability sampling can be 'difficult, complex, time consuming and expensive to execute' and it may be easier to use techniques associated with non-probability sampling. In this study, in order to obtain an

unbiased study sample for ensuring that all residents/household members in the selected villages had an equal chance of inclusion in the study sample, the approach to respondents recruitment was similar to that one used by Tosun (2006). Thus, residents from each household were given a unique code written on a piece of paper. All such pieces of paper were collected in a box and then 6% of these, each containing a house code, were randomly drawn from the box. The same procedure was utilized in each selected village to obtain a sample of 6% of its residents, together contributing to a valid representation. It is estimated (based on researcher's experience of study area) that each of the said villages has an average of 200 households.

**Table 6.2:** Types of sampling frame

<b>Probability sampling</b>	<b>Non probability sampling</b>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Simple random sampling:</i> In this method, each unit, item or person is chosen at random from the population of interest. The method gives equal opportunities for selection.</li> <li>2. <i>Stratified random sampling:</i> In this method, the research population is first divided into strata/subgroup and a given number or a proportion of units/participants from each subgroup is selected at random. To produce a useful and significant statistical results a larger sample size is needed compared to the random sampling method.</li> <li>3. <i>Systematic sampling:</i> A variant of random sampling except that some order, list or system is introduced to select the participants e.g. every forty person is chosen.</li> <li>4. <i>Cluster random sampling:</i> Involves the random sampling technique applied to groups, as selecting</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Convenience sampling:</i> A sampling technique where people are available and willing to participate in the study. It can involve either individuals or groups. According to Domegan and Fleming (2007:370) 'respondents are chosen because they are there or by accident, because they are walking down a street, hence the name convenience'</li> <li>2. <i>Purposive sampling:</i> A sampling technique where population units are selected because they are not typical to the general population. The participants are chosen because they hold an extreme position with regard to a product or service.</li> <li>3. <i>Judgement sampling:</i> A sampling technique where the burden lies on the researcher to select the most appropriate sample with regard to the research interest.</li> <li>4. <i>Quota sampling:</i> Domegan and Fleming (2007:372) describe it as a</li> </ol>

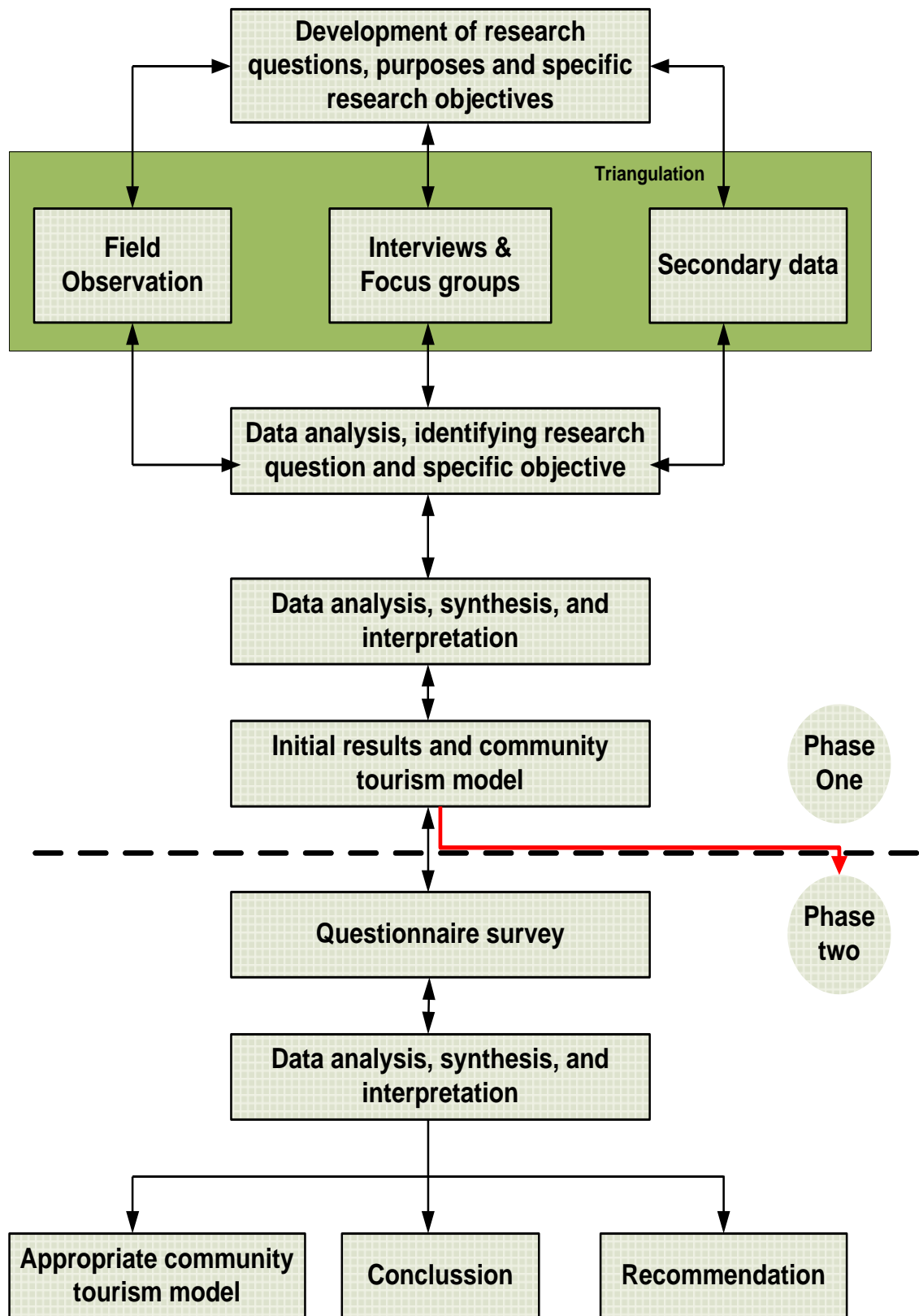


<p>individuals may be inconvenient or unethical.</p> <p>5. <i>Area sampling</i>: This is cluster sampling and it is more useful in more densely populated areas, such as capital cities.</p> <p>6. <i>Multi-stage sampling</i>: A probability technique whereby selection of sample pursued at a number of different stages within a sampling procedure</p>	<p>‘non-probability technique that attempts to replicate the population without using random selection’</p> <p>5. <i>Snowball sample</i>: A non-probability sampling technique which involves a process of an identified person recommending other participants.</p>
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## 6.8 Research process

The research process in this was divided into two phases. During the phase one, the researcher began with a review of the literature and related documents, which provided the necessary background to tourism development in Zanzibar. In addition, during this first phase, the qualitative approach, including focus groups, in-depth interviews with key informants and observation, was employed. According to Walle (1997), qualitative techniques have become increasingly appropriate to tourism researchers because they help to explore the perceptions and attitudes of the participants, especially the host communities and the impact of tourism on them. The purpose of the research in phase one was to identify and elicit broad understanding and knowledge of key themes, issues and challenges relevant to the aims and objectives of the study. The information obtained from phase one (both part A and part B) help to develop a conceptual model for the application of community tourism in Zanzibar. During phase two, the survey method was employed to explore the appropriateness of the developed model in Zanzibar. Figure 6.3 provides a detailed blueprint of this study’s research process; this is presented in order to provide reader with a clear and systematic overview of the overall research process used to achieve the research objectives.

Figure 6.4: The Research Process



## **6.9 Data Collection methods**

In this thesis, data collection was conducted in two phases. And the data in phase one were collected in three rounds (the first and second rounds in PART A and the third round in PART B). In the first round focus group discussions were conducted with local communities to gain an understanding about community tourism and community capital assets. In the second round, the stakeholder interviews were conducted to supplement the information collected during focus groups discussions. After preliminary analysis of the data collected in the first two rounds (Part A), some new issues emerged and new considerations needed to be integrated into the proposed model; the third round (PART B) include in-depth interviews with nine key informants. With regard to phase two, the quantitative method (i.e. questionnaire survey) was employed. The whole process of data collection is discussed in more detail in section 6.8.1 and 6.8.2.

### **6.9.1 Phase One:**

At phase one, the researcher sought to elicit broad themes, issues and ideas with respect to the questions under investigation and, therefore, a detailed review of relevant tourism theories was necessary. Secondary information helps the researcher to understand the potential involvement of local destination communities in tourism planning and management, as well as the opportunities and challenges of community tourism in LDCs in general and in Zanzibar in particular. Additionally, primary data was collected by using three major techniques of data collection: field observation, focus groups and interviews. The findings from interviews not only provided a more holistic, exploratory and qualitative understanding of the local community's participation in tourism industry, but also provided a basis for developing the 'community tourism' model compatible with Zanzibar environment.

Moreover, the findings from phase one also provided the researcher with a general understanding of 'community capitals' in Zanzibar and, therefore, contributed to the development of the research questionnaire for the second phase of primary research (as

noted above, the questionnaire was the only research tool were used to collect data during phase two of the research). Several questions were investigated at phase one. For example, what capitals do local communities have/have not? Do local communities in Zanzibar have access to the available capitals? If not, what are the obstacles? How a lack of capitals has at the community level has been addressed? What opportunities and challenges does Zanzibar face in the implementation of community tourism? And finally, what is most possible and appropriate way which community capitals can be interconnected for the implementation of community tourism in their localities.

### **6.9.1.1 Focus Groups**

A focus group methodology was employed to explore how communities have developed tourism in their localities. It was also undertaken to explore or identify why some rural communities had been successful at developing tourism at their localities and whilst others has not. Members of the focus groups were asked to discuss, in detail, their experiences in tourism development. Three focus groups were conducted with local residents at different location (that is, Bambi, Fumba and Bweleo) ( Table 6.3) .

**Table 6.3: Location of focus group interviews**

<b>Focus Group</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Participants interests</b>
<b>FGD1</b>	Bambi	Conserving natural caves with bats; vegetables farming, such as carrots, spinach, and cabbage; spice farming; keeping butterflies; and chicken farming
<b>FDG2</b>	Fumba	Making ornaments using sea shells such as necklaces, earrings, hair cord; oyster raising; chicken farming; vegetable farming; crabs fattening
<b>FGD 3</b>	Bweleo	Making ornaments using sea shells such as necklaces, earrings, hair cord; oyster raising; conserving flying fox; and handicrafts

The average number of focus group participants was nine. The length of the discussion in the focus groups ranged from one to approximately two hours. In all three focus

groups, the researcher was the moderator. This to large extent minimise language and translation problems. As with many of the focus group interviews, sample was selected by using snowball sampling. All the focus groups were tape recorded and the researcher took notes during every focus group session. The participants were encouraged to give expression to their views, thoughts and intentions. In order to overcome limitation associated with method a questions guide was prepared and discussion were conducted in Swahili (a widely spoken language of the community involved in study). The main aim was to make all focus groups members feel more comfortable and valued. It also encouraged the enhanced ease and flow of discussions. As noted previously, within a broad qualitative approach to research, triangulation of data sources can provide a richness of data that can give each case additional depth, and therefore stakeholders interview were conducted as detailed in the subsequent section.

#### ***6.9.1.2 Interview***

To meet the objectives of this dissertation, a total of 67 key informants were interviewed. They were selected based on their expertise and/ or experience in the field of tourism planning and management. Other key informants were selected based on their knowledge on rural economic development, specifically their active participation in community development activities/projects. The main goal of the interview was not only to gain more informed knowledge on the local participation in tourism industry in rural areas, but also to get rich information about all form of capitals available in the rural areas. Seven government officials were selected for this study. Priority was given to departments/authorities which have a direct impact on tourism development in Zanzibar. Such organisations include the Zanzibar Commission for Tourism (ZCT), the Zanzibar Investment Promotion Authority (ZIPA), the Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs (MoFEA), and the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Marketing.

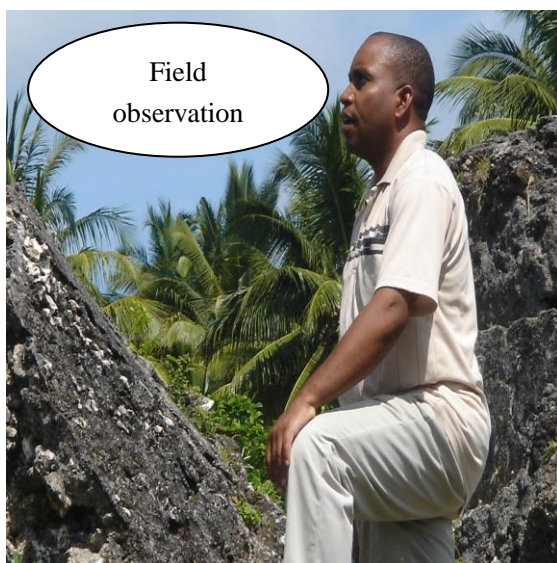
Because tourism is a complex and multi-faceted industry, it was also decided to interview seven officials from non-government organizations, including: the Zanzibar Chamber of Commerce, the Zanzibar Association for Tourism Investors (ZATI), the

Zanzibar Association of Tour Operators (ZATO), and the Zanzibar Association for Tour Guide (ZATOGA). The inclusion of these organisations enabled the researcher to accumulate substantial information about community tourism development in Zanzibar. The study at this stage also involved a total of 30 residents from seven villages, as well as five elders from each village. About 12 key informants were representatives from tourism establishments and a further 6 interviewees were scholars. Long (2007) notes that semi-structured interviews allows more probing to seek elaboration and clarification of the respondent's own ideas, aspirations, and feelings while generating detailed, 'rich' context, qualitative data. Such flexibility not only reminded researcher other issues that were not originally included in the interview checklists, but also helped him on reshaping the research questions.

A snowball sampling technique was employed for selecting community leaders, whereby during the interviews some community leaders offered names of their counterparts (Finn et al. 2000). Nevertheless, non-probability sampling was utilized to select the remaining key informants. The sampling procedure used was purposive or judgmental sampling, whereby representatives of the sample are identified in accordance with the interest of the researcher because they will shed light on a particular aspect of the phenomenon under investigation (Hornby and Symon 1994). The random sampling technique was used for selecting local residents. Often, the senior government officials were busy and, therefore, interviews were requested via administrative assistants or secretaries. However, in cases where it was not possible for an official to be visited in his office, an interview by phone was arranged. In some cases, the first selected informant forwarded the interview checklists to a more knowledgeable person within the department or ministry. This occurred if he/she thought the selected person was more appropriate to be interviewed.

### **6.9.1.3 Observation**

Field observation was another method used to collect information for this dissertation. According to Sekaran (2003), field observation is a suitable methodological tool that can be used to gather information regarding ecological and socio-economic environment. While the data gathered through interviews was largely based on individual qualitative understandings of the topic, observations provided a complementary understanding and enabled the researcher to check the reliability of the data. Field observation opened the possibility of observing the local destination communities and (their) barriers to tourism



development. According to Marshall and Rossman (1999), field notes can be described as a detailed, non-judgemental and concrete description of what was observed in a particular place. Therefore, the field notes and writing-up of observation took place in a variety of places within Zanzibar, including Nungwi village, Jambiani village, Pete village and

Wambaa village in Pemba. The close contact with local people gave the researcher opportunities to participate in various tourism activities that took place in the rural villages. In short, personal observation provided the researcher with a better understanding of what is happening in Zanzibar in relation to tourism, and a realistic view of the situation rather than relying on reported information.

### **6.9.2 Phase two**

The survey questionnaire is a practical means of collection information about survey participant's norms, behaviours, and perception (Sekaran 2000). For this thesis a questionnaire survey was adopted and constructed using six closed end and one open ended questions which mainly targeted household as participants. As discussed earlier, the primary purpose of the questionnaire survey was to generate comprehensive

information about perception of local community concerning the model (i.e. its potential, the key implementers and the like), as well as their experience on whether the existing laws and regulations support the implementation of the model. All survey questions were intentionally kept simple since complex phrases and long words that might lead to confusion among respondents were avoided (Sekaran 2000).

The quantitative method seemed to be appropriate, over the other methods (such as interviews), for household who have high level illiteracy and lack of self-confidence. During the focus group discussion and interviews (conducted in PART A) the researcher observed that the local community have very low ability to express themselves. It was quite difficult to conduct interview with them. Since the research sought to collect views from rural communities, a technique that would lead to representation of a large number of community members was imperative; thus, a questionnaire survey was conducted. This survey also allowed the researcher to complement and verify the information obtained from phase one of this dissertation. The questionnaire survey was preferred because of three main reasons: it is generally representative of the community; it is one of the most appropriate research methods designed to provide information of the community as whole; and it is generally represents a complete geographical area (Veal 1997).

A recent report from Ministry of Finance and Economic Affair shows that Zanzibar has high level of adult illiteracy; it is estimated that about 100,000 people, equivalent to 10% of the total population, can neither read nor write (MoFEA 2010). Taking this into consideration, it was decided to collect the information through an administered questionnaire survey. According to Veal (2007), this kind of approach generates higher response rates; that is, as it is unlikely that respondents are able to complete questionnaires themselves, the administered questionnaire provides fuller and more complete answers. Moreover, the approach is more accurate and allows the room for manoeuvre in ensuring participants understand the question in the same way as the researcher (Long 2007). It should be noted that questionnaires used in this research were



written in English, but were translated and asked in Swahili, the language of which all respondents were familiar with.

### **6.9.2.1 Population and sampling**

The information was collected in seven selected villages. According to field observation (during phase one of the study) these villages possess potential for the development tourism. The study sample represents approximately 6% of the population size (total villages). As it can be noted, the 6% sample size is slightly above the minimum sample size (5%) required for a homogenous population to provide enough accurate data that can be used to address the research questions, and would therefore be well representative of the research population (Moser and Kalton 1993). A total of 399 household members/representatives participated in the study. Having determined the number of samples for each village, the random sampling was used to get random residents.

### **6.9.2.2 Questionnaire design, structure and administering**

As discussed earlier, the first step in the data collection process was to decide on the type of data collection instrument that was most appropriate to answering the research questions. Objective three of this research demanded a quantitative research approach and it was therefore decided to collect data through a household survey. According to Cresswell (2007), different types of questionnaire can be identified including mail questionnaires, telephone questionnaires and personal questionnaires. Mail questionnaires are those sent by mail in the hope that respondent will return it. This type of questionnaire has a number of limitations (such as low response rates and missing data). According to Sekaran (2000) the use of telephone questionnaires has same merits as the personal questionnaire. For example, the response rate is likely to be high and literacy is not a requirement. Regarding personnel questionnaires, the questionnaire is handed to the respondent who completes it on his/her own; however the researcher is available in case problems are experienced. In this type of questionnaire, the researcher

is required to limit his/her contribution to the absolute minimum. The main advantage of this questionnaire is that it encourages respondents with a few words to continue his/her contribution or lead the respondents back to the subjects (Sekaran 2000). In this research, mail and telephone questionnaires could not be employed due to the financial constraints and the education level of the respondents, and it was therefore decided to use personal contact to complete the questionnaire.

The survey questionnaire used in this study contained both open- and closed-ended questions (see Appendix 2). While closed-format questions were used to enable the researcher to examine people's responses to specific pre-coded aspects, open questions were particularly useful for identifying the reasons why a particular respondent held such a point of view on a particular aspect (Long 2007). In line with Long's (2007) advice, all questions were sequentially framed, unambiguous and not hypothetical. The first part of the questionnaire included a series of questions regarding demographic data of the respondents. Such information helped the researcher to analyse the information according to key groups of respondents such as gender and age. The next section of the questionnaire contained questions that aimed to explore the usefulness of the model in Zanzibar. Many of the questions were in the form of closed-ended style requiring the respondent to rank their level of agreement for a particular question. Responses from open questions together with those from closed-style items, in turn, show the viability of the model. The results from the questionnaire also determined the degree of significance of different forms of community capitals for community tourism development in Zanzibar. This was done by indicating their response on a rating scale. It should be noted that the questions were asked about community capitals in Zanzibar in general, but responses were likely to focus on the specific rural villages where all the respondents live and where community tourism is most needed.

### **6.9.2.3 Pre-testing survey instrument and piloting the survey**

Prior to administering the questionnaires, the researcher carried out a pilot survey with four randomly selected residents, all from within Zanzibar. The aim of the pre-test of the

questionnaire was to ensure that respondents would understand the questions and provide appropriate responses (Finn et al 2000). The pre-test also aimed to check whether the administration of the survey procedure as a whole would run smoothly. Experience of the survey procedure and feedback from respondents regarding the questionnaire did not reveal any major concerns, although respondents suggested some minor changes, mainly the need to replace some Swahili words with the ones most commonly used by the local communities to refer to the same thing. The final revised Swahili questionnaire was then prepared in multiple copies ready for use as a study instrument.

## **6.10 Data Analysis and presentation**

Because multiple methods were employed to collect data, multiple methods were also utilized for data analysis, as explained in the following sections.

### **6.10.1 An analysis and presentation of qualitative data**

The first step in qualitative data analysis was to transcribe the information obtained from interviews. This was followed by printing of the notes and giving each interview a unique identifier. Next, the researcher read through each interview multiple times until patterns began to be identified. Based on the printed interview notes, the researcher marked and labelled sub-themes. Finally, the researcher coded each interview, writing short, summarising phrases in the margins within each topical sub-theme, using the same terms and phrases for each interview. In most case, the researcher used a direct quotation from the interviews and [he] tried as far as possible to present the quotes in the original words of the research participants. Nevertheless, in some instances words were omitted or added to facilitate reading, but without changing the original meaning.

According to Silverman (2004), guidelines on focus group discussion analysis often point to the content of the discussion. Most authors in social science suggest that techniques suitable for analysis of one to one interview data are equally applicable for

use of focus group data. In his work, Wilkinson (2004) argues for the importance of theory based evidence in analysis focus group discussions data. This implies that researchers working with focus group data should locate their method of choice within clear theoretical framework. The choice of data analysis could then be, for example, ethnographic analysis or content analysis. In this thesis content analysis (content of the discussions) produces a relatively systematic and comprehensive summary or overview of the data set. Some focus group expert, however, suggest that it is good idea to use number in the process of interpretations but the they strongly argue that the emphasis should not be put on number but on what lies behind them (Sekaran 2000; Cresswell 2007).

In his work, Morgan (1998) counted frequencies, but he was much more interested in what lay behind the numerical data (i.e. the numbers were only starting point for a more reflective interpretation of why the patterns occur. In line with Morgan (1998), this research also used counted frequencies to rank the importance of capital among the participants. In other words, the quantitative content analysis was also used to look for the frequency of certain types of statements and incidence of the general themes/categories. Likewise, the documentation of participant observation data consists of field notes, maps and picture recorded in field notebooks were analysed using a content analysis approach, because, according to (Creswell, 2007), the approach enables a researcher to read the language and words of participants or writers as of the time when the document was developed.

### **6.10.2 Analysis and presentation of quantitative data**

The completed survey questionnaires were coded and the quantitative data was analysed using SPSS. All the qualitative data were paraphrased while remaining faithful to the original meaning as it was given by the respondents. As previously discussed, the respondents were allowed to rate their responses on a 5-point Likert scale. Based on the respondent's responses, the SPSS produced frequencies, percentages, mean and standard deviation of response on each aspect. Quantitative responses were analysed

and examined based on the various respondent groups, such as education, occupation and gender. In addition, the five rating scales in the questionnaire were analyzed by using the class interval, as provided by Prakospiri (2007:55), whereby each of the five rating scales differ 0.80 points. These can be interpreted as shown in the Table 6.4.

**Table 6.4:** Mean Scores

<b>Interval Scale Mean Scores</b>	<b>Degree of significant/influence</b>
<b>1.00 – 1.80</b>	Lowest (L <sub>1</sub> )
<b>1.81 – 2.60</b>	Lower (L <sub>2</sub> )
<b>2.61 – 3.40</b>	Medium (M)
<b>3.41 – 4.20</b>	High (H <sub>1</sub> )
<b>4.21 – 5.00</b>	Highest (H <sub>2</sub> )

## **6.11 Methodological limitations**

Despite much effort, the research encountered some methodological limitations. These limitations are discussed within the context of the research milieu, data collection and analysis processes. Broadly speaking, there are about five limitations in the research methods employed in this study; however, these limitations did not affect the expected outcome of the study.

- The first limitation is the amount of time asking for permission was the most obvious difficulty experienced during the data collection. The researcher has to go different offices to submit request and apply for permit documents. Strictly speaking, the bureaucratic requirements for getting permission to conduct research in Zanzibar is often very time consuming because it involves several different public authorities. This problem was further accelerated by political interests as there is still good deal of political concern in Zanzibar which exercises significant influence over academic process. Political officials always want to ensure nothing will bring harm to their positions. In order to deal with this issue, the researcher oftentimes bypassed his applications instead of passing them through normal procedures, which could caused the process to take even longer period of time.

- The second limitation is the participant's reactions to being asked open ended questions as a part of data collection process. During both the focus groups' discussions and interviews, research found that local communities lacked the confidence to express their own ideas in response to the asked open ended questions. For example, it was hardly for them to express the change they had experience in term of economic, social, environmental and cultural aspects. Indeed it was very difficult for them to express and identifying their own perceptions. Most ordinary community members like to be asked a closed ended question because they did not have provide responses that were very long. In order to address the issue of lack of confidence, the researcher started chatting with participants prior to their interviews, casual asking about their daily lives. Moreover, the researcher encouraged the participants by conducting mutual two ways communication with them. This helped to make participants fill more comfortable, secure, relaxed and confident. As a matter of fact, building trusting relationships and rapport with participants plays an essential part in smoothing the way for conducting interviews. By building relationships and rapport, the participants felt more respected and therefore the researcher was able to collect very rich information from them.
- The third limitation was influence of the government officials. On the first days of data collection with local tourism enterprises, regional tourism officer offered his assistance so researcher could engage in the interview very smoothly. At first the researcher accepts the idea because it made very easy to access the participants. However, soon the researcher realised the participants were not comfortable speaking out in front of the government tourism officer since they were afraid of the consequences, in particular when they mentioned negative factors. Having noticed such obvious behaviour, the researcher realised the quality of data was compromised because it was not coming totally from the true perspective of the participants. To address this problem, the researcher explained respectfully and politely to government tourism offer that his presence was unfortunately creating a negative influence on the quality of the data and therefore the researcher carrying on with data collection without his accompany.

- The fourth limitation is about organization of focus group discussion. The decision to mix men women and elders may have taken away the opportunity to further refine data analysis by examining the sensitive difference between men, women and elders. On the other hand the participant selection was based on the voluntary willingness to participate, thus limiting the number of participants and possible leading s to a concern regarding representation. In addition, it should be known that the researcher is a know tourism planners in Zanzibar, which may have influenced the participation of focus groups members. The use of other individual could have support the focus group discussions.
- The fifth limitation is about the complex nature of the study proved somewhat demanding intellectually, particularly with regard to summarizing, analysis and presenting the material in a meaningful way. It is require substantial energy to provide it at this level, and decision to what to include or exclude were rather complex. However, it is hoped that it provide a meaningful bases for future reflections.

## **6.12 Ethical considerations**

In this study, participation was strictly voluntary. Indeed, all respondents who participated were given consent form to sign. The consent form outlined the purpose of the study and issues surrounding confidentiality, the storage and use of data. Beside the consent form, the researcher explained in brief but clear words the purpose of the study, and he assured the participants that the information obtained would remain confidential and would not exposed to any one without their consent. During the group discussions, the researcher stressed to the participants that they could leave the discussion any time if they felt uncomfortable.

## **6.13 The credibility of the research**

Neuman (2002) describes reliability as consistency or dependability where results are

able to be replicated under the same conditions. Reliability can be obtained through a clear use of conceptualised constructs, use of precise level of measurement, and pilot tests. According to Schram, (2006), there are three steps to achieve reliability, namely, definition of categories, training of coders to apply those definitions, and the assessment of the reliability through inter-coder reliability tests. The questionnaire was validated by tourism experts for its content validity. As previously mentioned, the questionnaire was pre-tested prior to the actual data collection. Nunnally and Bernstein (1994) suggested that a questionnaire with a more than 0.79 Alpha value has acceptable internal consistency. In this study the questionnaire was considered practical and reliable because it achieved a coefficient of 0.89 Alpha values.

