Tourism Development in the East Africa Community Region: Why Is Tourism Development a Shared Agenda Among Only Some EAC Countries?

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TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN THE EAST AFRICA COMMUNITY REGION: WHY IS TOURISM DEVELOPMENT A SHARED AGENDA AMONG ONLY SOME EAC COUNTRIES?

A Dissertation
Presented to
the Graduate School of
Clemson University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy
Parks, Recreation, and Tourism Management

by
Carmen Nibigira
May 2019

Accepted by:
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Dr. Bruce Ransom
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Dr. Harold Cheatham
ABSTRACT

Marketing and developing tourism within regional economic blocs is a growing phenomenon at a time when globalization is at the center stage of geopolitics, trade wars, and scientific revolutions. However, this development is occurring haphazardly, with little attention to managing existing socioeconomic inequalities and differing political interests among member states. This absence heightens the need for a shared tourism agenda among member states. Using the case of Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda and Tanzania, this study investigates whether tourism development within the East Africa Community (EAC) region – with the exception of South Sudan, another member of the same community – is a shared agenda. Specifically, the study investigates conditions under which tourism policy makers within the EAC cooperate; the role that East Africa Tourism Platform (EATP) plays in creating a shared tourism agenda within the EAC; political, social, and economic realities that should be addressed in order to develop a shared tourism agenda within the EAC; and the opportunities that can be harnessed within the EAC to promote creating a shared tourism agenda.

The results reveal that protectionism is a major cause for differences exhibited by some partner states in the development of a shared tourism agenda. A summary statement among participants suggests that: “Everyone is pushing for their interests at the expense of regional projects and programs.” Findings, however, provide the conclusion that policymakers are willing to cooperate if the following four conditions are met: (1) regularizing policymaker meetings; (2) developing regional destination development and a marketing action plan; (3) synchronizing calendars of marketing activities; and (4)
developing an EAC marketing strategy while advancing the ideals of reciprocity, fairness, mutual trust, and openness. The study recommends that partner states should harmonize their tourism laws and align them with an EAC treaty. An East Africa Tourism Platform, on the other hand, should maintain neutrality and abstain from brokering for any country-specific agenda while pursuing the objectives of building synergies amongst partner states.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Almost seven years ago, I embarked on a journey of pursuing my PhD thousands of miles from home without my children. With little knowledge where this new path would lead me, I had great faith and hope in the final outcome. I was told this path would not be a sprint, but a marathon. Yes, this has been one hard race to run. I wish to thank the Almighty God for the gift of life and for seeing me through this journey which would have otherwise been impossible. I hereby acknowledge some ordinary people who did an extraordinary job supporting me in this endeavor. To my fellow doctoral students, thank you for your feedback, cooperation, and, of course, for your friendship. Agnes, Bernard, Edwin, Ian, Ingrid, Geoffrey, John, and Peter, I am grateful for your support in overcoming numerous obstacles I have been facing during my research. Thank you all for your inspiration and encouragement; we cried and laughed together and challenged each other as East Africans, and this journey was so rich because of you. Asante Sana!

I am extremely grateful to my research guide and supervisor, Dr. Sheila Backman, for the valuable guidance, scholarly input, and consistent encouragement I received throughout the research work and beyond. At our All In Café meetings on Thursdays, you took time to give me advice, and also talk about life in general. I was extremely privileged to do my doctoral program under your guidance and to learn from your research expertise. I am grateful for Dr. Bruce Ransom; my interest in public policy and political science was ignited from you. I truly enjoyed taking your classes, and my area of work for the past four years has grown within the sphere of tourism policy interests and curiosity. I was very much privileged to learn from Dr. Ken Backman, who always provided me a broader
perspective to my research and without any hesitation had the time to read and give constructive criticism to my work.

A huge debt of gratitude goes to Dr. Brett Wright, who extended his support even though he had a very busy schedule. I gained a lot from you. Your suggestions at various points of my research program was appreciated and valued. Similar, profound gratitude goes to Dr. Cheatham, who has been a truly dedicated mentor. I am particularly indebted for his constant faith in my work, and for his support when so generously hosting me for tea and coffee. I have very fond memories of my time at his house in great company with his wife.

Nobody has been more important to me in the pursuit of this project than the members of my family. I would like to thank my mum, Domitille, and my late dad, Dr. Roger, whose love and guidance are with me in whatever I pursue. They are the ultimate role models. Most importantly, I wish to thank my loving and supportive sisters, Lolita, Elsa, and Martine, and my two children, Dominik and Merick, who provide unending inspiration. My sons, you are the reasons why I didn’t give up when things were tough; your love and patience with a busy mum like me can’t be appreciated enough. This is a fruit of your warm love, continued patience, and endless support. Your prayer for me was what sustained me thus far. I would like to thank many friends for accepting nothing less than excellence from me. Wherever you are in the world, you know who you are. Thank you from the bottom of my heart. To say that I would do this again would be a total lie. But overall it was one of the best experiences of my life.
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<th>Acronym</th>
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<tr>
<td>EAC</td>
<td>East Africa Community</td>
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<td>EABC</td>
<td>East Africa Business Council</td>
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<td>ACF</td>
<td>Advocacy Coalition Framework</td>
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<td>EATP</td>
<td>East Africa Tourism Platform</td>
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<td>UNWTO</td>
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<td>UNECA</td>
<td>United Nations Economic Commission for Africa</td>
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<td>WTTC</td>
<td>World Travel and Tourism Council</td>
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DEFINITION OF OPERATIONAL TERMS

**Advocacy coalition framework (ACF)** is premised on the fact that the best way to understand the world is to focus on a policy process driven by actors promoting their beliefs (Cairney, 2012).

**Authorizing environment** not only directs but also sustains public managers’ efforts on particular forms, scales, and objectives (Cairney, 2012).

**Beliefs** are convictions held to be true, by an individual or a group, regarding concepts, events, and even people.

**East Africa Community (EAC)** is the regional intergovernmental organization formed by the Republics of Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, the United Republic of Tanzania, the Republic of Uganda, and the Republic of South Sudan (Okello & Novelli, 2014).

**Levels of regional integration** involves free trade areas, customs unions, common markets, economic unions, and political unions.

**Multiple streams analysis** is a way of incorporating understanding of ideas within a wider theory of policymaking (Kingdon, 1995).

**Private sector** is the area of the nation’s economy under private control.

**Public policy** is the result of activities which the government undertakes in pursuit of certain goals and objectives (Cairney, 2012).

**Regional integration** is the reduction and standardization of government controls and policies over the flow of products or factors, or both, among a limited set of countries (Cuervo-Cazurra & Un, 2007).
Regional tourism governance is characterized by bringing together communities, local governments, and tourism industry stakeholders, thus creating cohesion and market relevance.

