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Efficacy of Community Based Tourism Initiatives: A Review of Socio-Cultural and Economic Impacts

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Abstract

The genesis of Community Based Tourism Initiatives (CBTIs) in the 1990s was to augment community support for wildlife conservation, while ensuring that local community benefit from tourism development. However, a number of CBTIs in Kenya have failed to live to their initial objectives. This study sought to determine the efficacy of CBTIs development with particular interest in Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary (MES), Kenya. This was achieved by determining the socio-cultural and economic impacts of tourism to the local community. The study adopted a descriptive survey design that allowed qualitative and quantitative methods of data analysis. All 282 landowners of MES were targeted, while 5 ex-officio and 19 staffs were interviewed. Stratified random sampling was used to establish the study sample of 157 landowners. Socio-cultural impacts were positively acknowledged, while economic impacts were negatively perceived. The study concludes that the current model of CBTIs is not sustainable and needs to be reviewed.

Keywords: Community, Conservation, Socio-Cultural Impacts, Economic Impacts

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Introduction

Community Based Tourism (CBT) has been emphasized as a tool for augmenting community development, poverty reduction, culture and biodiversity conservation (Equations, 2008). It is considered a viable strategy for tourism development, for conservation of both natural and cultural resources and socio-economic development of communities (Yoopeteh, 2015). CBT also aims at addressing aspects of empowerment and ownership at the community level (Amir, Ghapar, Jamal, & Ahmad, 2015). However, several years after the establishment of CBTIs in Kenya, some have not lived to their expectations (Kihima, 2014; Kihima, 2015; Manyara and Jones, 2007) while others have collapsed (Meguro and Inoue, 2011). It is therefore important to establish the efficacy of current CBTIs by reviewing the impacts generated to the host community.

Studies on impacts of tourism development to host communities have focused on various sites (Akama and Kieti, 2007; Bureau Wyser, 2018; Cater, 2006; Godwin and Santili, 2009; Kibicho, 2000; Kiss, 2004; Kimaiga and Kihima, 2018; Liu and Li, 2018; Manyara and Jones, 2007; Oketch and Urmilla, 2009; Roe and Elliot, 2006; Stronza and Gordillo, 2008). Nevertheless, while a study on the impacts of tourism is not new, it

continues to be pertinent due to rapid advances and changes in the industry and community dynamics. Further, the relation between tourism and sustainable development is conveyed in the outcomes of tourism and therefore cannot be ignored.

Indeed, the development of CBTIs comes with risks, which limit community participation, and achievement of anticipated socio-cultural, economic and environmental outcomes by the community in the long term (Fandi, 2015). For example, compensation to land owners in Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary (MES) has been less than US$ 5 per acre per annum for the last 5 years, though some community projects and a bursary programme have been initiated (MES, 2012). The main research question was: are CBTIs sustainably developed? The study focused on landowners who ceded their land to establish the sanctuary. CBTIs seek to involve the local community in tourism development so as to provide them with opportunities to maximise on positive socio-cultural, economic and environmental advantages. Thus, for CBTIs to be sustainable, the outcomes of tourism development must be to the satisfaction of the landowners otherwise such CBTIs will remain unsustainable and finally disintegrate.

Literature Review

Sustainable tourism development aims at addressing community welfare and conservation of natural and cultural resources. For sustainable tourism development to occur among host communities, it must be economically viable, ecologically sustainable, embrace equitable distribution of costs and benefits among all stakeholders. Moreover, such projects should be transparent, acknowledged by all stakeholders, formed to represent the concerns of all community members and to mirror real community ownership (Kibicho, 2008; Kihima, 2015; Manyara and Jones, 2007; Nyagah, 2017; Rastegar, 2010). This is on the premise that ideal community participation and consistent positive impacts lead to more favourable community attitudes and inputs towards tourism development, which enhances sustainability (Mak, Cheung and Hui, 2017). However, tourism being a multi stakeholder industry, stakeholders' objectives are diverse. Hence, ensuring that suitable circumstances for sustainability prevail remains a major challenge that could hinder sustainable tourism development.

For instance, CBTIs being communal institutions contribute towards development of social capital and empowerment (Godwin and Santili, 2009) and pride (Hall and Lew, 2009). Local communities benefit through improvement of communal infrastructure like schools, libraries, health care institutions, and Internet cafes associated with tourism development (Manyara and Jones, 2007; Oketch and Urmilla, 2009). In addition, income generation is the key positive economic impact to the host community through employment, leases, payment of dividends, and business linkages (Manyara and Jones, 2007). This can be in the form of cash paid as camping concessions, charges to visit traditional homes (*Manyattas*), and sales of traditional artefacts/ornaments (Oketch and Urmilla, 2009).

Several scholars, Agrawal and Redford (2006), Stronza and Gordillo (2008) established that locally created new jobs and proceeds were the most common 'indicators of success' in CBTIs, while Kiss (2004) noted that little extra earnings or assets for community ventures is greatly appreciated in cash deprived rural regions. Income earned from tourism is spent locally, triggering the multiplier effect. CBTIs provide habitats for wildlife with the aim of reducing Human Wildlife Conflicts (HWC) (Manyara and Jones, 2007) and consequently increasing agricultural production, therefore increasing local income and enhancing local livelihoods.