According to Neuman (2003: 179) validity refers to ‘truthfulness, and refers to the match between a construct, or the way a researcher conceptualizes the idea in a conceptual definition and a measure’. In addition, validity measures the quality of any qualitative research design. Many researchers, including Rice and Ezzy (1999), argue that triangulation is one of the best methods that can be used to test the validity of the research results. Denzin & Lincoln, cited in Curtin & Fossey (2007: 90), point out that by using a variety of methods for data collection and ‘combining multiple observers, theories, methods, and data sources [researchers can] overcome the intrinsic bias that comes from single methods, single-observer and single-theory studies. Indeed, triangulation can reduce researcher bias by utilizing two or more data collection techniques and provide for the collaboration of data. This thesis used different data collection methods (see section 6.8, C chapter 6) as a means to triangulate the data sources.

According to Curtin & Fossey (2007: 90) triangulation ‘offers depth and breadth leading to a greater understanding of the phenomenon as each research strategy used contributes a different piece to the puzzle’. Hearing views and opinions from different participants, including host communities and government officials, helped to complete the overall picture of capital constraints facing rural communities in Zanzibar. Different



methods often provide diverse insights into a phenomenon and triangulation gives the researcher reasonable explanations for these distinctions and contributes to the credibility of results. Data from focus groups, individual interviews, literature reviews, field notes, and observations were triangulated for differences and similarities. Furthermore, choosing Zanzibar as a case study helped to reduce misunderstandings during data interpretation. Being a Zanzibari, the researcher had insight and access to social constructions as well as access to local living conditions.

## **6.14 Summary**

This chapter has described various stakeholders who were involved in this study. The chapter has also described the process of data collection, and considered a number of limitations associated with each research technique. This research uses a combination of multiple methods because of the need to address the same research questions from different angles and the need to improve the validity of the results while complementing and comparing the findings of one method with that of another. It is evident that each method significantly contributed to the success of the study, but the examining research question in different ways increased the chance of understanding it (Long 2007). The following chapter, Chapter 7, now presents and discusses the findings of the study.

# CHAPTER SEVEN

## 7 Findings and Discussion

### 7.1 Introduction

A substantive discussion was engaged in the previous chapters on the orientation of the study, the preliminary conceptual framework for community tourism and the research methodology, as well as the presentation of facts related to the case study. This chapter provides the analysis and interpretation of data collected in the case study, with a view to identifying the barriers to the implementation of community tourism in Zanzibar as well as developing a model for community tourism from the perspective of community assets or capitals. This chapter should be read in conjunction with Chapter 4, which provides a detailed analysis of the theoretical issues as expressed in the sustainable livelihoods approach and its attendant framework, whilst the findings are presented in accordance with the concept of community capitals as presented in that chapter.

Considering the assets / capitals of the people of Zanzibar and applying the framework developed earlier in this thesis, this chapter will demonstrate how different forms of community capital may be transformed or exploited for community tourism. However, it will also demonstrate that a lack of access to important capitals contributes to the poor in local communities being unable to engage with the (tourism) economy in a more meaningful way. From the review of the tourism planning and community development literatures in Chapters 2, 3 and 4, it has been concluded that community-driven tourism planning depends largely on the capacity of the community members. Indeed, the common theme identified from a community-based planning context suggests, and is advocated in this thesis, that the local community should be identified as a key stakeholder in tourism development (see discussion in Chapter 4). However, the practicality of such a participatory approach suggests that translating the capitals

discussed in this thesis would be a key challenge for tourism planners.

As indicated in Chapter 1, this study is designed to respond to three objectives, the first of which is to explore and analyze community tourism practice in LDCs in general and Zanzibar in particular in order to identify key issues for its implementation. This was addressed in Chapter 2, 3 and 4, and will be considered further in this chapter. The second research objective concerns the development of an appropriate model to guide the implementation of community tourism from the perspective of community capitals. The framework presented in Chapter 4 was the starting point for the discussion, and the development of model will be further elaborated in this chapter. The third objective is to explore the general overview of the local community toward the model; in term of its applicability in Zanzibar. This will be addressed in section 6.3 of this chapter.

In their examination of Integrated Rural Tourism in Europe, Saxena et al (2007) suggest the need for a research methodology that seeks to engage with multiple actors and networks involved in its constitution. With this recommendation and the purpose of the study in mind, a mix of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies is warranted. Moreover, in consideration of the factors set forth by Jennings (2001) regarding the multiplicity of potential mixes, it would be most appropriate to use the mixed method approach with a predominance of the qualitative methodology.

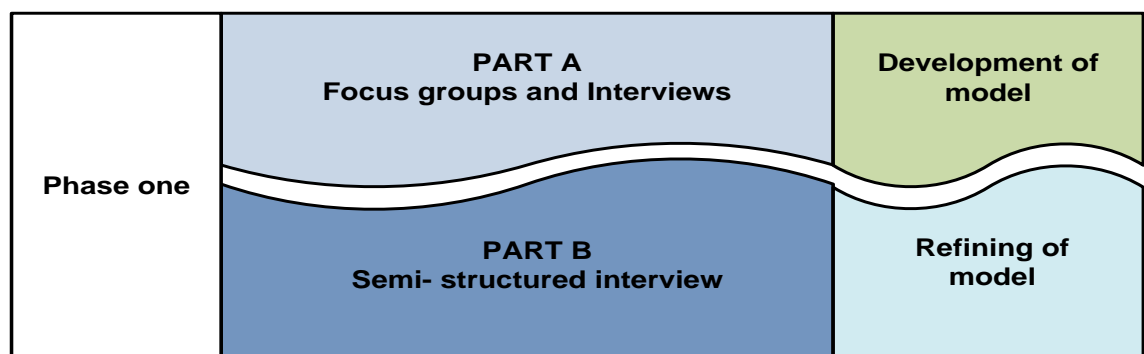
In this study, the data were collected in two phases, the second phase building upon the first in order to respond comprehensively to the research objectives. Whilst Phase One informs the development of model, Phase Two explores the potential applicability of the model to meeting the demands of community tourism in less developed countries. Consequently, Phase One, constituting Parts A and B, was designed for developing and refining the capital assets model respectively. Due to its importance, phase one required an in-depth understanding of both the context and the experiences of the participants, which was best addressed by a qualitative approach (focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews). During the refinement phase (Part B), data collection

involved the participation of key informants in a workshop held in Zanzibar and in-depth interviews with relevant stakeholders. Key informants expressed their preferences and assessment of the model from the perspective of community tourism development and tourism product development. Subsequently, the findings from Phase One are evaluated and necessary amendments are made to the model with a view to capturing the prevailing views of key informants. Finally, the applicability of the refined model was explored (Phase Two) using qualitative data collected through a household survey.

## 7.2 Phase one – Community tourism issues and assets based model

As discussed in Chapter 1, the principal purpose of this thesis is to develop a conceptual model, based on the concept of livelihood assets /community capitals, which can be used as a blue print to operationalise community tourism in Zanzibar. In line with the tourism framework presented in Chapter 4 (see Figure 4.7) and the challenges identified during Phase One focus group discussions and stakeholder interviews, the conceptual model is developed (see Figure 7.6). As noted above, this section of the research consists of two parts, Parts A and B, as shown in Figure 7.1 below. An iterative, multistage, mixed method qualitative research approach was chosen. This enabled relatively accurate modeling of community tourism model in Zanzibar. A similar approach has been used previously in community tourism research in northern Canada (Stewart et al 2008; Stewart and Draper 2009) and in the South America (Ashe 2005).

**Figure 7.1:** Structure of the Phase One



In Part A, the series of focus group discussions and interviews were conducted in order to (i) assess the barriers to implementing community tourism in Zanzibar and (ii) assess how local people accumulate fundamental capitals for tourism development. Here, the results from the focus groups analysis are integrated and compared with those from the interviews, thereby verifying and strengthening the focus groups results (Yin 2003). This also helps to draw and bring together perspectives from two categories of tourism stakeholders: ordinary members of the local community and the decision-makers. On the other hand, Part B draws on in-depth interviews with selected key experts to refine the conceptual model. The respondents reached consensus for all proposed components in the conceptual model. However, some modifications to the components were also suggested. In this phase of the research, a total of 97 participants representing 8 different groups of relevant stakeholders participated in focus group discussion (FG) or key information interviews (KI) during the period of Jan 2010 to July 2010 (see Table 7.1) to identify key issues, and the potential and challenges of sustainable community tourism development in the Zanzibar.

**Table 7.1:** Phase One respondents

Stakeholder Groups	No. of interviews	No. of People involved	Interview mode	Gender	
				M	F
Local community representative	3	21	FG	9	12
Government officials	7	7	KI	7	0
Community elders	5	5	KI	8	2
Tourism associations	7	7	KI	3	0
Tourism operators	12	12	KI	12	0
Informal tourism business	30	30	KI	25	5
Scholars	6, 9 (15)	15	KI	12	3
		97		75	22

As discussed in the following sections, among the key issues identified were:

- (i) culture as a capital may be a community's most valuable asset, warranting its

inclusion in the community based model of sustainability. However, the commoditization of culture through tourism may impede a community's effort to achieve sustainability by unbalancing other critical community capital assets; consequently, in the model developed here, cultural capital is not treated as a fundamental capital;

(ii) social capital in general does not appear to be evident amongst local people and communities; the implied lack of trust serves to diminish the potential for knowledge transfer and may restrain the successful development of community tourism;

(iii) access to financial capital is another constraining factor contributing to the failure of community tourism operations, since small businesses in general experience difficulty in obtaining loans and risk capital; and

(iv) there is an existing willingness amongst local communities in Zanzibar for active involvement in the tourism industry, especially with respect to developing community-based tourism enterprises;

The following sections discuss these and other identified issues relevant to community tourism and community capitals in more detail.

## **7.2.1 Part A: Developing an assets based community tourism model**

### **7.2.1.1 Focus group discussions**

The purpose of the focus groups was to investigate the current issues facing local people in relation to their participation in tourism development and their exploitation of resources to develop community tourism. During the analysis of the discussions, the researcher hoped to arrive at relevant concepts and ultimately to reach some level of abstraction that was primarily grounded in the inputs of participants. In less complex terms, the aim of this part of the research was to explore participants' views with regard to the way in which they perceive community tourism and its barriers, their view of

community capital assets with respect to community tourism and, where relevant, their views on the involvement of local people. It is important that focus group discussions (FGDs) are capable of unveiling dimensions of understanding that might remain inaccessible by other data collection techniques (Burns & Grove 2001: 545). The outcomes of the three community FGDs will be combined with results from interviewees in an attempt to produce a model that can be used by the Zanzibar community in specific and other communities around the less developing countries in general.

#### ❖ **Organizing and constructing the focus groups**

An introduction to the research and letter of authorization to carry out the research (see Appendix 3) were presented to the Director of Policy and Research at the Vice Presidents Office, with a written request from the researcher seeking his authorization to conduct research in Zanzibar. After the Director gave his permission, arrangements were made with Sheha (a leader representing government at community level), to organize various groups on different dates; this took place in three villages. The participants were selected according to their willingness to participate and their availability. Before the discussions began, the purpose and approach of each discussion was explained to all focus group members. At the same time, informed consent was obtained from all participants, who were then asked to sign a consent form. The use of an audio recorder was explained and actively demonstrated to the groups before its use.

As discussed in Chapter 6, three focus groups were conducted with seven, six and eight respondents in the first, second and third respectively. Inclusion criteria were applied to suit the purpose of the research as, according to Mason (2004), purposive sampling should seek to include participants who are equipped with knowledge of the issue under study. The time, date and place were for each group previously agreed with the participants taking into consideration their personal commitments; it has been found that when participants have decided on the time of the event, they tend to be more relaxed and, hence, a good flow of discussions is often achieved (Payne & Payne 2004: 56-59).

The first focus group took approximately 60 minutes, the second about 80 minutes and the third took 90 minutes. All respondents were assured that their anonymity would be protected and that numbers, rather than individual names or other identity-related data, would be used in the thesis.

The focus groups members included both females and males, though overall slightly fewer females participated in the FGDs sessions (see Table 7.1). The average age of the focus group members across all three groups was 35 years old, the eldest being 53 years old and the youngest 20 years old. According to Krueger (1994), focus groups are best conducted with participants who are similar to each other and that mentioning this when the session starts will reinforce the homogeneity. It was noted that the respondents shared many similarities, in particular a majority of them being aware of the tourism industry and, to some extent, having been benefited from it. Some dissimilarity among the respondents was also noted, contributing to a wide range of opinions and experiences. The interests/work differed among the respondents, as indicated in Table 7.2.

**Table 7.2::** Interests/work of focus group participants

<b>Focus Group</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Participants interests</b>
<b>FGD1</b>	Bambi	Conserving natural caves with bats; vegetables farming, such as carrots, spinach, and cabbage; spice farming; keeping butterflies; and chicken farming
<b>FDG2</b>	Fumba	Making ornaments using sea shells such as necklaces, earrings, hair cord; oyster raising; chicken farming; vegetable farming; crabs fattening
<b>FGD 3</b>	Bweleo	Making ornaments using sea shells such as necklaces, earrings, hair cord; oyster raising; conserving flying fox; and handicrafts

Source: Research, 2010.

As discussed earlier, group members also hailed from a range of different villages and



cultural backgrounds. The researcher wanted to include this factor in the research since cultural background and geographical factors could be an explanation if answers / contributions from the respondent differed greatly. A total of 13 questions were prepared to serve as the focus group discussion guide, with further probing undertaken to elicit additional information. An interview guide was used by the moderator to set out the discussions (see Appendix 1).

#### ✧ **Results from the focus group discussions**

According to Lindlof and Taylor (2002: 298), the most common and appropriate way to showcase the findings of qualitative research is to present the themes that emerge from the analysis. Similarly, Thomas (2003) stresses that it is important that the researcher is able to make the hard decisions when considering which emerged themes are the most important ones. Thus, the outcomes are now considered according to the key themes that emerged during the focus group discussions.

##### *(i) The effects of tourism on community development in Zanzibar*

As was discussed in Chapter 3, tourism may bring a number of benefits to host communities, potentially providing a more sustainable future for the poor in local destination communities. The focus group participants were prompted to discuss what they considered to be the effects of tourism felt by local communities in Zanzibar. From the discussions, it became evident that, in Zanzibar, many local people recognize the changes (either negative or positive) that tourism has brought upon them. Whilst some local communities believe that tourism primarily provides opportunities for the future, others are more indifferent towards the positive effects of tourism and, in some cases, do not like the way tourism has been developed in Zanzibar. At the same time, however, younger people who originate from urban areas and possess few skills relevant to the tourism sector nevertheless welcome tourists to the Zanzibar. From the discussions, it emerged that, in Zanzibar, tourism is seen to provide opportunities for those who have grown up in the urban area or who are not skilled in farming or fishing. One respondent stated that:

*It is obvious many people will leave their village and come to live in Nungwi. You know, some people just hear about tourism, have never tasted it [referring to money obtained from tourism], so they will now come to prove themselves... our village could have been like paradise if tourism business employ local people...as you can see big hotels scattered everywhere, but we were getting nothing rather than increasing of number of crime, drug users and prostitution. You know, foreigners (mainlanders) just come here to collect money and go. I heard from my neighbors that most mainlanders have established a good business in their home village...*

According to the focus group participants, tourism provides opportunities for local communities to sell their products, such as art and crafts, to tourists through the informal sector. In this context, tourism enables local people to earn more income to support their families and, therefore, in Zanzibar, many local people believe that opportunities to earn income from tourism should be increased. During the group discussions, the participants came up with the idea of opening a local restaurant or a tourist shop in their village. According to them, the village tourist shop could serve as a place where local communities can sell their tourism products, insisting that these products should be made by local materials. This would minimize the quantity of tourism products, especially souvenirs, which are brought from outside the community, leading to revenue flowing away from the community. One respondent commented that:

*Tomorrow I will take you to beach. There you will realize how foreign people are selling their crafts. In fact, many mainlanders imported their tinga tinga [type of Tanzania mainland crafts] from mainland and sometimes from Kenya.*

Other participants stated that:

*We buy our products from wabongo [referring to mainlanders] who come and sell them to us...and we then sell the products to tourists who rarely stopped in our place to view beautiful scenery. You know tourists always asked for product with national identity...it is shame we keep selling them craft from mainland...sometimes we don't tell them that we receive those products from outside Zanzibar...if we tell them...they will not buy...we need money to support our family. We would like to establish small shops and even restaurants that will sell local products...but we don't have money to start with ... you need enough money to set up business such as local restaurants.*

However, whilst participants believed that having a village shop could provide a significant source of income, particularly if products are sold at a fixed price, it is well documented that the most significant restriction for SME activities or informal tourism enterprises is a lack of start-up capital (see also Chapter 4). This is certainly the case for Zanzibar; in order to establish a village tourist shop, start up capital would be required, but local communities in the rural areas do not have access to such capital; this issue will be given more attention in the recommendations in Chapter 8.

During the group discussions, the participants also mentioned the establishment of local restaurants as a means of stimulating the local community's income earning opportunities. Some participants indicated that they would be interested in providing catering services to international tourists. They claimed to have sufficient experience for providing such a service given that they are used to cooking for large numbers of people on different occasions, such as weddings or birthday celebrations. However, despite their cooking skills, they lack administration and management skills. As discussed in Chapter 4, this can be acquired both formally and informally. Therefore, the initial findings from the focus groups suggest that there is an existing willingness amongst local communities in Zanzibar for active involvement in the tourism industry, especially with respect to developing community-based tourism enterprises. More interestingly, the participants also indicated their belief that it is the task of individual members of the community or a local community group to turn their dream in reality. One respondent commented that:

*The most important factor for the success of community tourism development comes down to the locals. I believe that the government can come up with all necessary infrastructure and facilities, but locals must also adopt a tourism mentality...they are the ones who can truly contribute to the Zanzibar tourism industry when they to believe on their own product...*

As long considered in the literature (for example, Mathieson and Wall 1982), critics of tourism have argued that development of tourism can adversely affect the social and cultural fabric of communities. In the focus groups, all participants accepted that

tourism may be the best tool for economic development in their societies; however, they also raised concerns regarding the sustainability of their culture and natural resources. For example, some participants claimed that tourists participating in diving scare fish away from their fishing grounds and, therefore, they have decided to mark off the prime fishing areas with buoys to prohibit divers from the areas. More generally, water-based activities, such as snorkelling or diving, which are popular amongst tourists in Zanzibar were considered by many participants to increase pressure on or cause damage to local natural resources. Other the issues raised during the focus group discussions were the problems of inappropriate dress on the part of visitors, the unwanted practice of giving children small gifts, and photography without permission and compensation. The above findings can be supported by the following quote:

*...clothing, young people seem to copy a bad side from tourism way of life and custom...there should be a law to control this... they want to be Wazungu [referring foreigners especial from Europe] and therefore they copy everything, what they wear on the road. I am afraid that can negatively change the life of young people here in Zanzibar...*

Nevertheless, despite these problems, participants believed that encouraging tourist visitation to local villages can bring revenue directly to local populations. According to the participants, local communities have little knowledge about tourism and it was suggested that the government should provide tourism skills, including language skills, to the local people:

*Tourism should be incorporated as part of National Education. We want to participate in tourism, of course we need to have a better understanding of tourism industry. By having tourism skills included in the National Education curriculum, it can also help foster local involvement in tourism and love tourism*

The participants also suggested that there are numerous tourism activities that can be offered by destination communities based on their natural and cultural heritage, but it was argued that the use of foreign tourism companies continues to isolate visitors from local communities. At the same time, however, they accepted that, in some cases, the

tourism sector has provided necessary support for development of their villages, such support including the construction of facilities and educational programs for local communities. For example, in Nungwi, the Lagema Hotel financed the construction of a health centre for the use of the local community whilst, more generally, the provision of infrastructural facilities and services for tourists has been designed to also benefit local communities. One respondent state that:

*All I can say is that Lagema Hotel is good example for providing social support to the local community. They have renovated our primary school and constructed a public health dispensary. They build nursery school at Kilindi village and they have purchased uniform to enable poor locals to attend school. They also constructed four teachers' house at Tazari primary school...*

However, it appeared that aid dependence has left many local villages waiting for help to arrive from tourism businesses, such as hoteliers. One respondent commented that:

*It is true they support us when we are in need, but I don't like the way they support... it is a begging style...you should follow them and kneel down...it is not guarantee... it is such annoying. In our village we have a lot of projects and we need money very badly. We keep going and going...I think it is the time for government to take its responsibility...we are tired of this...*

According to Kassim (2010), tourism businesses often become overwhelmed by the number of requests for help from local authorities. According to participants, local authorities can facilitate linkages at the local level in ways that create opportunities for the informal sector as well as micro, small and medium-sized enterprises to sell to tourists and locals alike. As discussed in previous chapters, tourism is among the main source of employment for many developing countries, yet tourism jobs are usually considered to be temporary and unstable (Mowforth & Munt 2003). In that context, increased self-employment opportunities are the only solution for local community economic development because they provide local people with ability to increase their earning over the long term without depending directly on the tourism sector (Tosun 2002). From the focus group discussions, it emerged that tourism in Zanzibar creates a very limited number of jobs for local communities. This perhaps reflects the low rates

of pay, relative to the past incomes from fishing. It was commented that:

*Everybody knows that they [referring tourism businesses] often have work opportunities, but it is hard to find Zanzibaris (referring local people) there. I think is just because they cannot earn enough. I think that a lot of the local people that we have jobs for are not interested to work for 100 US dollar per month...that is too little for us to support our family. We are used to better wages from farming and fishing...*

Similarly, another participant commented that:

*there are plenty of local people who are not willing to work in the tourism sector and are just moving around the village. The thing is that they used to get paid good money from fishing...sometime more than 30 dollars a day...that is lot for them compared to what we are getting from tourism jobs.... For me job is job...I hate doing dish washer task, but I need money...I am not educated...I don't understand those people who preferred rather to be unemployed than to work in tourism... any way I don't know whether because of money or culture...*

It appeared that most tourism business located in rural areas hire their employees from urban areas, since the local people lack the appropriate education and skills. Tourism operators often employ graduates from the Zanzibar Hotel and Tourism Institution; however, the course fees are well beyond the means of most Zanzibaris and, consequently, the majority of students are from the Tanzania mainland. Also, and as noted in Chapter 5, because of the geographic isolation and limited resources of Zanzibar, goods such as the food and beverages consumed by tourists and services required to support tourism must be imported.

*I don't think tourism is providing much in our community [referring to their village]... you know, I don't understand why hoteliers do not buy our agricultural produce. If you visit the sea port you will see a lot of vegetable coming from Tanzania mainland. It is shame...even eggs are from mainland...I think government should do something...if we will be empowered we may supply the right quality and quality of agricultural produce to the tourism industry...*

According to the focus group participants, many tourism businesses do not source many of their inputs from local communities. Apart from seafood, the majority of which is locally caught, most products, such as fruit, soft drinks, dairy products, pepper, cleaning

supplies, vegetables and meat, are purchased from the Tanzania mainland or from South Africa where the quality is better. One respondent commented that:

*... before we change to tourism industry we were having agriculture as the backbone of this place; everybody has the opportunity to gain and work or to get money from the industry of agriculture, but now it has switched to tourism industry. Only a few people benefit I think, only a few from the tourism. The locals don't get any benefit from here and the tourism industry.*

In common with other island tourism destinations, purchase decisions within the Zanzibar tourism industry are influenced by three main factors, namely: convenience, constant supply, and economies of scope (Ashley 2000). It appears that many tourism companies prefer the convenience of shopping for goods and services in one location. As was noted by one focus group member, 'large hotels dedicate one day each week to the purchase of all their supplies regardless the distance in doing so'. Moreover, it seems that local people are unaware of agricultural products commonly used in the tourism sector.

Inappropriately packaged tourism development may contribute to local communities losing access to necessary resources such as water and land (Munt and Mowforth 2003; Tosun 2002). This has been the situation in Zanzibar where more than 50% of accommodation facilities are owned by foreigners (ZCT 2011). Consequently, there is considerable friction between local economic development needs and the tourism industry. A particular source of conflict between local people and tourism developers is the use of beaches and territorial water; during the research for this thesis, the researcher witnessed numerous discussions between parties regarding the use of these resources. In all tourism zones, local communities have been denied access to territorial water whilst, in the discussions, all groups identified the issues of beaches as an important friction point between locals and hoteliers. In this context, the local communities feel particularly frustrated by the fact that they are unable to challenge or compete with hoteliers, since they perceive that the government favours foreign investors.

*...we will not allow this to continue ... we are tired for their action... why hoteliers don't not want us to hang around the beach... we cannot not get close to the sea when the beach is contracted out... it is not that we frighten their visitors...*

*...I like the politician ...they are always taking politics, instead of working... let professionals make decision on professional issues. It is very sad our representatives [referring to political leaders] put forward their interests...they don't care about public interest. If we had power, we could stop their dirty deals... ”*

During the group discussions, there was a strong feeling amongst the participants that hoteliers had no right to stop them from using beach and their territorial water. Local people believe that, according to the Zanzibar Land Act, which provides for development and management of land, the beach is a public asset. The socio-environmental problems of tourism were also considered by the focus groups, the discussion focusing mainly on the problem of hoteliers disposing of their garbage on public land and forests, which often causes the spread diseases in the neighboring villages. One respondent commented that:

*I remembered, ten years ago, the amount of garbage in our village was very minimal, but now it has reached such a proportion as causing cholera. The garbage is scattered everywhere...there is no proper disposal. The local leader has allocated the areas where the garbage should be thrown, but is not far from the village. When it rains, the garbage is washed off to the village...our villages are affected by the garbage from the site...*

It was argued that hoteliers need to be monitored by the government, and participants indicated that more dump sites should be provided in the tourism zones, especially in densely developed tourism areas. Moreover, it was suggested that local authorities should be given power to monitor tourism development in their areas and should set rules for environmental protection. In Chapter 3 of this thesis, it was noted that community tourism seeks to stimulate economic activities related to tourism run by local poor communities, community groups or individual members. The focus of community tourism is not only to provide direct employment to the local communities, as in the case of Zanzibar, but also to enable local communities to come up with initiatives that stimulate the growth of small and medium scale enterprises, through



unused local capitals.

In Zanzibar, there is a significant supply of unused production capitals (see Chapter 4). In other words, there are numerous activities that might be undertaken by local communities, utilizing available resources, to expand tourism related opportunities in their areas. For example, if visitors enjoy a dinner in a community restaurant or participate in a village tour and spend some money there, the local community will earn more money directly from tourists. However, according to some participants, many foreign investors blackmail the local community and are not happy for local community to start their own businesses, to make use of their unused capital.

*We have been trying to set up our own business...we have been trying to establish relationship with them. We have sent them our product, but it does not appear in their brochures and publications. I don't get it...I think they have decided not to support us. They don't want to deal with small entrepreneurs like us and that we directly conflict...*

When the manager of the Blue Sea Restaurant was asked about the claim, he argued that most foreign investors, certainly in the restaurant sector, are afraid of losing business and therefore are unwilling to do so much in the community in terms of development projects. This trend has limited the opportunities for local people to start tourism related entrepreneurial activities. In Chapter 3, it was explained that the main objective of community tourism is to promote entrepreneurial initiatives in local communities while increasing the sustainable use of resources. Based on the above discussion, it would appear that role of the community in taking steps toward maximising the economic benefits of tourism in Zanzibar has been minimal. Accordingly, local poor communities are not sure how to proceed to address the situation, although it is clear that, in Zanzibar, local communities have a strong sense of responsibility and realism, recognising that the main responsibility for developing (community) tourism lies with themselves.