Regional tourism organizations are characterized by linkages, including social, professional, and exchange networks, and collaborative partnerships (Zahra, 2012).

Regional trade agreements (RTAs) are mechanisms used to reduce tariffs and non-tariff barriers, and develop similar technical, economic, and administrative standards among member states (Cullen & Parboteeah, 2014).

Sustainable development is a kind of development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (WCED, 1987).

Tourism policy is a set of regulations, rules, guidelines, directives, and development/promotion objectives and strategies that provide a framework within which collective and individual decisions directly affecting long-term tourism development and the daily activities within a tourism destination are taken (Goeldner & Ritchie, 2006).
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

An overview of the study is outlined in this chapter, including the background to the study, the justification for the study, problem statement, research objectives, research question, theoretical framework, methodology, data analysis procedure, and chapter summary.

1.2 Background to the Study

Tourism is increasingly an essential component of export diversification for many economies globally. For example, international tourism receipts grew from US$ 1260 billion in 2015 to US$ 1,340 billion in 2017 (UNWTO, 2017). For the fourth consecutive year, international tourism grew faster than world merchandise trade, raising tourism’s share in world’s exports to 7% (UNWTO, 2017). The total export value from tourism amounted to US$ 1.580 trillion, confirming the fact that tourism is a significant category of international trade in services stimulating economic growth, boosting exports, and creating jobs for an increasing number of economies worldwide (UNWTO, 2017).

In Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), tourism attracted 33.8 million international visitors in 2012, increasing to 66 million in 2017 and generating US$ 37 billion in tourism receipts, with a total contribution of 8 percent to the regional GDP (World Travel and Tourism Council [WTTC], 2018). Tourism has a substantial and growing impact as a critical economic driver in East Africa. East Africa is a leading tourism destination in SSA, with member countries such as Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi attracting over
5.1 million international visitors in 2017, a 60% increase from previous years, and earning US$ 3.5bn in visitor expenditures (EAC, 2013). Tourism, therefore, remains an integral part of development planning in many developing countries. However, the degree to which tourism expansion and advancement has been planned by countries varies significantly (UNCTAD, 2017). For instance, the Economic Road Map and Visions of the East African Community member states (Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi) view tourism development not only as a key pillar in their national socio-economic development, but also as a mechanism for poverty alleviation, revenue generation, and wildlife conservation (Okello & Novelli, 2014).

Although tourism has benefitted the East Africa Community region, the benefits have not been equally shared; Burundi, for example, has been left behind in tourism development mainly because of years of instability, inadequately trained human resources, investment, and planning. If Burundi wants to be successful in attracting tourists from neighboring countries it needs to introduce visa harmonization schemes (that is, better align visa issuance policies to those of member nations) and regional travel packages (Novelli, Morgan, & Nibigira, 2012) as part of the Destination East Africa. Moreover, EAC is committed to deepening integration and addressing those issues that constrain creating an environment for a single tourist destination, foreign investment, internal and external trade, and generally marketing the region as a bloc (Novelli et al., 2012).

Despite the potential for re-branding and linking into the regional tourism destination, some member states such as Burundi are yet to identify their unique selling points and develop effective organizational structures for their tourism sector beyond their
highly fragmented arrangements. Through the lenses of destination lifecycle model, EAC member states are at different stages of development. Whereas Kenya and Tanzania are prime destinations characterized by tourist market saturation, Uganda and Rwanda are developing; and Burundi is still in initial stages of tourism development due to decades of political instability (Akama, 1999; Butler, 1980).

The East African Community (EAC) has been working to strengthen tourism and wildlife sectors by encouraging collaborations among member states through the establishment of the East African Tourism and Wildlife Coordination Agency, and a single tourist visa (Okello & Novelli, 2014). Despite attempts to develop East Africa as a single tourism destination, EAC member states are at different stages of tourism development. According to Christie, Fernandes, and Messerli (2013) Burundi is at the initiation stage. Rwanda and Uganda are scaling up, while Kenya and Tanzania are at deepening and sustaining stages. Christie et al. (2013) argue that Burundi’s core constraints are most certainly security and health concerns, transport, and enabling government policy for tourism development. More to this, Okello and Novelli (2014) assert that high cost, frequency, and routing of airlines for Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda often reduces their competitiveness. As a solution, EAC’s distance from generating markets requires competitive air access. Furthermore, national visa regulations pose a constraint, especially with high visa fees and complex procedures to secure them (Okello & Novelli, 2014). Besides, countries such as Uganda and Rwanda that are scaling up tourism generally need to convince policy makers that tourism is as valuable as other sectors such as agriculture and mining (Christie, et al., 2013). For countries like Kenya, Rwanda, and Tanzania that
are strengthening and sustaining their tourism industry, human resources capacity and product innovation are particularly important (Okello & Novelli, 2014). This unevenness in development among member states of the EAC increases the need for a shared tourism agenda. As stated by Baylis et al. (2011), regionalism is a strong force in the world since the inception of globalization. Hence, the vision of a shared agenda to develop regional tourism is worth exploring for this research endeavor.

1.3 Justification for the Study

Regional integration is the reduction and standardization of government controls and policies over the flow of products, factors, or both among a limited set of countries (Cuervo-Cazurra & Un, 2007). Regional trade agreements (RTAs) help reduce tariffs, non-tariff barriers, and development of similar technical, economic, and administrative standards (Cullen & Parboteeah, 2014). Regional integration is increasingly occurring in all corners of the world (Kiggundu & Deghietto, 2015). RTAs have become increasingly prevalent since the early 1990s, and their importance is growing. Many African leaders, in particular, have identified integration as a critical driver for their country’s economic development. More so, globalization, with its characteristics of open borders and cross-continental trade, is viewed as a source and opportunity for economic progress. As a result, there are approximately 467 regional trade agreements in operation globally (UNWTO, 2017). By 2015 the World Trade Organization had received 612 applications for regional trade agreements (Kiggundu & Deghietto, 2015).

Regional trade agreements have been in existence for centuries, with a customs union of the provinces of France having been proposed in 1664 (Schiff & Winters, 2003).
Between the 18th and 19th centuries, Austria signed trade agreements with five of its neighbors (Schiff & Winters, 2003). Moreover, customs unions were used in the unification of Germany, Italy, and the United States of America (Schiff & Winters, 2003). Recently, African states have embraced regional integration with the creation of eight regional economic communities. These include AMU/UMA, CEN-SAD, COMESA, EAC, CEEAC-ECCAS, CEDEAO-ECOWAS, IGAD, and SADC (Kiggundu & Deghetto, 2015). Article XXIV of the World Trade Organization allows for the co-existence of regional integration and multilateral trading system (Kiggundu & Deghetto, 2015). This feature has resulted in a global proliferation and deepening of regional trading agreements within the dynamic and complex multilateral trading system. Globalization, and the opening up of economies in developing countries in Asia, Africa, and the Americas, as well as transitional economies in Eastern Europe, have added impetus to the creation of RTAs. Regional trade agreements cover all continents and regions of the world and account for a significant percentage of world business transactions. Almost all of the 160 World Trade Organization member states belong to one or more RTAs (Kiggundu & Deghetto, 2015).

