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Best practice model for community capacity-building: A case study of community-based tourism enterprises in Kenya

Abstract

As tourism continues to play a major role in the global economy, key international organisations, such as the United Nations World Tourism Organisation and the World Bank, have endorsed it as a tool for poverty alleviation particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. To address this endorsement, local community involvement in tourism development is now urgent. The Local Agenda 21, for instance, advocates for participative and collaborative approaches in which the local communities play a significant role in defining their development priorities. Community-based tourism enterprises (CBTEs), have been touted as a potential route through which local community involvement in tourism can be enhanced and that they significantly contribute to socio-economic development and consequently poverty alleviation. A previous study in Kenya confirms this but reveals that CBTEs face significant capacity challenges, including deficiencies in vision and leadership for tourism product development and marketing, entrepreneurial skills, business management skills and access to credit facilities or the mobilisation of resources. This paper, through a critical review of literature on capacity-building best practice, seeks to develop a best practice model for community capacity-building suitable for Kenyan CBTEs. The paper is developed using a multiple case study of six CBTEs and in-depth semi-structured interviews with CBTE managers and leaders, tourism academics, and representatives of support organizations and the Kenyan government. The respondents' views are integrated into a unified best practice model using constructive and choice ordering projective techniques. The paper concludes with the identification of essential components for ensuring the effectiveness of community capacity-building - community approach, leadership approach, sustainable approach and an appropriate policy and legislative framework.

Keywords:
capacity-building; community-based tourism; poverty alleviation; Kenya; sub-Saharan Africa

Introduction

The tourism industry in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) is projected to grow at an average rate of 5%, one of the highest rates globally (UNWTO, 2006). Despite this phenomenal projection, benefits accruing from the tourism industry have failed to translate to significant socio-economic development especially at the local levels and the involvement of local communities has been minimal (Khan, 1997; Tosun, 2000: Manyara,

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Jones & Botterill, 2006). This situation was deemed unsustainable in the Local Agenda 21 emerging from the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, which advocates for the involvement of local communities in the decision-making process as a means to enhancing sustainable tourism development through participative and collaborative approaches in which local communities define current and future development priorities (Jackson, 1999).

More recently, tourism has been endorsed by key international organisations, including the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) and the World Bank, as a tool for economic development and poverty alleviation, especially when leakages are minimised and linkages within local economies are strengthened (WTO, 2002; Christie & Crompton, 2001). It is argued that tourism has several advantages over other sectors, such as agriculture and mining, in developing countries. The UNWTO in its Sustainable Tourism and Elimination of Poverty (STEP) report (WTO, 2002), for instance, posits that tourism: provides opportunities for selling additional goods and services; creates opportunities for local economic diversification of poor and marginal areas that have no other development opportunities; is based on cultural, wildlife and landscape assets that belong to the poor; offers better labour-intensive and small-scale opportunities than any sector but agriculture; promotes gender equality by employing a relatively high proportion of women; reduces leakage from, and maximises linkage to, local economies. Amongst its strategies, UNWTO highlights small enterprise development, although it stresses the requirement for support from government policy.

In Kenya, the importance of the tourism industry to the country's economy cannot be overstated. Kenya is one of the most developed tourist destinations in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) (Sindiga, 1999). In Kenya, the tourism industry is a key industry employing over 500 000 people and is a leading foreign exchange earner (Kenya Government, 2004). For instance, tourism contributed US$ 486 million to the economy in 2004 and US$ 579 million in 2005 (UNWTO, 2006). It represents about 18% of total foreign exchange earnings and about 10% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) making the industry a significant part of the economy (Kenya Government, 2004).

However, despite this glossy picture tourism development in Kenya is based on an anachronistic colonial model in which the involvement of local communities is minimal (Manyara & Jones, 2005). Moreover, as a result of the prevailing model, tourism development in Kenya faces a number of challenges which include: lack of a sound tourism policy, unsystematic tourism planning and unclear roles and responsibilities; lack of tourism awareness; insecurity and bad publicity; narrow range of tourism products; focus on a traditional Western tourist market; high leakages through foreign ownership and control; low economic linkages; conflicts resulting from competition for scarce resources; unfavourable partnerships; and lack of skills and knowledge (Akama, 1999; Manyara & Jones, 2005).

Whilst upholding the importance of the tourism industry in terms of its potential for socio-economic development and poverty alleviation, the Kenya Government in its draft national tourism policy (DNTP), recognises the urgent need to overcome the challenges that face the industry (Kenya Government, 2004). In the DNTP, the Kenya Government shares the same view with UNWTO that development of indigenous small and medium tourism enterprises (SMTEs) could play a significant role in overcoming the challenges that face tourism development and in so doing contribute to socio-economic development and poverty alleviation (WTO 2002; Kenya Government, 2004). UNWTO, for instance, presents several case studies in which SMTEs are showcased as the way forward (WTO, 2002). Nonetheless, a study on indigenous SMTEs in Kenya,

revealed that these enterprises faced major hurdles such as: access to markets; product development; access to capital; lack of basic skills and knowledge; lack tourism specific skills and knowledge; and more profoundly lack of appropriate support structures (Manyara et al, 2006).

Community-based tourism enterprises (CBTEs) in Kenya began in the early 1980s, they are closely associated with the conservation agenda of the Kenyan Government which faces two major challenges: human encroachment and human-wildlife conflicts (Sindiga, 1999; Southgate, 2006) and are adjacent to protected areas (Manyara & Jones, 2007). There are few, if any, non-conservation-based CBTEs (ESOK, 2003; Manyara et al., 2006). The first CBTE was the Il Ngwesi Group Ranch which was established to provide socio-economic benefit to the local community (Sikoyo, Ashley & Elliot, 2001). It comprises a tourism lodge, a conservation area and an area set aside for the local Maasai community to graze their livestock (Sikoyo et al., 2001). Characteristics of the Il Ngwesi model, i.e. low-capacity lodges, a partnership approach, a community membership scheme and areas for both conservation and grazing, are shared with other similar initiatives in Kenya (Manyara & Jones, 2007).

 CBTEs are now seen as an avenue through which the involvement of local communities in tourism development can be enhanced (Kiss, 2004). It is argued that such enterprises could benefit the wider community and offer a development route enabling the establishment of a support network which in the longer-term may benefit indigenous communities and also that the higher the involvement of local communities in tourism through various community initiatives, the higher the benefits that would accrue to them (Mitchell & Reid, 2001; Manyara et al, 2006). Consequently, several international organisations, such as UNWTO, the World Bank and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), are turning to community-based tourism as a way of involving local communities in socio-economic development and poverty alleviation (Kiss, 2004).

Similarly, the Kenyan Government through its DNTP recognises the potential of CBTEs as an avenue through which the involvement of local communities in tourism development can be enhanced (Kenya Government, 2004). The government hopes that CBTEs can improve indigenous ownership of tourism resources and consequently the sustainability of the industry. This potential impact of CBTEs is highlighted in a previous study on community-based tourism in Kenya which confirmed that such enterprises can indeed have a significant impact on socio-economic development (Manyara et al, 2006). This study, however, also revealed that CBTEs in Kenya still face several capacity challenges. These challenges include: deficiencies in vision and leadership for tourism product development and marketing, entrepreneurial skills, business management skills and access to credit facilities or mobilisation of resources.

This paper presents a brief overview of CBTE development in Kenya. The paper further critically reviews literature on best practice approaches to capacity-building with a view to developing a best practice model for community capacity-building suitable for Kenyan CBTEs. The paper is developed using a multiple case study of six CBTEs and in-depth semi-structured interviews with: CBTE managers, leaders and members; tourism academics; representatives of conservation-oriented support organizations; and the Kenyan government. The respondents' views are integrated into a unified best practice model using constructive and choice ordering projective techniques. The paper concludes with the identification of essential components for ensuring the effectiveness of community capacity-building – community approach, leadership approach, sustainable approach and an appropriate policy and legislative framework.

CBTE development in Kenya

The development of CBTEs in Kenya is closely associated with the conservation agenda, such that majority of these enterprises are conservation-based (Western et al., 1998; ESOK, 2003). CBTEs development can be traced back to the 1970s during which there were major reviews of Kenya's wildlife tourism policy. For instance, in 1977 the government banned sport hunting in an attempt to control poaching and in 1978 a total ban on the sale of game trophies was instituted (Elliot & Young, 2001). This change in policy dealt a severe blow on the livelihoods of local communities leaving adjacent to wildlife protected areas (PAs) where they worked as guides, porters and skinners (Sindiga, 1999).

The PAs were a creation of the colonial era which resulted in loss of land for the local communities in favour of game reserves and national parks to enhance wildlife conservation (Akama, 1999). A problem with the PAs, however, was that there were no clear border controls leading to resource conflicts between wildlife and local communities, especially during the dry seasons (Goodman, 2002; Thompson & Homewood, 2002). Furthermore, the conservation agenda faced a major challenge emanating from human encroachment on PAs. This was mainly due to the suitability of PAs for agricultural purposes (Southgate, 2006). More pressure on PAs was exerted following a study that revealed that potentially agriculture could benefit the local communities than could conservation (Norton-Griffiths & Southey, 1995).

Fundamentally, therefore, the resource conflicts and human encroaching on PAs constituted a major challenge for the conservation agenda culminating in a further loss of wildlife despite the pro-wildlife policy (Elliot & Young, 2001). To remedy the situation, it was deemed necessary to involve local communities in conservation through the adoption of participatory approaches, which initially focussed on eradicating resource conflicts and human encroachment, and later emphasis was laid on ensuring that conservation benefits the local community to earn their support thereby giving way to CBTEs (Sindiga, 1999). It is primarily for this reason that the majority of CBTEs in Kenya are conservation-oriented (Cater, 2006).

There are several examples of CBTEs in Kenya. The most notable ones include Il Ngwesi and Lumo. Il Ngwesi Group Ranch was a result of Conservation of Biodiverse Resource Areas (COBRA) initiative which was funded by USAID and is located in the Laikipia District in Northern Kenya (Sikoyo et al, 2001). Lumo was also funded by USAID and is located in Taita Taveta in the Southern part of Kenya. Both initiatives were established to enhance the conservation agenda while at the same time benefiting local communities through enterprise development. As a result, both initiatives are characteristic of a membership scheme drawn from the respective local communities, a partnership with a private investor, a low capacity tourist lodge, and specific areas set aside for conservation and grazing of local livestock.

Community capacity-building: Best practice approaches

Increasingly, capacity-building is being touted as a solution to major developmental challenges facing developing countries, especially those in SSA (Hilderbrand & Grindle, 1994). Consequently, capacity-building is now a major focal point for donor funding organisations, especially in their quest to combat poverty (World Bank, 2004). Capacity-building basically refers to the ability of individuals, organisations, or societies to meet their developmental priorities over a period of time (Hilderbrand & Grindle, 1994; Ohiorhenuan & Winker, 1995). However, when specifically applied to community, capacity-building connotes the ability of a given community to function in a particular way towards achieving a common goal. More specifically, community capacity-building refers to (Chaskin, 2001, p. 7) :

…the interaction of human capital, organisation resources and social capital existing within a given community that can be leveraged to solve collective problems and improve or maintain the well-being of that community. It may operate through informal social processes and/or organised efforts by individuals, organisations, and social networks that exist among them and between them and the larger systems of which the community is a part.

To clearly comprehend the community capacity-building concept, an analysis of the term 'community' is essential. Community is usually used to signify a unitary or accumulative structure that has the capability of meeting developmental priorities (Shirlow & Murtagh, 2004). This is a rather naive view of a community given that a community is made up of different individuals, groupings, or organisations, such that it cannot be considered as a stakeholder. The difficulty in defining the community as such is problematic in the tourism industry, especially in developing countries, where it is not readily obvious who constitutes the community in local community tourism initiatives (Scheyvens, 2002).

Generally the community can be referred to as an umbrella body that covers various distinct stakeholders represented on the one hand by an organised sector that represents people with varied interests but share a common goal and, on the other, those with no interest at all in the shared common goal (Shirlow & Murtagh, 2004). Thus to enhance the success of community capacity-building initiatives, it is essential that the different structures that constitute the community and how these relate to each other are well understood to minimise potential conflicts. A way forward would be to consider the legitimacy of the organisation, i.e. the community and who it represents, while at the same time taking into consideration the views or needs of non-interested individuals or groups (Shirlow & Murtagh, 2004). This could be achieved through the adoption of a widespread participatory approach to accommodate the majority of the community members (Shirlow & Murtagh, 2004).

As the development priorities differ from one community to another, capacity-building strategies will also have to be community-specific (Hilderbrand & Grindle, 1994). However, such strategies have to take into consideration six core principles which include: the mission, vision, value, resources, strategies and productivity (Kinsey & Raker, 2003). The mission entails the establishment of goals that the community seeks to achieve and is thus the first step of capacity-building. This is followed by the vision, which fundamentally refers to a future position that a community would like to be in and involves setting realistic targets. In making decisions, particularly tough ones, values would play a crucial role. The organisation will then have to access resources and understand how these can be exploited to ensure the success of the capacity-building initiative by developing appropriate strategies. Such strategies will then have to be frequently monitored to check on performance of the various functions in order to enhance productivity.

To further enhance the effectiveness of capacity-building initiatives, Hilderbrand and Grindle (1994) provide five dimensions that could be analysed to provide a detailed analysis of key capacity challenges that face a community and with a view to developing appropriate strategies. These dimensions are: the action environment, institutional environment, task network, organisation and human resources. The action environment generally refers to the economic, social and political milieu within which the organisation operates and the extent to which conditions facilitate or constrain performance. The institutional environment on the other hand refers to the laws and regulations that affect the organisation. Thirdly, the task network refers to the prevailing support

network in relation to achieving capacity-building goals. Fourthly, the organisation in general refers to the structures, processes, resources and management styles. Lastly, the human resources mainly refer to the level of skills and knowledge, training, recruitment and utilisation of such resources.

Most capacity-building initiatives, particularly in developing countries, rely on some form of external intervention, in the form of donor funding or consultants who direct the development of these initiatives. In the case of funding, for example, it is clear that donors usually have an agenda, which may conflict with the aspirations of the community (Shirlow & Murtagh, 2004). In line with this, capacity-building initiatives that heavily rely on consultants in the implementation process do not have long lasting impacts and hence are unsustainable (Blumenthal, 2004). The key issue here is not capacity-building *per se* but rather the design of these initiatives. To address this anomaly, Blumenthal (2004) recommends a developmental consulting approach which emphasises capacity long-term improvement rather than just meeting targets of donor funded programmes.

As already mentioned, minimising potential conflicts is crucial to the success of capacity-building initiatives. To this end, Weiler and Ham (2002) propose that a community approach be adopted to capacity-building. This approach promotes community involvement in the decision-making process rather than relying on external intervention, as ultimately it is the community that understands best its aspirations. Moreover, capacity-building initiatives should be build on existing capabilities within the community instead of establishing new ones (Harrow, 2001).

Community capacity-building initiatives should further invoke a sustainability approach which advocates the creation of conducive environments that promote and facilitate continual learning and improvement amongst the various elements that constitute the community (Newman, 2001; Scheyvens, 2002). The argument here is that conducive environments will facilitate the success of a series of capacity-building initiatives – a chain reaction of capacity-building initiatives (Newman, 2001). The success of this approach also depends on the enhanced capacity of the community to meet its capacity needs.

Whereas the external environment, such as conflicting agendas, for example, between the community and donors, may affect the success of community capacity-building initiatives, it is imperative that the internal environment is also analysed. As every community is composed of individuals, groupings, organisations and networks, all with varying interests, it will not just be important to discern the internal politics, but also take into consideration reasons for disempowerment within the community (Shirlow & Murtagh, 2004). This will not only minimise potential conflicts that may arise in the internal environment, but will also enhance the involvement of the majority of the community members.

To effectively manage the potential conflicts that may arise in the internal environment, Shirlow and Murtagh (2004) suggest a number of best practice strategies for community capacity-building. Firstly, such initiatives should adopt a quantitative approach which should seek to involve the majority of the community members who should be the driving force for such initiatives. This is synonymous with a community approach. Second, the initiatives should further embrace a qualitative approach which essentially lays emphasis on establishing strategies to address potential challenges. Additionally, and perhaps more fundamentally, these initiatives should strive to build self-esteem and

confidence amongst community members, develop clear, justifiable and publicly under-stood criteria, and should seek to promote clear and coherent image of community building.

To add to these, Newman (2001) also presents a set of five principles and best practice strategies that could enhance the success of capacity-building initiatives. Firstly, such initiatives need to be continuous through the establishment of a capacity-building chain reaction. Secondly, the initiatives should lay emphasis on building on the existing capabilities within the community. External intervention should play a diminishing role, mainly facilitatory. Thirdly, a conducive environment should be created to foster continuous learning. Fourthly, as development priorities differ from one community to another, capacity-building should be community-specific. Fifthly, such initiatives should focus on enhancing the ability of the community to learn and adapt new ideas as a long-term strategy.

It is also imperative to note that for these sets of principles and best practice strategies to be effective, good leadership with sound direction is essential. Working through a network of peers, consultants, coaches and mentors, and employment of appropriate mechanisms, Newman (2001) argues that effective leadership can catalyse a capacity-building chain reaction. The initial stages of these initiatives should therefore focus on identifying 'catalytic people', those members of the community who possess good leadership skills and can hence steer the community forward towards meeting its own capacity needs. Such leaders could also play a crucial role in minimising potential conflicts that arise from the internal and external environments (Chaskin, 2001).

Methodology

This results described in this paper focus on community capacity building as one aspect of a larger multiple case study of six CBTEs selected as examples of community tourism development widely considered as best practice in Kenya, using opportunistic and snowball sampling techniques (Black, 1999). The CBTEs studies were: Il Ngwesi; Tasia; Koiyaki Lemek; Wasini Women's Group; Lumo Wildlife Sanctuary; Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary, and are described in detail in Manyara and Jones (2007). The study yielded 20 in-depth semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders with in-depth experience of CBTEs. These included: four CBTE managers, three leaders and four members; two tourism academics undertaking CBTE research and consultancy; six representatives of conservation-oriented non-governmental organisa-tions (NGOs) providing support to CBTEs; three Kenyan government representatives. The respondents' views were then integrated into a unified best practice model using construction and choice-ordering projective techniques (Lilienfeld, James & Garb, 2000). Construction techniques require respondents, through their imagination and creativity, to construct a story or a picture, while the choice-ordering technique require them to group materials or pictures into categories that are meaningful to them.

In this study, respondents were presented with assumption cards which were placed upside down. The assumptions cards were drawn from a critical review of literature as follows: community tourism awareness; community empowerment; leadership and vision; community capacity-building; local trainers; key performance indicators; and technical support/external intervention. The respondents were asked to randomly select a card for in-depth discussion and after commenting on each to arrange the cards in a logical sequence and to provide an explanation for their respective arrangement. Application of the projective technique facilitated the research process in several ways. Firstly, the use of the assumption cards proved vital to the research process as they

introduced some element of 'play' that kindled the respondents' interests during the interview given that on average each interview lasted one and a half hours. Secondly, the use of the construction technique enabled the respondents to generate in-depth information and also allowed the researcher to discern how individual concepts build up, and helped pull out tacit understanding of the key concepts. Thirdly, the choice ordering technique enabled the respondents to dig deeper into their experiences in order to arrange the assumption cards (key concepts) into a logical framework and account for their propositions. Fourthly, as a result of the adaptation of these projective techniques, the element of researcher bias was greatly reduced during the interview process thereby enhancing reliability.

Findings and discussion

This section presents the findings of the research with in-depth discussion based on the comments made by the respondents on the assumption cards given during the interview process. The order of the sections reflects a consolidation of the sequencing of the assumption cards by the respondents.

COMMUNITY TOURISM AWARENESS

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

> "*Elites are sufficiently sensitised while the ordinary folk are kept in the dark.*" (Academic 1)

COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT

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

> "*Empowerment is very important in that it motivates the community to actively participate in developing its enterprise through a sense of ownership derived from the power to run, manage and make decisions.*" (Leader 2)

LEADERSHIP AND VISION

Following the interviews, it emerged that consideration of leadership in these initiatives was instilled either through recognition of traditional structures or from democratic processes. The extant traditional structures appeared to be a preference for external intervention at the initial stages as an entry point to these communities, after which the democratic processes appear to be favoured. All the respondents concurred on the point that leadership and vision were very important, that vision had to be a quality of leadership and that leadership should be drawn from the community. In this respect some respondents observed that the traditional structures had systems in place that

facilitated the selection of traditional leaders based on certain leadership traits such as bravery and elderliness. However, some respondents observed that the majority of such leaders tended to be elderly and illiterate and hence could not readily comprehend these initiatives. Some respondents further felt that such leadership was open to abuse as effective mechanisms were not in place to ensure accountability as stressed below:

> "... the leaders have just been greedy and have been pursuing their own personal agendas not those of the community. These leaders have been able to get away with their inefficiencies and corruptness, because there is no structure in place to ensure transparency and accountability in these initiatives." (Manager 1)

Enhancing leadership and vision was therefore seen as crucial in the success of these initiatives. The key qualities that the respondents recommended were that such leaders had to be literate and informed, preferably retired civil servants, community focussed, visionary, diplomatic. Leadership networks were also seen as crucial as the leaders can then deliberate on the various issues and challenges accordingly.

COMMUNITY CAPACITY-BUILDING

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

> "This is very crucial especially in the initial stages to develop their capacity to understand the idea, to participate in the process and even gradually develop their capacity to engage in the management of their enterprises." (Support 6)

LOCAL TRAINERS

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

> "Local trainers are therefore essential in ensuring the sustainability of these initiatives especially when the external intervention finally pulls out." (Government 1)

KEY PERFORMANCE INDICATORS (KPIS)

The main objectives and goals of the CBTEs were, firstly to enhance conservation and secondly, community development, in which the element of poverty alleviation was

integral. Thus, the respondents observed that KPIs were essential mainly to check whether these objectives were being achieved, and hence the success or failure of these initiatives. The respondents' suggestions for KPIs could broadly be classified into: those that check the performance of enterprise, those that check the impacts of these initiatives on the community, and lastly, those that check the development of the community vis-ŕ-vis facilitating the development of these initiatives.

EXTERNAL INTERVENTION

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

> "*I don't want to say the government because of its bureaucracy, and lack of finances and they don't keep their promises. So we can say the donors and other NGOs.*" (Leader 1)

THE BEST PRACTICE MODEL FOR COMMUNITY CAPACITY-BUILDING

Figure 1 presents a unified best practice model suitable for Kenya CBTEs which integrates the key components of community capacity-building identified in the literature review on best practice capacity strategies and takes into account respondents' views, i.e. community-based approach, leadership and vision and a sustainable approach. The model also lays emphasis on the need for an appropriate policy framework for tourism development.

Firstly, the community-based approach basically seeks to incorporate the involvement of the majority, if not all, of the community members throughout the development process of these initiatives and in addition, lays emphasis on the ability of the community to make its own decisions, rather than relying on external intervention. The model thus incorporates this approach through emphasis on community tourism awareness and community empowerment, as these will enable the community to fully comprehend these initiatives and to be involved in decision-making throughout the development process of these initiatives.

Secondly, the leadership and vision within the community capacity-building initiatives refers to identification of those 'catalytic people' within the community who would be able to kick-start the process of community capacity-building. Within the Kenyan scenario, such people have been identified as the elders, who command considerable authority within the local authorities. The problem however is that due to their low literacy levels they are not able to effectively impact on community capacity-building. Thus it is recommended that within the Kenyan context, a two-tier strategy be employed, in which such elders are only used for elementary purposes such as introducing the idea to community after which potential catalytic people are identified specifically for community capacity-building.

It is expected that, following the adoption of a community approach and a leadership approach, the community should be in a position to develop a core strategy for capacity-building. External intervention could initially facilitate this process. The core

strategy should focus on identifying the mission, vision and potential resources that would facilitate capacity-building. In the case of the CBTEs, the main mission would be to develop capacity in the endeavour to enhance the capabilities of the local communities to exploit opportunities in tourism and consequently alleviate poverty.

Figure 1
BEST PRACTICE MODEL SUITABLE FOR KENYAN CBTES
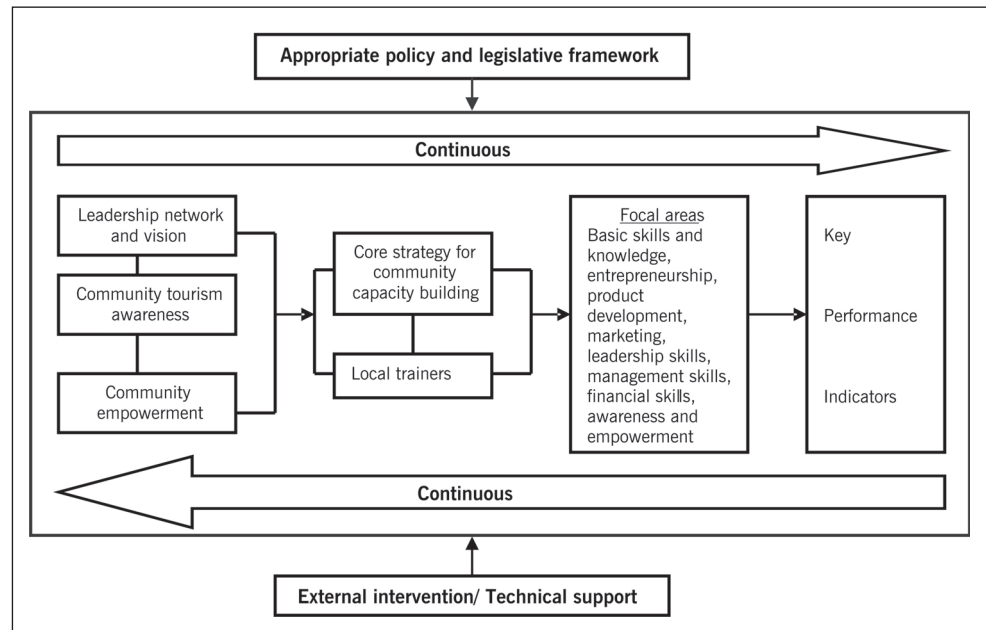
Thirdly, the sustainable approach advocates the creation of a conducive environment in which there is continuous building of capacity and in which the local community is able to meet its own capacity-building needs. The model thus lays emphasis on local trainers as a step forward, towards achieving this goal in that they should be able to minimise the local communities' reliance on external intervention. Nonetheless, within the Kenyan context, owing to the prevailing low literacy levels, emphasis on local trainers is seen as a long-term strategy and should be incorporated in the core strategy for community capacity-building. The model also identifies some of the focal areas that are in need of urgent attention in Kenya, e.g. basic skills and knowledge, indigenous tourism entrepreneurship, tourism product development, marketing, leadership skills, management skills, tourism awareness and empowerment etc. Key performance indicators are necessary to monitor the impact various capacity-building strategies, a process that is on-going.

Fourthly, the results reveal that for community capacity-building to have significant impact within the local community, an appropriate policy and legislative framework is essential, and as such, the government role is important. Such a framework should therefore seek to create a favourable environment through the incorporation guidelines, regulations and incentives necessary to strengthen the impacts of community capacity-building. The framework should seek to enhance community awareness, empowerment, basic numeracy and literacy skills, and basic skills and knowledge necessary to enable the local communities exploit opportunities arising from tourism development. External intervention or technical support is also necessary, but should be mainly to advise and facilitate the local communities' abilities to effectively run and manage these enterprises independently.

Conclusion

Kenyan CBTEs have the potential to significantly impact on socio-economic development and poverty alleviation. Kenya CBTEs, however, face significant capacity challenges that have hampered their development. There is therefore an urgent need to develop strategies that can address these challenges. Taking into consideration the best practice strategies for community capacity-building identified in the literature and the views of the respondents interviewed in this study, this paper has revealed that any endeavour to build capacity in Kenya must take into consideration four essential components for community capacity-building, i.e. a community-based approach, a leadership approach, a sustainable approach and an appropriate policy and legislative framework.

The community-based approach should enhance the involvement of the majority or all members through the inception stages of the community capacity-building strategies right through the implementation stages. The leadership approach should involve the identification of 'catalytic people', those that can kick-start the process of community capacity-building and who also have vision in terms of a position that they would like community to be in future. The sustainable approach should entail the creation of a supportive environment in which there is continuous building of capacity and community is able to meet its own capacity-building needs. However, it is important to note, at least in the Kenyan case, an appropriate policy and legislative framework is essential for the success of community capacity-building initiatives. This framework should seek to create an environment conducive to community capacity-building and should lay emphasis on enhancing community awareness, empowerment, basic numeracy, literacy skills and knowledge necessary to enable the local communities to exploit opportunities arising from tourism development.

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