The severity of the cultural, economic and environmental impacts experienced is influenced by the number and type of tourists, the pace of tourism development and the comparative importance of the industry (Liu and Li, 2018) as well as personal experiences from living close to wildlife areas (Kihima, 2014). The community members around MES sanctuary have been participating in CBT for a period of more than 20 years. Thus, they have had sufficient time to notice the impacts of tourism development hence the current study that will inform the future of CBTIs in Kenya and beyond.

Research Methodology

Study Area

The study was conducted in Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary (MES), located in Kwale County, South coast of Kenya (Fig. 1). MES belongs to the Shimba Hills Ecosystem (259Km^2) that encompasses Shimba Hills National Reserve (192.5Km^2), Mkongani North Forest (11.1Km^2), Mkongani West Forest (13.6Km^2), Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary (24.7Km^2) and Mwaluganje Forest (17.15Km^2) (Blackett, 1994).

Shimba Hills National Reserve (SHNR), the main attraction in the area, rests on part of a coastal plateau that rises up to an altitude of 450 m above sea level at a distance of approximately 15 km from the Indian Ocean (Schmidt, 1991) while the sanctuary lies below the plateau's escarpment on the Northern side. Due to its location on the leeward side of the plateau, the sanctuary receives relatively lower amount of rain than SHNR (Davis and Bennum, 1993). The sanctuary receives an average annual rainfall range of 450-800mm (MES, 2012) while for SHNR it ranges between 900mm-1200mm (KWS, 2012). According to Davis and Bennum (1993) Kwale experiences a monsoon type of climate; it's hot and dry from January to April while June to August is the coolest period of the year. Rainfall comes in two seasons: short rains are experienced from October to December while the long rains run from March-June/July.

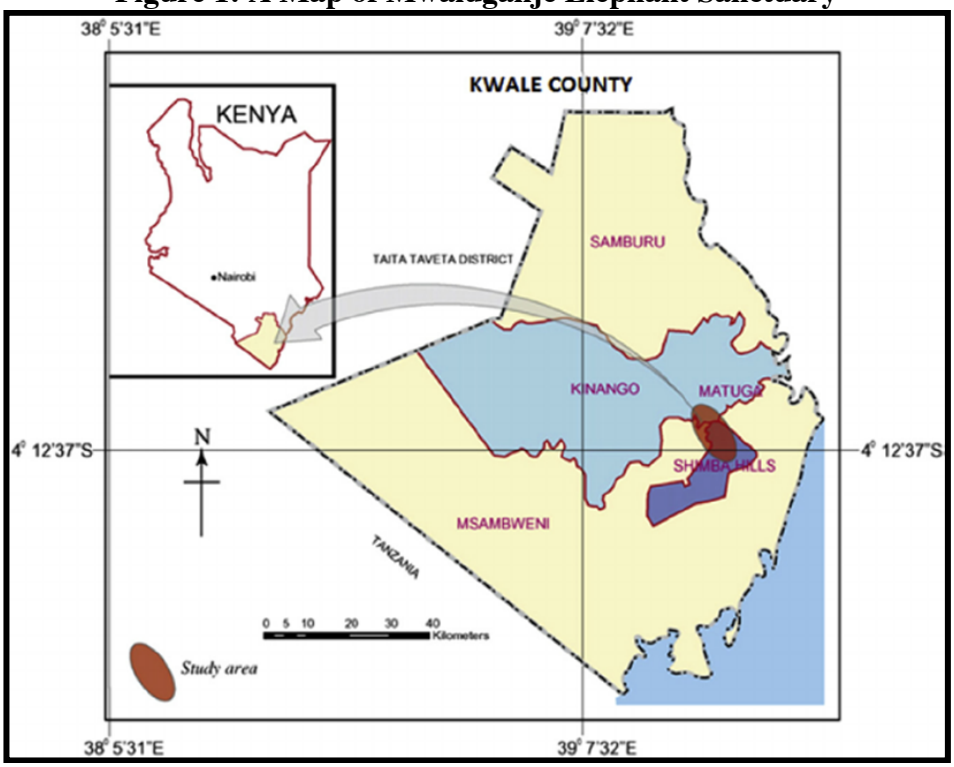
The southern half of MES is characterized by cliffs, rolling forested hills and bush-land with baobab trees (*Adansonia digitata*) all ideal for wildlife. To the north is Mwaluganje Forest Reserve characterized by a montage of evergreen dry lowland forest cover. River Manolo flows from the South to the North of the Sanctuary creating a bush riverine forest along it. The African elephant (*Loxodonta africana*) is the dominant large mammal species. According to a 2012 aerial elephant count by KWS, out of the approximately 400 elephants in the ecosystem, 160 individual's i.e. 40% were in MES. Other animal species found in the sanctuary include buffalo, impala, warthog and a variety of birdlife, reptiles and invertebrates (KWS, 2013).