The relationship between regional integration and socio-economic development has been advanced by multilateral organizations such as the World Bank, African Development Bank, European Union, African Union, African Capacity Building Foundation, and United Economic Commission for Africa. RTAs are particularly attractive to emerging and transition economies, as such collaborations provide the first learning stages for internationalization and going global (Kiggundu & Deghetto, 2015). Depending upon the degree of integration, RTAs can involve practices such as eliminating tariffs, developing
common markets, and creating common currencies (Alhorr, Moore, & Payne, 2008; Hanson, 2015). Moreover, regional integration comes in different forms. But, in general, it is made up of reciprocal trade agreements between two or more trading partners. The overall goal for nations to undertake regional integration is not only to increase cross-border trade and investment, but also to raise citizens’ living standards and pursue other legitimate national interests such as governance, security, human development, socio-cultural exchanges, migration, and raising the country’s geopolitical position within the region or globally. Motives for forming or joining RTAs differ from country to country, and even over time. For example, during the Cold War, matters of security and ideology were important considerations more so than during peace time (Kiggundu & Deghetto, 2015). Regional integration entails efforts of states to enhance their economic, political, and cultural interaction while overseeing national interests.

In Africa, the original Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) was formed by frontline states to fight and protect members against apartheid South Africa (Kiggundu & Deghetto, 2015). Currently, the organization has been transformed into the Southern African Development Community (SADC), with 15 members including South Africa, Mozambique, and Angola. Likewise, the five founding member states of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) were originally motivated by security concerns as a shield against communism. Currently, the 10 member states of ASEAN include Vietnam and Laos, with China holding associate membership (Kiggundu & Deghetto, 2015). The ASEAN bloc has extended experience in regional tourism cooperation (Ghimire, 2001). The central secretariat bodies and national tourism
organizations are mobilized to foster tourism in the region. In SADC, a regional tourism organization has been set up to coordinate tourism development activities. In developing regions of the world experiencing poverty, inequality, exclusion, and overall poor governance and human rights abuses, citizens want to know if deeper regional integration will alleviate these problems and improve their overall human condition. Moreover, regional tourism holds a certain degree of economic potential for increased investment and entrepreneurship, thereby creating new employment and income prospects for various sections of the population (Ghimire, 2001).

The marketing and development of tourism within regional economic blocs is occurring in a haphazard manner, with little attention being directed to managing existing socio-economic inequalities among member states. In this regard, this study provides insight to existing policy, political, and ideological differences among EAC partner states. These insights are useful to East Africa Community member states and their policymakers in reassessing tourism policies. Moreover, this research is deemed important for East Africa Community as it helps in providing an understanding of the framework in which the tourism industry could thrive based on EAC’s political, social, and economic landscapes.

1.4 East African Community (EAC)

The EAC is an inter-governmental organization that comprises six partner states, including the Republics of Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, the United Republic of Tanzania, and South Sudan. These partner states agreed to establish a customs union, common market, monetary union, and, eventually, a political federation (Kiggundu, 2015). The EAC is one of the African Union-recognized regional economic blocs and is
considered as one of the most advanced regional blocs in terms of economic and political integration (Ogola, Njenga, Mhando, & Kiggundu, 2015). Governance of the EAC is set forth in the charter re-establishing the Union in 1999. Article 5 of the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community points out that, among other things, the objectives of the community are to develop policies and programs aimed at widening and deepening cooperation among the partner states in political, economic, social, cultural, research, technology, defense, security, legal, and judicial affairs for the mutual benefit of the members (Ogola et al., 2015). Moreover, the EAC member states undertake to promote the universal values and principles of democracy, good governance, constitutionalism, human rights, and equal opportunities (EAC, 2013).

The EAC’s key integration achievements include the establishment of the common market; the promise to establish the monetary union with a common currency by 2024; and the ultimate goal of achieving a political federation. In recent times, the economically and politically independent, culturally diverse members of the EAC have retained and expedited the process of integration so as to promote regional peace, security, governance, socio-economic development, and more effective integration in the global economy and global society. Kiggundu (2015) observes that the prospects for deeper integration within EAC countries are promising, provided that partner states continue to build on its successes, confront current and future challenges, and take a holistic long-term approach to effective management of deeper regional integration.
1.5 History of East African Community (EAC)

The development and evolution of the EAC can be best understood within the broader context of the African struggle for independence and their continuous pursuit of integration. In 1958, the UN-sponsored Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), the first pan-African inter-governmental organization, was established, with its headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (Kiggundu & Deghetto, 2015). Five years later, in 1963, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was established and brought together the then-independent African states (Kiggundu & Deghetto, 2015). Together, these two continental organizations provided the impetus for continental and regional integration in Africa including the EAC. For example, the OAU passed several resolutions aimed at promoting integration, the most important of which is the 1980 Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos, which formed the basis for the 1991 Abuja Treaty (Kiggundu & Deghetto, 2015). The principal objective of the treaty was to establish the African Economic Community (AEC) through coordination, harmonization, and progressive integration of the activities of regional economic communities such as the EAC (Adedeji, 1979; Puplampu, 2015).

East Africa has experienced various forms of regional integration. During the colonial era, various attempts were made to bring the British colonies under shared governance arrangements (EAC, 2018). For example, from 1947 to 1961, the British created the East African High Commission and the East African Legislative Assembly for the administration of the colonies (EAC, 2018). These were replaced in 1961 by East African Common Services Organization (EACSO) and the central legislative assembly to
provide common services and enact laws. EACSO was charged with the responsibility of providing for all of East Africa common services in the areas of transportation (East African Railways and Harbours and East African Airways), postal and telecommunications services (East African Post and Telecommunications Corporation), higher education (East African University), and central banking (East African Currency Board). These regional governance structures provide useful models for contemporary deeper regional integration in the EAC (Ogola et al., 2015).

EAC was first formed in 1967 after the heads of state of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania set aside their ideological differences and individual aspirations (EAC, 2018). The EAC allowed for inter-state commerce among the three countries and facilitated the free flow of goods across East Africa (EAC, 2018). The treaty’s implementation was facilitated by previous integration mechanisms such as construction of Kenya-Uganda Railway line, establishment of the Customs Collection Centre; East African Currency Board; Postal Union; Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa; Customs Union; East African Governors’ Conference; East African Income Tax Board; and Joint Economic Council (EAC, 2018)

The union of the three countries – Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania – lasted for 10 years, when the EAC was dissolved in 1977 (EAC, 2018). The dissolution was attributed to several factors, including uneven levels of development and Tanzania’s opposition to a zero-tariff regime (Society for International Development, 2012). Tanzania argued that it would have been unfair to treat the three countries equally, as if they were at the same level of economic development (Society for International Development, 2012). Some argued
that integration would benefit Kenya to the detriment of Tanzania and Uganda. Despite the failures and challenges of the past, the quest for integration has persisted (EAC, 2018). The current EAC Treaty, unlike its predecessor (the 1967 Treaty), provides for a political federation as the final stage of the East Africa integration (EAC, 2018). Challenges of regional integration and building of a political federation are not unique to the EAC. What distinguishes successful integration is the ability to find realistic solutions to emerging challenges. Resolution of issues of sovereignty and the attendant notions of loss of national identity, political power, decision-making, and flexibility in exercising powers are key to successful integration (Kiggundu & Deghetto, 2015).

Within the EAC, the economies of the member states are growing at different paces and have reached varying levels of progress. In the absence of a formula to address issues of equitable sharing of benefits and costs, progress is likely to be slow and protracted. Equally, the level of public awareness about the integration processes remains low, thus constraining East Africans from accessing integration opportunities and benefits or appreciating gains made thus far. Although EAC countries have social and cultural ties emanating from pre-colonial times, the social and cultural life in the region is not homogenous (Ogola et al., 2015). Since its re-establishment in 2000, the EAC’s integration process has accelerated based on political will, mutual interests, and the recognition of potential gains from the integrated economy (Kiggundu & Deghetto, 2015). In line with trade integration as the core objective of EAC, the Customs Union was established in 2005, followed by a common market in 2010 (EAC, 2018). EAC heads of state have committed
to reforms on removing non-tariff barriers and simplifying regulations to encourage vertical specialization and emergence of regional production value chains (EAC, 2018).

1.6 EAC’S Governance Structure

The governing structure of the EAC is made up of the summit, the Secretariat, the council of ministers, co-ordination committee, sectoral committees, the East African Court of Justice, and the East African Legislative Assembly (EAC, 2018) The summit is made up of the heads of state of the five member states. It meets at least once a year, with a rotating chairperson. It makes decisions by consensus on matters brought by the council of ministers and made public in the official gazette (EAC, 2018). The council is made up of the ministers responsible for regional integration in each member state. The coordination committee, on the other hand, serves as the implementing agency of council decisions. Sectoral committees are responsible for establishing priorities and preparing comprehensive implementation plans, monitoring, and evaluation within their respective sectors (Ogola et al., 2015).

The East African Court of Justice is the judicial arm of the EAC. The court’s main function is to ensure adherence to the law in the interpretation and application of, and compliance with, the EAC Treaty and legislation enacted by the East African Legislative Assembly (EAC, 2018). The Assembly is made up of 52 members: 45 members elected by the member states and seven ex-officio members (EAC, 2018). In addition to its legislative duties, the assembly has responsibilities for liaison with national assemblies of member states on matters relating to the EAC, budgeting, and establishing special committees (EAC, 2018). The Secretariat is the central core of the EAC operations. It is the guardian
of the EAC Treaty and ensures that regulations and directives adopted by the council are properly and effectively implemented. It provides professional, technical, and administrative services and liaison with ministries responsible for regional integration for each of the member states. The EAC’s ability to implement Summit decisions and fulfill its mandate is dependent on the Secretariat’s capacity to perform its functions effectively and with foresight (EAC, 2018).

1.7 **East African Tourism Platform: Its Importance**

East Africa Tourism Platform (EATP) is a private sector organization promoting the interest and participation of the tourism sector in the East African Community (UNWTO, 2016a, 2016b). The EATP is the first regional tourism apex body put into place, able to lobby at the EAC level and at the level of national governments (EATP, 2016). The vision of creating and promoting a vibrant and diverse single tourism destination is the driving force. The EATP promotes intra- and inter-regional tourism through advocacy, marketing, skills development, research, and information sharing. The main strategic objectives of the EATP are to mediate and reduce obstacles to intra- and inter-regional tourism; promote an intra- and inter-regional tourism marketing approach; facilitate continuous skills development in the tourism sector; promote harmonized standards and codes of conduct of tourism facilities and services; facilitate access to finance and risk management services; and share information and provide networking opportunities (WTO, 2016).

Providing positive and results-oriented policy advocacy is the core objective of the EATP. The EATP enhances East Africa’s tourism competitiveness through effective
dialogue for policy reforms and regulations, improved tourism services, export capabilities, and strengthening the tourism private sector’s capacity and sustainability (WTO, 2016). Since its launch, the EATP can be credited for advocating for the single tourist visa; use of national identification documents as travel documents for citizens of Kenya, Rwanda, and Uganda; free movement of tourism services; partial liberalization of the EAC airspace; and joint marketing initiatives, which is mainly under the East African Northern Corridor Initiative (EAC, 2016). These initiatives have already had positive effects on regional travel. In 2017, the Kenya Tourism Board reported that Uganda is Kenya third-biggest source market, contributing 6.4% of arrivals and up to 20.6% from 2016 (51,023 visitors in 2016 to 61,542 in 2017). Domestic tourism in Kenya increased in bed nights from 3.5 in 2016 to 4.05 million in 2017, a 15.9% increase (Kenya Tourism Board, 2018). Other initiatives such as joint marketing initiatives, technical support for national associations, or harmonization of standards and codes of conduct for tourism facilities and services are ongoing and will enhance the regional destination competitiveness (WTO, 2016).

1.8 Tourism Development within the East Africa Community

Tourism is one of the fastest growing global industries. Moreover, it is a vital source of economic development. Travel and tourism’s direct GDP contribution in Africa reached $66 billion in 2016 (WTTC, 2018), greater than the GDP contribution of Africa’s chemicals manufacturing, automotive manufacturing, and banking sectors. Based on its direct, indirect and induced GDP impact, travel and tourism generated 7.8% of Africa’s GDP in 2016. (WTTC, 2018). WTTC predicts that travel and tourism employment will grow 4.5% per annum over the next decade (WTTC, 2018), if taken into consideration that
the sector sustained a total of 8.4 million direct jobs in Africa in 2016 and that for every job directly in the tourism sector, nearly two additional jobs are created on an indirect or induced basis, making its linkages stronger than the construction and agriculture sectors (WTTC, 2018).

Within the EAC, tourism is viewed as a key pillar for regional development with potential for poverty alleviation, generation of revenue, and wildlife conservation. Equally, tourism is a leading foreign exchange earner in all EAC states (EAC, 2017). Every year, Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania host more than one million international tourists (Kitheka, 2015). With exception of Burundi, recent data from the WTTC (2018) show increased visitation and growing economic impact of tourism in the EAC (Kitheka, 2015). The report predicts a positive growth of tourism’s contribution to the local and regional economies in the near future in areas of direct gross domestic product, employment, capital investment, and exports. This growth is occurring despite recurrent political challenges, threats of terrorism, and regional and global economic turbulence.

Tourism plays an important role in sustainable development of the EAC’s member states, contributing an average GDP of 8.9% and employing nearly two million people (EAC, 2018). In spite of poverty and unemployment plaguing the region, tourism continues to play a crucial role in providing a source of livelihood for the local people (Kitheka, 2015). The industry is rivaled only by the agricultural sector, which is the economic backbone of the region. Table 2.1 compares the five countries’ earnings from agriculture and the service industry (including tourism).
1.9 Private Sector

According to Kiggundu (2015), the private sector is the primary driver of the EAC’s regional economic integration, an argument supported by the African Development Bank Group in its 2018 economic outlook report. Following this, in 2005, the EAC partner states ratified the common market protocol, allowing for the free movement of goods, services, capital, and people (EAC, 2017). Subsequently, many companies have invested and are operating regionally within the EAC. As such, the private sector profits highly from this integration and its policies, such as the common market, which allows the free movement of goods and services. This allows the private sector to do business more efficiently and cheaply across borders, to rationalize operations, and expand their market base across the region. Regional penetration of the private sector can help reduce poverty and inequality while promoting inclusive growth by creating economic opportunities and employment, especially among the youth, women, and other marginalized groups.

Businesses, especially multinational corporations, prefer strong regional integration because it allows greater standardization and centralization while domestic firms, especially small- and medium-sized enterprises and those in the informal sector, tend to be challenged by deepening regional integration (EAC, 2017). As regional integration policies become increasingly common, the playing field is shifting for both local and multinational firms worldwide (EAC, 2017). Regarding the benefits, regional integration can generate growth and increase foreign direct investment (Chin, Meyer, Tan, & Waltermann, 2014). Integration allows developing nations, as well as smaller nations, to compete by joining larger nations or forming coalitions more effectively. In this way,
developing nations may expedite the process of strengthening their institutions and overall economy by partnering closely with developed nations (UNCTDA, 2017).

Furthermore, smaller nations can coalesce to grow their economies and more effectively compete with larger, dominant global players. Deloitte (2012) believes that the fragmentation of the African market is one of the region’s most significant limitations. The hope is that increasing regional integration efforts will attract foreign investors, boost regional trade, and ultimately make Africa more competitive with other world regions (African Development Bank Group, 2014).

For this growth to take shape, the EAC needed an umbrella organization to manage the private sector. It is in this regard that the East African Business Council (EABC) was formed as the umbrella organization of the private sector in East Africa. Established in 1997, the EABC is at the forefront of facilitating private sector participation in the integration process of the EAC. EABC works closely with the EAC Secretariat, the East African Legislative Assembly, governments, regional economic communities, multilateral groups, and the business community to improve the region’s trade and investment climate. EABC members are drawn from private sector and business associations from across East Africa. Membership is open to all companies and business associations with interests and operations in the region. Companies and associations can apply to become ordinary members, associate members, or individual corporate members. The EABC’s vision is to be an effective change agent for fostering an enabling business environment for a diversified, competitive, export-led, integrated, and sustainable economy, while its mission is to promote the private sector's regional and global competitiveness in trade and
investment. EABC projects and programs are designed to bring together potential business partners by developing critical contacts and business relationships; provide a forum for the exchange of information and ideas; raise East Africa's investment profile both regionally and globally; and address issues that limit private sector competitiveness in trade and investment (https://www.linkedin.com/company/east-african-business-council).

Table 1.1: Demographic and economic perspectives of the EAC member states (2017)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Size (Sq. Km.)</th>
<th>Population (million)</th>
<th>GDP (billion US$)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>241,038</td>
<td>41.49</td>
<td>25.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>26,338</td>
<td>11.92</td>
<td>8.376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
<td>27,830</td>
<td>10.52</td>
<td>3.007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>947,300</td>
<td>55.57</td>
<td>47.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>580,367</td>
<td>48.46</td>
<td>70.53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: EAC, 2017
1.10 Problem Statement

EAC member states view tourism development as a key pillar for their national development, and also as a mechanism to alleviate poverty, generate foreign revenue, and contribute to wildlife conservation (Republic of Burundi, 2011; Republic of Kenya, 2007; Republic of Rwanda, 2000; Republic of Tanzania, 2000; Republic of Uganda, 2007). Based on this, these countries in EAC have developed their economic roadmaps and visions that will lead them towards achieving their targets that will lead to their socioeconomic development based on tourism revenues (Kenya’s Vision 2030, Tanzania’s Vision 2025, Uganda’s Vision 2040, Rwanda’s Vision 2030 and Burundi’s Vision 2025). Because of these targets with their country’s visions, these countries and their respective agencies have been working towards strengthening tourism and wildlife sectors through collaborative partnerships to integrate and market tourism products in the region together. This is based on EAC’s spectacular tourism products, including mountain gorilla expeditions in Rwanda and Uganda, to the Big 5 in Tanzania and Kenya, which positions EAC as a single leading tourism destination offering a diversified and highly competitive tourism product in Sub-Saharan Africa.

According to the World Bank (2017), the key to boosting tourism on the African continent is to actively promote travel to regions within Sub-Saharan Africa and thus encourage visitors to East, West, Southern Africa-rather than just to individual countries. Examples from the Caribbean region reveal that by pooling resources, the Caribbean Trade Organization has managed to increase the competitiveness of the world’s premier sea, sand, and sun destination (UNCTDA, 2017). In the same vein, the EAC is consciously trying to
brand the region through marketing East Africa as a single tourist destination, as well as focusing on standardizing wildlife conservation and management across the region. Branding Africa as a series of regions and developing policies to make travel between member states as seamless as possible will attract more tourists, making it easier to travel for leisure, work, or business between countries.

Despite this, attempts to develop East Africa as a single tourism destination have faced different challenges and remain at different stages of growth. While Burundi is at initiation stage, Rwanda and Uganda are at the scaling up stage, and Kenya and Tanzania are at deepening and sustaining stages (Christie, Fernandes & Messerli, 2013). More to this, EAC member states are facing different challenges and seeking different solutions. Christie, et al., 2013, argues that for a country like Burundi, core constraints are most certainly security and health concerns, transport, and enabling government policy for tourism development. Further, high cost, frequency and routing of airlines for Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda often reduces their competitiveness (Okello & Novelli, 2014). Furthermore, visas pose a significant constraint with high visa fees and complex procedures to secure (Okello & Novelli, 2014). Although the EAC has made some significant achievements, especially with the establishment of the East African Tourism Wildlife Coordination Agency, the adoption of a single tourist visa (which is currently in operation among Kenya, Uganda, and Rwanda) and the semi-liberalization of the air space, EAC lacks a single strategic tourism development blueprint that will address its competitiveness and sustainability. This has resulted in individualistic approaches to governance and marketing of tourism (Okello & Novelli, 2014).
In order for tourism to contribute to the development of EAC member states, there is need to have a shared tourism development agenda that will address investment in tourism superstructure, training, product development and diversification, funding, entrepreneurship, regional tourism; and marketing (EAC, 2018). It is worth noting that although the protocol on the establishment of the East Africa Community Common Market has been signed – enabling a smoother flow of people, goods, and services across East Africa – some members of the EAC such as Tanzania and Burundi have yet to adopt it. The East Africa Community Common Market is expected to boost tourism in the region and benefit individual states and the region as a whole with a view that international tourists uses a single visa to visit all the East Africa Community member states in a single trip (Nakaweesi, 2013; Okello & Novelli, 2014). However, a number of issues remain to be addressed by each member state to take advantage of the full benefits that integration offers. These issues include, among others, a lack of a shared agenda and harmonizing of tourism policies without a clear regional consensus. From the preceding observations, it is argued that there is a clear need to investigate whether tourism development within the EAC is (and/or ought to become) a shared agenda.

1.11 Research Objectives

The main research objectives are:

- To investigate conditions under which EAC partner states can cooperate to develop a shared tourism destination.

- To determine the role East Africa Tourism Platform can play in creating a shared tourism agenda within the East African Community.
• To investigate political, social, and economic realities that should be addressed in order to develop a shared tourism agenda within the EAC region.

• To investigate existing differences among EAC member states in regards to the development of a shared tourism agenda.

• To determine areas of conflict among EAC member states pursuance of a shared tourism agenda.

• To establish opportunities that can be harnessed within the East African Community to usher/commend the creation of a shared tourism agenda.

**Overarching research question**

The overarching research question was: Why is tourism development a shared agenda among some countries in the EAC, but not others?

To answer our overarching research question, specific questions were answered that included:

• What are the conditions under which EAC partner states can cooperate to develop a shared tourism destination?

• What role can East Africa Tourism Platform play in creating a shared tourism agenda within the East African Community?

• What are some of the political, social, and economic realities that should be addressed in order to develop a shared tourism agenda within the EAC region?
• *Are there existing differences among EAC member states regarding the development of a shared tourism agenda?*

• *Are there areas of conflict among EAC member states in pursuit of a shared tourism agenda?*

• *What are some of the existing and future opportunities that can be harnessed within the East African Community to usher/commend the creation of a shared tourism agenda?*

### 1.12 Theoretical Framework

This study was guided by the Advocacy Coalition Framework developed by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1999) for understanding the policy process. The theory focuses on the interaction of advocacy coalitions, each consisting of actors from a variety of institutions that share a set of policy beliefs. This study was based on the principle of understanding the policy change process based on the interactions among different policy actors. According to Villamor (2006), advocacy coalition framework has been used previously to analyze policy change. Advocacy coalition framework focuses on the interaction of advocacy coalitions, each consisting of actors from a variety of institutions who share a set of policy beliefs within a policy subsystem and view policy change as a function of competition within the subsystem and events outside the subsystem (Villamor, 2006). Moreover, one of the key features of the advocacy coalition framework is the belief system which involves value priorities, perceptions important to causal relationships and perceptions/assumptions concerning the efficacy of various policy instruments (Cairney, 2012). According to Villamor (2006), advocacy coalition framework assumes that the most
useful unit of analysis for understanding policy change is the policy subsystem. A policy subsystem is composed of sectors from a variety of public and private organizations actively concerned with a policy issue. Since the policy issue of this study was the shared tourism vision among the EAC member states, the unit of analysis was the stakeholders, or the different players involved in the policy-making arena.

1.13 Methodology

Based on the premise of this research endeavor to obtain a detailed understanding of tourism development within the East Africa Community, it was deemed appropriate to employ a case study research design. According to Baxter and Jack (2008), case studies can help researchers evaluate programs and develop theory. A case study is specifically suitable for questions that require a detailed understanding of the social and organizational processes (Hartley, 2004). According to Baxter and Jack (2008), a research involves a detailed investigation of a phenomenon within its context. For this study, purposive sampling and semi-structured interviews were used to understand the development of tourism within the East Africa Community. This process is an intensive, detailed, and in-depth investigation of a single case. Stake (1995) argues that case study research is expected to capture the complexity of a single case. Moreover, a case study research design can be either quantitative or qualitative. In the current study, the latter was employed based on its rigor that allows the researcher an opportunity to explore and describe the research questions using a variety of data sources including interviews, field notes, and document analysis (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Moreover, the use of multiple sources enabled triangulation of data, thus enhancing its reliability (Yin, 2003). Previously, case study research designs
have been used in researches related to education, psychology, anthropology, business, social, and political sciences.

1.14 Data Analysis Procedure

Analysis of qualitative data, such as in this study, is an inductive process that begins with the recognition and coding of broad themes and proceeds through to more specific connections between collected data and the research questions (Figure 1.1). In this study, data were analyzed using the NVivo software. In this context, data analysis involved making sense of whatever participants said, checking for patterns and integrating information from different interviewees. Particularly, data analysis involved data inspection for emerging themes, data coding, developing categories, and interpretation.
1.15 Chapter Summary

Using the case of the five East African partner states – Burundi, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda and Tanzania – this chapter provides an insight into tourism development in the East Africa community. Despite these states committing to work jointly through a common market protocol (enabling easier movement of people, goods and services across the region) and even to collaborate in tourism and wildlife management, they are at different
levels in adopting co-operative measures aimed at creating a single tourism destination. Kenya, Rwanda, and Uganda have adopted the use of a single tourist visa, e-visa, national identification documents, and interstate passes as travel requirements, while Tanzania and Burundi have not adopted the measures. The next chapter, which is a literature review, discusses in greater detail the different theories and approaches that underpin this research endeavor.
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Guided by the impetus of studying the dynamics that drive the vision of a shared agenda for tourism in East Africa as a single destination, this research indicates that tourism development in all the five partner states of the EAC is embedded in their policies, beliefs, and strategies that drive cooperation and collaboration. However, to achieve a shared agenda for tourism, there has to be a shared, deliberate, and strategic vision for the region. Chapter two establishes the lens through which this concept of a shared tourism agenda will be investigated. It is also understood that this research is embedded in the policy sphere. Given its complexity, setting the stage is vital for this research undertaking.

2.2 Public Policy

2.2.1 Defining Public Policy

The study of public policy is an essential aspect of the study of politics, encompassing the dynamic process through which policies are made and enforced (Birkland, 2005). Public policy is defined as a series of normative principles stipulated by a government concerning the action or development of social phenomena over a certain period (Dye, 1992). Policy refers to a label for a field of activity, an expression of intent, specific proposals, decisions of government, and the formal authorization of decisions (Hogwood & Gunn, 1984). The term “public policy” always refers to the actions of government and the intentions that determine those actions and in the same line, as the outcome of the bureaucratic struggle over who gets what (Cochran, 1974). Public policy
can also refer to a program, package of legislation, staffing, and funding; intermediate and ultimate outputs; outcomes, or what is achieved. Alternatively, a policy can be a process or a series of decisions. Public policy, on the other hand, is whatever the government chooses to do (or not to do) (Dye, 1972). Anderson (1975) conceived of public policy as a political instrument while Jenkins (1978) described public policy from a stakeholder’s spectrum. One cannot claim that public policy is an imprecise concept; however, there is no consensus on the concept of public policy, hence a few scholars have made a significant contribution in defining policy based on themes and objectives towards which policies are directed. Public policy is challenging to research as it is a composite of different processes that cut across most branches of government and in which diverse decision-makers and actors are involved (John, 1998).

Public policy is a course of activity whereby policymakers are involved in an ongoing and interactive process(es) (Anderson, 1975). That is, public policy ultimately is the/a governmental decision that results from activities that the government undertakes in pursuit of specific goals and objectives. Hence, public policy touches on all aspects of life. Importantly, public policy formulation and implementation involve a well-planned pattern or course of activity. Deriving or creating effective public policy requires a thorough close-knit relationship and interaction among the relevant governmental agencies or branches such as the executive, legislative, and the judicial. Subsequently, public policy-making is a complex, dynamic, and far-reaching process that involves many individuals, groups, and institutions. It is essential that there has been an emphasis on linking the role of government in understanding the role of public policy. In the process of policy development, it is
important to understand the context and environment for developing policy, and the actors and their roles (Almeida, 2013 Dye, 1992; Scott, 2011).

Public policy-making and planning are political activities that are influenced by economic, social, and cultural characteristics as well as by the formal structures of governmental and political systems (Hall & Jenkins, 1995). As stipulated by Barrett and Fudge (1981), public policy is about a process of actions and reactions over time. A policy requires meaning and needs to be defined because observers could perceive and interpret a course of action from different perspectives depending on interests and motivations (Cairney, Studlar, & Mamudu, 2012). A policy needs to be set in a context and acted upon within a society while requiring that public policy makers learn to disentangle the different shapes and forms of policy, one would say (Cairney et al, 2012). Public policy has multidimensional layers, operating at different levels and stages. A policy can be viewed from the fundamental themes of governance and politics that affect the composition and course of society Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith (1999). A concluding and simple description that will guide this research endeavor is borrowed from Sabatier (1987), who stated that given the staggering complexity of the policy process, a researcher must find some way of simplifying the situation in order to have any chance of understanding public policy. It is also understood that a public policy-making process involves different actors and steps to be followed and refers to actions taken by the government that is intended to solve problems. This review of scholarly research of public policy provides a platform on which the proposed study fittingly rests.
2.3 **What is the Purpose of Public Policy?**

Public policies deliver benefits, regulate activities, redistribute resources, and impose burdens (May & Jochim, 2013). In recent years, political scientists and political philosophers have studied how policies are made and ought to be made and taken into account as critical aspects of the policy-making process (Kingdon (2003); Pike (2008); Lasswell (1956); Ostrom (2007); Pierson (2005). Aspects of the policy-making process have also been studied in specific inquiries into the legislative, executive, and judicial processes into party and interest-group politics. A policy is sometimes the outcome of a political compromise among policymakers, none of whom has in mind quite the problem to which the agreed policy is the solution. One has to see policy evolve through various dimensions to understand and appreciate its purposes and utility within a context. A policy can produce change and it can be resisted; it is sometimes difficult to observe, and it evolves. Hence, it may be difficult to clearly define its purpose unless it is set in a context (Almeida, 2013).

A policy is an alternative tool selected from an array of choices and decisions as a prospective answer to a problem (Cairney et al., 2012). Quite often policies arise from new opportunities and not always solely from problems. A standard routine for reaching a policy decision is to gather and analyze facts, followed by an appraisal of or inquiry into the problem. This process/endeavor leads to identifying goals and objectives to be met, and often the process takes careful consideration and rationality designed to meet the public interest or that of special interest groups.
Policymakers are faced with a myriad of problems that call for attention and action at varying degrees of urgency. However, not all problems lead to a policy solution or enactment. Policy enactment comes about through a policy cycle that is composed of different conceptualization of public policy-making; rational choice, multiple streams, punctuated equilibrium, advocacy coalition, multi-level government, and policy networks, as prescribed (or set forth) by Sabatier & Weible (2007) to address a complex problem with far-reaching consequences that might impact a broader base. The problem can range from issues such as unemployment, fighting crime, affordable housing, access to healthcare, law and order, climate change, etc. In this case, policy enactment will be championed by a host of actors and factors ranging from individuals, institutions, policy conditions, and/or socio-economic pressures (Cairney, 2012). Public policy is affected by politics, economic, and social and environmental factors and concerns, and each specific sector requires a set of the parameter derived from a policy sphere (Cairney, 2012).

Policy, if it is to respond to people’s ever-changing and fundamentally unpredictable preferences, has to proceed incrementally or dramatic shifts in the case of Punctuated Equilibrium Theory (PET) through a negotiated process and consensus that seeks to address the problem at hand (Braybrooke & Lindblom, 1963). A policy is an answer to a public issue and a decision or set of decisions must be made to address that specific issue (Lowi, 1988). It is proposed that each policy’s issue serves a purpose and needs to be understood from three different types, the first of which is a distributive approach whereby the policy provides or appears to serve a specific group. A second type is a regulatory approach whereby a government decision or a chief executive’s
discretionary power will be exercised. This approach is designed to offer a policy that could deprive a certain group of benefits and give access to others based on several factors. The third type is redistributive decisions leading to policies whereby social classes to whom benefits are extended or from whom something is taken for others to benefit. This often occurs after weighing and analyzing the consequences. This is often seen when it comes to issues such as income tax, welfare programs, etc. (Lowi 1988). Later on, Ripley and Franklin (1991) re-articulated Lowi’s typologies into two categories: protective and competitive regulations.

A policy serves the purpose of finding a problem about which something can and ought to be done and, and one can say that defining a problem is also a part of finding a solution to the problem. Hence, the purpose of policy lies in the process of how the problem is framed, not as a response to existing conditions and problems, but rather is derived through a discourse in which both problems and solutions are created (Bacchi, 2009). The purpose of formulating policy is highly corrected on whose interests are to be served, often political and special interest groups; therefore, a policy can shift and is diverse in its forms and dynamic depending on whom it serves.

May and Jochim (2013) conclude that public policy does more than deliver services, provide benefits, or regulate harms. It is also about allocating winners and losers while sending signals regarding who is deemed deserving and undeserving. Public policy includes many facets, such as environment, health, transport, trade, and education, each requiring that one look critically at the policy regime and how the problem is defined. For instance, when talking about environmental policy, is it specifically related to climate
change, wildlife management, conservation, and/or forestry. Keohane and Victor (2011) suggested that there is a breath of a policy regime based on the scope of what a particular issue is intended to address. They noted that a set of problems is nested and interlinked to push a course of actions or intended actions. It is not a surprise to link the role of policy in how political purposes can be shaped to serve specific goals in the sphere of how societies are governed. The role of politics, economic, and social influence play a key role in how policies are advanced and implemented, and politics are inescapable from policy decisions.

According to Lindblom (1968), policy is the outcome of a political compromise among policymakers, none of whom had in mind quite the problem to which the agreed policy is the solution. There is a symbiotic relationship between power and ideas, i.e., to treat explanations for policy outcomes as more than the mere extension of power politics or the battle of ideas (Kettell & Cairney, 2010). Hayes (2001), consistent with Lindblom (1968), stipulates that policy change occurs, if at all, through a gradual accumulation of small changes. Likewise, Hayes (2001) concludes that through this incrementalism process social interests have to be represented, power between political actors, and resources have to be balanced, and political parties involved in the process must be moderate and pragmatic to allow convergence with an ever-evolving political center. Policy makers, public administrators, and policy analysts and advisors are often compelled to understand that governments change their policies almost entirely through incremental adjustments because, after all, a policy does not move in leaps and bounds (Lindblom, 1968). Through their Punctuated Equilibrium Theory (PET), Baumgartner and Jones (1993) reinforce that a policy process which involves interest groups entails competition in setting agendas. The
PET process is characterized by long periods of stability, punctuated by moments of abrupt multi-decision making venue process.

2.4 How is Policy Linked to Development and Planning?

Public policy is hard to research as it is a composite of different processes that cross-cut most branches of government and involve many decision-makers (John, 1998). From a policy standpoint, development and planning entail creating a balance between economic priorities, development goals, and creating political support for policies to persist or flourish (John, 1998).

A policy, in this respect, comes embedded in at least five different environments. These include the natural environment, the economic environment, the social and cultural environment, the technological environment, and the international environment (John, 1998). The natural environment is a blend of the natural endowments in which a country is situated (John, 1998). These endowments can encompass such components as topography, waters, ethnicity, climate, and natural resources. On the other hand, the economic environment refers to the economic conditions of the said nation and provides the very foundation upon which policies are supported. The economic environment further leads the framework within which the effective functions of policies can be guaranteed. The level of development and economic growth as stated by de Kadt (1979) and supported by Almeida (2013) requires that a tourism policy be embedded within a nation national policy, planning, and the level of socio-economic development goals. National development policy and political agenda, based on what the government chooses as a priority, will determine the level of development and planning.
According to Hall (2005), in tourism, for instance, the government has several functions as regards development. A specific function entails legislation, planning, regulation, entrepreneurship, coordination, and development. A policy is linked to investment, business environment, infrastructure, employment, and fiscal regimes. Governments at all levels assume responsibilities for socio-economic development and have to attempt to mitigate undesirable environmental impacts through clear policies. It is through regulation of public sector that development is controlled, and legislation is enforced to allow the implementation to occur. Governments have often been criticized for imposing top-down planning and decision making (Dredge 2006a) and a demonstrated lack of will to implement planning and policy. Through policy, governments can plan, develop, and regulate development goals.

In the context of tourism, public policy in its simplest sense can be defined as whatever governments choose to do or not to do with tourism (Hall & Jenkins, 1995). Although policy generally can be regarded as a process composed of a number of different stages, the prime responsibility of the government in planning is to achieve the balance between supply and demand. Fayos-Sola (1996) suggested that in most developing countries, a vast amount of tourism planning programs are sponsored and organized by international organizations such as the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The link between development and planning from a public policy standpoint requires that one grasps that a policy is a phased process which usually can be divided into five stages of formulation, implementation, evaluation, revision, and termination (Hogwood & Gunn, 1984).
2.5 **Policy Making Process.**

Policy-making typically can be considered a continuous process of actions over time with many decisions involved (Anderson, 1975). The process of policy making can be segmented into four ordered stages: policy issue identification, agenda setting, planning and legitimization (Cairney, 2012). It is also understood that policy refers to a label for a field of activity, an expression of intent, specific proposals, decisions of government, and the formal authorization of decisions (Hogwood & Gunn, 1984). Policymaking can also refer to a program, package of legislation, staffing, and funding; intermediate and ultimate outputs; outcomes, or what is achieved. Likewise, policy can be a process or a series of decisions. A concise and summative demarcation of the policy-making process has been posited by Lowi (1988), who suggested that the process of policy making can be disaggregated into four temporally ordered stages of policy issue identification, policy agenda setting, policy planning, and policy legitimization.

According to Weible and Sabatier (2014) the study of the public policy process is about understanding the interactions over time between public policy and its surrounding events, actors, and context. A policy refers to a label for a field of activity, an expression of intent, specific proposals, decisions of government, and the formal authorization of decisions (Hogwood & Gunn, 1984). On the same note, a policy can be a process or a series of decisions. It is a governmental decision resulting from activities that the government undertakes in pursuit of specific goals and objectives. Hence, public policy touches on all aspects of life. Importantly, public policy formulation and implementation involve a well-planned pattern or course of activity. It requires a thorough, close-knit relationship and
interaction among the relevant government agencies such as the executive, legislative, and judicial. Consequently, public policy making is a complex and far-reaching process that involves many individuals, groups, and institutions.

According to Lasswell (1956), the policy-making process involves intelligence, recommendation, prescription, invocation, application, appraisal, and termination. Furthermore, