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# A dimensional approach to community-based tourism: Recognising and differentiating form and context

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ABSTRACT

In recent years there have been calls for greater recognition of context in response to the emergence of alternative forms of community-based tourism (CBT). In contrast, normative, even idealised, positions on CBT have also been articulated. We address this contractionist push by showing how a combination of *formism* and *contextualism* can be applied in CBT analysis. We contribute a transferable, three-dimensional framework to differentiate CBT forms and then apply and contextualise this framework through four case studies on the process of community-based tourism enterprise creation and development in Kenya. On the basis of this research, we encourage further exploration into innovative ways and mechanisms through which communities can partner and collaborate with other actors to meet locally-defined community development needs.

## Introduction

The link between tourism and community development has been long debated within the tourism and development literatures (Jones, 2005). Arguably, a "judicious use of tourism can contribute to community development" (Dredge, 2007, p. 1097), including and beyond notions of economic gain (Dernoi, 1981). As a subset of development options, it has been argued that community-based tourism enterprises (CBTEs), through innovation and strategic partnerships, can be self-sustaining and achieve local community development outcomes (Knight & Cottrell, 2016; Matarrita-Cascante, 2010; Ndivo & Cantoni, 2016; Novelli & Gebhardt, 2007).

In recent years there have been calls for greater recognition of context in CBT analysis (Knight & Cottrell, 2016). For example, Zapata, Hall, Lindo and Vanderschaeghe(2011) and Giampiccoli and Sayman (2014) envisaged the emergence of alternative forms of CBT more aligned to local developmental needs and proponents see CBT as a workable conceptualisation in need of better application models (Giampiccoli & Mtapuri, 2014; Novelli & Gebhardt, 2007). However, there has also been much debate about the definition, basis for assessment (Novelli & Gebhardt, 2007) and impact of CBT in both developed and developing countries (Ndivo & Cantoni, 2016; Simpson, 2008). In sum, CBT is a much-contested area of practice and research that is marked by differences of opinion on definition, interests served and bases for assessment.

With reference to Pepper (1942; Koltko-Rivera, 2004), we suggest that these debates may be informed by very different worldviews, or assumptions about the organisation of knowledge (Chiles, Elias & Li, 2017). We draw on two of Pepper's (1942) worldviews to contribute a new, dimensional approach to assist recognition of variety in the conceptualisation and praxis of CBT.

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First, informed by *formism*, we analyse the literature to present a general, three-dimensional framework for CBT and show how this conceptual framework can be used both to map CBT formations and to illustrate similarities and differences among particular CBTEs. Second, informed by *contextualism*, we apply the conceptual framework and show how it can also accommodate and display subtleties among CBTEs within common contexts, using, as examples, four Kenyan case studies of CBTE creation and development. We begin with a literature review, including a brief overview of Pepper's (1942) worldviews, an examination of CBT's emergent dimensions and the concept of community context. We then outline the method, the research case studies and the findings. We discuss these findings and draw out key contributions, implications and conclusions from our application of formism and contextualism to CBT.

## Pepper's worldviews

In introducing Pepper's (1942) world views to tourism research, we draw on works by Koltko-Rivera (2004) and Chiles et al. (2017). Pepper (1942) identified four worldviews that he called world hypotheses and which, using root metaphors, form a basis upon which people explain the realities of their everyday experiences and shape their cognition and behaviour (Koltko-Rivera, 2004). These four hypotheses are: *formism*, *contextualism*, *mechanism*, and *organicism*. In contrast to mechanism and organicism, which are associated with assumptions of integration, systematic processes and predictable outcomes, formism and contextualism are dispersive perspectives; that is, they assume a chaotic non-systematic world (Chiles et al., 2017), and can assist in differentiation of entities and processes evident in that world. The first of these is formism, which analyses whole phenomena, identifying elements and offering explanations based upon the similarities and differences in a way that creates categories, taxonomies or classifications (Chiles et al., 2017). The second is contextualism, where a series of dynamic yet unique elements are synthesised to offer an explanation of a phenomenon (Chiles et al., 2017; Koltko-Rivera, 2004). Contextualism focuses on action, being dynamic and "continually changing over time" (Chiles et al., 2017, p. 435).

We argue that formism and contextualism are particularly useful conceptual bases for encouraging greater appreciation of the variety of CBT forms both within the literature and in terms of varieties of practice. Taking a sequential approach informed first by formism, we discuss conceptualisations of CBT and derive a three-dimensional framework that can be used to describe a variety of CBT forms. Then, informed by contextualism, we show how this framework can be used to describe and display subtle differences among empirical examples of CBTE dynamics, illustrated here by four case studies on the emergence of CBTEs in Kenya.

## Forms of community-based tourism

CBT is often conceived in terms of why and how it takes place and in terms of its possible objectives and outcomes, including as a form of sustainable development (Arce, 2003; Okazaki, 2008). For example, CBT is often pursued as a means to address pressing *needs* such as poverty alleviation (Knight & Cottrell, 2016; Manyara & Jones, 2007; Ndivo & Cantoni, 2016; Scheyvens, 2007). In terms of *process*, CBT has since been presented as a social or community planning approach to tourism. Murphy (1985) was arguably the first to make the 'community' concept prominent through the involvement of communities in tourism development planning. Although some emphasise CBT as a participatory *approach* to community development (Sebele, 2010; Tosun, 2006), others characterise CBT in terms of its potential for participatory *outcomes* and for other outcomes such as power redistribution, conservation, socio-economic development, minimum quality standards, and local community ownership (Hiwasaki, 2006; Mottiar, Boluk & Kline, 2018; Ndivo & Cantoni, 2016; Okazaki, 2008).

Such differing emphases have led to the emergence of two trajectories for community tourism. The first is to facilitate *tourism development in the community*, involving communities in tourism to assist the development of a profitable industry (Blackstock, 2005). Manyara and Jones (2007) argue that this trajectory is reliant on liberal and neo-liberal thinking, and presents structural constraints to meaningful community engagement. Such tourism businesses and development partnerships, they argue, are often under the control of powerful, neo-colonial individuals or organisations, and are unable to address the diversity of community needs (also see Blackstock, 2005; Sebele, 2010) or to achieve the "transformative intent" of community development (Blackstock, 2005, p. 40).

The second approach is to *develop the community through tourism* (Giampiccoli & Sayman, 2014). CBT fits within this second trajectory where its values extend beyond economics (Jones, 2005). Based on Dernoi's (1981) alternative tourism, and more recently, Novelli and Gebhardt (2007), Zapata et al. (2011), and Giampiccoli and Sayman (2014), this alternative, highly normative agenda envisages involving communities as owners, managers, or beneficiaries in an agentic sense and adopting internally-defined measures of success.

Although historical alignments and critical assessment of tourism development have led to the derivation of this second trajectory (see also Jones, 2005; Giampiccoli & Mtapuri, 2014), we suggest that a descriptive rather than normative approach to depicting CBT forms may allow for consideration of a wider variety of possibilities. In response to the normative, contractionist push, and through applying a formist worldview, we argue that, conceptually, three interrelated dimensions can be used to describe, compare and to map changes in CBT priorities over time (Fig. 1). The first dimension is *Involvement* of the community in CBTE development (Kiss, 2004; Moscardo, 2011; Simpson, 2008; Tosun, 2000). Second is the community's *Power and Control* over this development (Esteban, 2011; Mitchell & Reid, 2001). The third dimension refers to desired *Outcomes* including community benefits and also the quality of the tourist experience (Hiwasaki, 2006; Simpson, 2008). Arrows point toward the idealised conception of CBT in terms of active involvement, internal power and control and community outcomes.

The derivation of these three dimensions now follows.

### *Dimension 1: Involvement*

Community involvement plays an important role in realising community development. The term 'community involvement', often

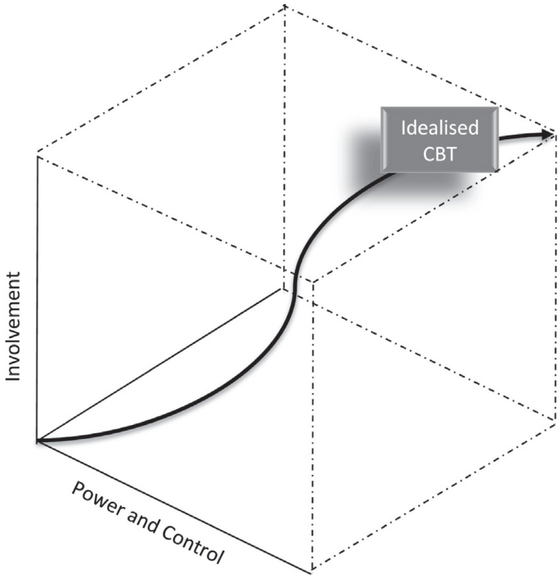


**Fig. 1.** Formative Dimensions of Community-based Tourism.

used interchangeably with the term ‘participation’, centres on the inclusion of communities in issues that affect them (Sherif, Sherif & Nebergall, 1965). Although involvement is described as an active attitudinal and psychological term, which also includes engagement (Moscardo, 2011), participation may just mean taking part, which can occur in a non-reflexive way (Amati, 2013; Arnstein, 1969).

Traditional models of community involvement differentiate types and levels of participation (Arnstein, 1969). However, as Cornwall (2008) observes, these models assume that such participation only takes place in *invited spaces* where the state or a non-governmental organisation has invited the community to participate. Although participation also takes place in spaces communities “create for themselves” (Cornwall, 2008, p. 275), and may take a variety of subtle forms (Mayaka, Croy & Wolfram Cox, 2018), involvement is generally a more comprehensive term, and is preferred here.

There are varied views about the distinct need for and appropriate levels of community involvement in CBT. Tosun (2000) and Moscardo (2011), for example, argue that community involvement is a critical element in CBT. Kiss (2004) agrees, noting that community involvement is a crucial precursor to partial or full ownership (Dimension 2; see also Mitchell & Reid, 2001; Tosun, 2006). In contrast, Mottiar et al. (2018) demonstrate the role of social entrepreneurs as catalysts for community tourism, which, in the initial stages at least, often does not involve the community. Further, Simpson (2008) takes an extreme position in which involvement is not a critical element of CBT.

*Dimension 2: Power and control*

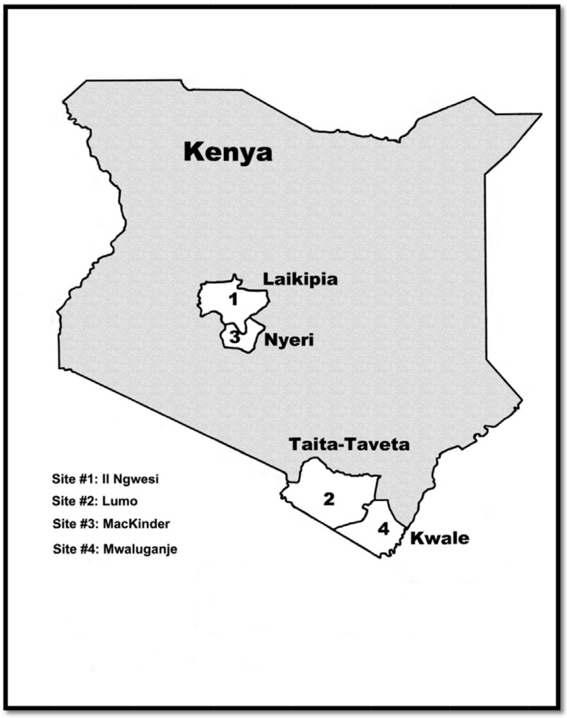
Ruiz-Ballesteros (2011) emphasises the criticality of power and control as a dimensional element in relationships between community and external CBT actors (see also Knight & Cottrell, 2016). Indeed it is even argued that CBT seeks to achieve sustainable development through citizen control (Esteban, 2011). Relying on Scheyvens and Russell (2012), Giampiccoli and Mtapuri (2014) explain that power and control are correlated in the sense that if a project or initiative is externally controlled then that control translates to loss of community power.

However, views on the importance and nature of power and control range from arguments for the centrality of power distribution in a CBTE to a contextually-informed need to understand how power is enacted in differing social and historical contexts (Knight & Cottrell, 2016). For example, it has been suggested that Western-centric notions of power be excluded from CBT analysis (Mitchell & Reid, 2001; Mtapuri & Giampiccoli, 2013; Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011; Zapata et al., 2011).

*Dimension 3: Outcomes*

The growing interest in CBT as a development tool raises the significance of CBT outcomes as an important conceptual dimension. Consequently the achievement of internal, community development outcomes as distinct from external outcomes is the third dimension of CBT. For example, community development outcomes may include self-sufficiency, social justice, sustainability and freedom (Mtapuri & Giampiccoli, 2013). Critics argue that CBT is not able to deliver such developmental outcomes (Blackstock, 2005; Kiss, 2004; Manyara & Jones, 2007). Instead, it is suggested that CBT initiatives often serve external interests such as those of private industry or of state control (Blackstock, 2005), producing poverty and marginalisation (Arce, 2003). The developmental and poverty alleviation potential of CBT may also be constrained by structural limitations and dependency occasioned by colonialism and neo-colonialism (Manyara & Jones, 2007).

Proponents, however, argue that CBT is able to deliver multiple outcomes (Esteban, 2011; Jones, 2005; Mtapuri & Giampiccoli, 2013). Although cases of strong links between CBT and local development objectives are plentiful in the developing world (Mtapuri & Giampiccoli, 2013; Ndivo & Cantoni, 2016), CBTEs may not succeed if locals do not acquire essential skills for running business enterprises (Knight & Cottrell, 2016; Moswete, Thapa & Lacey, 2009). Simpson (2008) sees the transfer of benefits to a community as



Source: adapted from Wikimedia Commons (2008)

**Fig. 2.** A Three-dimensional Representation of Community-based Tourism.

the desirable goal, independent of location, size and level of involvement, ownership or control (see also Ndivo & Cantoni, 2016).

### *Summary*

The three interrelated dimensions (Involvement, Power and Control, and Outcomes) provide a means for describing and depicting CBT *form*. Depending upon the demonstrated extent of each dimension, each CBTE might have a different shape and that shape may vary over time. As such, in practice, CBTEs might well exist at different points within a conceptualised three-dimensional space. This summary representation is stylised for the purpose of simplicity and for clarifying description of a variety of CBTEs. Whilst an idealised CBTE that moves toward active involvement, internal power and control, and community outcomes (Fig. 2) may not exist in practice, its representation here provides a basis for discussion and point of comparison.

Although the CBT three-dimensional *form* is important, it is also important to examine each specific CBTE to assess the *context* of the implementation and as a means of interrogating the adaptability of the CBT framework. In the analysis, we apply Pepper's (1942) formist and contextualist world hypotheses to illustrate two means to view CBT. In terms of form, CBT is represented here through the interplay of three dimensions: community involvement, power and control, and outcomes. In terms of context we discuss four case studies in order to illustrate the dynamism within each case and the interplay of these dimensions over time.

## Method

A three-dimensional CBT framework was applied to describe and explore the role of context in CBTE creation and development. This approach allows the examination of sources and patterns of human action and decision making in the CBTE creation and development (see Chia & Holt, 2006). The research focused on the influences of historical, political and cultural factors, as well as the roles of different actors and their interconnections in relation to the dimensional themes of community involvement, power and control, and outcomes.

A multiple case study research design was adopted, with replication logic applied. The replication logic was not to establish nomothetic propositions (see Langley & Abdallah, 2011), but, rather, nuanced explanations of context-dependent knowledge of everyday living (Flyvbjerg, 2006). As Falzon (2012) argues, replication logic permits the assemblage of both inferential commonalities and differences from multiple case settings.

Given the focus of each dimension, the context is in a large part determined by the understanding of 'community', which is addressed in the following section.

### *Community context*

As phenomena are embedded in their social settings (Zafirovski, 1999), the term *community* is value-laden and subject to a variety of context-based interpretations (Dredge, 2006, 2007). As such, there is need for approaches that bring people's realities and experiences to the centre of community development agendas (Chambers, 1995), and to pay attention to the complexities and practicalities in diverse community development settings (Arce, 2003), a notion that very much reinforces Pepper's (1942) contextualism.

The community, including the complexity of a collection of individuals, is also dynamic. As such, whilst the *context* of history and present is important to understand a particular CBTE, it is also apparent that movement along the dimensions (*form*) may be expected. The dynamism of context presents change, and hence the opportunity for development toward particular goals and outcomes. In order to represent such possibilities, a case study research design was adopted and is now presented.

### *Site selection*

The case studies discussed here were purposively selected using three criteria, namely: conceptual relevance of the case to CBTE (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014); case reputation (Miles et al., 2014); and paradigmatic quality of the case, or extent to which a case might exemplify a phenomenon (Manyara & Jones, 2007). Consequently, four CBTE cases were selected: Lumo Wildlife Sanctuary (Lumo), Mwaluganje-Golini Elephant Sanctuary (Mwaluganje), Il Ngwesi Community Ranch and Ecolodge (Il Ngwesi), and Mackinder Eagle Owl Sanctuary (Mackinder). These are all located in Kenya, a country that has embraced CBT in its national tourism policy (Government of Kenya, 2013), is within a CBT growth region of the world (van der Duim, Lamers & van Wijk, 2015), and is the first author's *habitus*, therefore enabling contextual appreciation. Three of the cases (Lumo, Mwaluganje & Il Ngwesi) are well-known within the CBT literature (Manyara & Jones, 2007). The cases were also recommended by local CBT experts (Miles et al., 2014). Il Ngwesi can be regarded as a paradigmatic case as it was the subject of frequent references by interviewees from other CBTEs.

A reoccurring theme across the CBTE contexts is land ownership, which was fragmented after independence. More recently, land ownership was divided into public, private, and community-owned land (Alden Wily, 2018) but this division has still not addressed the loss of community land rights during the colonial era.

Lumo was created in 2001 and is a community-owned and managed sanctuary with an ecolodge run by an investor in a lease agreement with the community. It is located within a non-migratory, subsistence, mixed-farming Taita community (Fig. 3). Lumo's CBTE creation and development was driven by a poor socio-economic situation, in large part caused by human-wildlife conflict (HWC), which included loss of lives and property and increased tensions between the community and the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) as the custodian of the wildlife. HWC and KWS tensions had been prompting pragmatic solutions since the 1970s, however the CBTE option was enhanced by increased community awareness of tourist demand for the area's natural resource endowment. The choice to establish a CBTE was also moderated by historic land injustices associated with the creation of Tsavo East and West National Parks in 1948.

Mwaluganje was created in 1994 by private land contributions to a community sanctuary within the coastal plain of Kenya. The area is inhabited by the Digo and Duruma communities, who form part of a larger *Miji Kenda* (translated as nine villages) cultural grouping. Perpetual HWC, poverty and a policy change at KWS to involve communities in the management of wildlife for tourism were key influences in the establishment of Mwaluganje. Mwaluganje demonstrates how diverse and complex actor interests can

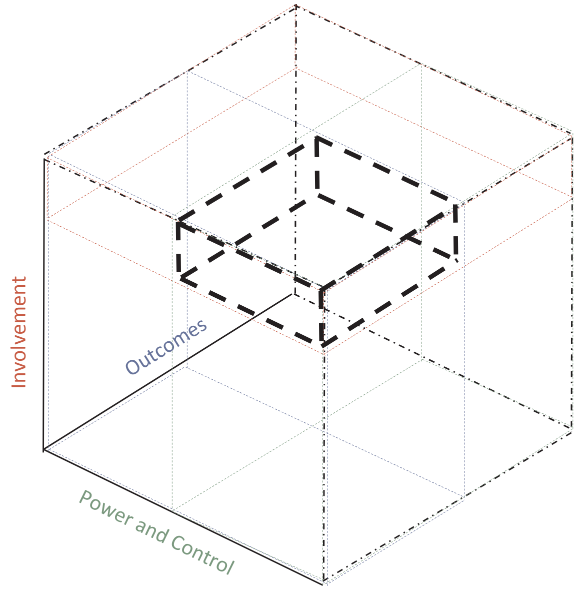


**Fig. 3.** Case Study Sites, Kenya. Source: adapted from Wikimedia Commons (2008).

**Table 1**
CBTE Case Study Interviewees (pseudonyms used).

| Category | Lumo | Mwaluganje | Il Ngwesi | Mackinder | Count |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CBTE members | Mkawasi (F)<br>Kituri (M)<br>Charo (M)<br>Ngeti (M) | Juma (M)<br>Zainab (F)<br>Khadija (F) | Namunyak (F)<br>Ndiwa (M)<br>Metito (M)<br>Tonkei (M) | Mumbi (F)<br>Njenga (M)<br>Jamba (M)<br>Ngina (F)<br>Wanjiru (F) | 16 |
| Original CBTE founding leaders/founder | Mghendi (M)<br>Mwakidedi (M)<br>Mwandalo (M)<br>Mwakai (M) | Bakari (M)<br>Kidombo (M)<br>Rai (M)<br>Mwakwere (M)<br>Chirau (M) | Olonana (M)<br>Ntimama (M)<br>Ole Tipis (M) | Paul (M) | 11 |
| CBTE managers | Madoka (M)<br>Gathogo (M) | Kamau (M)<br>Kioko (M) | Sironka (M)<br>Sankei (M)<br>Mwangi (M) | | 7 |
| External organisation members | Bob (M)<br>Fred (M) | Susan (F)<br>Betty (F)<br>Julius (M) | Peter (M) | | 6 |
| Current CBTE board members | Mghanga (M) | Sam (M)<br>Nyae (M) | Naserien (F) | | 4 |
| External investors | Evan (M)<br>Mary (F) | | | | 2 |
| Total | 15 | 15 | 12 | 6 | 48 |

F = Female; M = Male.

merge to form one entity.

Il Ngwesi is community-owned and managed by a pastoral Maasai community, who inhabit an arid and semi-arid region of central Kenya. The Il Ngwesi CBTE was a community undertaking in response to increasingly frequent droughts that killed its livestock and only source of income, including the turning-point of a severe drought in 1984. At first the community did not want to contribute its collective land to a CBTE due to historic land injustices, including the loss of Maasai community land to colonial settlers. The elders sought advice from many places, including a neighbour and friend, upon whose recommendation the community created a CBTE in form of a wildlife sanctuary and lodge in 1996.

Mackinder is a privately managed and owned conservation tourism social enterprise, starting in 1997. It was spawned to save the Mackinder Owl. Initially, the community, as private land owners, was only involved at the level of receiving benefits. It is located among the Kikuyu community, a non-migratory and purely agricultural group inhabiting Kenya's hinterland. With time, reduction of poverty in the area became a part of Mackinder's key mission and Mackinder has metamorphosed into a tourism entity that is run and managed by the community.

### *Interviewee selection*

Interviewees were selected on the basis of having been involved with the selected CBTEs from the time of inception, and/or having a knowledge of the CBTE's establishment and continuation. The data collection involved 48 in-depth conversational interviews conducted by the first author with: ordinary CBTE members; original CBTE founding leaders; CBTE managers; external organisation members; current CBTE board members; and external investors (external refers to 'outside the community'). The categories reflect interviewee-identified titles/roles within each CBTE. In total, 15 interviews were conducted at Lumo, 15 at Mwaluganje, 12 at Il Ngwesi, and six at Mackinder (Table 1). In addition to the transcribed interviews, the data comprised field notes derived from observations, journals, magazines, strategic plans, CBTE annual reports and constitutions, and documents from other organisations.

### *Data analysis*

The data were initially approached inductively and ethnographically with sensitivity to context. Verbatim quotes from the interviewees were relied upon, rather than line by line coding. The data were coded in a two-stage process (Miles et al., 2014). The first level of analysis, a process of data reduction, involved categorising data from the transcripts and field notes into emergent manageable categories, and included the emic, data-derived codes: process, relationships, and individual actor elements. A parallel level of etic literature-derived codes included the three framework dimensions (community involvement, power and control, and outcomes). Following Flyvbjerg (2006), dense, concrete descriptions were then used to build the story during and after the creation of each of the CBTEs. The approach adopted allows for the capturing of deep subtle meanings beyond explicit text in a reflexive manner (Aull Davies, 2008), while also considering how those meanings may or may not relate to and inform themes within the literature. Data were 'sieved' through the first author, who acted as a research instrument in a qualitative manner (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994). Consequently, the researcher's habitus as an indigenous Kenyan and life experiences have an influence on the historical perspectives and interpretations that are presented below. The influences, roles and interconnections are captured and presented

**Table 2**
Three CBTE Form Dimensions in the Four Case Study Contexts.

| Dimension | Lumo | Mwaluganje | Il Ngwesi | Mackinder |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Involvement | ● Externally assisted partnership between three neighbouring communities<br>● External organisations and partners remained involved<br>● Formal involvement structure<br>● Community involved as shareholders through meetings, employment | ● Committee creation by the elders<br>● Formal involvement structure<br>● Community involvement as shareholders through meetings, employment | ● Early involvement of external partners for funding and to develop capacity<br>● Trust-based external relationships<br>● Committee creation by the elders<br>● Formal involvement structure: shared land ownership and contribution | ● Initially individual community member's conservation effort<br>● Later and continued community involvement<br>● Problem-solving meetings |
| Power and control | ● Power and control based upon shareholding<br>● Countering perceived government authority<br>● Non-shareholding community members have no power or control | ● Power and control based upon shareholding<br>● Continuing inter-dependence with KWS<br>● Reduced external influence prior to having full capacity to manage the CBTE<br>● Emphasis on external trust and advice<br>● Tensions with between younger and older members of the board of directors | ● Initially led by elders as carriers of community aspirations<br>● Full community ownership and management<br>● External partners as friends and peers<br>● Trust-based relations are more significant than power relations<br>● Power and control tensions between generations as the CBTE evolved | ● Started with no community power or control<br>● Transfer of power and control to community<br>● Some community members have unsuccessfully attempted to gain power<br>● Perceptions of exclusion and jealousy |
| Outcomes | ● Economic benefits primarily distributed among shareholders<br>● Employment to shareholders<br>● Reduced HWC<br>● Wildlife now perceived as a non-consumable resource<br>● Community pride | ● Benefits distributed primarily to shareholders<br>● Employment to shareholders<br>● Crop protection<br>● Rescinding unproductive land<br>● Community pride | ● Communally shared services: education, health, security<br>● Community cohesion<br>● Local employment<br>● Population retention<br>● New business opportunities<br>● Opportunities for women<br>● Removed economic dependence on government<br>● Community pride | ● Conservation outcome<br>● Community irrigation project<br>● Community pride |

through thick sets of data and are illustrated here through participant quotations drawn from the interviews.

## Findings

Table 2 presents a summary of the findings over the three dimensions for the four case studies. Each of these dimensions is then discussed and contextualised below.

### *Involvement*

There are high levels of community involvement within each of the four cases, the nature of the involvement varying dependent on the impetus for CBTE formation and internal culture and status norms.

#### *CBTE formation*

High community involvement was evident early within three of the CBTE creation processes. However, in the Mackinder case the community played no role in the enterprise creation process since the enterprise started as an individual community member's conservation effort. Nonetheless, in 1998, a year after the enterprise started, it had also spawned a basket weaving collective. Founder Paul articulated how community involvement emerged from the need to assist with sharing the resultant revenue. He invited the community to a meeting, and a decision was arrived at to start an irrigation project that would benefit all: "The voting was easy. First of all there was no chairman, there was no secretary. We were just members with one agenda: to try and find an answer to sharing this resource" (Paul, founder). In the Mackinder, involvement now takes place through community 'problem-solving' meetings.

Il Ngwesi's CBTE creation was led by trusted elders as carriers of community aspirations and of a cultural norm of sharing and collective problem-solving. Nonetheless, from the turning-point drought of 1984, it took time before the CBTE was opened in 1996. In part this was due to the time needed to investigate their tourism idea, which was promoted by the neighbour and friend Ian Craig (real name). The elders then mobilised the community to get buy-in given that common land was being devoted to the sanctuary: "We did a lot to convince them that this is a new way of utilising your land to get the benefits. So there was a lot of fear, anyway. It took us some time to convince them" (Ole Tipis, founder). This fear was largely because, in earlier government-led conservation efforts, in the colonial period, the community was "not actually involved in decision making" (Sironka, manager). As a result, a large part of the community was sceptical about other actors' intentions.

Although the development of trust was critical to the extent and nature of Il Ngwesi community involvement, internal leadership conflict and even active mistrust appeared to characterise community involvement in Lumo. In part, the conflicted Lumo leadership stemmed from the CBTE's foundation. This CBTE was founded on a formal structure created from an externally engineered partnership between three neighbouring communities. The three communities had all applied for separate funding to establish lodges. Ultimately, upon reaching consensus, the three member ranches signed a memorandum of understanding, establishing the Lumo Community Wildlife Trust. As part of the agreement, community involvement was through purchasing a membership, and then purchasing shares. Some community members did not have the funds to buy-in, and so achieved shareholder status through hours-worked in setting up the sanctuary and lodge. Some even contributed further unpaid work, demonstrating their developing commitment to the project.

Mwaluganje has a similar community involvement model to Lumo, though shareholding was determined by the amount of land owned and contributed by individuals. In Mwaluganje, involvement is through committee creation (by the elders). As with Lumo, in Mwaluganje, day-to-day organisational involvement (employment) is limited to shareholders.

#### *CBTE development*

The Mackinder case demonstrated a relative quick movement along the continuum to high levels of community involvement as it transformed from a solely conservation effort to a CBTE. The other three cases appear to have introduced, or brought to the forefront, generational and modernising tensions. Of note, whilst the establishment of the CBTEs relied upon culturally-based involvement models, the formalising processes, reflecting western structures have unsurprisingly also created tension. Nonetheless, community involvement has been maintained, just in a different format.

Other than at Mackinder, all other cases adopted formal community involvement methods, largely through annual general meetings (AGMs). However, even with such formalisation, traditional cultural models still dominated. For example, in Il Ngwesi, community involvement was still founded on the community's trust model:

> Like when we go for the AGM, everything is laid out about the lodge, the way the trust works, everything is exposed so that everyone understands what is happening. The trust among [ourselves] is what brings unity and the peace they [community members] have. (Namunyak, community member)

In 2004, the Il Ngwesi founding elders were replaced by elected community representatives. Elders were also the original directors of Mwaluganje.

Overall, in these three cases, there were high levels of community involvement from the beginning of the CBTEs. In the Il Ngwesi and Lumo cases, the CBTE required community involvement to start operations (due to shared land ownership), and Mwaluganje cases involvement was through being a shareholder (via contribution, Lumo also had a purchased-shares arrangement). Additionally, in each of these three cases, community involvement was also through employment: at both Lumo and Mwaluganje, only shareholders could become employees.

### *Power and control*

The cases demonstrated a greater spread along the community power and control dimension than was described in terms of involvement. Again, at one extreme was the Mackinder case, starting with no community power or control. At the other was Il Ngwesi, with full community power and control. In between, Lumo and Mwaluganje had dependent relationships with external partners. Notably, even in the Il Ngwesi case, external partners were involved, as were external friends and peers.

External funding and advice were accessed across all of the cases. Nonetheless, the power and control of other parties was not exercised through coercion. For example, and as noted above, the Il Ngwesi CBTE leaders were influenced by Ian Craig, a neighbour and friend of the Il Ngwesi Maasai. This was potentially complex given that Craig is a white farmer, expected by some to wield power over the community based on a colonial master-servant relationship (see Manyara & Jones, 2007). However, the relationship was seen by the interviewees to be trust-based and Il Ngwesi represents an example of CBT where trust relations are more significant than power relations. Although the Il Ngwesi interviewees acknowledged external partners' and friends' contributions, they expressed a very strong sense of community control and independence. This was best captured by Olonana, a founding member, who proclaimed that "this, our lodge project has not been the initiative of a *mzungu* [white person]!" With clarity, the founders further explained how they sought the resources they lacked from outside of the community: "We were leaders, we wrote proposals and looked for money from organisations" (Ntimama, founder). Il Ngwesi has since become totally independent.

The capacity development role of friends, peers and partners has been acknowledged as a crucial element of the CBTE success across the cases. For example, at Lumo, "These people were telling us you have to go step by step; this thing has to grow like a baby" (Mghendi, founding member). As with the other cases, there was a substantial learning curve where the knowledge and skills were developed and challenges overcome at Lumo: "We steered the project with difficulty" (Mwakidedi, founding member).

Mwaluganje members took subtle steps to manage their dependence on partners. For example, Kamau, a former manager, and earlier a KWS senior warden, described the necessary partnership with KWS, stating that "the locals are not just driven by KWS, they have their input, and I found it very useful. It made my work very easy". Kamau identified that the community were decision makers, though there was a continuing inter-dependency with KWS.

In the case of Mwaluganje, however, and as a direct response to perceived external control, there was a move away from external support prior to the community having full capacity to manage the CBTE. The first manager, a non-community member, was replaced with a community member, whose term ended prematurely in what was perceived by the founders as mismanagement. "Our own son, our very own son, he started to sink this project. It made community members very angry, they demonstrated… He was fired" (Rai, founding member).

Mwaluganje also had two external investors and directors, regarded by most as 'friends' (though also described by a founder, as 'colonialists'), in addition to the other organisational partners in the KWS and Coastal Development Agency (CDA). The investor and partner relationships, as friends and enablers, are perceived by the community as advisors and facilitators, and so not grouped in the same category as the expelled manager whose role involved decision making and control. Adding to the complexity, the Mwaluganje CBTE is shared by two ethnic groups, the Digo and Duruma. There are tensions, as observed by an external participant, though the two groups both have the "internal feeling that this is our project, we are the ones who initiated this project to solve our problems" (Kioko, manager).

The Mackinder case demonstrated a different model compared to the others. Initially, power and control of the enterprise were with the founder, Paul. However, Paul initiated the transfer of power and control, whilst still maintaining a constant interest.

> The main success of the project is the coming together to address their own challenges, on creating their own way and coming up with solutions, in problem-solving and by the end of the day raising their own money and their time. (Paul, founder)

Paul holds the position of 'co-ordinator', which is still an equal power relationship with other community members (as was supported by interviews with other community members). All the same, Paul's emphasis on the community has not limited others' attempts to gain power. As Paul lamented, "there are those who would want to get into positions to get access to resources, create opportunities for themselves even in order to make money for themselves".

Of particular interest is the power and control at play in the Lumo case. The Lumo community had a historically strained relationship with KWS, which was a partner in the CBTE. This strain was due to the displacement of people and traditional practices during the creation of Tsavo National Parks in 1948 by the precursor of KWS.

> Well, before that there were no National Parks, you see the rangelands were free for people to roam and graze their animals between Taita Hills and all the way to the foothills of Kilimanjaro. People would graze anywhere. In 1948 the National Parks came into being, so there were restrictions. So where people used to move freely, they were not able to move any more. (Mghendi, founding member)

Additionally, the KWS was perceived to play a role in HWC by protecting wildlife at the apparent expense of people. "The animals come into our place, we are not allowed to kill them, you go into the Park, just walking and not carrying anything, you are trespassing and you are arrested. It created that kind of animosity." (Mghendi, founding member)

The HWC had escalated into a local community-government authority conflict. Another founding member, Mwandalo echoed these sentiments of hostility between locals and KWS. Despite this, a trusted KWS official from the Taita ethnic community, Sio, played a critical role in convincing the community to partner with KWS. "… Sio introduced the idea of forming sanctuaries in the ranches so that they could make use of the wildlife and get money." (Mwandalo, founding member)

Mwandalo's views were corroborated with those of founder Mghendi. In addition, another individual actor, John Kiio (not real name), an official with African Wildlife Foundation (AWF) played a brokering role (like that of the CDA in the Mwaluganje case). "Kiio of AWF in 2008, contributed significantly to, call it the revival of Lumo. It is through him that we got the current investor and it is through him we did away with the former investor." (Mghanga, board member) According to Mghanga, Kiio brokered relationships between the community and Community Development Trust Fund.

Thus, a common thread between Sio's and Kiio's relationships with the community is that they were able to work with community members in ways that could enhance community agency. The role of these individuals could be equated with that of Craig, the friend of Il Ngwesi, and the friend investors of the Mwaluganje case. However, this relationship is nuanced in the sense that unlike Craig, Sio and Kiio were representing organisations.

In all of the CBTE cases, moderate to high levels of community power and control are now evident. In the early stages, in most cases, the collaboration with externals also meant that such actors had levels of power and control in the CBTE. Nonetheless, the collaborations were developed in a manner that helped build community capacity without loss of power and control.

However, one consequence of growing community power was the emergence of inter-generational tensions. For example, and whilst trust still was evident, the voting change from the elders to the younger educated members at Il Ngwesi did generate some community member concern. Similarly, the Mwaluganje case demonstrated community involvement contests and tensions between generations as the CBTE evolved. Some younger members of the board of directors thought that such leaders were responsible for Mwaluganje's apparent slow progress, and as a part of a hegemonic power structure introduced by one of the external partners (who was also identified as a friend by other interviewees).

> As I said the problem was there between the old men picked by Ted Goss (real name) [external partner/friend]. There was a system where young guys were saying that what he was doing was unfair. So there was pulling here and there. (Nyae, founding member)

Even in the revised flat involvement structure of the Mackinder case there were some with perceptions of exclusion and jealousy, opining that Paul was only involving close relatives in decision making.

### *Outcomes*

The third CBT form dimension covers a range from externally oriented outcomes to full, community-determined outcomes. In all the interviews there was an emphasis on community outcomes, even though there was an acknowledgement that wildlife and conservation outcomes aligned with KWS goals. The outcomes most cited by those interviewed related to community opportunity.

An important element considered in the discussions was 'who benefited'. It was apparent from the interviews that not everyone in the communities benefited equally. In the Il Ngwesi case the benefits were communally shared, however in the Lumo and Mwaluganje cases benefits were distributed primarily to shareholders (and, as noted above, only shareholders or their families could access employment through the CBTE). At Il Ngwesi the CBTE provided "a common interest, that in the long run brings people together" (Ole Tipis, founder), and enhanced the community glue by "holding the community together … All [our] affairs, [we] carry out together in unity" (Namunyak, community member). The CBTE was also seen as a means for local employment "and until this day I'm working here and we are now being paid well" (Mkawasi, Lumo community member). Population retention is another outcome, for example:

> We had the vision to build Il Ngwesi so that our children could get work without them going to Nairobi or elsewhere to look for jobs and to get bursaries for education of our children and to help community by way of creating jobs. (Olonana, founding member)

New business opportunities were also being created. For example, at Il Ngwesi, Ole Tipis (a founder) listed new opportunities, including a campsite, selling of beads, honey collection and a cultural village all connected with the initial CBTE.

Outcomes were often related to the local socio-economic context and need to be contextualised and compared to the period before tourism in each case. As outlined by board member Mghanga, income at Lumo is distributed to address health and education, among other specific community needs. Although the income was not high, "one cannot complain a lot because at the beginning there was completely nothing!" (Mkawasi, Lumo community member). At Mwaluganje, Sam (external investor) emphasised that "the people here are way below the poverty line". A similar point was made regarding Il Ngwesi.

Another key outcome was turning HWC from being a threat to human life into a resource for tourism. This was evident across the cases but was most explicit at Lumo: "I have lived here I know this place, there is no water, farming doesn't do well, there are elephants everywhere, people are killed, there is this human-wildlife conflict." (Charo, community member)

In the Lumo case, Mwakidedi (founding member) expressed the irony of a resource rich yet materially poor community, "In terms of resources we are the richest, but because the resources are not used well, we are the poorest". At Il Ngwesi sanctuary, outcomes were compared with a very different set of natural resources. Here, "our area is not really good for grazing cattle, it is not enough for our cattle" but "the place set aside is enough for conserving/viewing wildlife" (Ntimama, founding member). Importantly, in addressing local needs, each of the CBTEs is also protecting the wildlife. Utilising the natural resources, particularly wildlife, each of the communities has gained other benefits, including opportunities for women to gain income through creating and selling art to tourists as well as loan schemes in both Il Ngwesi and Mackinder.

Farming has been or will be enhanced as in the Mackinder irrigation scheme, Il Ngwesi water programme, and the crop protection

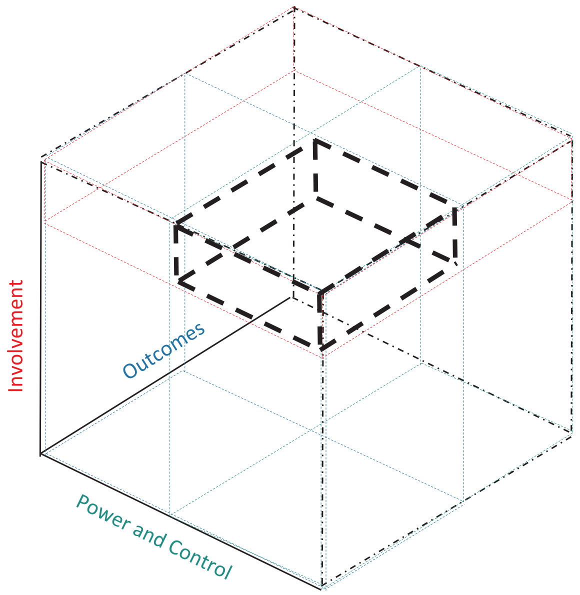


**Fig. 4.** A Three-dimensional Mapping of Il Ngwesi CBTE.

and rescinding unproductive land at Mwaluganje. For example, 83 percent of the money for the Mackinder Kiondo Irrigation project comes from the US$5 tourist entry fee to the sanctuary (*Mackinder Kiondo Irrigation and Water Project Constitution and By-laws*, CBTE data source).

Two other important outcomes were noted at the Il Ngwesi CBTE. First, there was now combined economic and physical security (from poachers and rustlers). Second, Il Ngwesi was no longer dependent on government support or external aid. “You see now, if we did not have the lodge, and depended on the government, we would be very far [lagging behind socio-economically].” (Tonkei community member) Ndiwa, a community member, also reflected that “before there was a lot of insecurity but the lodge has brought peace; people live in peace”.

Finally, Il Ngwesi and Mackinder CBTEs have also provided education and training opportunities. They have also received external recognition, which has in turn built community pride.

Overall, whilst economic outcomes are noted, the outcomes that were emphasised by the interviewees were much more community-oriented and were framed in terms of actual or emergent changes rather than as planned outcomes. Each case presented an argument in terms of relative developmental outcomes since the commencement of tourism operations. Indeed, the opportunities that the economic benefits provided, and the consequent benefits of tourism to generate further opportunities, were the focus of attention. When each community defined CBTE benefits, profit margins and returns on investment were never at the forefront. An argument about opportunity cost, and how tourism might have limited other opportunities is valid, however the counter-argument, one stressed by interviewees, is that the cases are located in areas with limited economic options and prevailing harsh climatic conditions.

As an example, using the Il Ngwesi case, we have graphically summarised its CBTE shape in the three-dimensional form (Fig. 4). The mapping represents the high levels of community involvement (red dotted box), moderate to high levels of community power and control (green dotted box), and low to moderate levels of community outcomes (blue dotted box) across the CBTE’s timeline. This provides an indicative CBTE shape, binding its dynamic progression, in the top-forward area marked by the bold black dotted lines. Of note, the Il Ngwesi case indicates a future of increased community outcomes emerging from the CBTE, moving from the indicated shape, further to the top-right corner.

## Discussion

In this article we have drawn on Pepper (1942) to contribute a three-dimensional framework to describe community involvement, power and control, and outcomes of CBT. Using four case studies of CBTEs in Kenya, we have applied and also contextualised this framework to examine not only the amount of, for example, involvement in each case, but also how historical, cultural and environmental factors have shaped that involvement. As has been argued, Pepper’s (1942) worldview framework provides a basis for understanding CBT *form* and applying the framework may be shaped by specific CBTE *contextual* elements. We argue that this deliberate combination of applications is readily transferable to other applications and allows researchers, practitioners and evaluators to recognise the potential both for overall patterns and for particular dynamics in CBT analysis. Rather than accept a particular idealised position or trajectory for CBT, our contextualised, dimensional approach to analysis allows for a variety of positions to be articulated and assessed.

For example, it would appear then that involvement does not necessarily occur linearly along a scale as would be anticipated, nor can it be understood as a fixed concept, such as a democratic process (Amati, 2013; Arnstein, 1969). It instead presents itself as praxis aligned to its diverse contexts. In brief, the cases each demonstrate high levels of community involvement that perhaps align with an agentic community development type of CBT. Not surprisingly, the way that these dimensions are realised varies across the cases. High levels of community involvement were evident right from the establishment of Il Ngwesi, Lumo and Mwaluganje. In the Mackinder case, although initially driven by a social entrepreneur (Mottiar et al., 2018), the community's involvement increased with time as the CBTE was developed. Nonetheless, community involvement is not without challenges, as demonstrated in Il Ngwesi, Lumo and Mwaluganje. With time these CBTEs have moved from traditional involvement to the adoption of formalising processes, reflecting western structures, which has resulted in tensions.

Similarly, community power and control has varied as relationships between community and external parties shifted during development of the CBTEs. The outcomes of the process are enhanced, but not solely determined, by partnerships and collaboration with external actors (Knight & Cottrell, 2016). Although ongoing support may be viewed as dependency, early departure or severance of collaboration can have negative consequences (Moswete et al., 2009). Thus, we apply contextualism to argue that instead of questions and statements about whose normativity is important, whether that of the tourism industry, community or even development partners, there is need for examination of how different interests are negotiated and how normativity may emerge out of such negotiations.

In assessing power and control both as a continuum and in context, we also encourage others to move away from polarised agency-structure evaluations of CBT and to explore further how there are possibilities of innovative ways and mechanisms through which communities can partner and collaborate with other actors to meet locally defined community development needs (Knight & Cottrell, 2016; Mtapuri & Giampiccoli, 2013; Novelli & Gebhardt, 2007).

Developmental outcomes were also locally defined and determined. For example, at Il Ngwesi, the benefits were shared communally. The Mackinder Eagle Owl project, despite being founded by an individual, shared benefits with community members in a way that addressed locally determined needs. Thus, although the nature and extent of community outcomes is varied (see Simpson, 2008), they can only be assessed within the contextual complexities through emic interpretations (see Dredge, 2006). This does not mean to imply that only the contextual analysis is informative; merely that it supplements and deepens the dimensional assessment. In this research both have been presented textually but we do encourage others to take up the visual potential of our three-dimensional model (e.g. Fig. 4) and to map and measure how particular CBTE formations develop over time using quantitative as well as qualitative methods.

Finally, we also note the importance of paying analytical attention to the praxis of communities and to their complexities and contradictions (Matarrita-Cascante, 2010; Mayaka et al., 2018; Sebele, 2010). In focusing on three dimensions that have received attention within the literature, we recognise that we were essentialising these dimensions and excluding other factors. For example, trust emerged as a factor that was key to understanding the role of context at Il Ngwesi, and traditional knowledges, structures and practices were evident across the cases. Additionally, the separation of dimensions underplays the evident interrelationships between them, conceptually and contextually (Mitchell & Reid, 2001; Tosun, 2006).

## Conclusion

This research has made two contributions. First, we have contributed a new dimensional approach to the conceptualisation of CBT. The three dimensions of involvement, power and control, and outcomes draw key themes of the literature together, whilst emphasising the community development through tourism trajectory (Blackstock, 2005; Giampiccoli & Sayman, 2014; Sebele, 2010). The three dimensions bring sharp focus to a descriptive approach of depicting CBT forms, allowing a comparative and dynamic space, and address many contests within the current literature (Ndivo & Cantoni, 2016; Novelli & Gebhardt, 2007; Simpson, 2008). We argue that the normative and idealised view of CBT should not be the defining and critical focus. Instead, we should view the idealised position as an aspirational shape within the broader and inclusive three-dimensional CBT form. Second, we contribute the importance of the context to add nuance (Knight & Cottrell, 2016), supplementing the three dimensional form. Context allows explanations of everyday living and understanding that emerge from each CBTE, providing locally defined measures of performance. Combined, the three dimensional form provides a common descriptive framework to compare CBTEs; which allows and emphasises the contextual subtleties to deepen understanding of each CBTE.

The first implication of the research is for researchers and educators to use the three-dimensional form to describe CBTEs. A CBTE's placement within the dimensional space provides a greater insight for comparative interpretation, as contrasted with the contested views and expectations of CBTEs in the current literature (e.g. Simpson, 2008; Tosun, 2006). Second, in enhancing CBTE application models (Giampiccoli & Mtapuri, 2014; Novelli & Gebhardt, 2007), boards and operators should aspire for positive movement along each of the three dimensions, as aligned with the community's context. For some CBTEs, this movement may take time, and may not be linear, for example, whilst capacity is developed. Nonetheless, the movement should be planned for, providing greater degrees of community involvement, power and control, and outcomes. Although still normative, we recommend that such development not be seen as prescriptive or limiting: that context always needs to be taken into account.

This research, whilst based upon deep insights in four cases, was based within a single country. Even within this context, some new themes were emerging, including trust as an aspect of both the involvement and power and control dimensions (though largely limited to the Il Ngwesi case). This indicates that future research should attempt to discover further contextual nuance assisting to describe the three-dimensional form, and or that new CBT form dimensions might be emerging. Future research should also further investigate the distinct roles of friends (ongoing trusted external peers) and partners (short-term external organisations providing needed resources) within the CBTE creation and development narrative. This research indicates variation in acceptance and influence within these relationships, and potentially contrastingly, also degrees of dependence, especially on partners early within the CBTEs' start-up.

In conclusion, we have argued that the recent articulation of normative ideals and trajectories for CBT has limited the range of possibilities for CBTE analysis. In response, we have applied two of Pepper's (1942) world views, formism and contextualism, to demonstrate their potential for a nuanced analysis of the creation and development of CBTEs. The research demonstrates the complexity involved in assessment of CBT in diverse sites, yet understanding such complexities is crucial in application of tourism-led community development models (see Dredge, 2006). In introducing Pepper's (1942) two dispersive world views to tourism studies, we have provided a new methodology for addressing a contractionist push within recent CBT analysis and also an example of how analysis of assumptions informed by social science can enhance the contemporary field.

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