Apart from the rich biological importance, MES has a sacred groove 'Kitsanze falls' and a small patch of a sacred indigenous forest (popularly referred to as *Kaya Mtae*) that holds high cultural importance to the native Duruma people. The Duruma people traditionally utilized this forest together with others within the coastal region for religious and spiritual rituals (Blackett, 1994). Despite the cessation of its use following formation of the sanctuary, the sacred value associated with it has contributed to its historical preservation and continues to endow forest values to the local community (Kahumbu, 2000). Moreover; it still retains the historical significance as a sacred place where locals can identify with the Mijikenda ancestry. Currently, this Kaya is part of the attractive sceneries forming a base for the sanctuary's tourism enterprise.

MES was registered as a limited company in 1994 under the name; Golini-Mwaluganje Community Conservation ltd and adopted the name Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary (MES) as the trade name. According to the company's Memorandum of

Association members were required to give legal right of vacant possession of their parcel of land to the company, and that they would not sell the parcel of land without express and written consent of the company (MES, 1994). An acre or part thereof constitutes a single share. Due to difficulties in securing funding, as many organisations were unwilling to fund limited companies, MES initiated a process of registering as a Community Based Organisation (CBO) in 2013.

Figure 1: A Map of Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary



Research design

Descriptive research design was utilized to achieve the objectives of the study. This involved measurement, classification, analysis and interpretation of data (Kombo and Tromp, 2009) by describing possible behaviour, attitudes, values and characteristics (Orodho, 2003). This design provides answers to the questions of who, what, when, where, and how, associated with a specific research problem (Kothari, 2004).

The study targeted 282 landowners who ceded their land to establish MES, 5 Ex-officio and 19 staff of MES. Data was collected through researcher administered questionnaires and interviews. The content of the study was limited to impacts of tourism to the host community. To achieve the desired sample, stratified random sampling was used for landowners. The objective of stratified random sampling was to get the desired representation from different subgroups in the population.

MES is divided into two settlement sections: Golini adjudication section and Mwaluganje A/B adjudication section (MES, 2012) which formed the subgroups of the study. Every member in each subgroup was given a number after which the numbers were randomly picked. Members corresponding to the numbers picked were included in the sample. Picking numbers continued until the required sample size was achieved. Thus, no bias was noted during the sampling. This gave each member a chance to be involved in the

study. According to the MES articles of association all members have equal rights and a single vote irrespective of the size of land owned.

Details and contacts of former and current elected directors were obtained from the MES office, with assistance from the office staff. Similarly, contacts of ex-officio directors and staff were obtained from the MES office. The directors and staff were chosen because of their past and present involvement in tourism development in the community hence deemed to have in-depth information about MES and CBT development. A census for this category was used since the entire population was small and easily accessible (Kombo and Tromp, 2009).

The directors are elected by landowners based on their experience in management and CBT issues while staffs are recruited based on qualifications and experience with regard to CBT. Ex-officio directors are directors by virtue of the mandate of their institutions in CBT development. The use of former and current elected directors ensured that the views captured were representative of the entire MES community since they were elected leaders.

Results and Analysis

Respondent Characteristics

A total of 130 respondents (50 Golini and 80 Mwaluganje) participated in the study. Out of the total number of respondents 69.2% were male while 30.8% were female. The majority of the respondents 84.6% were aged 51 and above. Moreover, 54.6% of the respondents had no formal education, while 27.7% had primary level of education; 17.7% had secondary education level and mid-level college education. The results depict a community that is not formally well educated and likely to face challenges in making informed decisions on matters relating to tourism development.

Moreover, the findings indicated that 52.3% of the landowners practiced mixed farming (subsistence farming and keeping of livestock) as a means of livelihood and 32.3% practiced crop farming with the main crop being maize inter-planted with bananas, cassava and cowpeas. Only 9% depended solely on employment, 4.6% do business (but not with MES) and a mere 1.5% practiced livestock rearing only. Respondents mentioned that during the dry season (January–April) their livestock illegally graze in MES, reducing the attractiveness of the site. While during the rainy season their farms experience increased Human Wildlife Conflict (HWC), sometimes leading to loss of both wildlife and humans.

Tourism Impacts To The Host Community

Impacts of tourism to the community were evaluated based on the two key dimensions of sustainable tourism development: socio-cultural and economic impacts. Statements were formulated based on various aspects of these dimensions and presented to the respondents. Responses were classified based on a Likert classification of 1=strongly agree, 2=agree; 3=neither agree nor disagree; 4=disagree; 5=strongly disagree.

Socio-Cultural Impacts

Socio-cultural impacts were evaluated based on whether tourism had led to revival of various cultural activities by the local people, enhanced cultural identity, resulted to an increase in social assets, led to degradation of local culture, contributed to an increase in immorality and crime (table 1).

Of the respondents 96.9% (strongly agree and agree) mentioned that tourism development led to revival of cultural activities (M=1.75; SD 0.410). Similarly, 95.4% agreed that tourism development enhanced cultural identity of the community (M=1.96; SD=0.299). Respondents explained that establishment of the Sanctuary led to protection of both *Kaya Mtae* and *Kitsanze groove*, restoring their cultural value. Community members started visiting these sites to perform rituals, which had been previously abandoned. Further, traditional dancing troupes, which had disintegrated, were reconstituted and started performing various dances to tourists for a fee.

Table 1: Perception of Respondents on Social Cultural Impacts

Perception of respondents on social cultural impacts	**N**	**Mean**		**Standard Deviation**
	Stat	**Stat**	**Std error**	**Stat**
1. Tourism has led to revival of various cultural activities by the local people.	130	1.75	0.036	0.410
2. Tourism has enhanced our cultural identity.	130	1.96	0.026	0.299
3. Tourism has resulted to an increase in social assets (schools, hospitals, water supply etc.)	130	2.49	0.110	1.249
Average score of positive social impacts		**2.066**	**0.1355**	**0.59525**
4. Tourism has led to degradation of the local culture	130	4.41	0.037	0.423
5. Tourism has contributed to an increase in immorality	130	4.38	0.059	0.670
6. Tourism has contributed to an increase in crime	130	2.15	0.025	0.287
Average score of negative social impacts		**3.65**	**0.047**	**0.536**

In response to a question as to whether tourism development had led to an increase in social assets (schools, hospitals, water supply etc.), majority 67.7% affirmed (M=2.49 SD=1.249). However, the mean was close to 2.5 'neither agree nor disagree'. Further, the standard deviation was very high implying that the responses were widely spread above and below the mean. Respondents from Mwaluganje adjudication section indicated that due to tourism development, a road to the sanctuary which also served the community had been repaired, a fence had been erected to reduce Human Wildlife Conflict (HWC), bursaries had been issued to needy students, and a primary school and health facility were constructed. In contrast, respondents from Golini lamented that though they benefited from the bursary, nothing had been constructed in their village, hence the high standard deviation. The unequal distribution of these assets in Mwaluganje is an issue of concern to the Golini respondents, which require to be addressed by the management.

Tourism leads to both direct and indirect interaction between tourists and members of the host community (Kumar and Kumar, 2014). Such interaction may result in degradation of the local culture as noted by Bresner (2010) that cultural tourism subjects indigenous people to non-indigenous demands and thus drives an exploitative process eroding indigenous culture. Respondents were asked if tourism had led to degradation of the local culture. This was important because degradation of local culture leads to corrupted individual behaviours, societal values, social relationship, and lifestyles. Majority of the respondents (73.9% disagreed and 26.1% strongly disagreed; M=4.41, SD

0.423) indicated that tourism had not led to degradation of the local culture in MES. This was attributed to the strong cultural cohesion within the community, conservativeness of the local community (predominantly Muslim) and minimal interactions between residents and tourists partly attributed to low tourism numbers. Only staff in tourism establishements and dancers interacted with tourists.

Moreover, respondents were asked if tourism had contributed to an increase in crime and immorality in the area. In response, 98.4% of the respondents (M=2.15, SD=0.287) acknowledged that tourism had contributed to an increase in *crime*; whereas 90.8% objected (disagree and strongly disagree) to the statement that tourism had led to an increase in *immorality* (M=4.38, SD=0.670). Respondents indicated that facilities hosting tourists had been attacked severally by groups of people. This pointed towards an increase in organized crime within the area. For instance, the ticketing office had been attacked and robbed thrice at gunpoint. Similarly, the Travellers tented camp and tour vans to and from MES had also been attacked severally and property stolen. Findings of increased organised crime were in-line with other studies on socio-economic impacts of tourism in destination areas (Kibicho, 2000; Milman and Pizam, 1998).

The average score of the statements on positive social-cultural impacts was 2.066 which corresponded to 'agree', while that of negative socio-cultural impacts was 3.65 which corresponded to disagree. This implied that respondents generally acknowledged the positive impacts while they disagreed with negative impacts. Only one major negative social-cultural impact (increase in crime) was experienced by the community.

Economic Impacts

Communities embrace tourism in anticipation of positive economic impacts to the local economy. Respondents were asked to rate their views on the economic impact of tourism. Statements on evaluation of economic impacts were based on whether MES had attracted investments in the area, created employment opportunities, increased household incomes, led to destruction of crops by wildlife, caused increase in prices of goods and services, denied individuals opportunities to use land for more productive activities, provided minimal benefits and standards of living had significantly improved.

All the respondents (table 2), mentioned that MES had attracted investments to their community (M=1.95 SD=0.211) while most affirmed that development of MES had created job opportunities (M=2.05 SD=0.518), and also, had led to increased household incomes (M=2.02 SD 0.124).

Respondents elucidated that other than the Sanctuary and Travellers tented Camp which provided employment to locals, other tourist facilities constructed next to the sanctuary for example *Kutazama*, *and Shimbahills green lodge* provided employment and business opportunities to the local community. All respondents indicated that they received annual cash compensation from MES.

Tourism development is not without negative economic impacts to the local community. All the respondents indicated that they had suffered as a result of living near MES because wild animals destroyed their crops (M=1.79, SD= 0.407); that MES had denied them an opportunity to use the available land for other purposes (M=2.00, SD= 0.00) while all accepted that they provided land for establishment of MES but received minimal benefits from tourism development (M=1.75 SD 0.437).

Table 2: Respondents Perception Towards Economic Impacts

Perception towards economic impacts	N	Mean		Std. Deviation
	Stat	Stat	Std. Error	Stat
1. MES has attracted investment to our community.	130	1.95	0.018	0.211
2. Development of MES has created jobs for our community.	130	2.05	0.045	0.518
3. MES has led to an increase in my household income	130	2.02	2.02	0.124
Average score of positive economic impacts		**2.006**	**0.69433**	**0.28433**
4. Tourism has led to increased prices of goods and services which the local people can no longer afford	130	4.35	0.042	0.480
5. I have suffered from living near MES because wild animals have been destroying my crops	130	1.79	0.036	0.407
6. MES has denied the local landowners an opportunity to use the available land for other purposes	130	2.00	.000	.000
7. We provided land for establishment of MES but have received minimal benefits from its development	130	1.75	.038	.437
Average score of negative economic impacts		**2.4725**	**0.029**	**0.331**
Average score economic impacts		**2.23925**	**0.3616**	**0.3076**
8. Our standards of living have considerably increased because of MES.	130	4.01	0.047	0.536

Issues of concern by the community revolved around the negative impacts of tourism associated with Human Wildlife Conflict (HWC), the foregone opportunity to use land for activities perceived to be more productive other than tourism. Some respondents complained that the land they gave out was agriculturally more productive than where they were currently living. Further, crop raids by elephants and warthogs were still rampant especially at Golini area leading to low crop production.

Even though tourism has been known to increase prices of local goods and services (Akama and Kieti, 2007), within MES majority of respondents 97.7% disputed the statement that MES had led to an increase in prices of goods and services (M=4.35 SD 0.480). This can be attributed to the fact that major procurements by tourism facilities were done in Ukunda and Mombasa which were bigger urban centres with a variety of goods and services on offer compared to Kwale township. Further tourism in MES was developed away from the local population as they gave out their land and moved out, unlike in other places where tourism occupies same places inhabited by the locals.

The average mean score for statements on positive economic impacts was M=2.006; SD= 0.28433 while that for negative economic impacts was M=2.4725; SD 0.331, implying that majority of respondents 'agreed' more to statements on positive economic impacts than the negative economic impacts.

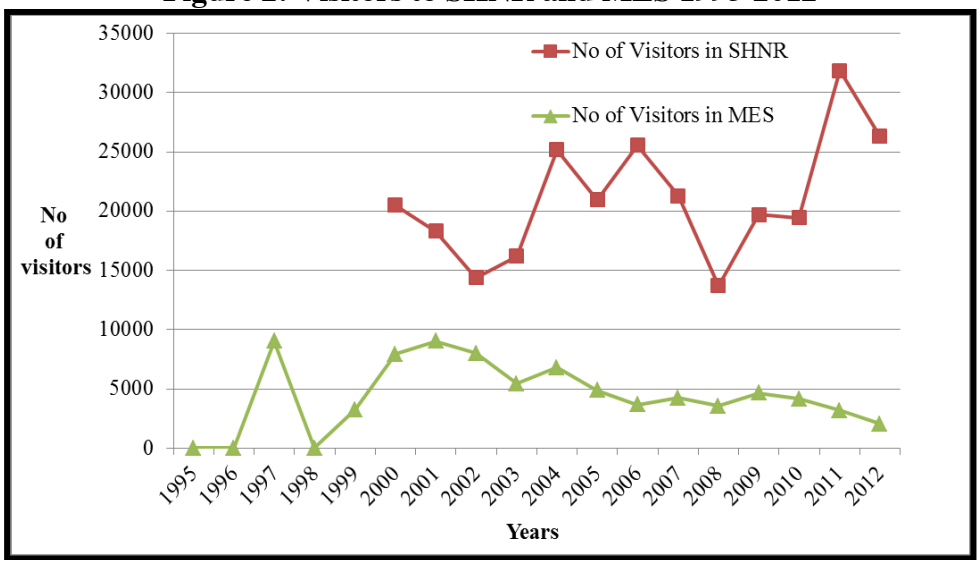
On the question of the overall effect of tourism on standards of living of the local community, majority of the respondents (98.5%) indicated that their standards of living had not improved (M= 4.01; SD=0.536) denoting 'disagree' in the likert scale. Meaning that, the positive economic impacts had not improved standards of living of the local community. Further interrogation of this statement revealed that annual compensation was the only benefit enjoyed by all landowners individually. Other benefits like employment and business linkages benefited very few people. Initially compensation was dependent on income raised from tourism which varied depending on the number of visitors and size of land (in acres) owned. However, when tourism was too low the management had to seek for well wishers to donate money towards the compensation kitty to just keep the landowners content.

Interviews revealed that the economic dimension was most important for the local community in MES. The respondents explained that income from tourism was not sufficient to pay workers and fairly compensate landowners. Come end of the year they were always worried whether they would get a donor to assist compensate the landowners. Concern was raised that if the current situation continued landowners could easily withdraw from the project, however they were hopeful that they would get partners to support and or the government would provide more support considering that MES was a key component of the Shimbahills ecosystem.

Tourism Activity and Compensation in MES

MES office records showed that after inception in 1995 and completion of construction work at Travellers tented camp the number of visitors rose to 9011 in 1997 (Fig. 2) as the camp started operations. There was intense marketing and promotion of the camp, clients buying 2 nights full board at the mother facility Travellers Tiwi Beach Hotel, were offered one full board at the tented camp.

Figure 2: Visitors to SHNR and MES 1995-2012



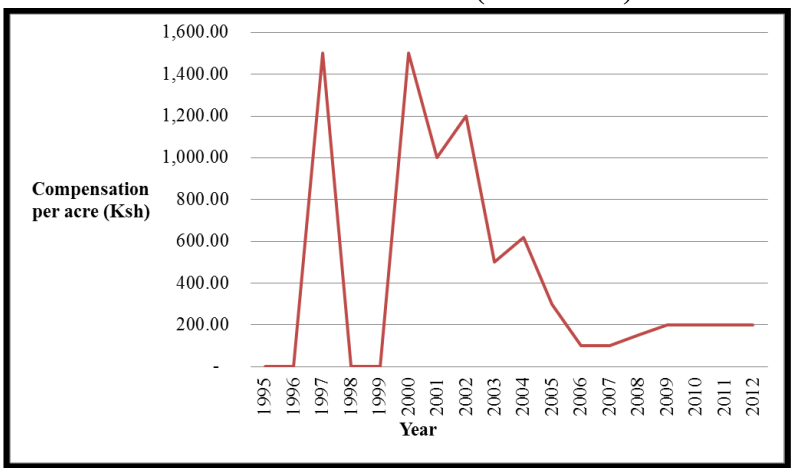
Source (MES, 2012)

The number of visitors dropped to 3237 in 1998/1999 due to devastating effects of *El Nino* rains. The road was badly eroded; some sections and the Marere Bridge, which connects MES to Kwale Township, were washed away. By the year 2001, the road to the

sanctuary had been repaired, and the camp within the sanctuary was fully operational hence the highest number of visitors recorded in the sanctuary at 9044.

In 2003/2004 disagreements between the investor and travel agents emerged, negatively affecting the number of visitors to the Sanctuary. The investor started doing tours and safaris while running the hotel (the tented camp). This was in contravention of his agreement with the travel agents that he runs the hotel/camp while they do tours and safaris. Consequently, the travel agents withdrew from taking tourists to the camp. By 2005 disagreements had not been ironed out, further affecting operations at the Camp. Road maintenance was abandoned, and service delivery at the camp compromised. During the period of data collection the camp was completely deserted, while the road was in a very poor state. In contrast the number of visitors to Shimba Hills National Reserve (SHNR) was impressive (Fig. 2).

Figure 3: Compensation Per Acre Per Year for Respondents (Landowners) since Establishment of MES (1995-2012)

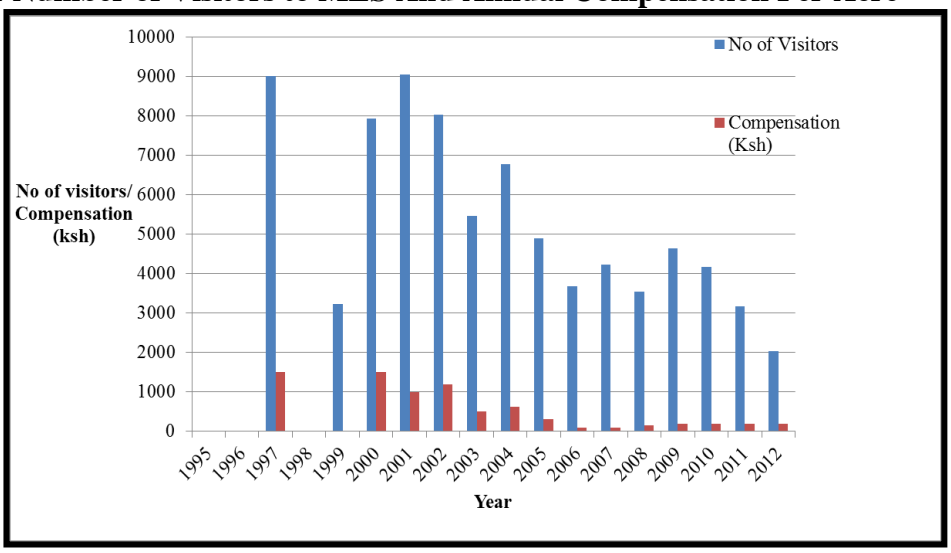


Source: MES, (2012)

The first annual compensation of US$ 15 per acre per year (Fig 3) was made in 1997, members were very happy. In 1998/9 no compensation was paid because of low income occasioned by low visitor numbers due to the El Niño rains. Between 2000 and 2002 compensation ranged between US$ 12-15 per acre per year. Members were contented with the compensation.

The annual compensation per acre per individual followed a similar trend to that of visitors (Fig 4). However, in the years 2003 to 2008 annual compensation dropped from US$ 6.2 to US$ 1 due to low revenue from tourism and minimal inflows from donations. Members complained bitterly, with some threatening to turn their land into farms, or sell it to any interested party.

Figure 4 Number of Visitors to MES And Annual Compensation Per Acre



Source: MES, (2012)

With tourism showing no signs of improvement, the management sought for more donors to contribute towards the compensation kitty as well as help the sanctuary meet her financial obligations. The donors responded relatively well raising the income from donations from US$ 563 in 2009 to US$ 15,419 in 2013 accounting for 1.7% to 70.8% of the total income (table 5). However, the income from donations raised compensation to a maximum of US$ 2 per acre per year for that period (table 6), as part of it was used to pay salaries and other overhead expenditures. Respondents expressed dissatisfaction with this payment and threatened to pull out of the project if no improvement was forthcoming.

Table 5: Income Report for MES 2004- 2013

Year	Income Tourism		Income Donations		Total
	Amount (US$)	% of total Income	Amount (US$)	% of total Income	
2004	50,576	100.0	-	-	50,576
2005	40,619	100.0	-	-	40,619
2006	32,835	100.0	-	-	32,835
2007	29,169	95.1	1,510	4.9	30,679
2008	23,634	85.0	4,244	15.0	27,878
2009	33,413	98.3	563	1.7	33,976
2010	29,763	80.4	7,243	19.6	37,006
2011	27,940	79.7	7,107	20.3	35,047
2012	13,212	54.0	11,232	46.0	24,444
2013	6,346	29.2	15,419	70.8	21,765

Source: MES, (2014)

Table 6: Expenditure Report for MES 2004-2013

Year	Salaries and recurrent exp.		Compensation		
	Amount (US$)	%	Amount	%	Amount /

			(US$)		acre/yr. (US$)
2004	28,876	57.1	21,700	42.9	6.2
2005	30,119	74.2	10,500	25.8	3.0
2006	29,335	89.3	3,500	10.7	1.0
2007	27,179	88.6	3,500	11.4	1.0
2008	22,628	81.2	5,250	18.8	1.5
2009	26,977	79.4	7,000	20.6	2.0
2010	30,006	81.0	7,000	19.0	2.0
2011	28,047	80.0	7,000	20.0	2.0
2012	17,444	71.4	7,000	28.6	2.0
2013	14,766	67.8	7,000	32.0	2.0

Source: MES, (2014)

Compensation of US$ 2 was lower than estimated productivity per acre per year when land was under livestock production which was more productive than crop farming. Warinda (2001) estimated the productivity of one acre in MES to be US $14 per year if put under livestock production. His estimate equalled the lowest compensation between 1997 and 2002, however; it was higher than compensation paid per acre from 2003 (Fig. 4). Dissatisfaction among respondents was an indication that MES was financially unsustainable. Findings were similar to those of Mitchell and Muckosy (2008) that many CBTI projects failed due to lack of financial viability, which they described as 'shocking'. However, considering that initially compensation was above the threshold indicated by Warinda (2001) it can be argued that at inception and a few years that followed, tourism potential was almost fully exploited. This later diminished as costs of maintaining the tourism site escalated.

Discussions and Conclusions

The findings of this study showed that the economic dimension was the most important to the community as it affected individual livelihoods as well as the local economy. Findings were in line with that of Agrawal and Redford (2006); Kimaiga and Kihima, (2018); Stronza and Gordillo (2008) that income generated and newly created jobs were the most common 'indicators of success' in CBTIs. However, though tourism had attracted investments in the area, created jobs and increased household income, these impacts had not translated into improved living standards, the ultimate economic goal of tourism development. This was mainly due to poor performance of tourism, minimal external support and low crop production attributed to farm raids by wildlife.

Failure by the investor to manage a tourism facility as required, attract sufficient numbers of tourists, and maintain the roads was the main reason for awful performance of tourism. As in the case of Zanzibar (Bureau Wyser, 2018), there is a tendency of making the private sector and tourists responsible for ensuring economic benefits for local people. In the absence of active private investors, many communities are unable to develop tourism in their areas. This leaves the local community unable to fully exploit tourism potential in their locality as noted by Manyara and Jones (2007); and Schilcher (2007). Moreover, Giampiccoli, Jugmohan, & Mtapuri (2015) noted that CBTIs face challenges and limitations such as difficult/weak marketing and market access, scarce community financial resources and lack of infrastructure especially in some remote areas.

The results indicated that tourism was unable to sustain the financial needs of MES, given its vulnerability to factors beyond the control of the community. While acknowledging that no collaboration is perfect (Bureau Wyser, 2018), external interventions especially on funding, infrastructure development, business planning and development will remain relevant for a little longer. Stakeholders should seek alternative income generating projects to supplement tourism revenue (Nyagah, 2017) due to volatile and seasonal nature of the tourism sector. Spenceley and Meyer (2012) noted that community based tourism programmes initiated by development agencies were not always stand-alone, but were often incorporated within broader programmes supporting economic development or biodiversity conservation. Thus, there is need to increase participation of local communities through private sector engagement and multi-stakeholder collaboration (Bureau Wyser, 2018) but in a more deliberate and strategic way (Mak, Cheung and Hui, 2017). Since CBTIs in Kenya were started to support the conservation agenda, their support for tourism goes beyond the local community and the ecosystems they are part of. They form part of the national development agenda. Therefore, both national and county governments should review their support for CBTIs, with the intention of handling them the same way parks and reserves that do not raise sufficient funds for sustenance from tourism are handled.

Key concerns to the community were undelivered promises (construction of an office, maintenance of the roads and better returns). Thus, lack of meaningful interaction between tourism stakeholders on a national and local level persists in tourism destinations (Bureau Wyser, 2018; Kihima, 2014, Nyagah, 2017). Similarly, Kibicho (2008) noted that KWS failed to fulfil promises to the local community in Kimana, Kenya which included compensation, and implementation of various community projects like construction of cattle dips, health clinics, classrooms and (water) dams. Both the local community and the government should agree on which projects are feasible within specified time frames and work towards their implementation. Brouder (2014) observes that, the interaction among stakeholders over time leads to positive outcomes for tourism innovation and community development.

In light of the above key conclusions and considering that MES was established as a strategy to mitigate serious human-elephant conflict, generate economic benefits to the community through tourism development and maintain the Sanctuary as a biodiversity conservation area it is evident that these objectives have not been achieved to the satisfaction of the MES community. What is clear is that two decades after their inception, CBTIs have been able to make some impact on socio-cultural and economic dimensions of communities in Kenya. However, this has been below expectations of the local communities. The study concludes that based on the ideal outcomes of sustainable tourism development in CBTIs i.e. spontaneous community participation, favourable socio-cultural and economic impacts, which lead to improved standards of living current model of a CBTI in Kenya is not sustainable.

Due to low level of education (Kimaiga, Kihima and Pepela, 2015), undiversified livelihoods, low levels of participation, and dissatisfaction with outcomes of economic dimensions, CBTIs are maintaining an unsustainable status quo and tending towards ‘minimalistic sustainable tourism’ model as opposed to ‘comprehensive sustainable tourism’ model. Minimalistic sustainable tourism model stipulates that a tourism product that is not financially feasible will not last, no matter how sustainable it is from an environmental and socio-cultural standpoint. This therefore calls for stronger linkages within the value chain and market-oriented strategies to maximize local economic and

social benefits (Bureau Wyser, 2018). Further, the findings showed that CBTIs can only succeed through steady external intervention from government and NGOs, and fair partnerships with the private sector. Such partnerships must include the local community to enhance the sustainability of the local projects (Kihima, 2014; Kumar and Kumar, 2014; Vogt and Jordan, 2016).

Therefore, the current model of CBTIs in Kenya needs a major review, mainly in relation to assimilating the principles of sustainable tourism development and conservation. Particularly government (both National and County) should set budgets for CBTIs to ensure that infrastructure especially roads are maintained to the required standards, biodiversity and security are improved, community participation and favourable socio-economic and environmental outcomes are enhanced. Further, the principle of fairness should be enhanced in all community-private partnerships arrangements.

To enhance sustainability of CBTIs an alternative tourism development strategy is required which addresses issues of product development, marketing and inequitable distribution of tourism revenues. For instance, to increase tourists' numbers and revenues MES and Shimba Hills National Reserve could be marketed and sold as one tourism destination since they belong to one ecosystem. In such an arrangement a client could pay at one ticketing point, and then visit both MES and Shimba in the same day at lower price than if he/she purchased the two separately. A mechanism of sharing the revenue would then be agreed.

Since the economic dimension is the most critical for sustainability of CBTIs, stakeholders (including government) should adopt a 'minimum compensation amount per acre' based on the economic value of the land. Landowners should not earn less than the stipulated minimum annually. The government should facilitate landowners to create Wildlife Conservation Easements in CBTIs as stipulated in the Wildlife Management and Conservation Act 2013. This can be achieved by ensuring that CBTIs create Wildlife conservation easments or orders as per the Wildlife Management and Conservation Act 2013 Part VIII section 65(1) and 69(1) which stipulates that "Wildlife conservation easements may be created by voluntary private arrangement or upon appropriate application to the Environment and Land Court. Parties to a voluntary easement may negotiate appropriate compensation for any loss or diminishment of value of land due to the creation of the easement". Being a new policy with legal implications sufficient community sensitization, awareness and capacity building will have to be carried out to ensure that communities make informed decisions. Income from tourism could then supplement the 'compensation' mentioned in the act to ensure that communities get a higher income from their land.

The government, NGOs and MES management should ensure social infrastructural assets associated with tourism development are evenly distributed within the two villages (Golini and Mwaluganje) and that their quality and quantity are improved/increased depending on the desires of the community. Finally, CBT proponents and stakeholders should encourage communities to approach these initiatives as business entity as well as a national conservation and tourism resources. Through this they will be able to easily incorporate other income generating projects.

Finally, it is not enough to simply advocate for the setting up of CBTIs (Kihima, 2015). It would be important to maintain uniqueness of these projects so as to offer diversity in the tourism sector and be on the competitive edge. What is clear now is that tourism should be locally integrated as an economic activity and with the local people being real beneficiaries as opposed to mere participants (Kihima, 2015). Concrete

measures and actions need to be undertaken to improve on the already existing models by also incorporating residents' perceptions in tourism development (Liu and Li, 2018).

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