*ii. Government plays the major role in developing community tourism*

As argued in the Chapter 3, government involvement in tourism is vital. In the case of Zanzibar, and possibly all LDCs, however, governments tend to be overly committed to generating income from tourism growth at the expense of sustainability and conservation. In Chapter 5, it was observed that Zanzibar government policy has identified tourism as the driver for economic development. During the group discussions, participants suggested that the government should not only provide the basic infrastructure, such as electricity, roads and water, but also should design various human resource development programmes in order to build the capacity of local people. One respondent commented that:

*Authorities responsible for tourism development must involve local community. The authorities should accept and respect the right of locals to make a decision for or against its involvement and use of its resources in tourism development...*

However, according to the focus group participants, the Zanzibar government is playing a fundamental role in limiting the development and operation of community tourism. For example, the Zanzibar Commission for Tourism (ZCT) – the semi-autonomous organisation with the mandate for planning, organising and marketing tourism – does not market community tourism enterprises. More specifically, the participants argued that the Zanzibar government has not addressed the lack of an enabling framework to legalise community tourism enterprises. It was found that a lack of sufficient integration between interrelated resources and plans, and a lack of efficient coordination between relevant agencies, has deterred tourism development. According to the participants, in Zanzibar different levels of government have not been created to implement tourism plans, especially community tourism plans.

*...well, the main problem is poor consultation. Zanzibar has good policies, and tourism policy is already there, but just look what is happening...in my opinion, the problem is implementation. In many case government officials put forward their personnel interest and leave aside what is stipulated in the policy...*

Within the focus groups, the issue of resources and capitals were discussed. Some participants observed that the power to obtain the necessary resources for tourism is held by government and they (local communities) were not regarded as equal partners.

It was commented that:

*Tourism business utilizes social, human and institutional capital in the interest of production. By decreasing availability of the aforementioned capitals in a specific area mean to exclude local community from tourism business...*”

To underscore the confusion surrounding the government’s role in community tourism, the current licensing structure determines that most, if not all, community tourism enterprises are, in fact, illegal. The participants argued that the illegal status of community tourism enterprises is forcing large tourism operators, such as hoteliers, not to work with community tourism enterprises since they are recommended to work only with legal business entities. In other words, community tourism businesses have been intentionally separated from the markets.

*Those big hotels have been advised and cautioned not work with us. Our own government treats us as refugees [referring to the fact that they don’t have rights to their own land]. They want us to be registered and for small business like mine, the cost of registration almost 100 US dollars. You can see it is almost twice of my capital. I will be stupid if will do that...I am sure some hoteliers understand our situation and they are ready to work with us...though they are risking their business...*”

During the group discussion, participants indicated dissatisfaction with the government’s level of understanding of and support for community tourism businesses. As was explained in the Chapter 5, the level of involvement in or priority placed on community tourism effectively remains a discretionary element of the Zanzibar government’s responsibility and activity. All participants expressed their disappointment at the way the Zanzibar government is failing to listen and respond to community priorities. Thus, to achieve greater community involvement Zanzibar, the government should ensure that the community's wishes are implemented or that, at least, their ideas and views influence the direction of tourism planning.

*The government should stop its dictatorship over the use of the resource since the practice tends to put more poverty in our village and cause a lot frustration to villagers. We are not happy that priorities are given to foreigners and sometimes there is no necessary need to do so...*

It was found that the government has not adopted any community-based planning approach (see Chapter 3) which views community tourism issues as being inextricably linked to broader questions concerning the thrust of overall local community development. According to participants, community tourism development in Zanzibar is undermined by the lack of a clear assignment of legal responsibility for the monitoring and supervision of the implementation of community tourism development plans from the government. For example, the ZCT has little influence over the allocation of annual budget resources available for the financing of local community tourism projects (see section 7.3). More specifically, the participants commented that the key impediment to community tourism development is that the Zanzibar government employs the top down approach (Murphy 1985) and therefore does not provide a fundamental mechanism for community involvement.

*All I can say is that our leaders are not willing to involve us and it is hard for me to feel I am involved in the tourism development. You know, they perceive we are less educated and ignorant...they think we cannot give them incredible ideas... these days no body are interested to listen them. Many young people have stopped attending village meeting...*

Community involvement in developing countries is problematic, and the difficulty is even more apparent in LDCs, such as Zanzibar, where community participation in tourism planning is not a social norm (Munt and Mowforth 2003). Participants suggested that the main limitations of community tourism are tied to government misunderstandings about the concept of community involvement. To achieve greater community participation in tourism development, communities' representatives should be considered in all tourism related decision making (Cater 1995). In other words, bringing the benefits or proceeds of tourism to the community level requires an

institutional framework that allows the informal sector to participate in tourism destination development. Such institutions rely on a community development participatory tourism program

### ***iii. Barriers encountered by local people in accumulating financial capital***

Financial capital is a crucial aspect of capacity building for community tourism development in developing countries, including Zanzibar. There are, however, many forms of finance-related constraints for local people to participate in tourism development. These barriers manifest themselves differently in each community or village (Mowforth & Munt 2003). In this research, participants identified three barriers to accessing financial capital, namely: property rights, economic conditions and good governance. According to them, financial constraints in Zanzibar have been mainly caused by the lack of collateral and financial regulatory restrictions. Indeed, during the field work for this thesis, the lack of access to the financial capital was the most cited limitation for community involvement in tourism development.

*Due to financial barrier most of us do not have a mean to own business. You know our financial situation. We are very poor and it very hard for us to make living. If we had money, we would establish our own business. It is a status in our community if you are self-employed ...you depend on your own....*

It appears that macro-financial reforms (see Chapter 5) have not provided the poorer members of local communities with the opportunity to access financial resources. In other words, ongoing macroeconomic reforms are only slowly affecting the livelihoods of rural communities. According to the participants, there has been an increasing number of financial institutions, but local poor communities living in rural areas were unaware of their service since many of them have not grown accustomed to bank usage.

*As you can see, Kiwengwa is one of the busiest villages in Zanzibar...there are lot of tourism business going on over there...but if you want banking services you have to go to Stone Town. I am sure most local entrepreneurs in that village do not use banking service...they keep their money in their homes. It is a bit traditional, but they are not used with bank ...some people believe that taking loan or using bank is*

*against religion.*

This research found a high disparity in the use of banking services between urban and rural areas. For example, in Kendwa (a rural area), the researcher found almost no bank usage whereas in Nungwi, it was found that there is increasing bank usage and locals have started to apply for small loans. Consequently, the focus group conducted in Nungwi village had at least one participant who had borrowed money from a formal financial institution. Nevertheless, the loan was not tourism specific since many financial institutions perceive tourism as a new and risky business. According to the focus group participants, it is difficult in Zanzibar for the local poor communities to borrow from a bank to start up a business. In the group discussions, the need for collateral and the prospect of high repayment interest (approximately 24%) were identified as the two main barriers.

*Banks pose severe and unnecessary requirement to borrowers...they ask for collateral and business plans. You know local entrepreneur (as they start out) do not know how to prepare business plan...well, the high interest rates and high collateral needed keep us away from taking loans from banks...*

Similarly it was commented that:

*It is hard to access loans from a bank without having fixed assets. It is true that many banking institutions allow titled houses as fixed assets. But people in rural villages hesitate to put their houses as collateral because they are afraid to lose them. [You know] sometimes business goes wrong and people fail to repay their loans that leads to selling out their collateral to recover the borrowed money.*

It appeared that many local tourism enterprises acquired their start-up capital through retirement payouts, inheritance or from revolving funds. In general, formal financial institutions are reluctant to lend to small and micro enterprises because they predict high risks and high transaction costs (Sharpley 2009). As discussed in Chapter 4, a possible solution to the problem would be revolving loans. This problem has been addressed in this way at the Jozani Forest project by the Worldwide Fund for Nature (WWF). The organization encouraged the community who live near the Jozani Forest to introduce a revolving loans scheme. According to their policy, people who have common business

interests, who know each other and can vouch for one another, can apply for a loan.

*It our group, we don't accept people from outside our community. It is just our policy. Some people are not honest ... they like sabotage and discourage others...*

According to WWF (2009), revolving funds schemes have enabled the provision of start-up capital to the local poor communities. Generally, the existence of community-based micro credit mechanisms is very important in Zanzibar since formal financial institutions are few and there is no non-profit organization whose prime task is the provision of micro finance/credit. As discussed earlier, in the past, funding given by WWF helped many local communities to open small tourism enterprises. However, currently it is commonly agreed that there is no funding available. One focus group member sold her necklace to get enough money to start a small business.

*The most important thing for establishing a business is to have financial capital. That is where the problem started; Yes, first you need to have capital. How can you get it from sponsor, the parents or brothers? While people in Stone Town get a number of loans to support their business, very few people in my village [rural] had received a loan. We have never received loans from bank. I don't understand why? May be they think we have no ability or system of paying back the loan.*

Interestingly, it was found that areas with increased conservation restrictions, such as Jozani, Kiwengwa and Misali, have numerous sources of financial capital. International organisations, such WWF and the World Bank, provide financial support to communities who live near to conservation areas, compensating for reduced economic opportunities. In Jozani, for instance, WWF has funded a number of community-based projects, such as butterfly farmers and women's craft groups. Here, it was found that non-governmental organisations have encouraged the formation of small tourism business enterprises. However, established tourism enterprises still face financial shortages for technology improvement, infrastructure development, and marketing.

The practice of sending a large portion of revenue, collected from conservation areas, to

the central government serves to reduce local participation in conservation of tourism resources. An important role of conservation in community resources is the promotion of community tourism enterprises. In other words, conservation should operate on the principle that financial gain from tourism should stay within the community. According to the participants, tourism revenues should not be siphoned off to an outside proprietor who does not have a personal stake in the environmental future of the areas. They further argued that natural resources must be owned and managed by community who live in the areas and the derived financial gain must be used for establishing more small scale tourism enterprises and for training programme such as tour guiding.

*Owing to the huge demand for financial support to the various sectors, governments end up giving little attention to our development. We are living nearby conservation areas and we are the most victim. Our crops have been always destroyed by animal... and we are getting nothing in return. I don't see any logic of having such kind of conservation. It seems the government put priorities on animals rather than their citizens...*

There are, then, numerous challenges to be met when seeking to access capital for establishing local micro-enterprises and small scale tourism enterprises, not least the issue of property rights. In common with other developing countries, in Zanzibar property rights are more effectively implemented, maintained and monitored in urban areas than in rural areas (Azan & Ufuzo 2009). It has been well documented that there is extensive credit rationing in LDCs, where low income households are excluded from the formal financial institutions (Azan & Ufuzo 2009). The main barrier to access is the frequent inability of local people to securitize loans with collateral, often a basic condition for formal credit market. As discussed earlier, a large percentage of rural property is untitled (Holden 2000). Despite land being an advantageous form of collateral due to the fact that it does not easily devalue or it cannot be replaced, it is widely noted that many rural community in LDCs faces barriers to securing transactions with land because ownership rights are not formally documented.

This dissertation assumes that poverty in Zanzibar is not due to a lack of capital assets



as such but, instead, due to a lack of usable capital. For instance, rural households have assets, but the lack of property rights often means that ownership prevents them from using their capital assets to leverage access to other resources, such as loans and other incentive to improve their level of production. Owing to the insecure nature of their rights to land and other capital assets, their assets cannot be used as collateral and, therefore, the assets should be brought into a secure position protected by rule of laws. According to the focus group participants, the lack of resources makes the problems of land tenure difficult to remedy in rural areas. One focus group member pointed out that:

*Ten years ago we sent our application to the department of land and registration. We wanted them to survey our land, but they did not come... they told us they do have enough budgets to do so. Five later, almost half of our plot was given to foreigners. The problem here is that we don't have title deeds and we cannot sue them. I think the government should consider us as well. We are poor and we depend from our land. If they had given us title deeds, we could use it as collateral to get money from bank...*

Some participants had used non collateral-based loans (from an informal money-saving system known as Upatu in the Swahili language) and they acknowledge that their business success can to a great extent be attributed to informal loan schemes. However, having a track record in business was vital for getting such a loan. This track record is usually established through a work history, such as trade work or government employment. One of the participants stated that:

*They usually give the loans to those who have already set up a business. They are sure of paying back on time... No, if you are starting, you should use your brain. These institutions normally prefer to advance business rather than to help people to enter into business. You will not get money unless you have a good business proposal. How can normal local poor who want to establish the business can meet such requirements?*

Based on the above discussion, it may be concluded that the lack of financial capital in Zanzibar is the main problem for those communities who do not possess significant or

sufficient collateral. Moreover, the formal banking sector does not generally offer long-term financing for tourism projects, they charge high interest rates and there is no mechanism to support local entrepreneurs.

***iv. Barriers encountered by local people in accumulating physical capitals***

Little progress has been made in developing or implementing community tourism in Zanzibar. This undoubtedly reflects the constraints that face other sectors more generally, such constraints being limited infrastructure, such as roads, communication technology, power supply and transportation. Within the sustainable livelihoods framework, physical capital comprises the basic infrastructure and services needed to support livelihoods. Physical capital can be described as the assets, such as land, machinery, building and infrastructure, which can be used in production. In many cases, a lack of infrastructure is often considered by people to be a core dimension of a low quality destination. It was commented that:

*Infrastructure, mainly roads, is not well developed yet. In many villages there is no paved road. I am aware that construction works to improve major roads connecting tourist sites are currently taking place, but some important roads are still not included in the government plan. It is obvious that infrastructure affects tourism development, especially the operation of small businesses. For those who are doing spice tourism, for example, this situation creates a constraint on their ability to sustain their business, as there is no road network to transport their customers to the areas. The situation is worse during the rainy season...*

As already discussed, in Zanzibar local people only have the right to use rather than own the land; individuals are not allowed to sublet or transfer the land because, under government policies, land is the public property and, therefore, cannot be sold. Physical capital has also been found to decrease the greater the distance from urban regions. From the focus groups, it emerged that, in Zanzibar, rural communities have been excluded from the development of necessary physical capitals. For instance, technological services such as internet access are rarely found in rural villages. Indeed, the knowledge needed to access this technology is not available for rural residents. It was found that majority of the participants have never visited an internet café.

*Other infrastructures that are not well developed are electricity and landline communication. These elements are keeping back most rural villages from having internet access...we do not have access to technology and equipment...our business is very poor; we cannot afford to buy new equipment or upgrade existing facilities...*

Although many services necessary for human development are increasingly provided in Stone Town, the capital, there is no reliable public transportation system to enable rural communities to travel there. Some focus group participants noted that buses between Stone Town and rural villages run on an irregular basis and there are long periods when this service had not been operating. During the field work for this thesis, it was observed that the road conditions were extremely poor whilst, during the rainy season, many roads were closed.

The poor condition of the roads has a number of implications for community tourism development. For example, in order to maintain their profit margins, many tourism enterprises have been obliged to inflate their prices, hence reducing their competitiveness, in order to compensate for high vehicle maintenance costs. Moreover, transportation constraints also have a negative impact on the management of conservation and forestry areas, and serve to deter potential tourists from visiting the area. Clearly there is a need to improve the physical capital in Zanzibar in order to promote development and diversification of livelihoods through community tourism. However, the development of physical capital should not only be limited to the basic needs of the people in the area. Rather, basic needs-type development should be integrated with strategies to expand options for livelihood development. Improved tourism development will be key in this regard.

#### ***v. Factors preventing local people from accessing human capital***

Human capital can be considered to be the ability of people to gather knowledge and education that translates into employment and business opportunities. It was found that the overall education system in Zanzibar does not reflect the role of tourism in the

economy. According to Mr. Ussi (Headmaster of Nungwi Secondary School), at primary level, students are provided with a basic education in reading and writing. Advanced education is taught at secondary school, involving basic mathematic, English language and science subjects, whilst technical and tertiary skills are introduced in high schools. However, tourism studies are completely overlooked in the formal education system. Focus group participants commented that a few private tourism schools are available, though located far from rural villages and the fees are beyond the means of most families.

*...in rural villages like ours, government schools do not have qualified teachers and therefore the schools do not provide the required standard of education. When our children fail national examination, we send them to private school. Children walk on foot through footpaths to attend private schools in very far distances. To large extent this far distant schools results slowing down of the learning process...*

In common with other developing countries, the limitations of the education system in Zanzibar serves to reduce local people's ability to exploit economic opportunities and to develop successful tourism businesses (Fukuyama 2003). During the group discussions, participants highlighted three main factors that limit the ability of the poor, especially in rural areas, to acquire a good education. These factors are a lack of qualified teachers, a lack of educational facilities, and limited access to modern technology. During the field work, it was observed that many schools in rural areas lack necessary equipment/tools, are overcrowded and the teachers are underpaid. One group member pointed out that:

*In our village, we stay with children from standard one up to standard eight. They don't know how to write or how to read because their classes are overcrowded with at least 70 children residing in one class. As a matter of fact, our village could have two primary schools. If you observe it clearly, it will come to your mind that one class was supposed to accommodate 45 students, but there are 70. This means that it is almost two times the number.*

The participants revealed their concern about language skills, believing that limited language skills, especially in English, prevent local people from participating in the tourism industry. They suggested that that few opportunities exist for them to improve

their language skills, although they also believed that talking with foreign tourists is the best way for them to improve their language skills. During the discussions, one member stated that:

*We want to do tourism activities such as village tours and diving, but we cannot do that because they can't understand us. As you know, we are speaking different language. I am sure tourists would like our service. In most cases tourists become happy when they are served by local people, but we cannot service them. I think the main problem in our village is education. We must speak at least broken English and thus we will be able to take tourists around.*

The participants commonly agreed that a lack of access to modern technology represented a serious obstacle the growth of their business. Consequently, many small tourism enterprises use traditional business techniques that render them less competitive. It was also agreed that, amongst local communities, there is a pressing need for general business knowledge, particularly in the areas of management, marketing and pricing. More specifically, it emerged that that local people lack knowledge and understanding of the products demanded by tourists. One of the group members commented that:

*Nowadays, the technology has developed, so we need more advanced tools that help us to do our business effectively and efficiently. For example, we don't have the modern tools for diving, snorkeling and game fishing. Government should give us business education. Most of us here, we don't have enough education and experience of running tourism business and therefore we cannot compete with large foreign tourism investments.*

The participants stated that a lack of business knowledge has, to an extent, excluded them from participating in tourism development. According to them, they do not have enough knowledge of the market environment outside their local area, and they must use middlemen to translate or deliver their services, although the involvement of middlemen of course reduces profits that should be retained by local business owners. The participants expressed their interest in learning about the tourism sector and the needs / preferences of tourists in order to better provide the services demanded by

tourists. The interest in learning is higher rural areas compared to Stone Town, as indicated below:

*Our village has things like cloves, cardamom, black paper, and cinnamon bush which provide much potential for agritourism... Outsiders don't want us to know their markets. On many occasions, they convince us to sell them our products at a very low price. We don't have any alternative. We don't know where the market is and we don't get any help from the government. Some tourists have visited us and they like our products, such as baskets and local meats, but we don't have enough business skills and therefore it is hardly to progress*

During the fieldwork in Zanzibar, it was found that only the rotating credit association without interest was operated. The villagers called the rotating credit association without interest *Upatu*. It appears that the credit lending facilities in Zanzibar can be categorized as formal, semi-formal, and informal forms. The formal credit form consisted of the People Bank of Zanzibar (PBZ) and the semi-formal credit form consisted of the credit funds of the work based association, commonly called SACCOS. The informal credit form is the voluntary rotating credit association called *Upatu*. The semi-formal credit has both formal and informal characteristics.

The formal nature of these funds lay in the fact they implemented the programs and plans of their respective organizations and the informal side of it was that joining these credit funds is voluntary. Conversely, the informal form of credit covers the voluntary rotating credit associations. These associations are set up to provide financial support to their members in everyday life. Each member contributes a share (usually money) to the common pool of the association for terms of one month, three months, six months or one year as mutually agreed. After each term, a member is to receive the money pool through random selection or the selection that gives priority to members who meet difficulties or want to do some household's affairs. It was revealed that joining the credit association not only helped respondents to pay some of the costs in establishing business but also helped them to support their families. One respondent stated that:

*In my village, many people have joined in the Upatu. This association has been used by members for building new houses, establishing business or organizing wedding ceremonies for children...*

To conclude, the major concern amongst the participants was the cost of education and their lack of business knowledge. It was found that many local people in rural areas have business ideas that relate to tourism, but it is difficult for them to establish competitive tourism enterprises. In order to be competitive, education specifically geared towards providing skills applicable to tourism management is necessary to facilitate the viable involvement of local people in the tourism industry. Such skills include scheduling, accounting, basic marketing and management, as well as English and Spanish skills. If possible, the course should be integrated into the existing school curriculum. It is important to note that, for local people, increased education exponentially increases their opportunities to become tourism entrepreneurs. However, if tourism courses cannot be integrated into the schools' curriculum (as in the case of Zanzibar), communities can seek other outlets through which they can acquire these skills. One example of a successful educational benefit occurred in the village of Kizimkazi, where local people committed a certain amount of their tourism-related revenues towards a sponsorship scheme for young community members.

#### ***vi. Natural capital, tourism development, local people's livelihood***

It has been well documented that a fundamental consideration for sustainable development is that natural capital is as necessary to any economic sector as other forms of capital (Fukuyama 2003). Thus, the contribution of natural capital to tourism development and the livelihood of the poor in local communities is both direct and indirect. Like other types of capital, natural capital in the production process is subject to degradation and deterioration in both quality and quantity. Thus, it was found that the introduction of tourism has affected local people's right or access to natural resource use. For instance, infrastructure construction, such as roads and car parks, has inevitably encroached on some local peoples' lands. Participants commented that those local

people with lands that were taken over for tourism development were compensated according to the Zanzibar Land Tenure Act; however, the amount they received was very low.

*These days, people are not afraid of anything... we are aware of the value of our land. We need to be paid in kind [suggesting they should have an agreement with investors]. It is not right...the government paid us little money...it is even not enough to buy a glass of juice...they must change their laws, otherwise we will fight for our right...*

According to the participants, for example, a one-off payment of just US\$3 dollars was made for each tree growing on the affected land. This system of limited land compensation has driven communities into poverty and, inevitably, it was suggested in the focus groups that the community should be re-compensated annually to an amount equivalent to crop income in accordance with that year's market price. Opinions concerning land uses and compensation were not homogeneous among the participants although, because rural communities traditionally depend on land-based income, there was general consensus regarding the inappropriateness of Land Tenure Act. As one participant said:

*Land regulations are not good for us. Land was taken from for tourism development. They gave us little money. They should have another way of compensating us, rather than giving us a small token.*

Participants were also very much concerned about loss of their land:

*They took my land to build road. I have never been compensated... the government does not care about the future of the poor people...they have nothing to pay me since nobody knows the exact value of my land. Before now, we did know the value of our land...but now we know the importance of land... we need our lands back.*

Generally speaking, local people recognize natural capital, such as land, as valuable assets for their economic development. According to participants, the protected natural



resources have increased the flow of tourists to Zanzibar, particularly in rural areas. However, some participants were not happy about the way in which natural capital is managed; they argued that natural capital is managed and controlled for the benefit of the few local elites. It was found that the administration of natural capital and increasing restrictions on its use were serving to reduce (local) economic opportunities and creating burdens on local residents. Any kind of resource conservation is recommended and more likely to succeed only when resources are being depleted (Tosun 2000). The more local people benefit from the natural resources, the more likely that local community will effectively share information and cooperate in resource conservation.

*...we have an obligation to protect the natural resources surrounding us...we should protect them because they are important for ourselves...the natural resources are created by God and it is wrong to abuse them, but on the other hand we should have large share...we should enjoy them. Currently, what we are getting is not enough...The incentives are not sufficient to compensate for the costs of stopping using our resources.*

Since local communities depend on natural capitals, unless those capitals are equitably exploited, then local communities will suffer economically. For example, local people used to use local materials for their livelihood purposes. However, the development of tourism has led to the government introducing regulations that prohibit local communities using those natural resources in tourism scenic areas. In order to create an attractive natural environment for tourism, the government has prohibited local people from using forests traditionally used for firewood, as well materials for house construction. According to the participants, local people are willing to cooperate and participate in natural capital management and conservation, but they should be assured about their long term benefits. During the field work, it was found that collaboration among residents living in the protected areas has lead to an agreement on sharing resources.

### ***vii. Social capital, tourism development and local people livelihood***

Social capital involves the social relationships that enhance co-operation between

groups. During the focus group discussions, social capital was described mainly through trust and local social networks. These two factors have been considered by local communities wishing to pursue better livelihoods. Broadly speaking, trust and social networks are two of the important components of social capital (Ashley 2000). For example, social networks play a substantial role for local communities who are in need of assistance for their livelihoods. In the case of Zanzibar, the village administrative body is appointed by the Regional Commissioner. It was found that this body administers all issues that arise in the village and monitors government's policies. This reflects the importance of social capital which is recognized as an element of the relations of power within a social system and recognizes that different groups within a social system can have different types of social capital. It also recognizes that social capital must be viewed contextually because it is embedded within structures of power.

*After its formation, the [body] will become the community institution which relates to the state and which will defend the interests of the community and assist the local administrative leader on any local development subject.*

Although it became evident in the focus groups that there was some divergence between the beliefs, core values and norms of the younger and the older participants, the researcher still sensed some degree of social capital within the community. In most rural villages, both structural and cognitive elements of social capital are present, whilst all three aspects of social connections (bonding, bridging and linking) exist to some degree. For instance, in Jambiani, the community needs all tourism activities to be developed in a sustainable way that generates benefits for the community. It was found that voluntary activities are undertaken collectively and both formal and informal social networks exist. It was also found that most rural villages organize cultural tourism programs, such as art and dancing. According to participants, organized cultural events enhance social ties among the community's members. It was observed that villages with cultural tours have higher social capital than those which do not offer such tours.

*...in our village, we live as one family. In case of any problem we solve it together...we help each other. For example, everybody participate in the funeral. When one of our members (residents) dies, we stop going to our jobs in order to attend the funeral ceremony. The same during the Eid-fitr [a religious festival], we celebrate together... Last year we have came up with idea of having cultural tour in our village and the money we get from it will be used for the community needs such as repairing water pump machine, buying sanda (a white cloth used to dress up corpse)...*

Concerning social networks, it was found during the fieldwork that orphans were generally raised by the extended family even when that family had many children of their own. One respondent stated that:

*In our village, there are communities that live with orphans. Sometime these communities cannot afford to buy [school] uniforms for orphans, cannot afford to pay even a small amount of contribution to the schools, they cannot afford to pay for food for when they stay in school. We have a plan to establish a project to help them help them save, then to use the money for when they are short of cash to buy food...*

People were warm and friendly, and eager to talk to visitors. Muslim, Christians, and traditional religions are practiced in the same villages without noticeable conflict. During the field work, it was found that social capital is more prevalent in the Menai Bay Conservation Area (MEMCA) than in the other areas. In these villages, the researcher witnessed a number of groups that have been organized by NGOs that work together in butterfly farming and other economic endeavors. These cooperatives help villagers to secure start-up inventory, such as butterflies, and helps them find markets for their produce. However, most of these businesses are owned and operated by members. According to them, they prefer to hand skills down to relatives whom they trust in order to avoid outside competition. This suggests that social capital in terms of trust plays an important role in transferring tourism related knowledge and skills. One respondent commented that:

*...I don't like to involve outsiders [people outside his family] who I don't know. I order wood for my workshop from my brother who resides in Stone Town...in case of anything I know where I can get him...*

Furthermore, the participants also pointed that they often looked for partners among relatives over other relations, such as neighbors and friends, due to their trustworthiness in matters of marketing and financing their business. Broadly speaking, trust between relatives (bridging social capital) is crucial for management of small tourism enterprises. This is in line with Woolcock and Narayan (2000: 231-233), who argue that many people build on diverse networks beyond their community in order to create economic opportunities to get ahead, thus creating bridging social capital. In short, it can be seen that social networks not only offered new opportunities through the inclusion of relationship outside the community, but it is important to acquire human capital by gaining skills in order to improve economically.

#### **viii. Political capital, tourism development and local livelihood**

Political capital is defined, in the context of this thesis, as providing for local people's access to tourist markets and the benefits of tourism, access to and participation in the policy-making process, and the extent to which people's willingness to be involved is reflected in political decisions to achieve better livelihood outcomes. Political capital is necessary to provide poor members of local communities with access to and control of (tourism) production assets, such as land. In Zanzibar, political constraints occur in different forms though, generally, limited ownership of political capital is manifested in the lack property rights. From the focus groups, it emerged that local people have been excluded from the ownership of important resources, such as land and marine resources.

One participant said:

*I suppose the tourism sector is not helpful... because our villagers are not allowed to fish in the reserve. I think the leaders have set these places for their own profits.*

As discussed earlier, the introduction of reserves for tourism has prevented local people from accessing and using their natural resources. According to the participants, strict park regulations have limited the economic development of poor local communities; that is, the creation of the national park, together with land use restrictions, has

undermined local people's economic and livelihoods activities. It was found that these hardships have not been adequately counter-balanced by the revenue-sharing arrangements with the park, nor have they been mitigated by benefits accruing from tourism. Local people are pro-conservation, but they feel access to these valuable resources should be made available, as explained in the following quotation.

*There are advantages and disadvantages... we get enough rainfall throughout the year and the disadvantage is that there are destructive animals...these days people don't cut trees carelessly, like before...but we are prevented from accessing our own resources...this makes us to become poor because you keep resources in your own area and then you are subjected to obstacles so you cannot progress.*

Another issue debated during the focus group was that of land rights. According to Neumann (2005), land ownership confers power and status to those who own it. This means that, without secure land tenure rights, local communities are rendered powerless and they cannot make decisions regarding land use. Similarly, Drumm and Moore (2000: 41) assert that 'where communities are well organised and have title to traditional lands they have been more in capturing a greater share of tourism spending in natural areas'. It was found that this opportunity has been elusive for local people in Zanzibar who have lost user- and access-rights to vast areas of their lands taken over for conservation and tourism. In common with other LDCs, a lack of secure land rights has rendered it extremely difficult for local communities to benefit from tourism development. According to the focus group participants, local people have little say in the decision-making processes regarding how to develop tourism in their areas. One respondent stated that:

*...I have never been invited to decision making meetings. I always see people from the government having meeting with Sheha [the government representative at village level]. They told us our interest is represented by Sheha...but no, he is among the elites....*

The government, through the ZCT, inevitably imposes regulations without consulting local people, perhaps believing that local people are not well educated and have no

knowledge of tourism. However, it was found that within local communities, people's desire for participation in the decision-making process is very strong. Some local people thought that they should be included in tourism administration and management, yet tourism rules and regulations were made only by the ZCT. According to the participants, the government does not want to share its power with local people. At the same time, it should be noted that local people's views concerning community participation were also not universal. Although a number of local people expressed their strong willingness to participate in the decision-making process, they felt frustrated because of the lack of access to participation. Others however, were not interested because of not being confident in their own ability to contribute to decision-making.

✧ **Quantification of focus groups discussion:**

Although quantification is not always used in qualitative research, it does aid the making of judgments, strengthening of arguments and enhances reflection on narratives (Barbour, R & Kitzinger 1999). Evidently, there are some focus group researchers (see Allen & Maybin, 2004; Fern, 2001; Smithson 2000; Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990) who argue that when analysing group interviews it is also appropriate to make certain types of numerical analysis on the transcript. This implied that there some researcher who do quantitative content analysis, analysing the frequency of occurrence of certain phrases (Puchta & Potter 2004; Wilkinson 2006). For example, Schmidt (2001), in his study, applies a more complicated statistical analysis in evaluation of focus groups. However, he argues that quantification is beneficial only if it does not be applied on its own, but with a qualitative analysis as well. With that regard, the information from focus groups discussion that deals with local community preference/importance on capital assets was also quantified. Table 7.3 looks for the frequency of certain types of statements and incidence of sub-themes. Thus, the listed sub-themes indicate the view of the focus group members toward the importance of each capital to the actualization of community economic development and community tourism in particular.

**Table 7.3:** Sub-themes emerged from focus groups discussion (Groups members = 21)

<b>Sub themes</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Suggested interventions</b>
Seeking ways to prevent the annoyance from [our own] resources is important	16	Decentralization of power (need for political capital)
Connectedness to resources within the community	19	Decentralization of power (need for political capital)
Need for collective decision and establishing group business	10	Enhancing social ties and trust (Bridging social capital) and Self governing capability
Actively and aggressively pursues strategic alliances with other communities	13	Enhancing social ties and trust (Linking social capital)
Effective social action to remove threats to economic opportunities of the community	14	Building of Social capital
Procure human skills needed to improve economic opportunities for residents	13	Vertical and horizontal diversification of tourism college (Human capital)
Effective authorities/organisations to create needed or desired resources/services to support rural tourism	9	Equal distribution of development fund (Physical capital and financial capital)

Source: Field data

The information provided in the table 7.3 concurred with the previous literature and it reflects that natural and cultural resources cannot be fundamental elements for sustaining the so called community based tourism development, but it must be understood as a condition that together with other elements, can contribute to the sustainable community tourism development (Murphy 1985). Simply one can say that natural and cultural resources/capitals do not automatically imply the existence of community tourism development in a particular community. In this thesis the focus group members identified political capital, followed by social capital and human capital as the highest forms of community capital assets needed for development and operation of community tourism. But they also considered that the positive impact of both built and financial capital for exploitation of natural and cultural resources.

Specifically, the participants view that political resources (such as political, legal and institutional conditions) form an empowered community. According to Fukuyama (1995)

when a community has high political capital, its people have the collective ability to find their own voice and to engage in actions that contribute to the well being of their community. It should also be noted that the ability of local community to use social capital to enhance their leverage over resources and policy may crucially depend on the development of their political capabilities. By increasing bridging and bonding social capital to the community, the community's power of negotiation can grow. As discussed in the previous chapters (see chapter 4) bridging social capital can enhance financial capital and therefore the focus group members emphasize the importance of both internal associations (i.e. the bonding of internal community ties, such as families, friends and neighbors) and external associations.

### **7.2.1.2 Findings from stakeholder interviews**

As discussed in Chapter 6, the main purpose for conducting interviews was to complement information obtained from the focus groups discussion. Consequently, a broad sample consisting of 67 interviewees was selected to represent various private and public tourism stakeholders throughout Zanzibar (see Table 7.1). Those government officials interviewed were purposely invited into the study, not only to act as reference sources on various initiatives geared towards community tourism and tourism industry in general, but also as a means of identifying any inconsistency between the public and private sectors perceptions (Sekaran 2000). Similarly, respondents from the private sector were interviewed in order to generate knowledge and understanding of issues regarding tourism development and community tourism in particular. Several themes emerged from the interviews including, but not limited to: the planning and management of community tourism; institutional arrangements and administrative system at the level of community tourism; legislative and regulatory frameworks; and, local people capacity. The following section provides findings from interviews.

#### **❖ Findings from government officials**

Significantly, it was found that all respondents from the government perceived the



concept of sustainable community tourism development to be an important form of tourism in Zanzibar. It was evident from the interviews that many respondents indicated believed that community tourism planning and development should be built upon the livelihood framework which acknowledges sustainable development and community based tourism planning. For example, during the interviews it was commented that:

*...our government should focus on sustainable tourism development...we should learn from our neighbor [Mombasa island in Kenya], where they were more concerned with numbers rather than quality. Now they receive very few guests...We should differentiate ourselves from other islands across the Indian Ocean. Our tourism should be more sustainable, that considers every aspect of stakeholders...I believe we have unique resource that make us different from other destinations. The only thing, which is currently missing, are proper plans...I don't think we can reach where we want to go without having proper plans. It is shame, it is almost 15 years since we start promoting tourism, but we still have ad hoc plan. It is a time to involve all stakeholders in planning and development of our tourism...*

Generally, then, the government officials' responses revealed positive attitudes towards the need for local people's participation within the sustainable community development approaches. However, when they were asked to address planning and marketing activities undertaken by government, all government officials from Ministry of Trade, Investment and Marketing (MTIM) and Zanzibar Commission for Tourism concurred that, for the past ten years, different government agencies have supported the tourism policy of focusing simply on expanding the number of visitors through aggressive national and international marketing campaigns.

*...as you can see everybody is included in marketing of destination...we always encourage tourism operators to send us their products so that we can accommodate them in our magazine and website...I should thank hoteliers for their support. They are doing impressive job to market our destination. Sometimes they even finance our officers to participate in the international tourism fairs...*

At the same time, from the interviews it was found that all respondents were concerned with the lack funding provided for tourism development and management. As can be seen in the Table 7.3 below, the largest proportion of the Zanzibar Commission for

Tourism's budget is allocated to, and reveals the emphasis placed on, marketing and promotion. For instance, in 2008/9, almost 16.2% of the total budget TSh.560,390 was allocated to the marketing activities and the remaining 73.8% to other activities, including administration. However, no fund specifically budgeted for planning and development (ZCT 2011).

**Table 7.4:** A Summary of ZCT Budget Allocation in Tanzania shillings

<b>Item</b>	<b>2007/8</b>	<b>2008/9</b>	<b>2009/10</b>	<b>2010/11</b>	<b>2011/12</b>
1. Administration	378,011	462,540.	485,950	520,004	600,000
2. Marketing and Promotion	92,500	91,100	87,272	90,350	94,250
3. Training	5,650	6,750	5,250	5,750	12,740
4. Planning and development	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>476,161</b>	<b>560,390</b>	<b>578, 472</b>	<b>616, 104</b>	<b>706,990</b>

**Source:** ZCT (2011)

As discussed in Chapter 5, while the ZCT has a mandate for the formulation of a national tourism master plan, the implementation any such plan must fall into under the responsibilities of different departments, both at national and regional levels. It has been noted that a tourism master plan normally includes social, economic and environmental elements but often fails to articulate who should be responsible for implementation of different elements of the plan. All interview respondents addressed the centralization of ZCT structure as a significant issue, which renders tourism management both difficult and ineffective. A government official from ZCT pointed out that:

*Generally, it is very difficult when the planner is not the implementer. In order to achieve whatever is proposed in the indicative tourism master plan, [I think] there should be an implementing body which officially constitutes different departments and ministries...we need to have a clear understanding regarding the direction of the plan.*

Another respondent argued that:

*I think we should recognize that tourism is cross-cutting sector, so other parts, such*

*as environmental, human and social issues, should be carried out in cooperation with other departments... but this does not mean that there is no cooperation between the parties at all.*

Similarly, yet another respondent said that:

*There is a need to have a strong local organisation which can responsible for managing and planning tourism in the local level.*

Most participants suggested that the lack of efficient coordination between government departments represents the main barrier for community tourism development in Zanzibar. In other words, there is no single government department or body that has been endowed with overall responsibility for tourism. The governance of tourism in Zanzibar falls under the remit of a number of different government departments and, as a result of both the policy vacuum discussed above and the lack of a body with the authority to co-ordinate the tourism-related activities of different departments, these departments frequently fail to communicate and work to their own agendas. Moreover, the governance of tourism is further complicated by a dynamic political context. As a consequence, the governance of tourism in Zanzibar may be described as suffering from institutional confusion with no clear leadership or lines of authority.

More specifically, regarding the practicalities of involving local people in planning and development of a destination, it became clear that all interviewed participants perceived a high level of difficulty. Indeed, the opinion of all government officials interviewed is encapsulated by one respondent who stated that:

*It would be impractical or difficult to involve locals in planning. Normally we approach few key stakeholders... but it is not easy to persuade them ...generally, we have been trying to involve many stakeholders in our daily activities especially for those issues which have direct impact to the local people... we always see involving stakeholders as our major effort. However, the level of support is not always great...*

In fact, the Zanzibar tourism policy and Indicative Master Plan recommend public participation, but the ways and means of achieving meaningful participation from public

at large has not been articulated (ZCT 2011). Moreover, one government official from Ministry of Trade, Investment and Marketing emphasized the immediate need for such a participatory approach from local people and other sectors whilst the majority of respondents suggested that, in order to achieve greater participation amongst various community groups, the ZCT needs greater support from local leaders and NGOs. Regarding the lack of participation by the local people, one government official commented that:

*Tourism development should be seen as process owned and controlled by the local community themselves... the local community must be participating as beneficiaries where participation is for the locals and sustainable tourism development is working with the poor people.*

The government, through the ZCT, has been trying to further community based tourism by implementing marketing strategies in order to increase nature and cultural based tourists. In most cases, the success of the governments' promotion campaigns has been evaluated through the number of tourists each year. One respondent argued that:

*Every politician, especially those ministers, love to tell their followers/fellows...we have half million tourists coming here...we have six percent growth. They want to get an outcome right away. I am very much aware that the key element which has been neglected in the Zanzibar tourism industry is the importance of providing support to the local people business...*

All government officials highlighted issues of law enforcement, corruption and mismanagement as key planning impediments. According to the respondents, the decentralization of planning responsibilities to the regional and local levels is a complex process and, therefore, all participants have strong reservations regarding the extent of local expertise in carrying out such a complex planning responsibility. This is reflected in their call for more training programmes. One respondent stated that:

*It is true that training is very important for the success of our country. Apart from the fact that everything is centralized, we have been organizing several training programmes for regional government, and sometime local authorities, for planning*

*their own regions. The most important issues are that we should make them understand the meaning of the industry and its complexity. We would like to implement the bottom up approach... we believe the approach is best of our destination. Well, this has been progressing very slowly.*

*We are trying to build the capacity of local people in various areas that enable them to participate in tourism development. Worse enough, the majority of locals don't have basic business education...so it is very difficult for them to run even those small businesses.*

To conclude, there was evident agreement amongst the government officials on the issues impeding planning and managing tourism, particularly community-based tourism, in Zanzibar. Most of them suggested that the government should work together with private stakeholders and local communities in every aspect of tourism planning and marketing. However, it appears that the involvement of local people in tourism planning is quite difficult owing to the low capacity of locals to engage in such a process.

#### ❖ **Findings from Tourism Associations and tourism establishments**

Priority placed upon economic gains was revealed to be dominant theme amongst interview respondents from the tourism associations. Most of them believed that the number of tourists interested in local products could still be increased by undertaking more marketing campaigns. With few exceptions to this, some respondents suggested that Zanzibar should aim for quality tourists rather than quantity:

*We receive too many low quality tourists...they don't spend very much and don't care about culture and environment... we have too many [negative impacts] from that kind tourists already. We should attract more quality tourists who are willing to care our culture and environmental as well as spend more ...*

The interviews indicated that most participants from the tourism associations were not aware of or were uncertain about the future plans for tourism development in Zanzibar. While each respondent may imagine the future of the destination differently, a common point found from the interviews was that all respondents shared the desire to sustain tourism growth in Zanzibar; at the same time, all respondents also shared the same

concern that uncontrolled tourism development will deteriorate the attractiveness of the destination. Nevertheless, most interviewees indicated that, despite their willingness and concern to protect the environment and the wellbeing of the society as a whole, they also have to respond to the pressures of industry competition and the need to generate returns on investment. One respondent stated that:

*There are so many incoming [new businesses]... the increased business has lead to pressure for survival and growth of our business. Each business needs not only to survive...but also to contribute something back...when our business is struggling, nobody helping ...*

Most respondents from tourism associations felt that government had ineffective plans and insufficient mechanisms for developing and managing the destination. One respondent pointed out that:

*Anyone can do anything. It is almost ten years since I have been doing business in the island... I can tell you the island has changed a lot... the island (Zanzibar) now is same as Mombasa island in Kenya... you can see informal business scattered everywhere. Anyway any business has good and bad people... but what I am trying to say is that if we don't have controlling plans and policy soon, the destination will be completely destroyed.*

When they were asked about the lack of local participation in tourism development, all respondents from tourism establishments revealed that they have only ever employed qualified people. Regarding the potential for involving of local people in tourism, all indicated the impracticability of having such plan. One respondent explained that:

*We have very stiff competition in this industry. Customers demand quality services. So we are more reactive to situation. We are not in the position to accommodate unqualified people...they will ruin our performance and reputation... it is hard to recruit them*

Similarly, another manager said that:

*I am aware that villagers complain a lot that their children are not given priority for jobs despite having hotels in their area. We always persuade them to apply just like any other Tanzanians. But [funny thing], they want us to simply give their children employment even if they don't qualify... just on the grounds that they live*

*close to hotel. We have been always say no to this... to be honest that would be unfair...what about those Zanzibaris who don't have hotel nearby them? This means they should not dream about being employed in our hotels...*

It is clear that, like the government officials, respondents from tourism establishments also perceived a high degree of difficulty in involving local people in tourism planning and development. This was specifically noted from the business point of view. It was found that all participants from tourism establishments perceived a low priority for applying a community participatory approach. However, when asked about the necessity of the involvement of local communities in national promotion campaigns, respondents from tourism establishments agreed that they should be invited to comment on the plans. In the context of being involved in planning, respondents from tourism establishments concur that all key stakeholders should be able take an equally the role in envisioning the future of destination, as commented below:

*For national projects, for example the tourism master plan for Zanzibar, there is a need for involvement and cooperation from different stakeholders. Central government should organize this type of project with greater support from tourism stakeholders and local people. It is impossible for one organisation to succeed in this type of project ...*

A respondent from one tourist establishment also indicated the need for a facilitative role on the part of national and regional government. She stated that:

*Sometimes it is very difficult for local communities to predict the future of their area... maybe the better way is for national or regional government to publicize the different costs and benefits of different form of tourism development...the government should provide sufficient information about tourism development and discuss with local people what will be best for them [Zanzibar]...*

Although this facilitative role appeared to be very important, the discussion with some hotel managers also indicated their dissatisfaction with the ZCT's regional tourism officers' performance. A hotel manager commented that:

*ZCT at regional and local level has no power at all. You know, there is only one member of staff who basically cannot meet the need of tourism industry. We always ask for help from the ZCT regional officer but the decision is rather centralized.*

*Everything should go the head office and it takes a long time to get a response. In fact...the regional administration does not put tourism industry in their agenda. In most case it is the hoteliers who drive the tourism development ...even infrastructures such electricity in the tourism zone is provided by them...*

#### ✧ **Findings from community leaders**

The perception of all community leaders toward tourism development appeared to be very positive. While environmental and social-cultural impacts receive little consideration, all respondents showed a high recognition of the economic gains from and dependence upon tourism development with their areas. One community leader stated that:

*Our village would collapse without tourism. We have witnessed this in the past...during September 11 and violence after the general election...the whole village became very quite without tourists coming in. I think if tourism businesses do not do well our people will suffer economically*

However, contrary to the perceptions of government and tourism association respondents discussed above, community leaders generally believe that tourism planning is not their responsibility. According to them, the government (in particular Zanzibar Commission for Tourism) has the mandate, and should take the entire responsibility, for tourism planning. They further believe that marketing local communities as a tourism product should also be driven by ZCT. Nevertheless, all local leaders commented that government works closely with them to promote tourism in their area, and they indicated that they would support a tourism plan developed by government as long as the government provided adequate resources, such as knowledge and expertise, for them to help to implement the plan effectively. One local leader from Nungwi remarked that:

*You know, government is the key planner in our country. We will always support their plan... the only thing we want is that their plan should have a clear direction. The government does not allocate funds to implement the plan and for training...so the government should provide sufficient support and resources*



While local leaders are not willing to initiate planning themselves, the study revealed that central government generally provides strong support for the idea of local people's participation in tourism planning. However, when the respondents were asked to address how local people should be involved in tourism planning, they remain uncertain.

One community leader stated that:

*In general, local people are invited to comment to any government plan...the government is always open to criticism and ...everyone is free to express his/her opinions.*

Similarly another community leader commented that:

*Honestly, local people are involved in tourism development, but the main problem is that most of them are not interested in attending a public hearing [village meeting]...*

Interviews with both community leaders and officials from tourism associations revealed the need for considerable education regarding the meaning of community participation. This reflects the necessity for identifying appropriate and effective ways of achieving meaningful local people participation in Zanzibar. Indeed, it was clear from the research that there is uncertainty with respect to how the concept of a community participatory approach to tourism should be implemented and achieved. This, it is suggested, is the legacy of existing political perceptions and values, and prevailing power structures.

#### ❖ **Findings from informal business representatives**

The research revealed that representatives from the informal businesses were very positive about tourism. However, they argue that more controls should be put in place to protect the destination from environmental degradation. For example, one participant pointed out that:

*Foreign tourism operators do not consider the importance of environmental conservation...they just came to exploit our resources and make profits. When our country is totally destroyed to the extent that they cannot get any financial return,*

*they will leave...*

When they were asked the reasons for establishing their tourism business, they admitted that tourism brings more money into their villages. However, according to these respondents, the government has not promoted tourism [local tourism product] sufficiently. Furthermore the respondents commented that if their local products were to be properly marketed, they would become more interested in promoting tourism in their areas. One respondent stated that:

*We like to see our product marketed abroad...we don't have enough money to go abroad for marketing [to the international tourism exhibition]...the government should take responsibility for marketing our product abroad. We want to become well developed...*

With regard to their involvement in tourism planning, all participants interviewed perceived an inadequacy in their ability to comment on the national tourism plan. The study also revealed that none of the respondents have ever participated in or been invited to participate in the tourism planning process. Most participants agreed that many of the problems regarding community tourism have arisen as a result of the lack of power sharing. Community tourism development demands the availability of infrastructure, such as roads, water supply and the like. Without coordination, information and technical assistance, particularly in tourism product development and evaluation, community tourism development in the rural villages will remain problematic. This is because, according to many respondents, the local community does not have sufficient knowledge and information on how to design tourism products. Currently, the government provides no advice to the local people. One respondent commented that:

*We have been trying to establish a village tour and other cultural events but the government has not supported us...Yes, we have not received support of any kind...we need to be guided since our knowledge on tourism is very limited.*

All participants agree that the local community should be involved in community

tourism development. However, in practice, a respondent from Fumba Art and Craft commented that:

*I have been selling my products to tourists for almost ten years. I have never been invited to comment on any paper [plans] ... the government always invites foreign operators to their meetings... local people have never been told how the tourism plans will affect their life. Everything is treated as confidential. We have no right to know...no right to ask. That is why now locals are complaining about culture and they don't want tourism in their areas...*

### **7.2.1.3 Summary of findings about Phase One A of research**

An understanding of perceived barriers and the ways of dealing with such barriers from the perspective of community members, the private sector and the government provides a critical basis for developing a meaningful and adaptable model for community tourism. The knowledge of the members of these three groups is believed to have informed understanding and management of tourism, especially community tourism, in Zanzibar. Within this study, this understanding was further enriched through the detailed examination of existing literature on the subject. Indeed, the indicators of capital assets provided in Chapter 4 help to explore capital assets surrounding the poor in local communities of Zanzibar. Tables 7.4 and 7.5 below present the main findings related to Objective One and Two of this thesis respectively. It can be seen that the most limited assets / capitals in Zanzibar are political, human and social capital which, in turn, limit the possession of and access to natural and cultural capitals.

**Table 7.5:** Issues regarding community tourism in Zanzibar

<b>Obj. one</b>	<b>Major findings regarding each objective</b>
Barriers to community tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) Lack of appropriate skills, low entrepreneurial motivation, and a lack of understanding of the relevant markets.</li> <li>(2) Formal financial sources are few and there is no non-profit organization whose prime task is the provision of micro finance/credit</li> <li>(3) A lack of sufficient integration between interrelated resources and plans,</li> <li>(4) A lack of efficient coordination between relevant agencies has deterred tourism development.</li> <li>(5) No single government department or body that has been endowed with overall responsibility for tourism.</li> <li>(6) Zanzibar also has limited quality infrastructures, and limited skilled human resources to work in tourism.</li> <li>(7) The power to obtain the necessary resources for tourism is held by government; local people are not regarded as equal partners.</li> <li>(8) Most local people have not been able to use land as collateral; property rights are important for obtaining capital for investment in entrepreneurial activity.</li> <li>(9) High levels of unemployment and low income provide few opportunities for locals to accumulate savings for business investment</li> <li>(10) Lending from banks is also rare, as banks deem local businesses risky because they are often small and rely on local markets.</li> <li>(11) Most rural communities have no financial institutions. The closest one may be hundreds of miles away, and its staff may have little understanding of, or empathy with, the conditions under which local businesses operate</li> <li>(12) Land laws and property rights serves as a barrier for local community financing; local cannot use their land or buildings as collateral.</li> <li>(13) The Zanzibar government has not addressed the lack of an enabling framework to legalise community tourism enterprises</li> </ul>

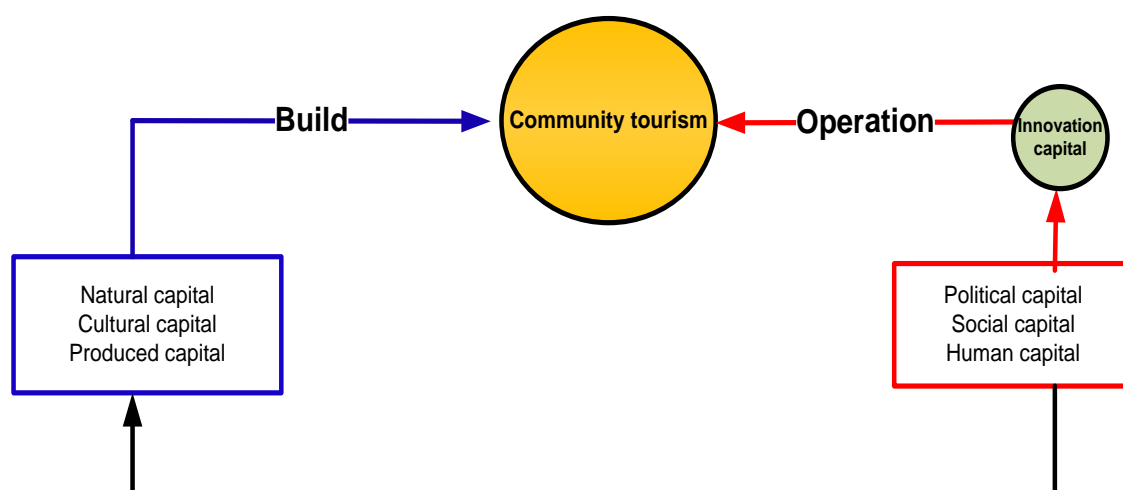
**Table 7.6:** Current status of capital assets in Zanzibar- based on indicators provided in Chapter 4

	<b>Major findings regarding each objective [Sign of possession of capital asset ( ✓ ) or sign of dispossession of capital asset ( x ) ]</b>
<b>Natural and cultural capital</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5. A few from the young generation appear to have lost respect for their tradition culture ( x )</li> <li>6. Local people do not set up the regulations to protect and use the natural resources ( x )</li> <li>7. Local people overuse natural resources because government do not have any forms of laws and regulation to maintain natural and cultural resources ( x )</li> <li>8. Local community do not have any forms of social contract to safe guide the environment( x )</li> <li>9. There is a limit to the protected areas that can be handed over to local communities ( x ) .</li> <li>10. The government has prohibited local people from using forests traditionally used for livelihoods activities( x )</li> </ul>
<b>Social capital</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Community cohesion is seemed to be improved as individual and families work together to build successful economic venture( ✓ )</li> <li>2. Many in the community take outside values and lose respect for their traditional culture and their elders ( x )</li> <li>3. Tighten solidarity has been observed in Zanzibar, as residents came together to meet the challenges they now have in common regarding political and economic development ( ✓ )</li> <li>4. Some resentment and jealousy exists among local residents, especial those native and those who immigrate ( x )</li> </ul>
<b>Human capital</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Increasing confidence of community members leads them to seek for further education and training opportunities ( ✓ )</li> <li>2. Access to employment and cash lead to an increase of experience ( ✓ )</li> <li>3. Many people have not share in the benefits of tourism ( x )</li> <li>4. There is not training programmes for locals, making may frustrated that they cannot participate in tourism( x )</li> <li>5. Education level of all villagers is still low. Many local have basic educations and there have been no education improvement ( x )</li> <li>6. Construction of community building such as new primary school, public library, office and the like ( ✓ )</li> </ul>

<b>Financial capital</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Only a few individuals receive financial benefits ( x )</li> <li>2. Tourism provides continuous economic gains for the island residents ( ✓ )</li> <li>3. Tourism earning is not equitably shared between many households in community( x )</li> <li>4. Although a significant amount of money goes to locals, majority of profit still go to outside, tour operators and government agencies ( x )</li> <li>5. Tourism brings very few jobs ( x )</li> <li>6. Some people, especially the boat service groups, want to go back to their own traditional practices for meeting basic survival needs, because their tourism income is insufficient and inconsistent. They are disappointed with tourism. ( x )</li> <li>7. Community cannot mortgage their land and buildings with financial institutions to obtain loans ( x )</li> </ol>
<b>Political capital</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Most cash gains go to local elites, outside operators, and government agencies ( x )</li> <li>2. Locals suffer hardship because of reduced access to the natural resources ( x )</li> <li>3. People are confused, frustrated, disinterested or disillusioned with the community tourism initiatives ( x )</li> <li>4. The community's political structures do not provide meetings through which people can raise questions relating to tourism development and have their concern dealt with. ( x )</li> <li>5. To some extent government seek opinions of the tourism associations ( ✓ )</li> <li>6. Government treats communities as passive beneficiaries, failing to involve them in decision making ( x )</li> <li>7. The majority of community members feel they have little say over the way in which tourism is developed ( x )</li> <li>8. A few people felt they have little say and ownership in the process ( x )</li> </ol>
<b>Built capital</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Community development includes infrastructure improvement ( ✓ )</li> <li>2. Physical capital has also been found to decrease the greater the distance from urban regions ( x )</li> <li>3. Technological services such as internet access are rarely found in rural villages ( x ).</li> </ol>

To summarize, Figure 7.2 below depicts the major areas of importance in terms of developing an adaptable model for community tourism in Zanzibar: increasing access to natural and cultural resources (natural and cultural resources being important capital assets that need to be owned and managed by community); enhancing interlink and interconnection between human, social and political capital (for example, building the trust and collaboration of community members before, during and after developing community tourism products; role-player involvement, including government aid organisations, government and other structures); and improving innovation capital (this issue was not clearly explored during either the focus groups or interviews and, therefore, is further explored in part B) .

**Figure 7.2:** Simplified diagram of capital assets-based community model



Source: author

- **Community tourism** requires a mix of resources: natural capital, including renewable and nonrenewable biophysical resources; produced economic capital (manufactured products, built environments, infrastructure and financial resources); human capital (knowledge and skills); political capital (institutional structures and mechanisms within the community); and, social capital (trust and reciprocity that leads to outcomes of mutual benefit for community members and that interacts between the community and its members).

- **Human, political and social capitals:** The community's mobilization of political, human and social capital is vital and the first step towards sustainable development in general and the management of community tourism in particular. These capitals represent the availability of power equity and sharing, productive human resources, social ties and cohesion, and the financial capacity of the community. The interaction across these capitals spurs the momentum to provide more opportunities to local people, leading to increased human and social capitals. Once people begin to perceive their community and themselves differently, crucial changes in political capital may occur and innovation capital may emerge. These changes may lead to more support for local businesses and efforts that influence financial capital. Interconnection of these capitals initiates the route for community tourism development.
- **Natural, cultural and built capitals:** The exploitation of cultural and natural resources depends on the degree of social, political and human capitals that a particular community possesses. In other words, local communities with a high degree of social, human and political capital are more likely to exploit their surrounding natural and cultural resources for community tourism development. Accordingly, the process of the exploitation of natural and cultural capitals for tourism development must always be supported by built capital (this includes facilities such as roads, sewage systems, safe water and the like). Built capital can enhance or decrease the quality of other capitals (Flora 1997). Furthermore, it can determine access to the other capitals by different sectors of the community. During the process of exploitation of capitals, the bottom-up management is recommended, although government support is still required in the provision of tourism built capital.

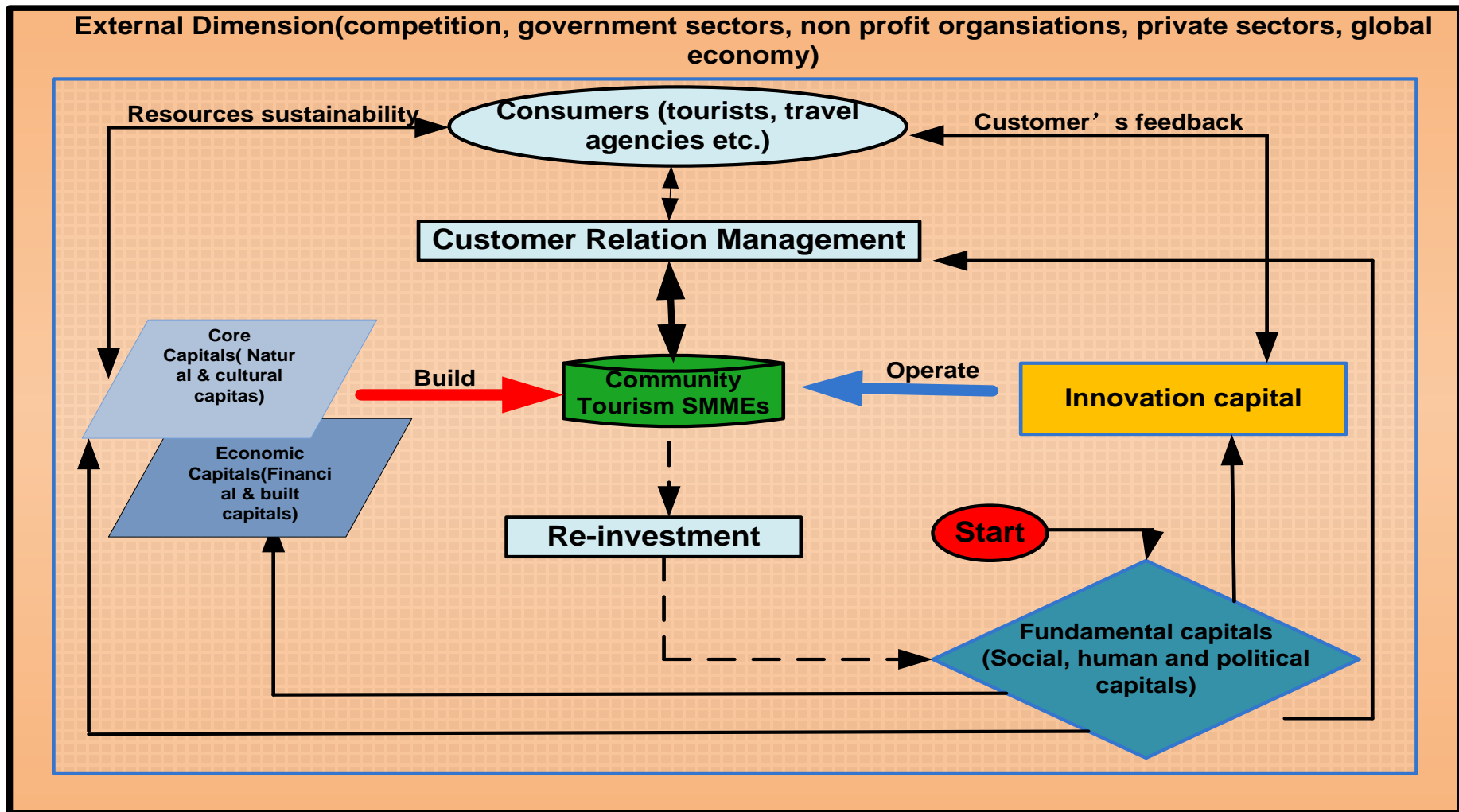


#### **7.2.1.4 The capitals based community tourism model**

The model for community tourism development proposed here draws on the combination of several elements that constitute the tourism system/framework previously presented in this thesis (see Figure 4.7). In other words, given the tourism system discussed in Chapter 4 and findings from the field work considered above in the chapter, this section presents a capital-based model that can be employed as a blueprint for community tourism development in Zanzibar. In simple terms, the model categorizes community capital assets into three groups according to their importance, and adequate interaction of these groups of capital assets permits rural communities to deliver quality services to tourists. Figure 7.3 illustrates the community tourism development process, involving five main components.

On one stream, the flow is shown moving from fundamental capitals to economic capital to core capitals for building the basic tourism product. On the other stream, the flow is moving from fundamental capital to technological and innovation capital for operationalising the tourism product. However, although the illustration moves from one step to another and creates a feedback loop, community tourism development in practice is far more chaotic and non-linear. For example, the building of a particular group of capitals continues throughout the process; moreover, the building of one form of capital may be given more emphasis than the others in a specific time period. As discussed in Chapter 4, every community is different and the actual time it takes to building each group of capital will differ as well. Some communities may be well organized and cohesive and, thus, are able to accumulate fundamental capitals and economic capitals over a relatively short period of short time; consequently, they are able to devote the bulk of their time and effort to operationalising community tourism. Conversely, other communities may find it is necessary to spend significant time accumulating fundamental capitals in the first place. Essentially, the amount of time spent on building any group of capital depends on community members and what types of community products they want.

Figure 7.3: A Proposed Model for Community Tourism in Zanzibar



### **Component one: Community Tourism SMMEs**

With reference to the findings above, it is evident that the tourism economy in Zanzibar is characterized by three groups of enterprises. These are: (i) larger established operations, often a group of enterprises usually consisting of hotel groups, large travel and tour operators; (ii) established SMMEs, which usually consist of privately owned guesthouses, guest farms, restaurants, bed and breakfast establishments and medium sized tour operators; and (iii) emerging SMMEs, which comprises mostly survivalist micro and informal tourism establishments in rural areas. On the one hand, the first two groups are owned by either by foreign investors or local elites who have enhanced access to capital resources, higher levels of education and, in all likelihood, some degree of management experience. On the other hand, the third group typically comprises rural-based microenterprises. This model (Figure 7.3) has been designed primarily to fit emerging SMMEs, which seek to provide niche market product offerings often based on nature or cultural and heritage experiences, but face economic, political and social barriers in their start-up period.

### **Component two: Fundamental capitals**

This component includes a wider range of factors that help to link the community with core livelihood assets. It is the component that supports the establishment of community empowerment and provides the foundation for building economic capital (financial and built capitals) which tend to very limited in rural areas. The three forms of capital within this component can, under certain conditions, be changed from one form to another and their interplay creates new capital. Other significant outcomes of this interaction for community tourism are:

- Enhancing skill and knowledge: to develop a community tourism product, a community needs to procure knowledge and skills which will help people to think and act in new entrepreneurial ways.
- Resource mobilization: the ability of local communities to identify resources for community tourism relies not only on human skill but also on social networks

and power structures within the community. The interaction of the three capitals will enhance the ability of the community to access and leverage resources within and outside their community.

- Building of community power: community power enables residents act together so as to strategically acquire the resources necessary to improve community development. Community power gives the community voice and choice to participate on issues affecting their life. Community tourism operation relies on the redistribution of power and the transfer of responsibilities from the central government to rural communities in asset management; that is, a shift from the so-called top down to a bottom up approach in core resources management. The assumption is that the good governance of core resources for local communities will improve resident attitudes towards resource utilization for tourism
- Building a sense of community: a sense of community enables people to feel connected and motivated to live in harmony and work together towards common community goals.

In short, the proposed model assumes that, for local residents in Zanzibar to be actually involved in tourism development from an entrepreneurial perspective, they should possess of social, political and human capital.

### **Component three: Core and economic capitals**

The core dimensions include local natural and cultural resources which can be transformed into tourist attractions. As shown in Figure 7.3, natural and cultural assets are important to a tourism system and they are the immediate means needed for generating tourist consumption. Cultural and natural assets are seen as the capital base from which different productive streams are derived and from which tourism consumption is developed. Principally, community members should transform their assets into tourism attractions. However, rural communities in Zanzibar have not yet managed to exploit these opportunities. This reflects the deficiency of the factors in component one that affect the transformation of core assets and also that decide who

should participate in the transformation process.

Natural and cultural assets, as core assets, should be supported by economic capital to complete tourism production. In other words, the performance of the tourism product depends on the availability of infrastructure, such as roads, water and electricity supplies, which all stem from financial and built capitals. The model dictates that, in order to develop a complete set of tourism products, there should be an effective interaction between core assets and economic capital. As current Zanzibar development plans and policies do not provide rural communities with the economic capital to support their economic activities (owing to the imperfect financial system and poor governance previously considered), the proposed model establishes the way in which rural poor can acquire economic capitals for community tourism.

#### **Component four: Consumers (domestic and international tourists)**

This component includes both domestic and international tourism. As many SMMEs fail to capture and sustain their markets, the model introduces the concept of customer relationship management (CRM). Achieving the full potential of each consumer relationship should be the major role in the competence development of community-based tourism enterprises. It is evident that the tourism industry in Zanzibar faces a significant challenge in attracting tourists from a variety of market segments. Therefore, tourism SMMEs should develop customer relationship management skills in order to sustain a competitive advantage as well as improve the service provided. In other words, customer relationship management should not only focus on retaining market share and satisfying current tourists, but also it should aim to attract new tourists. However, given that this concept is broad and, perhaps, demands further research, further consideration of this beyond the purpose of this thesis.

#### **Component five: External dimensions**

Typically, SMMEs have been developed as an alternative livelihood strategy in rural areas and therefore one area of support is assistance in the development of tourism

products, which may involve various activities. Accordingly, SMMEs as rural businesses have been experienced a number of limitations that hinder [their] growth and preventing them from accessing market. As discussed in the literature review these small scale tourism enterprises always suffer from inadequate infrastructure, lack of knowledge, skills and political power to improve market condition. By its nature, the development and provision of tourism product/service involves diverse stakeholders and activities. Thus, relationships between community tourism enterprises and external environment can be invaluable for many aspects of community tourism management. The external dimensions are typically outside the control of SMMEs.

External support may contribute to empowering community organizations to take full advantage of opportunities for community development. These dimensions include global competition, government sectors (such as local government, tourism authorities, bilateral and multilateral organisations), non profit organisations (such as community based organisations, international or national NGOs), private sector (such as international travel agencies and tour operators, funding agencies) and so on. Usually the role played by stakeholders from private sector and non-profit organisations tend to be operational by nature, including provide services or direct support for management. Unlike the non profit organisation and private sectors, government agencies are typically provide a different kind of support, for example providing an oversight or higher level support role.

The model implies that there should be networking and collaboration with external (to the community) bodies and organizations in terms of partnerships in product development, product marketing and conservation and management of the resource bases. In other words, there is a need for effective vertical communication linkages between the communities and external environment which currently is very poor. These external organisations (i.e. government sector, non-profit organisations and private sectors) need to provide local communities with product development techniques and training for the successful development of community based tourism product/services.

Strictly speaking, the growth and performance of small scale tourism business requires host government interventions (such as state investment in infrastructure, marketing support and favorable policies). For example, the host government through its national tourist board should actively facilitate the development of community tourism products/services by providing marketing information linked to their regular market research activities or organizing capacity building schemes for SMMEs.

Given the problems linked to the poor performance of host government (or when the government sectors fail to provide necessary instrument), both nonprofit organisations and private sectors can fill the gap by offering financial support, training, as well as to access specialized market. In line with model, none profit organisations should assume more responsible for the development and marketing of community tourism. This is due to the fact that, in developing countries and Zanzibar in particular, NGOs have been always closer to the grassroots level and are involved in various community development programs. When nonprofit organisation cooperate willingly with local communities can give advice on the design of tourism programmes and adequate delivery of tourism services. In term of capacity building at community level, NGOs seem to have clear advantages.

Apart from NGOs, bilateral and multilateral agencies (such as European Union, the United Kingdom Department of International Development, United States Agency for International Development, Canada International Development Agency) can play a major role in the implementation of community tourism in developing countries. Funds from these agencies can be allocated to tourism related programs and projects, including reforms of tourism master plans, infrastructure development and tourism training. Moreover these agencies should put more emphasis on environmental and social issues, and community participation at the planning stage. Finally, appropriate engagement with the private sectors can benefit SMMEs. Practically, local community may not have enough resources and skills necessary for effective operation of community tourism. It makes sense to establish link with private sectors because they will be able to fill the

skills gap or offer a service a cost effective way. Furthermore, private sectors can provide capital, business and marketing skills which is helpful during the early phase of community tourism initiatives.

### **7.2.2 Part B: Refining the capital assets model**

As discussed in Chapter 1, the objective of the research was to develop a capital assets model that can be used as a blueprint for the development of community tourism in Zanzibar. However, following the analysis of the outcomes of the initial (Part A) research, it became evident in developing the model that insufficient data had been generated with respect to role of the fundamental capitals (social, human, and political capitals) in the generation of innovation capital which, according the literature presented in Chapter 4, is the key factor for the successful operation of community-based tourism.

Therefore, a total of nine interviews were conducted over a period of one month, with academics and specialists from the State University of Zanzibar (2 interviews), Zanzibar University (3 interviews), Zanzibar Hotel and Tourism Institute (1 interview), Zanzibar Commission for Tourism (2 interviews), and Ministry of Education and Vocation training (1 interview). Owing to the nature of information needed (how do the aforementioned capitals influence innovation?), the interviews involved people with high education qualifications who with knowledge and experience of community development and SME development. All interviewees possessed at least a first degree in business, economics or tourism management.

The researcher used an interview guide to help maintain the focus and direction of the interviews, which resulted in the production of rich data. The interview guide was developed based on the literature review relating to capitals assets as presented in Chapter 4, whilst additional questions that emerged from preliminary conversations with respondents were also included. Much of the discussion with respondents focused on social networks and relationships, whilst issues such as information sharing and



types of social and professional organizations that individuals belong to were also addressed. Furthermore, issues surrounding human skills and political capital were also discussed. From the interviews, the following key themes emerged.

***Theme one: The influence of human capital on building innovation capital***

It is well documented that human capital represents the total capability of individuals, and that such capability is manifested in their stock of skills, knowledge, health and nutrition (Pretty 2003: 13). Many respondents mentioned human capital as being an important motivating factor for innovation within the local community. In particular, the availability of quality vocational training was identified across the sample as a major factor in the development of innovation capital, as shown by the following quotes.

*...we should have a place where the skill and talents of local residents can be identified, valued and used and ample opportunities should be provided to all [local residents] to develop new skills needed need to prosper tourism industry...*

*...the government seeks to establish a supportive relationship with locals to give them the credit, capacity and channel that will enable the development of increased livelihood. The government is planning to establish a community innovation center along with micro business incubator that will be a platform to demonstrate and implement innovative solutions to the local community...*

*....As far as I know, innovation depends upon the individual and collective expertise of employees...in that case, innovation is a process of people working together and building on creative ideas of one another... human capital contains the intellectual capability to create and innovate by the mixing of skills with knowledge and this innovation occurs...*

All respondents emphasized the necessity, significance and role of human capital for innovation. This concurs with the theoretical argument presented earlier in this thesis that the development of human may have positive effect on a wide array of community tourism operation. Though the beneficial effect of human capital on tourism development may be based partly on the extent to which experience, resources and educational background are embedded in open interaction with a specific community, all respondents agreed that the overall level of human capital across all local residents in

Zanzibar undoubtedly influences the level of innovative activity in tourism industry.

***Theme two: the influence of social capital on building innovation capital***

As discussed in Chapter 4, there are innumerable social networks across a community and these networks support the development of community capability by building and sustaining the social capital necessary for innovation. It was found that communities with a high level of social capital do not prosper when the human capital is weak. One respondent commented that:

*...The influence of innovative residents through social networks, multiplied through the communities in which they participate, through the human capital in which they are held... ”*

According to Fukayama (1995), where high levels of trust and social capital exist, individuals are more likely to take risks and be innovative in their daily pursuits. The findings from interviews concur with Fukuyama's (1995) view that trust is among the most significant drivers for local resident's innovation, as revealed in the following quotes:

*... of course trust is central to create a safe environment for local residents... where they are free to take risks and experiment with ideas. I can assume that one of the sources of the local communities' innovation value is in their role in accelerating trust flow.*

*...innovation requires high precision coordination of action across the communities. When the coordination is well lubricated by trustful relationships among the members [in the local businesses], then there will be less friction, transaction costs are lower and results are better...*

The most important finding noted during the interviews is that high economic disparities within communities may decrease the extent to which local residents trust each other. In other words, the high income differences between poor and rich may hamper innovative activity with the community. This implies that the government should develop policies that support equal distribution of welfare across the residents

within a given community and there should be an equal means of accessing financial assets across all residents in the community. In the context of this research, one respondent suggested that social capital may be categorized into two groups, namely formal social capital (here after called FSC) and informal social capital (hereafter called IFSC). This idea also supported by Fukuyama (1995), and is clearly of relevance to this study bearing in mind that traditional friendship and community institutions have been weakened. According to Fukuyama, the former type of social capital (FSC) normally occurs in the form of civic participation and the latter (IFSC) in the form of social networks. While FSC may undoubtedly play an influential role in the generation of innovation capital, both the literature and interview respondents agreed that social networks may, to a great extent, raise the innovation capital of respective individuals or organisation According to Putman (2000), civic participation is essential to a thriving democracy. It was commented that:

*...I think it will be more useful we consider the social capital into perspective...there is one, which I call formal social capital, and it is about civic participation. The other one is informal...which social network is. If you look these two forms of capitals, you can see it is only through social network where local community can acquire innovation capital...*

Broadly speaking, the principal meaning of social capital has remained simple and straightforward: that is, investment in social relations with expected return (Lin 2001; Crow 2004).

### ***Theme three: the influence of political capital on community innovation***

All respondents argued that, owing to the important role of innovation in the development of the local economy, the government should encourage the creation of a culture of innovation at the community level. The respondents further stated that the culture of innovation may result from education and the encouragement of local people to take risks and work hard. In addition, the government should create an investment and optimal regulatory environment in which small business enterprise can succeed. One respondent commented that:

*...I remember my professor used to tell me that innovation is about culture and tradition...now I understand that culture and innovation is not just a way of looking at the past...it is a very crucial tool for better facing the challenges of the future...*

The participants agreed that it is the responsibility of the central government to establish education plans and policies for the development and prospering of citizens. If the country wants to have a productive and innovative human resource, it must dedicate itself to the reform of the education and political system, especially for the younger generation. Politics should specifically be framed and directed towards economic development and, thus, government should decentralize power to local people in order to expand tourism entrepreneurial activities and encourage innovation.

Making local communities more innovative, responsive and responsible requires focusing on a number of issues, including power. In their study, Miller *et al* (1996) examine the links between power and decision-making in organisations and they point out that the issues associated with who should be involved in the decision making are central to the politics of the country. According to the respondents, community political power is very important because it provides the ability to influence decision, about who gets what resources and what philosophy the community should adopt. Political capital possession gives the local community a sense of control over the outcomes and may, in fact, affect innovation processes within the community. One respondent commented that:

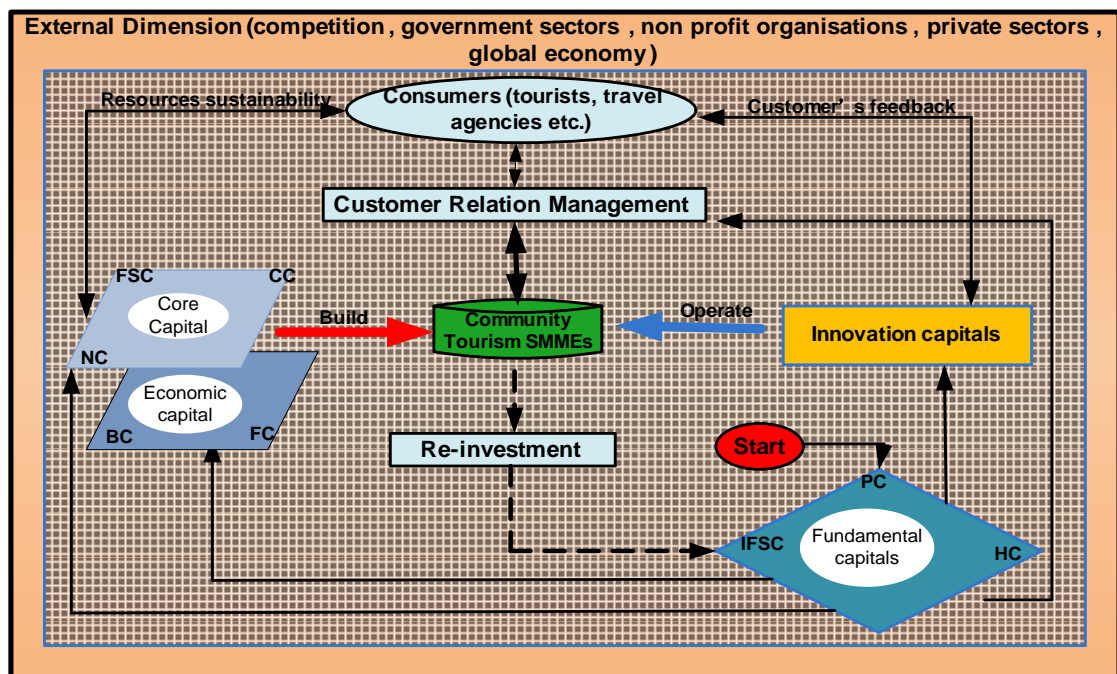
*In a poor country like ours, decision making issues are always complex and uncertain...if you give some decentralized power to the local community, their plans will be certain because they will be able to innovate according to their need.*

Although the participants were less informative regarding the relationship between political capital and innovation at community level, they agreed that political capital in one form or another influences the extent of innovation amongst the local community in developing their tourism business.

✧ **Summary of findings and revised model:**

In this research, innovation capital was recognized as a fundamental factor in practicing community tourism. This finding concurs with researcher’s assumption that innovation in the main tool enabling local communities to establish a sustainable community tourism product. The interview respondents agreed that social capital and human assets are vital if innovation capital is to evolve. In other words, human capital, social capital and political capital operate jointly in the production of innovation. It was also pointed that financial institutions play a crucial role in promoting innovation in rural areas. During the interviews, however, the respondents did not discuss much regarding the influence of political capital on building of innovation capital. Synthesizing the discussion above, some revision to the proposed capital based community tourism model (see Figure 7.3 above) is required. Thus, Figure 7.4 below indicates that the core capitals constitute formal social capital, natural capital and cultural capital. On the other hand, the fundamental capital is comprised of informal social capital, human capital and political capital.

**Figure 7.4:** Refined capital asset model for community tourism



*Legend: NC-Natural capital; IFSC- Informal social capital; HC- Human capital; PC-Political capital; BC- Built capital; FC- Financial capital; CC- Cultural capital*

### **7.2.3 Summary of phase one**

It was observed that a lack of appropriate skills, low entrepreneurial motivation, limited understanding of the relevant markets, a lack of sufficient integration between interrelated resources and plans, and a lack of efficient coordination between relevant agencies has deterred tourism development and represent the main barriers to community-based tourism in Zanzibar. The country also possesses poor quality infrastructure, limited skilled human resources to work in tourism, limited local participation in community tourism, and inconsistent management of tourists' activities. The study also revealed that most local people have not been able to use land as collateral whilst perhaps the most significant challenge to the development of community tourism in Zanzibar is the lack of political capital which, in turn, affects the availability financial capital and access to natural and cultural capital.

The findings from Phase One of the research demonstrate that all respondents perceived political, human and informal social capital to be first priority assets, followed by the possession of cultural, natural and built capitals, though the significance of each form of capital differs with regards to local people's education, age group, and occupation. In particular, the respondents agreed that innovation capital is the main driver for the operation of community tourism in Zanzibar.

It should be noted that model in Figure 7.4, developed from the literature review and Phase One research, is proposed as a conceptual framework to enable researchers, government and practitioners to look at community tourism development using community assets. That is, it is an analytical framework to guide users to develop community tourism. Simply stated, the model considers both global and destination levels and aims to encourage sustainable tourism development and community benefits, focusing on product development based on community assets. Thus, the model is proposed as an effective tool for the development of sustainable community tourism. The purpose of the subsequent research phase is to explore the applicability of this

conceptual model in the context of Zanzibar.

### **7.3 Phase Two: Confirming the capital asset model**

As noted in Chapter 1, the objective of this section of thesis is to find out the general views and perceptions of local communities toward the proposed capital asset models for the implementation of community-based tourism in Zanzibar. In other words, in Phase One of study, the model was developed and refined as a conceptual blueprint for guiding the implementation of community based tourism in Zanzibar. Consequently, it is necessary to explore and asses the applicability of the model in the context of Zanzibar. That is, the purpose of Phase Two is not to ‘test’ the model as such; rather, it is to explore its potential as a model for community tourism development in Zanzibar. To achieve this objective, a quantitative survey was conducted amongst the households in both Unguja and Pemba Island. A pilot study helped to eliminate ineffective questions and identified vague and confusing questions.

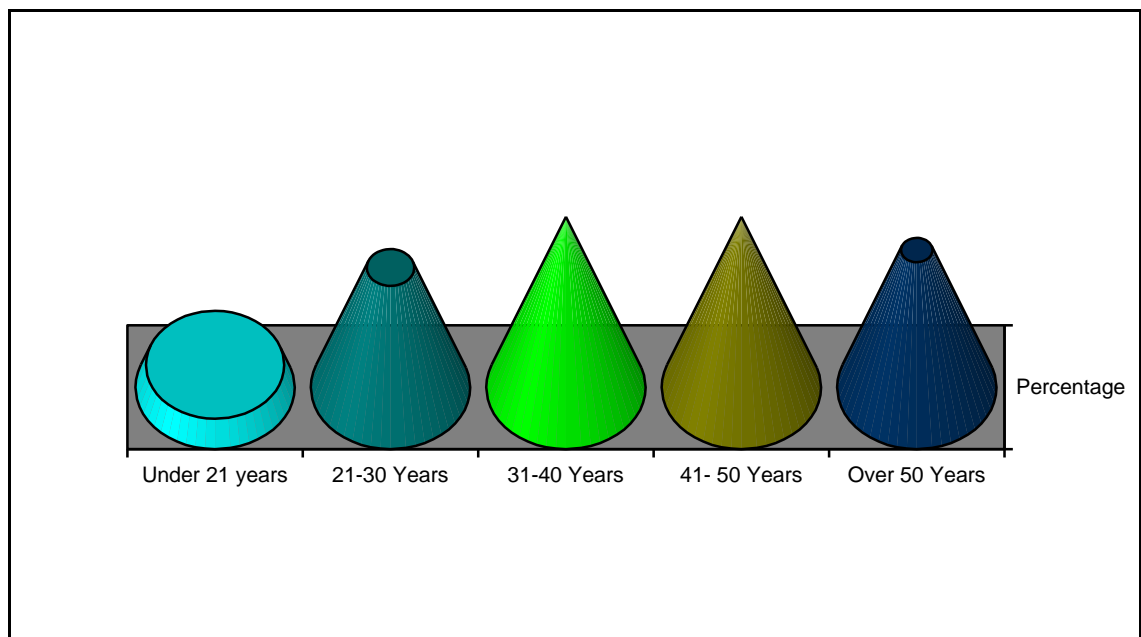
A total of six questions were asked and responses varied from person to person towards the given question and not all respondents responded to all given statements of the questionnaire. The remainder of the instrument had a series of 8 statements to which participants stated their level of agreement or disagreement on a 5-point Likert scale. The survey questions consisted of statements regarding the implementation of the model, the potential of the model to community tourism development, the alignment of the model with tourism laws and policies, and respondents’ possession of capitals assets. A total of 339 households were involved in the second phase of this research; the inclusion of a large number of participants increases the generalization of the model. Among the other things the participants were also asked about capital assets which were likely to influence them to participate in community tourism. The respondents were also given the opportunity to provide additional comments if they wished to do so. The subsequent section provides results and discussion of the findings.

## 7.3.1 Results and discussion

### 7.3.1.1 Background of the respondents

This section discusses the demographic characteristics of respondents. They include respondent's age, gender, education, area of residence, as well as occupation. Concerning the background of the respondents, it appears that about 61.8% were female and 38.2 were male. This implies that many women were able to express their views. About 27.5% of them were aged between 41-50 years, 46.7% between 21-30 years, 22.1% over 50 years and 3.8% under 20 years.

**Figure 7.5:** Age of respondents



The results clearly indicate that respondents were mature (in age) and hence may be expected to have knowledge and awareness of what happens in and around their communities, since only 51.4 % of respondents were less than 30 years of age. With regard to education level, 17.8 % had primary education, 46.41% had no education, 13.3% had secondary education, and 22.8% had other qualifications (such as high school certificate, bachelor degree, etc), as shown in the Table 7.6.

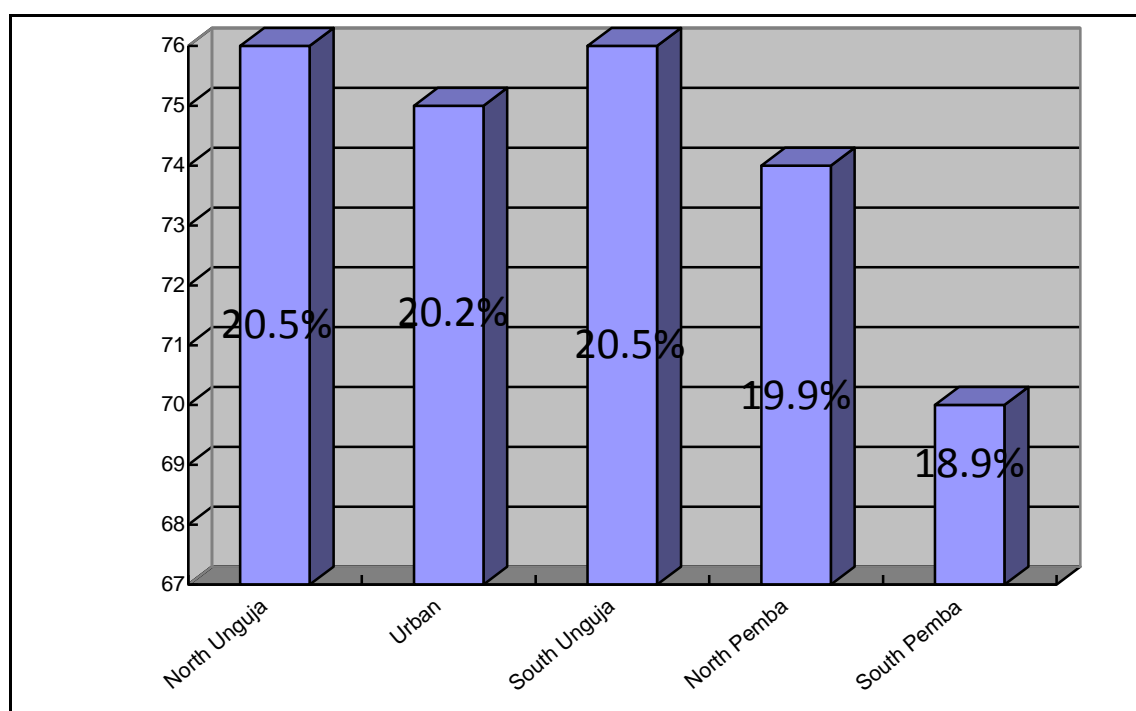


**Table 7.7:** Ddistribution of education of participants

General information	Number	Percentage
No education	184	46.41
Primary education	71	17.8
Secondary education	53	13.3
Others	91	22.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>399</b>	<b>100</b>

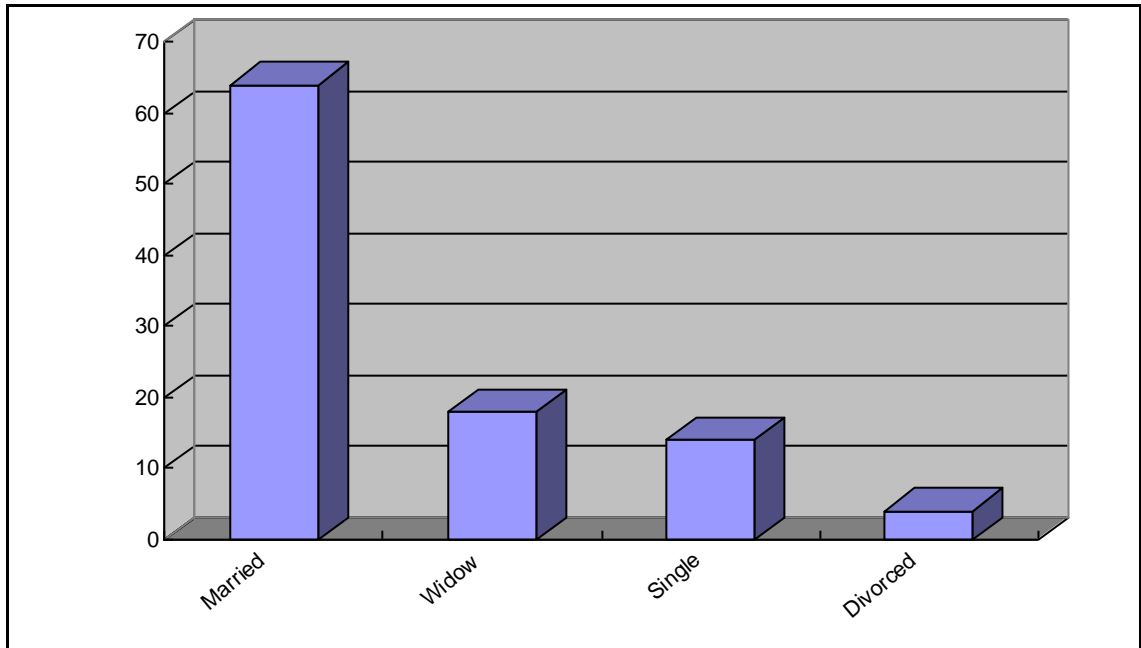
Regarding respondents' area of residence, Figure 7.6 shows that there was an even distribution in respondents' area of residence, with all five regions having between 18% and 20.5% of respondents. This is purely attributed to the fact that the researcher distributed an equal number of questionnaires in each region and, hence, there was a small probability of uneven distribution of respondents among the region.

**Figure 7.6:** Respondents' area of residence



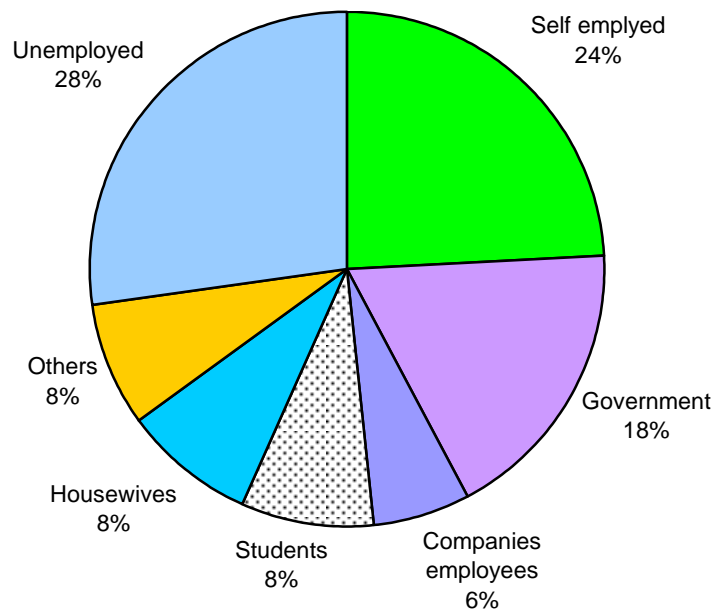
Concerning respondents' marital status, Figure 7.7 shows that 64% were married, 18% were widowed, 14% were single, and 4% divorced.

**Figure 7.7:** Respondents' marital status



Finally, the demographic characteristics of respondents included their occupation (Figure 7.8). Significantly, the great majority of respondents (92.9%) had no experience in tourism management, while the remainder were involved as tourism related business operators.

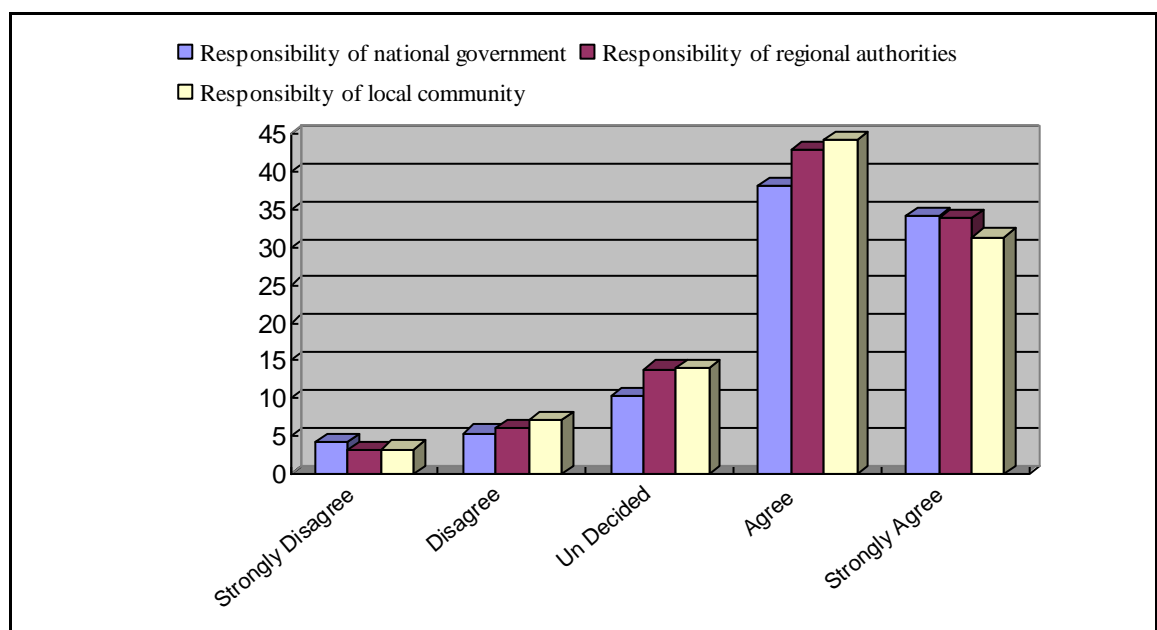
**Figure 7.8:** Occupation of respondents



### 7.3.1.2 Respondents' perceptions on implementing the community tourism model

- It was found that 5.4% and 4.2% (9.6%) of the surveyed sample disagreed and strongly disagreed, respectively, that a model for community tourism with respect to its implementation in Zanzibar becomes a responsibility of the central government, whilst 10.3% of respondents were uncertain, and 38.1% and 34.2% (72.3%) agreed and strongly agreed, respectively, with the statement. This finding indicates a significant tendency amongst the respondents in favor of the argument that the implementation of community tourism on Zanzibar is the responsibility of central government. The findings also show that 7.1% and 3.3% (10.4%) of respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed, respectively, that the developed model for community tourism with respect to its implementation in Zanzibar becomes the responsibility of the local communities, while 14.1% were uncertain, with the statement, and 44.2% and 31.4% (75%) agreed and strongly agreed, respectively, with statement. This finding reveals a significant tendency amongst the surveyed households supporting the position that the implementation of community tourism in Zanzibar should be the responsibility of the local community.

**Figure 7.9:** Respondents perception on implementation of community tourism model



Similarly, the responses also indicate that 6.1% and 3.1% (9.2%) of surveyed sample disagreed and strongly disagreed, respectively, that the developed model for community tourism with respect to its implementation on Zanzibar becomes a responsibility of regional authorities, while 13.9% were uncertain, 42.9% and 33.9% (76.8%) agreed and strongly agreed, respectively, with statement. This implies that the majority of respondents are in favor of the statement that the implementation of community tourism in Zanzibar is the responsibility of the regional authorities.

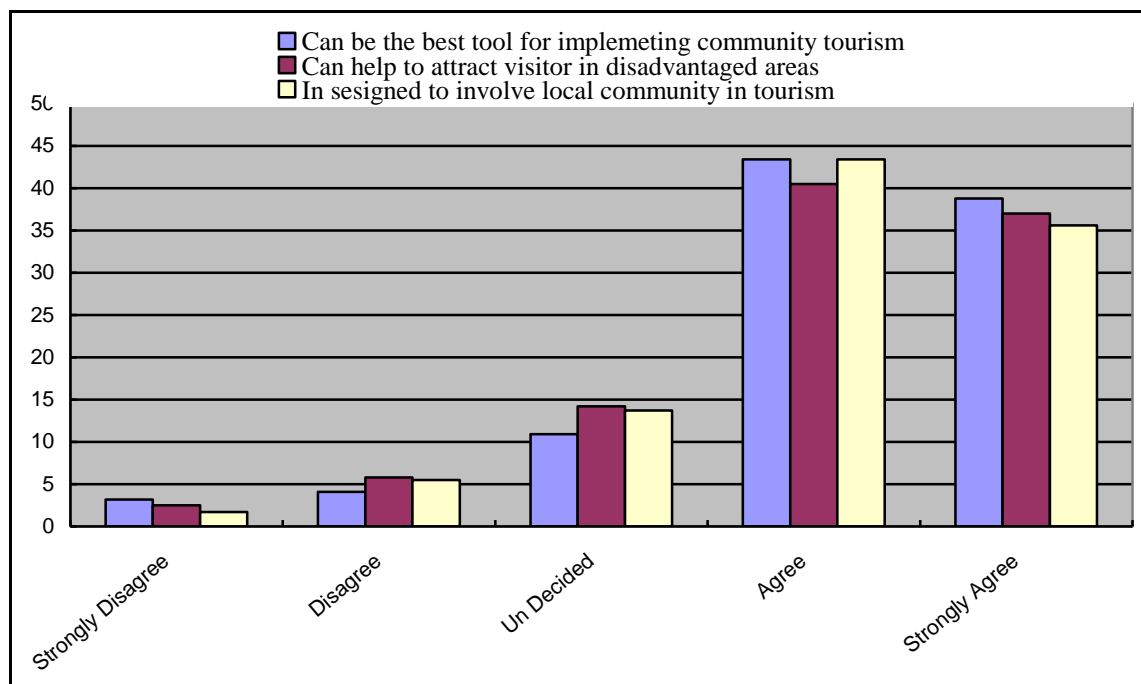
According to HwanSuk & Sirakaya (2006: 128), decision-making and development processes for community tourism require multi-stakeholder involvement at all levels of planning and policy-making, bringing together local people, governments, industry and professionals in a partnership that determines the amount and kind of tourism that a community wants. Similarly, Hall (1994) argues that the involvement of a broad range of stakeholders in the implementation of plan results a greater likelihood for the plan to be implemented, as the stakeholders have a greater degree of ownership of the plan and process. Broadly speaking, the respondents in this study recognized the importance of involving all stakeholders in the development of community tourism. However, the findings reveal a slight emphasis towards the local community as the principal implementer of community tourism, followed by local government authorities. This suggests that local communities should be empowered to mobilize additional sources to improve the alternative livelihood strategies.

### ***7.3.1.3 Potential of the community tourism model on Zanzibar***

The results indicate that 4.1% and 3.2% (7.3%) of respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed, respectively, that the model can serve as the best tool for implementing community tourism in Zanzibar, while 10.9% were uncertain, 43.4% and 38.8% (81.8%) agreed and strongly agreed, respectively, with statement. This finding shows a significant tendency in agreement amongst respondents that the developed model can positively enhance the development of community tourism in Zanzibar. Responses also show that 5.5% and 1.7% (7.7%) of respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed,

respectively, that the model is designed and intended to involve local community on the tourism industry in Zanzibar, while 13.7% were uncertain, 43.4% and 35.6% (79%) agreed and strongly agreed, respectively, with statement as shown on the Figure 7.10.

**Figure 7.10:** Respondents' perception on potential of community tourism model



On the other hand, the study found that 5.8% and 2.5% (8.3%) of the surveyed sample disagreed and strongly disagreed, respectively, that a developed model for community tourism is designed and intended to attract more visitors to the rural areas of Zanzibar, while 14.2% were uncertain, 40.5% and 37% (77.5%) agreed and strongly agreed, respectively, with statement. This means that there a significant tendency in agreement amongst respondents that the implementation of community tourism is designed to attract more visitors to the rural villages in Zanzibar. Generally, the majority of respondents indicated that the model will help Zanzibaris to actively participate in the tourism industry.

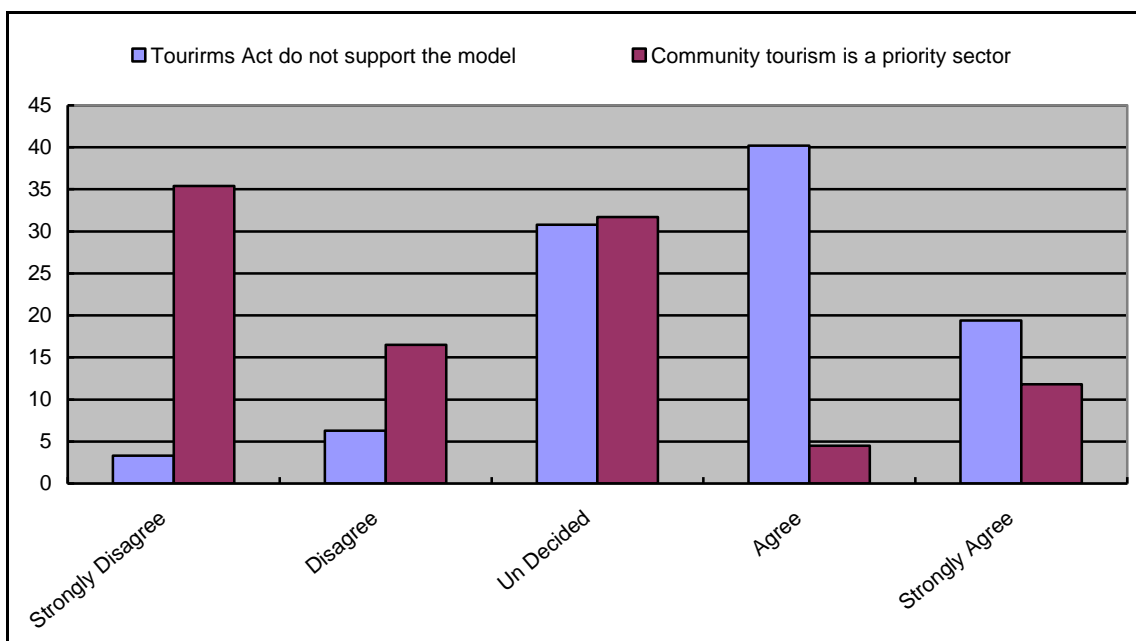
#### ***7.3.1.4 Alignment of community tourism model with government laws and policies***

The findings show that 6.3% and 3.3% (9.6%) of the surveyed sample disagreed and strongly disagreed, respectively, that the Zanzibar Tourism Promotion Act (ZTPA) do

not support the model to function (that is enhancing local community to establish tourism projects such as ecotourism and cultural tourism), while 30.8% were undecided, 40.2% and 19.4% (59.6%) agreed and strongly agreed, respectively, with the statement. This result indicates a significant agreement amongst the surveyed sample in favour of the statement that the Zanzibar Tourism Act will not provide enough support for the implementation of the model.

On the other hand the study found that 35.4% and 16.5% (51.9%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed, respectively, that the main goal of the tourism policy is to develop the community as a national priority. Currently, no visible improvement with respect to local community empowerments has taken place in tourism sector, while 31.7% were undecided, 11.8% and 4.5% (16.3%) agreed and strongly agreed, respectively, with statement. This finding shows a significant agreement amongst respondents that the vision of the government tourism policy is not to develop community tourism as a priority subsector of tourism, since to date no visible improvement with respect to empowerment of local community has taken place in the tourism sector.

**Figure 7.11:** Respondents’ perception on alignment of model -Tourism Laws & Acts



As discussed in Chapter 5, since the 1980s the government has developed two tourism master plan documents, but it seems there are problems with both planning and implementation processes. The government does not take into account strategic decisions and processes aiming to solve the actual planning processes as other major economic issues. Excluding local communities from the planning process leads to the exclusion of local community opinions regarding tourism development.

#### ***7.3.1.5 Capital asset possession amongst the respondents***

The findings show that 79.6% of the participants possess low level of access to tourism resources (cultural and natural capital). This implies that a considerable effort is needed to put these natural and cultural assets into productive use and, thereby, increase livelihood tourism activities in the community. The findings also indicate that 80.7% of the surveyed households have an average level of access to the built capitals. This finding corroborates MKUZA (2007), which states there is a medium access to built capital within the island. However, access to production capital, such as water and electricity, is very low. It is very important to note that, for promotion of community tourism social infrastructure, all physical capital needs to be within the same range of adequacy. The study revealed that 60.2% of the surveyed households have an average level of access to financial capital. As mentioned during the focus group discussions, satisfactory access to financial capital is due to the participants' significant adoption of informal credit (Upatu) and informal savings and credit (SACOS).

It is evident that many local people in Zanzibar operate their business outside the formal economy and, therefore, they lack contact to formal financial services and contractual services that would allow them to enjoy credit and loan services. A considerable effort, therefore, should be made to institutionalize financial sources for better and more frequent access to funds.

It has been well documented that human capital items of knowledge, skills, and manpower is crucial for the community, together supporting the community in pursuing

various livelihood strategy (Ellis 2000). The study found that majority of the surveyed households has low human capital (63.9%), which consequently limits their ability to establish their own tourism projects. Similarly, about 79% of the surveyed households have low social capital and, thus only 23.7% of respondents have high social capital. This implies that there is a need to motivate and mobilize Zanzibaris into social groups through which development intervention can reach them and impacts in their effort to improve their standard of living.

### ***7.3.1.6 Respondents perception on influence of capital assets to community tourism***

From the investigation, it was found that access to tourism resources (natural and cultural capitals) influence respondents participation in the tourism industry at the medium level ( $M=3.28$ ). It was found that the core capital with the highest influence was “cultural capital”, which was at the high level ( $M=3.35$ ). As discussed in Chapter 4, cultural capital can take different forms, such as local customs, tradition and culture, and revitalizing local traditions and other physical items, including ruins. The availability of natural capital in the rural areas fell at the medium level, which was recorded at the high level ( $M=3.34$ ). These findings indicate that Zanzibar, like many other poor countries, is highly dependent on natural and cultural resources. In other words, local communities have very few economic opportunities. Thus, natural and cultural resources must be recognised as key assets of the local poor. This understanding should be integrated into country strategies and policies, including decentralisation policies.

**Table 7.8:** Mean of capitals influencing community tourism in Zanzibar

<b>Capitals</b>		<b>Means</b>	<b>Level</b>
<b>Core Factors</b>	Natural Capital	3.34	M
	Cultural capital	3.35	M
	<b>Total</b>	<b>3.28</b>	<b>M</b>
<b>Fundamental Capital</b>	Social Capital	3.46	H



	Political capital	3.48	H
	Human capital	3.31	M
	<b>Total</b>	<b>3.42</b>	<b>H</b>
<b>Economic capital</b>	Financial Capital	3.41	H
	Built Capital	3.33	M
	<b>Total</b>	<b>3.37</b>	<b>M</b>
	<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>3.36</b>	<b>M</b>

Sources: Findings

Owing to the importance of natural and cultural resources to local communities, government policies must focus on improving the locals' and poor communities' access to and use of natural and cultural resources. Broadly speaking, both procedural and property rights are crucial for the system of control and access. As discussed in the literature, a lack of control over available resources and in the ability to participate in the decision-making process limit the local community's ability to use tourism resources in a sustainable manner. The investigations also revealed that the influence of fundamental capitals (such as political capital, social capital and human capital) was at a high level ( $M= 3.42$ ). More specifically, the most influential capital for community participation was "political capital", recorded at the high level ( $M=3.48$ ), followed by social capital, which fell at the medium level ( $M=3.46$ ). The least important capital, in the group of fundamental capital, was human capital, recorded at the medium level ( $M=3.31$ ).

It was found that economic capital is a major influence on respondents' participation in community tourism, as it was marked at medium level ( $M=3.37$ ). In this group of capitals, the most important capital was "a sense of access to the fund", which fell at the high level ( $M=3.41$ ), while the least important capital was "having more infrastructure", recorded at the medium level ( $M=3.33$ ). To conclude, the study found that the fundamental capitals had more influence over the community participation in tourism development than the core capitals. This indicates that respondents knew how tourism

would bring development and economic progress and growth to their communities. In addition, the concept of power sharing has not been fully experienced by local poor communities. Thus, measures should be taken to bring power to more community members.

#### ***7.3.1.7 Discussion of additional notes, comments and details from respondents***

In order to elicit more in-depth views on the part of respondents, an additional space was provided on the questionnaire allowing respondents the opportunity to include additional information that they deemed important or relevant to this study. Even though many respondents did not use this space effectively, the additional comments made by respondents proved to be important in contributing to knowledge and understand about community capitals and community tourism in general. It was found that, prior to the evolution of tourism in Zanzibar local people relied on diverse livelihood activities. However, following the emergence of tourism, some local people have been providing tourism accommodation and other services and, for some families, tourism has become a significant source of income whilst, for others, their fishing and farming activities became partly tourism-related. Some local people run family hotels to provide tourist lodging and boarding, whilst quite a few local people were employed by family-run hotels.

Generally, it was found that various types of capitals are missing or unavailable at the community level as a result of the political structure of the country. More specifically, attention was drawn to a lack of political capital which, according to many respondents, is the major reason for the limited implementation of community tourism in Zanzibar. The study revealed that political ambiguity and confusion over user rights and access to natural capital limits the growth of community tourism in Zanzibar. Moreover, the lack of political capital underpins several other barriers to local participation in community tourism development, thus limiting the benefits that local communities could receive from tourism and prevents them from addressing their economic problems. Finally, it prevents them from having an effective voice in natural resource management. Some

respondents argued that the giving of priority to foreigners (foreign tourism companies) imposes a hegemonic tourism development. In other words, Zanzibar has not practiced the concept of the participatory approach to tourism development and, therefore, local communities have become passive, dependent and powerless clients of foreign tourism operators. One respondent provided a good example of how the local communities have lost potential control over tourism resources [such as land] to foreign tourism operators and how a lack of political and social capitals has undermined the prospects of the local community of participating actively in the tourism industry:

*At the beginning they asked for joint venture and they gave me a share that worth 2% of the total value of the project. After five years of operation they told me my share is very low... they offer a price for my share. I was reluctant to sell my share since I knew the consequences. I went to the court and Commission for Tourism to stop them doing evil thing, but you know... we are in Africa... government officials are so corrupted. I lost my right and I lost my life.*

It is suggested that there is a need to put in place a new tourism development framework that both achieves the vision of the participatory approach and meets the needs and aspirations of the local people, especially under privileged communities. It was also found that the main factor that motivates rural residents to participate in tourism development was desire to obtain economic benefits. However, it appears that majority of Zanzibar has not benefited from tourism development. The only people who have benefited are those with high levels of education, language skills and connections with the national political elite. Indeed, the evidence suggests that people living in the tourism zone are becoming increasingly poor. The lack of financial institutions aiming to empower local poor community, and the lack of human skill [capital] were found to be pressing problems that will continue to confront Zanzibar in its plans for sustainable community tourism development.

Survey respondents also mentioned factors such as elite domination, corruption and mismanagement as the main contributors to the problems of resource exploitation within the community. The researcher strongly believes that inequalities can only be

minimized when local communities start to participate and receive an equitable share of tourism's benefit. According to many respondents, tourism seems to reinforce economic disparities within the communities. As discussed in Chapter 3, such inequalities create asymmetrical power relations within the community which to a large extent large extent effect development priorities, the modalities for tourism development, and flow of tourists at the community level.

The researcher suggests that issues relating to good governance and local control need to be carefully addressed if efforts to integrate local communities into sustainable community development are to succeed. The respondents believe that community tourism is the best tool for conservation of community culture and their economic development. Moreover, they argue that they argue that integrating tourism with community development may help the local communities to develop appropriately, as well as to control tourism development in the community. The focus of community tourism should remain to involve and empower local people.

#### ❖ **Overview of findings**

The results revealed that government, regional authorities and local community collectively should implement the model to develop community tourism in Zanzibar. However, the responses reveal that a lesser role should be played national government and regional authorities in the implementation the model, the emphasis being on the role of the community – in effect, supporting the bottom-up approach to planning. In this study, the tourism laws and regulations are seen to be an obstacle to the application of the model. This suggests that there is a need to change tourism laws and regulations to be compatible with the model. Broadly speaking, all surveyed households had a positive perception toward the function of model in facilitating development of community in Zanzibar. This means that the developed model can best serve as a solution for community tourism development in Zanzibar. The findings of the study found that an average (45.1%) of the surveyed households have low access to capital assets (natural, physical, financial, human, and social assets). While 33.5% of surveyed households

have average access to capital assets, only 21.4% of respondents have high access to capitals assets. According to Fukuyama (2000), access to capital assets significantly influences livelihood activities and, thus, there is a need in Zanzibar to boost local community access to capital to promote their livelihood, including engaging in the tourism industry.

The finding of the study also revealed that the mean value of the respondents' overall level of capital influence was 3.36, which tended toward medium influence. This suggests that capital assets in Zanzibar adequately influence residents to participate in tourism planning and management. The results of the study revealed that although three capitals (informal social, political and human capital) have a significant role in local people's participation in tourism, political capital was the more influential capital than informal social capital and human capital.

This finding is important to policy makers as a basis for enhancing the involvement of local poor in the tourism. That is, they should focus more on improving access to capitals that facilitate local people's involvement in tourism. For example, the government should, arguably, change land polices to enable locals to gain title deed to their land which, in turn, will allow them to access loans from formal financial sources. More generally, however, the outcomes of this research (Phase Two) provide insights on the importance of capital assets and will help planners when proposing the strategy for community tourism. In other words, the results of this survey suggest that the refined model represents an appropriate tool for guiding the application of community tourism in Zanzibar. However, further empirical testing is required to assess its effectiveness in practice.

## **7.4 Summary**

This chapter has proposed the capitals-based community tourism model. The contextual review of tourism revealed that there are some common problems related to the

development of tourism in LDCs. Such problems are structural, operational and cultural barriers to community power in tourism development, the most significant of these being the lack of internal autonomy in tourism decision-making, low levels of awareness and the centralization of public administration. Undoubtedly, tourism in Zanzibar has transformed the livelihood activities of many local communities; the more that tourism has developed, the more have family livelihoods become tourism-related. Moreover, with respect to community capitals, the research suggests that local people enjoy appropriate levels of human and social capital; however political capital is more limited. The limited political capital is manifested in local people's lack of access to participation in decision-making which, in turn, has negatively influenced their access to natural capital. At the same time, the growth of tourism has also limited local people's access to natural capital, whilst there remains a shortage of basic infrastructure such as water supply, roads and electricity.

Overall then, it can be seen that, in the context of Zanzibar, tourism can be overall a better rural community development tool. However, the role of community capitals as a tool for local people's participation in tourism needs to be addressed. For example, how can social capital serve the purpose of providing microeconomic credits? How can local people get power to access natural resources? The capitals-based community tourism model proposed here offers an overarching framework to assess these issues, and the research demonstrates that the model can be applied in practice and be used to understand the complexity of community tourism in Zanzibar. The next chapter will draw key conclusions and recommendation from this research.

# CHAPTER EIGHT

## 8 Conclusion, Recommendations and Future Research

### 8.1 Introduction

This thesis began with the claim that many community tourism development models are western-oriented and, thus, that they are difficult to implement in developing countries in general, and in Least Developed Countries in particular. Furthermore, they tend to be created by academics / researchers according to their own social, political and economic understandings or worldview (that is, from an ‘etic’ perspective) rather than according to the particular characteristics of and opportunities in particular countries, specifically the variety of capital assets that can be accessed. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to investigate the viability of community tourism in Zanzibar from the perspective of local livelihood assets or capitals. After outlining the objectives of the thesis in the first chapter, the context of the research was established by examining a variety of concepts, ranging from the definition and development of tourism to the examination of tourism in LDCs (see Chapters 2 and 3). Subsequently, the concept of community tourism was considered from the perspective of traditional methods of, and approaches to, local community participation before the adoption of livelihood approaches/frameworks was introduced as a potential strategy that can be used to stimulate the practice of community tourism in developing countries (Chapters 3 and 4).

Owing to the limited levels of community participation in Zanzibar, barriers to active participation in the local tourism economy were also investigated. For the purposes of this research, it was emphasized that involvement in tourism development meant engaging in the sector as a tourism entrepreneur and not as a wage earner, as it is not uncommon for local people in LDCs with a significant tourism industry in to be involved as employees in the sector. Given the specific research objectives, that is, the

viability of community tourism in Zanzibar, the island and its tourism industry were reviewed in a separate chapter (Chapter 5). The study then adopted an asset-based approach to investigate the extent to which Zanzibaris are capable of implementing community tourism. That is, employing livelihood indicators, the study determined the assets possessed by the local community under as a basis for considering the viability of a community capitals model of community tourism development (Chapter 7). The objectives of this study and related outcomes are summarized in Table 8.1.

**Table 8.1:**Summary of findings for research objectives

Objective		Selected Findings
<b>Objective One</b>	Explore and analyze community tourism practice in LDCs and Zanzibar in particular in order to identify key issues for its implementation.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✧ People of LDCs take part in the local tourism industry mainly as providers of labour and by selling tourism-related products in the informal sector (<b>Chapter 3</b>).</li> <li>✧ Barriers to locals active participate in tourism as entrepreneurs were identified, ranging from lack of knowledge and financial capital assets to illiteracy (<b>Chapter 3</b>).</li> <li>✧ Tourism development is left in the hands of the Zanzibar Commission for Tourism, an organization that does not have capacity to effectively develop and promote community tourism programmes (<b>Chapters 5 and 7</b>).</li> <li>✧ Local [tourism] products lack markets and marketing channels (<b>Chapter 5</b>)</li> <li>✧ Participation of disadvantaged people, civil society and non-government organisation in tourism is still not satisfactory (<b>Chapter 7</b>)</li> <li>✧ Local people are not socially or economically empowered and thus natural and cultural resources are not effectively used for tourism purposes (<b>Chapters 5 and 7</b>)</li> <li>✧ It is very difficult for poor people to obtain credit without security, because formal financial sources such as banks requires collateral (<b>Chapters 2,3, 5 and 7</b>)</li> </ul>



<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Objective Two</b></p>	<p>Develop a conceptual model for community tourism based on the theory of community capitals.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✧ Although social capital plays a critical role in community economic development, social capital alone is not enough to help the local community to establish tourism enterprises. Political capital was proposed as a key asset for community tourism (<b>Chapter 7</b>).</li> <li>✧ Local communities in Zanzibar do not possess sufficient capital assets to enable them to take part in the community tourism (<b>Chapters 5 and 7</b>)</li> <li>✧ Community cohesion enhances community members' willingness to participate in various activities and initiatives for development (<b>Chapter 7</b>)</li> <li>✧ In Zanzibar, local communities in rural areas have no title deeds to their land and thus they are unable to use their land as collateral to secure capital (<b>Chapters 5 and 7</b>)</li> <li>✧ Political capital is one of the key capital assets on which people draw to build their livelihoods and therefore how local people access other assets depends on their political capital (<b>Chapter 4</b>).</li> <li>✧ Lack of political capital has been preventing local people from accumulating of other assets, such as natural and cultural capital, upon which community tourism depends (<b>Chapter 7</b>)</li> </ul>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Objective Three</b></p>	<p>Examine the general views of local communities toward the model and to found out the appropriateness of the model for actualizing community tourism in Zanzibar</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✧ It is strongly recommended that the capital assets model as developed and discussed in <b>Chapter 7</b> can be used as guide to direct community tourism development in Zanzibar; however there is misalignment of the model from tourism laws and regulations.</li> </ul>

This chapter begins by providing summarizing the research approach in Section 8.2, followed by a review of the main findings in relation to the three research objectives in

Section 8.3. Section 8.4 then discusses the contribution of the research to knowledge, to methodology and to policy. The recommendations of the study are presented in Section 8.5 while Section 8.6 discusses the major limitations of the study. Further research potential of the topic is identified in Section 8.7, whilst Section 8.8 presents the lessons from undertaking this study. Finally, Section 8.9 discusses how this study will be disseminated to key stakeholders.

## **8.2 Research Approach**

The overall objective of this study was to determine how to build a capitals model as a core success strategy for the implementation of community tourism. Although the community tourism concept has been extensively investigated in the literature, there is still no consensus amongst researchers as to how and if it can successfully be applied in developing countries in general, and in LDCs in particular. This study seeks to bridge this discrepancy in both academic and practitioner research. In order to achieve the research objectives of this study, an interdisciplinary and triangulation approach was employed (see Chapter 6). An insight from a variety of perspectives such as the social, economic, were utilized and included into the research framework (Chapter 4).

Following an extensive review of literature, it became evident that there was a significant research gap in relation to how community tourism should be implemented in LDCs and particularly in Zanzibar. Most of the extant tourism development models (see Chapters 2 and 4) do not reflect the prevailing situation of developing countries and, as such, an updated model for community tourism was required. In response to these primary gaps, a two phase approach was employed (Chapter 6): the first phase consisted of focus groups with community members and qualitative interviews with different stakeholder, the purpose of both being to discuss issues related to tourism development and capital assets in Zanzibar as a basis for developing a community capitals model of community development. Subsequently, the second phase involved the gathering and analysis of quantitative data (household survey) regarding the application of the

developed model. The two phases supplemented one another and each was successful in attaining the necessary information to satisfy the research objectives.

### **8.3 Review of research findings**

From the literature review and primary research a significant number of issues emerged relating to many aspects of the community tourism phenomenon. The notable issues are reviewed in this chapter. Each has been examined in detail during this research study and, therefore, will be referred to here only in terms of the most important findings as outlined in the following sections.

#### **8.3.1 Potential of and obstacles to tourism for local people in LDCs (Research Objective 1)**

Owing to increasing competition in the tourism industry, where globalization has played a crucial role in the standardization of service and culture, emerging destinations (including LDCs tourism destinations), are now facing significant challenges with respect to developing quality services that satisfy tourists needs (Wahab & Cooper 2001). Accordingly, there is a clear indication of the need to link the tourism industry more effectively to rural economies and to sustain the cultural and natural capitals that enable the local communities to sustain their livelihood and improve quality of life. This study has argued that local resources can play a crucial role in meeting these challenges. The literature relating to livelihood assets and tourism reveals numerous reciprocal benefits that can be obtained by linking community resources to tourism (Fukuyama 2003). For example, according to Fields (2002), the local community embodies the culture and tradition of the destination and plays a crucial role in promoting and conserving cultural heritage. The local community should therefore be encouraged to exploit tourism opportunities in order benefit from tourism sector and stimulate other economic sectors through creating backward linkages.

A thorough examination of the tourism context is needed to provide practitioners,

researchers and policymakers with a background to community tourism development. For instance, do Least Developed Countries (LDCs) and Small Island Developing States (SIDS) have potential to develop community tourism? Moreover, such an examination needs to consider nature of tourism system. This thesis has argued that only LDCs with unique tourism attractions and a competitive tourism environment have the potential to become tourism destinations and to develop community tourism. Indeed, governments, through their National Tourism Organisations (NTO), should play a crucial role in supporting and promoting the development of community tourism. It has been well documented that development of community tourism in Small Island Development States and LDCs in general often faces a number of challenges, such as a lack of good infrastructure such as roads and power supplies, and a lack of funding (Tosun 2000; Mowforth and Munt 2003).

According to Sharpley (2009), the problems facing tourism development in LDCs may be addressed by appropriate tourism plans and policies. That is, it is the responsibility of the central government to encourage the development of infrastructure in the country, especially in the rural areas where community tourism is likely to take place. Some commentators claim that such tourism policies and plans should not just present new business opportunities to industry, but should also consider tourism development regulation as well (Tosun 2002). In the community tourism context, this may allow the country to respond to the needs of local poor people or improve their participation in tourism. However, critics have questioned how far adopting regulations based on local community needs may pre-empt legislation which may impact on a country's tourism industry performance more generally (Mowforth and Munt 2003).

Generally speaking, the government should increase its investment in local infrastructure (Murphy 1985). As discussed in Chapter 3, tourism in LDCs has dominated other economic sectors and, furthermore, it has been used to reduce the dependency of local poor people on their traditional economic assets, such as land and marine resources (Zanzibar being no exception). In this research (Chapter 7), it was

found that local poor people in rural villages in Zanzibar own little land, restricting their opportunities to establish land-based tourism activities. However, local people have tried their best to participate in the tourism industry through establishing business activities which do not directly require land holdings, such activities including craft making and henna painting.

At the same time, international tourism competition has a direct impact on the involvement of local communities in tourism in the LDCs, because international tourists have been demanding a high standard of tourism product or services which normally require a large capital investment (Tosun 2003). Thus, it is almost impossible for local people in developing countries to meet such standards and, as a consequence, global tourism competition and other external factors, such as a lack of technical skills, indirectly exclude local poor, especially in LDCs, from tourism markets. As was pointed by UNCTAD (1998), in their business relations with tour operators, ‘many suppliers of tourism service in developing countries are hampered by their weak bargaining position and their lack of negotiating skills, which often result in unfavorable contractual condition... moreover, when these supplier firms are small and medium sizes, they face fierce competition from larger companies’.

### **8.3.2 Potential of capitals assets for tourism development (Research objective 2)**

Generally speaking, the term ‘community capitals’ embraces many forms of capital and, as considered in Chapter 4, their measurement is typically challenging. In this study, the discussion of community capitals in Chapter 4 was based primarily on a review of the concepts, research findings in the extant literature, consequently, some interpretive bias may have occurred. However, in order to minimize such bias in the primary research in Zanzibar bias, the triangulation method was used (see Chapter 6).

This thesis has argued that numerous factors need to be in place for the application of community tourism. In other words, natural capital (such as natural attractions), cultural

capital (including festivals, cultural performances, historic sites and other man-made resources), financial capital, social capital (such as social network and trust) and human capital (such as education) are vital for building community tourism activities in rural areas. The interconnection and interlinking of these capital assets could provide local people with opportunities to develop tourism programmes or activities in their locality. However, it emerged that political capital is the most significant capital to be lacking in LDCs and Zanzibar in particular.

The possession of political capital is the major factors underpinning the successful implementation and development of community tourism (Dalton et al. 2001; Ricketts & Phipps 2008). Political capital empowers the local community to participate in tourism planning and management, endowing local people with a sense of responsibility and ownership of community tourism. According to Costanza and Daly (1992), the possession of political capital is an important element for the success and failure of local people participation in tourism planning and management. In other words, political capital is influential in producing positive or negative outcomes for local people in the context of community tourism development, depending on the extent of possession of political power and power sharing within the communities. This suggests that, if it possesses a significant degree of political capital, the local community is in a strong position to develop tourism activities in its locality in profitable manner since, in principle, it has access to all necessary resources. That is, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 7, the possession of political capital can be perceived as local community being able to own and take advantage of important assets, such as land and other natural resources in their areas, for the development and promotion of tourism. In this study, it has been argued that, if destination communities lack political capital, there may be negative consequences for tourism development; specifically, a sense of being exploited may result in destination communities tending to become unfriendly or antagonistic towards visitors which, in turn, may create a poor image of the destination to that eventually leads to a decline in tourism.

It has also been argued in this study that, from the outset, the successful development of community tourism requires strong interconnections between social capital, human capital and political capital. If this is the case, local people will be able to exploit the natural and cultural resources surrounding them for their livelihoods. It may be suggested that, often, local communities in LDCs are blessed with many natural resources and cultural heritage that can be used for developing community tourism. Thus, in principle, local communities should have access to those resources and should be provided with the professional skill to adapt them into tourism products / experiences.

However, this research concluded that social capital is also a very important factor in community tourism development inasmuch as it can influence both positively and negatively access to and exploitation of other capital assets, including financial, political and human capitals. Indeed, in the literature review (Chapter 4), the importance of cohesion within the local community to the development of community tourism is clearly revealed. According to the Costanza & Daly (1992), local communities which do not have social capital (bridging, bonding and linking) may not be able to mobilize the necessary resources (including financial and innovation capital) for sustainable community tourism development. In Chapters 5 and 7, the data indicated that local communities in Zanzibar possess moderate social capital which may have some limited positive influence on the development of community tourism. At the same time, however, a lack of cooperation between local communities and existing tourism business is likely to pose a challenge to community tourism development.

This study explores the ways in which local people use social capital to secure economic benefits in the tourism sector, as well as creating other capital assets. Broadly, the findings of this study concur with Coleman (1998), who examines the value of social capital within the household in the creation of human capital. In this study, it was concluded that social capital between relatives within the community has helped individual households to access financial resources that subsequently enabled them to

start a business (see chapter 7). Thus, reflecting previous studies on community assets (Chapter 4), this study confirms the importance of social capital to the creation of other forms of capital, such as financial capital and human capital. Specifically, it was noted that the way in which Zanzibaris use bonding and bridging social capital to their economic benefit is consistent with the general findings from previous studies (Woolcock 2001; Woolcock & Narayan 2000)

Unlike other economic sectors, such as fishing and farming, tourism is a service based industry and is, therefore, relatively less demanding of physical labour (Nelson & Agrawal 2008; Prentice 1993). In this context, human capital is very important for the development and growth of community tourism. As discussed in Chapter 5 and confirmed by the research in Chapter 7, Zanzibar has a weak foundation for tourism education at both college and university levels and is not producing a significant number of graduates. The capacity of these educational organizations has been severely stretched in terms of human, physical and financial resources. The curriculum has remained largely of a theoretical nature, meaning that graduates do not adequately develop the innovation, marketing and ‘soft’ competences that are deemed to be important for performance of tourism industry. Consequently it is evident that, in Zanzibar, more effort and resources should be devoted to providing quality education.

This thesis has argued that innovation capital is also amongst the most important capitals for the functioning of community tourism. In his article: *The role of innovation activities in tourism and regional growth in Europe*, George (2008, p. 145) differentiates between innovation and creativity. While ‘creativity relates to the production of new ideas, new approaches and inventions, innovation corresponds to the application of new and creative ideas and the implementation of inventions. This definition depicts the practical situation in LDCs, where local communities lack the capacity to transform their creative ideas into practice. Generally, innovation in the tourism industry can be thought of as a very important asset which enables small tourism enterprises to operate in a competitive environment. According to Okazaki (2008), successful enterprises of



future must master innovative design and have a comprehensive workforce development programme. In the context of community tourism, access to innovation capital is a critical component of tourism business entrepreneurship. However, the research found that local tourism enterprises in Zanzibar lack the innovative techniques necessary for the operation and management of their business. They require innovation capital in order to develop products /services and to bring these products and services to the market.

Similarly, economic capital is needed for the successful operation of community tourism. As a hospitality industry, tourism generates experience for visitors (Williamson & Lawson 2001). A number of commentators, including Inskip (1991), have cited the infrastructure base of a destination as potential factor of the attractiveness of a tourism destination. In any tourism destination, economic capital forms an integral part of the tourism package. For example, the development of communication infrastructure is necessary for cheap and effective communication between the destination region and the tourist generating region (see chapter 4). Communication also provides prior knowledge about the destination and, therefore, reduces the potential for asymmetric information to prospective tourists. Likewise, road and airport infrastructure enhances the accessibility of tourists from and to different parts of the destination country. As in any other tourism destination, the development of community tourism in Zanzibar relies heavily on the availability of appropriate infrastructure required by visitors needs; community tourism is only viable with the existence of basic infrastructure, such as water, sewage, and electricity.

It was also noted that natural and cultural capitals are important inputs for development of community tourism. Local community access to, and use of, local cultural and natural assets is paramount. Community tourism development requires or depends upon the availability of high quality natural and cultural features; their effective utilization enables local people to benefit from community tourism (Walpole & Goodwin 2001). In common with other LDCs, local people in Zanzibar have little access to their natural

and cultural resources, and extremely limited influence on decisions as to how these should be exploited. This reflects Tosun's (1999) typology of host community participation in the tourism development process as passive, indirect and manipulative (see chapter 3). Simply stated, local communities in Zanzibar are manipulated and informed what has been decided by the central government and, in most cases, these decisions do not reflect local people's will. Consequently, disputes between local people and developers have been increasing and it is evident that community tourism in Zanzibar will remain difficult to implement until such time there exists a democratic template for decision making.

### **8.3.3 Property rights to secure natural assets (Research objective 1)**

In addition from various shortcomings presented in Section 8.3.2 above, this section emphasizes the lack of property rights to natural assets in Zanzibar. In Chapter 7, it was starkly revealed that a lack of property rights to tourism resources (natural capital) has prevented local communities from actively participating in the tourism industry. In particular, the types of government regimes that shape access to natural resources differ with respect to different resources. While access to and use of land is restricted by Land Tenure Act, for example, access to marine and forest resources is restricted by Environmental Act and Fisheries Act. Generally speaking, the lack of clear ownership of natural assets means that opportunities for communities to commercialize natural resource-based activities are very limited. Local people do not have clear ownership of natural assets but always require special permission from central government if they wish to develop their assets for economic gains. This reflects the fact that that important assets, such as land and forests, essentially belong to the central government and local people have no legal right over them. As discussed in Chapters 5 and 7, land has not been recognized by formal financial institution as collateral, and therefore this tendency is seen to limit the prospects of obtaining loans for economic activities.

### **8.3.4 The need for a comprehensive planning and management Strategy (Research Objective 1)**

The most important aspect which requires serious attention is the issue of planning and management. The experience of community-based tourism has clearly indicated that strategic planning and sound management are vital if optimal results are to be achieved. As demonstrated in Chapter 5, a lack of comprehensive tourism planning and emphasis on large tourism projects in Zanzibar has resulted in tourism rarely bringing positive benefits to local communities as whole. In other words, ad hoc planning and the lack of proper management of tourism may cause substantial economic problems to the local communities, contrary to the principles of sustainable development. It is widely recognized that tourism resources should service the present needs but, at the same time, the interest of the future generation should be not ignored. For example, Butler (1997: 29) defines sustainable tourism as ‘tourism which is developed and maintained in such a manner and scale that it remains viable in the long run and does not degrade the environment in which it exists to such an extent that it prohibits the successful development of other activities and processes’. From this research, this is evidently not the case in Zanzibar.

Generally, not only is comprehensive planning and proper management necessary, but it is also vital that there is active local people participation in that process. This research has argued that local Zanzibaris should be given equal opportunities to contribute to the planning and management of tourism. In other words, the local community should decide the kind of tourism they want to promote in their localities. Currently, few Zanzibaris are benefiting from tourism, and most returns generated from tourism have disproportionately benefited outsiders (see chapter 5). The study revealed that, given a chance, the local community in Zanzibar may chose to focus on the sustainable use of their capital assets rather than to continue indefinitely with the development of mass tourism. According to Steven and Jennifer (2002), mass tourism brings relatively few benefits to local community; consequently, small scale tourism should be encouraged

for development of local poor, although it must be noted that, more generally, the concept of pro-poor tourism seeks to enhance the benefits of tourism to the poorest sections of local communities, including through the development of mainstream, mass tourism (Harrison 2008). Nevertheless, although there remains debate between two school of thoughts (i.e. large scale vs. small scale tourism), the majority of locals in Zanzibar favour small scale tourism on the basis that their resources will continue to be viable in the long term to support their livelihoods.

### **8.3.5 Capital asset model for community tourism (Research objective 2)**

Apart from tourism system framework (see Leiper 1979), the capital asset model for this study builds on different forms of livelihood approaches. From Figure 7.3, it is evident that local community participation in the tourism industry is strongly influenced by capital asset endowments. Fukuyama (2000) defines capital assets as stocks that produce returns. He further explains that these assets are the basis for local people's participation in economic activities. Initially, a conceptual framework was developed based on an extensive review of the literature to guide the building of an original model. The community capital assets were explored predominantly in Phase One of the research; each type of capital was examined extensively by conducting in depth interviews with stakeholders in Zanzibar. Based on the results of this research, the researcher developed a detailed model for community tourism development (see Figure 7.4, Chapter 7). The revised model in Figure 7.5 was designed to reflect the results of the part B of Phase One. As illustrated, the main change to the model was the division of social capital into two forms: formal and informal social capital. In other words, formal and informal capitals have also been added in the model, based on the results of the primary research.

The developed model suggests two environments which affect community tourism, namely, the external environment and the destination environment. The key issues that relate to these environments were identified (including, for example, customer relation management; global economic environment) although, broadly speaking, the

characteristic of the external environment affect the market for community tourism enterprises while the destination environment is concerned with relevant elements for building community tourism enterprises. Phase One interviewees agreed that the community should possess a set of seven capitals if the concept of community tourism is to be successfully implemented. Specifically, these capitals fall into three main groups: fundamental capital, core capital and economic capital.

The model suggests two important sets of interconnections amongst these capitals. The first set is amongst informal social capital (ISC), human capital (HC) and political capital (PC). The interconnection of these capitals empowers the local community to exploit the core capitals (natural and cultural capitals), and the interlinking of these capital is considered as the first step for practicing community tourism; that is, building the community tourism product. Singh and Vangile (1994) support the argument that people's capacity to generate and maintain their livelihood is contingent upon the availability and accessibility of options which are ecological, socio-cultural, economic, and political and is predicated on equity, ownership of resources and participatory decision making. This being the case, it is extremely difficult to encourage active and powerful participation in tourism development on the part of local people unless community members are united and possess sufficient skills and political ownership.

The second set of interconnections is amongst the core capital and built capitals (see Figure 4.7); however, this interaction is influenced by fundamental capitals. Fukuyama (2000) comments that the existence of cultural and natural capital does not necessarily mean that local communities can have access to these resources. Instead, it is often dependent upon transforming both process and structure, which is essentially the national policy and institutional dimension. Based on the above, community tourism development must be broader and include capital assets (social, natural, economic, political, and human capital) and access these to provide tourism experience.

This study found that, at the outset of community tourism development, it is necessary

for local people to possess substantial levels of political capital, social capital and human capital. More importantly, the study emphasizes the need for destination planners to incorporate political capital as an imperative asset within the community tourism framework. Political capital should be seen as of central importance in terms of ensuring local community empowerment and participation. Without changes in local power structures, local communities are likely to find themselves in opposition to local elites and, therefore, they may face a considerable resistance in their attempts to organize themselves into groups for changing local access to tourism resources. As long as local communities have sufficient political power over tourism resources, participatory tourism development has the potential to evolve.

### **8.3.6 Local communities view on the capital assets model (Research objective 3)**

Increasing numbers of community based models have been developed, moving away from conventional mass tourism towards new form of tourism, such as community tourism (Mitchell & Ashley 2010; Scheyvens & Momsen 2008). Graci and Dodds (2010) and Murphy (1985) maintain that it is time for destination planners to be more inventive in their planning. According to Sharpley (2009), the benefit that capital assets give destination communities is a poverty reduction option potentially recognized by many poor, who cannot be involved into tourism due to the existing social, political and structural barriers (see Chapter 3). In its simplest form, the model developed in this study provides a benchmark for the involvement of local communities, particularly in LDCs. It is important to note that, in a destination where there is an apparent lack of political capital, more time and resources would be first spent on accumulating this aspect of the model, while this may not be an initial concern for other destinations. Generally speaking, the manner in which the model is applied will vary according to different levels of community capital ownership in different countries / destinations.

The findings from Phase Two of the research found that the alignment of the model with tourism policies and plans was an issue for all households surveyed (see Chapter 7). In addition, a reoccurring theme that resonated in all the surveyed households was the

role of local communities in the model. This is the major factor that respondents felt would have the most significant influence on the development of community tourism in their localities. In addition, they also suggested that both political and social capitals in the context of the model are critical contributors for local communities to exploit their assets and, thereafter, participate in tourism development. From the destination management perspective, the Zanzibar government needs to focus on all capitals outlined in the model in order to empower local communities. Principally, the importance of capital assets is highlighted from the quantitative findings which indicated that each capital explored revealed medium level of ownership (Fundamental capital: 3.42; Core capital: 3.28; and Economic capital 3.37). To conclude, the surveyed households had a fairly positive view of the model from the implementation perspective. However, changes in tourism policies and laws should take place to support the model.

#### **8.4 Implementation of the capital asset model**

After having developed the appropriate capital asset model for community tourism, it is important to provide a brief discussion on how it will be implemented in the case study area. As it has been pointed out in section 4.5 (page 145), the overall approach is based on the contention that it is not possible to practice community tourism if the proper conditions (such as social cohesion; proper institutional framework that lead to individual freedom to access/use resources; communication and education among the government bodies and the local population) are not in place. Thus, for successful implementation of the model such preliminary conditions need to be in place, otherwise they need to be created. And in order for the proper conditions to be in place or created, a relatively political system and power structure of society, a certain plans for community tourism development, and a basic endowment of management and technological capabilities are needed. This implies that, some economic, political, and sociocultural issues will need to be addressed in order to establish preconditions that govern the implementation of the model in Zanzibar. The main implication is that before starting to promote community tourism, government needs first to undertake a

context assessment, and specifically examine the current situation with respect to capital assets possession and then to indicate the initiatives that are required to promote capital assets ownership at community level. Such initiatives should also aim to establish strong social network among the destination communities, and development of technological infrastructure and coordination modalities.

In this research it was found that the government through Zanzibar Commission for Tourism has already promulgated Regulations on Tourism Planning and Development, but issues regarding destination community's involvement in the tourism development process are still missing in the regulations. In this context, articles to involve destination communities in the tourism development process should be added to the relevant government laws and regulations to legitimize host communities participation in the community tourism development process. Indeed it was noted that the formulation of the community tourism policy and plan and their implementation is impeded as a result of power struggles, and political maneuvering among key stakeholders. Thus, political structures or system does not provide any room for community participation in the tourism development process.

In line with above arguments, an assumption underpinning the implementation of the model is that government (i.e. the government of Zanzibar) must communicate with and involve the local community in the tourism planning and management decisions while enhancing human capabilities and offering a political power over their resources. As discussed in chapter 7, where local communities have political power and have built and maintain social capital, they have a capital resources that enable them to trade on capital market, individual and collectively, possibly earning profits that improve progressively their socioeconomic condition. The model indicates that both political and social capital can be metamorphosed into financial, human and physical capital. The process can enables poor community to obtain resources otherwise unobtainable, and possibly to initiate their own tourism enterprises. Broadly speaking, effective implementation of the model is dependants on cooperation of many players and framed by its external



condition of being multi-sectoral and framed by sociopolitical complexities. As matter of fact, social structure, networks and interaction and the way the government and political structure is institutionalized in Zanzibar has some bearing on the implementation of the model.

## **8.5 Contribution of the study**

The principal findings of this study add to the extant pool of knowledge relating to community tourism development. As already discussed, the conceptual underpinnings of the phenomenon have been largely neglected by academics and, therefore this study attempts to fill the aforementioned knowledge gap. Its principal worth can be seen in the development of the capital asset model for community tourism. The main objective of this study was to develop a model to be used as a best practice framework for the successful application of community tourism in LDCs. This objective was investigated in the context of Zanzibar, which was used a case study. Generally, the output represents a considerable amount of insight into the community tourism phenomenon. This will not only contribute to our existing knowledge about the topic but also stimulate further debate and research. The detailed contribution of this study is presented in the subsequent sections.

### **8.5.1 Contribution to Knowledge and methodologies**

This study advances research not only in the area of community tourism, where a number of gaps in both the practical and theoretical knowledge exist, but also in relation to community livelihoods research. In the context of this thesis, capital assets (political capital, social capital, human capital, cultural capital, economic capital and financial capital) have been identified as critical factors for implementing community tourism in developing countries in general and LDCs in particular. Furthermore, this study has determined that innovation capital is amongst the major factors that determine the success of community tourism, mainly serving as an operational variable in providing competitive tourism product. This study has identified the importance of each of the

community capital assets as the basis for producing community based tourism experiences; this not only supports academics and researchers who have highlighted the significance of community capital assets as a contributor of community based tourism experience but also sheds new insight onto the entire phenomenon of community tourism research.

Additionally, this study has provided valuable insight into the complexity of implementing community tourism development. Prior to this study, much of the research in this area has emerged from advanced countries while community-based research in the context of LDCs has been limited. In his article, Liu (2003) investigated the barriers to community tourism in China and concluded that more research in the LDCs context needs to be conducted to assess the model that LDCs should adopt. Although this present study was limited to Zanzibar, it makes a significant contribution to this reportedly under-researched area. To this researcher's knowledge, this is first study that has explored the role of community capital assets in operationalising community tourism. The results from both qualitative and quantitative data reveal the importance of community capital assets (such as political and social capitals) and that each community interested in community tourism should possess certain levels of capital assets.

A further theoretical contribution made in this study is the development of a community tourism model based on capital assets. This model answers Liu's (2003) call for moving away from traditional community tourism development models to more a dynamic model that incorporates new determinants. It is well known that successful research requires the use of various methods. In selecting a suitable method for this study, the merits and demerits of various research techniques were considered, and the decision was made to use methodological triangulation. As discussed in Chapter 6, it is a multi-method approach and therefore it permitted the researcher to identify different stakeholders and gain a deep understanding of their interaction in different tourism contexts. In this study, the triangulation approach enabled the researcher to bring

together a diversity of perspectives from a multiplicity of tourism stakeholders. Generally speaking, this study provides an in-depth analysis of community capitals and community tourism in a way that would be difficult to achieve by using standard techniques.

#### **8.4.2 Contribution to Policy**

This study is of value to government planners aiming to promote community based tourism. The research has identified numerous issues and constraints that discourage local people's participation in community tourism development (for the interests of destination communities, these issues require immediate attention). It has been suggested that the more government listens to host communities, the more it is likely to enjoy majority support to promote sustainable tourism. Currently, Zanzibar's tourism policies focus on economic expansion through tourism. Accordingly, it is believed that rural/community tourism is the best option for economic development in rural areas. In common in other developing countries, the goal of government toward promoting community tourism has been hindered by the lack of a comprehensive platform that gives priority to host communities. In other words, Zanzibar does not have a formal template that governs development of community tourism. Thus, the results of this study could be used as a blueprint for solving this problem.

Based on the results of this study, it is suggested that government policy should focus in particular on empowering local people. Specifically, empowerment of the local community should be about providing local people with opportunities to become involved and engaged in influencing issues that matter to them. It is vital to recognize the variety of issues that the local community considers to be important. A successful application of the model developed in this thesis allows local people the opportunity to have a say over their resources or what is important to them. Another important aspect suggested in this study which is relevant to the destination tourism planners is the issue of trust and networks between stakeholders. Partnerships and collaboration between stakeholders has been often cited as the key for sustainable community tourism

development (see chapter 3). Such collaboration can only exist where access, trust, information sharing and knowledge are present amongst the stakeholders.

In other words, for better development of community tourism, a substantial degree of social capital must exist at international, national and community level. For example, in Zanzibar, there are numerous policies (belonging to different organizations) that affect the development of community tourism. This implies that developing community tourism requires the integration of these policies. The purpose of this study was to assess the role of capital assets in the application of community tourism. As summarized here, this study has provided strong evidence that community capital plays a critical role in community tourism implementation in the LDC context. In particular, as this study distinguishes between informal and formal social capital effects on development of community tourism, it is believed to contribute significantly to the advancement of knowledge in social capital related literature.

## **8.6 Recommendations**

Community tourism has the potential to provide many benefits, depending on the implementation, management and mindset of the stakeholders involved. The local community's involvement in tourism planning and development has been long emphasized by various authors (Mowforth & Munt 2003; Tosun 2000). Although it is clear that the involvement of host communities is very crucial for successful tourism development, the manner in which this might be has remain a controversial concept within the tourism literature. Undoubtedly, it is developing countries and particularly LDCs that have suffered from this controversy. Taking into consideration the main contemporary constraints to community tourism development in Zanzibar and other LDCs, the current study calls for closer co-operation between all tourism stakeholders and argues for the implementation a number of actions to address the following issues:

- (i.) Worldwide tourism in which host communities people play a role is typified by a

variety of names and forms, yet there remains little consensus on these various types of tourism (see Chapter 3). This is certainly the case in Zanzibar; the use of term ‘community tourism’ still causes confusion and uncertainty. Since tourism stakeholders adopt different meaning concerning community tourism, it is essential for the government to disseminate understanding and knowledge of what constitutes community tourism.

- (ii.) In Zanzibar, local communities have not been given substantial opportunities to engage in tourism in ways that could help them to improve their living condition, as specified by national growth strategies. Had the local community been given the opportunities to exploit natural and cultural resources, and had (albeit limited) human resources been available in their localities, they might have been able to establish tourism businesses in their areas. Since Zanzibar has plentiful natural and cultural resources to establish tourism projects, and since majority local communities are willing to establish such projects, it is therefore recommended that the government should step in to provide assistance and support to these communities in starting tourism enterprises. This can be done by providing local communities with legal rights and ownership of natural resources (such as land) and involving them in decision making process. Further support to the community could be in the form of funding, infrastructure development, provision of an empowerment program, and tourism facilities.
- (iii.) Initiating community tourism (even if small scale), is a business with many horizons. Every community should think about what is the most suitable form of combination of capital assets and tourism business. Not all community members in Zanzibar possess all forms of capital assets. As discussed in Chapter 4, livelihood assets can develop over time, but also face the risks of loss and misuse; therefore, appropriate facilitation is required to minimize those risks. It is worth analyzing whether there exist appropriate capital assets within the community or if there is a need for new capital assets, to reflect those that are missing. Accordingly, the

responsibility for evaluating and enhancing the human capital of the community has to be laid on the shoulders of the central government. This can be done through providing human resources infrastructure, such as building more schools, providing adult basic education, supplying more quality teachers to the public schools, and providing on-the-job training. Broadly speaking, if policy makers, practitioners and academics want to facilitate greater human skills within the local community (in the study area), it is the area of enhancing the effectiveness and efficiency of in-house training which is likely to be most effective.

## **8.7 Further Research**

The proposed model aims to be a generic framework that bridges the gaps between tourism and economic development theories. Its aim is to stimulate broader thinking on the dynamism and complexity of a tourism and livelihood system in its wider development context. Certainly, the most significant theoretical outcome of this study is the model; the capital assets model for community tourism. Consequently, this research makes a substantial contribution to the theory of community tourism in LDCs in general, and to community tourism practice in Zanzibar in particular. Importantly, the model itself also provides a framework for further research into development practices of innovation capital of small tourism business (see chapter 4). In other words, this model can be used as a basis for exploring in greater detail the significance of technological and innovation capitals, particularly from a small tourism business perspective.

Another salient theme emerging from this research concerns customer relations management. In order for community-based projects to survive in the national and global tourism market, focusing on the customer is becoming a key factor. It has long been recognized that it takes up to five times more money to acquire a new customer than to get an existing customer to make a new purchase. In that case, future research should explore how community-based tourism projects can develop customer relationship management skills. This study employed a case study research method to explore that

application of community tourism in LDCs. However, the context of community tourism development in Zanzibar is not necessarily representative of LDCs more generally. In other words, the findings of this research may not easily be generalized to other LDCs destination. It should be noted that the primary objective of this study was to develop a conceptual asset model community tourism and explore its applicability in practice, and the use of Zanzibar as a case study has to some degree fulfilled that purpose. However, future research should be called for exploring the generalisability of the application of the developed model.

## **8.8 Study Limitations**

This study is subject to a number of limitations. One of these limitations concerns the use of supporting literature. As noted above, to the author's knowledge this is the first study that has used community capitals to implement community tourism; thus, there were limited other studies / cases that could be referred to. Secondly, while this study has provided new insights on the phenomenon of community tourism in the context of LDCs, more research is needed to be able to consider the possibilities of generalizing of the findings; that is, the relevance of the model more generally. Thirdly, restricted resources in the data collection phase of the research can be considered a limitation of the study. While significant effort was made to obtain rich and unbiased data for this research, respondent's language barriers had implications on the data obtained as it was necessary for interviews to be conducted in local language (Swahili) and transcribed into English language.

Fourthly, external resources, such as availability of time and money, also limited the possibilities for additional data collection. For instance, additional, supporting data



could have been collected from the other islands, such as Tumbatu. The availability of data from small islands might have contributed to the quality of the research results. The researcher also experienced transport problems, especially in Pemba. The lack of a good transport network in the Pemba was a major limitation in accessing certain areas within

the research communities. To an extent, this limited some of the information capture. As a result of poor transport networks in Pemba, the researcher had to use different modes of transport, including sea transport. All these problems made it difficult for him to complete the data collection within the planned timeframe

Fifthly, the data obtained through the survey presented some challenges for research. This data collection method produced a rich and varied data, but this contained a considerable amount of information that was not relevant for the purpose of this study. The usability of the data could have been perhaps improved by altering some of the questions. Finally, this research can be considered to be subject to researcher bias which limits the study. Owing to its qualitative nature, the findings of this research are to some degree dependent on the researcher's interpretations. As discussed in the methodology chapter, in qualitative studies the researcher functions as a key instrument. Consequently, the findings of this research are based on the researcher's subjective view and interpretations.



## **8.9 Lessons learned from doing research**

The researcher believes that conducting PhD research is a process, and through this process, various types of knowledge and skills have been learned. As a result of conducting this PhD research, relevant skills have been improved in terms of thinking, field work study, research methods, problems solving, data analysis and evaluation, data presentation and, in particular, time management. Furthermore, the application of these skills, especially data organization, time management, analysis thinking, and presentation skill, can be applied to productive working and living everyday life. This includes the realization of ongoing learning and development to improve personal capacity which may lead to an increase in effectiveness and efficiency of working.

## **8.10 Dissemination of the research results**

The completed thesis will be deposited in University of Central of Lancashire. A copy of the thesis also will be submitted to Zanzibar Commission for Tourism (the researcher's employer).

## **Concluding remarks**

This study aims to make a contribution to the application of community tourism in Zanzibar as an exemplar of LDCs. The study has suggested that community tourism development planning in Zanzibar must align with 'community capital assets'. Tourism always takes place in geographical areas where a set of stakeholders interact and intervene in tourism activities. In other words, tourism is often described as possessing an interaction between travelers and destination features (both tangible and intangible). This highlights the importance of an alignment of the tourist's preferences and destination assets. In this sense, it is believed that this study makes a significant contribution to understanding the importance of both capital assets interactions and the provision of future directions for livelihood studies in the tourism context.

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# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX 1 - LETTER AND STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE (English version) A CAPITAL MODEL FOR THE COMMUNITY TOURISM IN ZANZIBAR

Dear Sir/Madam

The following questionnaire is part of an extensive research study undertaken to investigate the community capital assets associated with implementation of community tourism. Your valuable input is valid to the outcome of this research. Kindly complete this questionnaire as thoroughly as possible. All information will be treated as confidential and will only be used for academic purposes.

Thank you

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### ***Instruction for completion:***

1. A framework attached with this questionnaire assumes that a substantial amount of *political capital, informal social capital and human capital are needed for local community to participate in developing community tourism*. On one hand, the aforementioned capital assets increase the chance for local people to access natural and cultural capital and other hand help to the generation of innovation capital, lifeblood for sustainable community tourism.
2. Place a tick or a cross in the space of the questions that reflects your answer most accurately.
3. Please answer all questions regarding your assessment of community capital assets as honestly and objectively as possible.
4. Where asked for comments or to specify, please keep these as brief, yet thoroughly as possible.

## SECTION ONE: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

**Question one:** Please provide some details about yourself:

<b>1.1 Gender</b>		
1.1.1	Male	
1.1.2	Female	

<b>1.2 Age group</b>		
1.2.1	Under 21 Years	
1.2.2	21-30 Years	
1.2.3	31-40 Years	
1.2.4	41-50 Years	
1.2.5	Over 50 Years	

<b>1.3 Highest education level completed</b>		
1.3.1	No formal education	
1.3.2	Primary education	
1.3.3	Secondary education	
1.3.4	Other	

<b>1.4 Area of residence</b>		
1.4.1	North Unguja	
1.4.2	Urban Unguja	
1.4.3	South Unguja	
1.4.4	North Pemba	
1.4.5	South Pemba	

<b>1.5 Marital Status</b>		
1.5.1	Married	
1.5.2	Widow	
1.5.3	Single	
1.5.4	Divorced	

<b>1.6 Occupation</b>		
1.6.1	Unemployed	
1.6.2	Self employed	
1.6.3	Government	
1.6.4	Companies employees	
1.6.5	Students	
1.6.6	Housewives	
1.6.7	Others (please specify)	

## SECTION 2

**Questions 2-4:** Please read the following statements and indicate your preference according to the legend below:

1	2	3	4	5
<b>STRONGLY DISAGREE</b>	<b>DISAGREE</b>	<b>UNDECIDED</b>	<b>AGREE</b>	<b>STRONGLY AGREE</b>

<b>STATEMENTS</b> (Where options are presented, more than one option can be selected)		Degree of preference				
<b>2</b>	<b>Please indicate your level of agreement/disagreement on implementation of the given framework?</b>	1	2	3	4	5
2.1	The implementation of the model becomes the responsibility of national government					
2.2	The implementation of the model becomes responsibility of regional authorities					
2.3	The implementation of model becomes responsibility of local community					
<b>3</b>	<b>Please indicate your level of agreement/disagreement toward a given model of community tourism in the context of Zanzibar.</b>					
3.1	Can be best tool for implementing community tourism					
3.2	Can help to attract to attract is disadvantage areas					
3.3	Is designed to involve local community in tourism.					
<b>4</b>	<b>Please indicate your level of agreement/disagreement on alignment of the model with Zanzibar Laws and Policies</b>					
4.1	<i>Tourism Act, policies and regulations to large extent do not support the implementation of the model</i>					
4.2	<i>Government policies give priorities to the development of community based tourism.</i>					

**Question 5:** From your opinion to what extent to your access to capital assets in your community. Please read the hints and indicate your preference according to the legend below:

<b>1</b>		<b>2</b>		<b>3</b>		
<b>LOW</b>		<b>AVERAGE</b>		<b>HIGH</b>		
<b>5</b>	<b>What is your access to</b>					
5.1	<b>Natural capital</b> ( <i>Hint: access to diverse and varied range of plants and animals; opportunities to interact with marine resources and wildlife; opportunities to own natural resources such as land and the like</i> )			1	2	3
5.2	<b>Cultural capital</b> ( <i>Hint: access and use of cultural resources; preservation of local stories, history, traditional music, craft norm, etc</i> )					
5.3	<b>Physical capital</b> ( <i>Hint: well developed road, reliable electricity, availability of safety water, and other public assets in your area</i> )					
5.4	<b>Financial capital</b> ( <i>Hint: Loan and credit are available to support tourism development; investment opportunities available to support local economic development; etc</i> )					
5.5	<b>Social capital</b> ( <i>Hint: Mutual trust exists between the community members; community members are cohesive; strong communication between community and government authorities; etc</i> )					
5.6	<b>Political capital</b> ( <i>Hint: participating in decision making in the</i>					



**APPENDIX 2: GUIDE FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION AND SCHEDULEE**

<b>DISCUSSION QUESTIONS</b>			
1. Do you know what tourism is?	Yes, (Give detail)	No, (Give detail)	Additional comments
2. Can you tell me what you think community tourism is?	Able: Is there a group consensus?	Unable: Is there a group consensus?	Additional comments
3. How has tourism effect community development in Zanzibar?	Consensus on group	No consensus on group	Additional comments
4. To what extent does government play role in developing community tourism?			
5. To what extent do local people take part in tourism?			
6. If no participation, what are the constraints?			
7. What do you consider to be the key capital assets in the involvement of the local people in tourism?			
8. What barriers encountered by local people in accumulating financial assets?			
9. What factor preventing local people from accumulation physical assets			
10. What factor preventing local community from accessing natural resources (e.g. land, forest, etc)?			
11. Have you created any social groups, networks, associations or projects within community?			
12. Is there any political constraint that obstacle local community to take a more active role in tourism?			
13. Has political capital influenced your access to natural resources (e.g., land, forest etc.)? If so, how?			

**APPENDIX 3: GUIDES FOR STAKEHOLDERS INTERVIEWS**

<b>Interview questions for the informal business representatives</b>	<b>Interview questions to government officials</b>	<b>Interview questions to Tourism Association and tourism enterprises</b>	<b>Interview with experts</b>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Do you trust authorities, foreign settlers, tourists or bother local residents in your communities?</li> <li>2. What kind of support do you get from the government authorities or other external agencies?</li> <li>3. What do you want tourism development to bring to the community?</li> <li>4. Are you interested in participating and being involved in tourism management and governance? If so, could you access the decision-making process? and how?</li> <li>5. What are the constraints</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. What policies related to tourism development has the government made in the last fifteen years? How did they influence community tourism development?</li> <li>2. For ensuring the implementation of these policies, what measures did the government take, for example regulatory instrument, financial incentives etc?</li> <li>3. How does government perceive the involvement of local people in the tourism development?</li> <li>4. What challenges impact the implementation of a community-inclusive planning process?</li> <li>5. What do you want tourism development to bring to the community?</li> <li>6. Are there any conflict or potential conflicts between the policies on environment, finance, agriculture, others and tourism in rural development? What has the government done to mediate these</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. What role does the organsiation/enterprise play in the process of tourism development?</li> <li>2. Identify factors that are detracting from the effectiveness of Zanzibar Commission for Tourism?</li> <li>3. Comment on how and why has Zanzibar been able to maintain its position as one of the world’s major tourism destinations? Is it expected to remain so in the future?</li> <li>4. What is required to encourage community participation in tourism planning and marketing?</li> <li>5. How does the organsiation/enterprise deal</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. From your opinion what is the level of innovation in Zanzibar, especial in rural areas?</li> <li>2. How does social capital influence generation of innovation capital; that can be used for implementation of sustainable community tourism development in Zanzibar?</li> <li>3. How does political capital influence generation of innovation capital; that can be used for implementation of sustainable community tourism development in Zanzibar?</li> </ol>



<p>that affect your participation and involvement in the tourism decision-making process?</p> <p>6. What are your viewpoints about the role played by a tourism enterprise and local government in community tourism development?</p>	<p>conflicts?</p> <p>7. What effects do national tourism policy has on community tourism development in rural areas (in Zanzibar)?</p> <p>8. What is your viewpoint on the marketing context of community tourism product? What measure does the government take to strengthen access to the market for local products?</p> <p>9. Are there any training programme be offered to local residents to enable them to take control of their own tourism industry?</p> <p>10. Is community participation and involvement in the decision-making process in tourism management and governance encouraged by local government? If so, what forms of participation? To what extent does the community get involved? How do you consider the importance of community participation in community tourism development?</p>	<p>with the relationship with the local community as a whole as well as with individual members?</p> <p>6. How do you think that the enterprise influences community tourism development?</p> <p>7. Have any conflicts happened or potentially existed between the local community and the organisation/enterprise? If so, what effects do these have on the enterprise's development strategy?</p>	<p>4. How does human capital influence generation of innovation capital; that can be used for implementation of community tourism development in Zanzibar?</p>
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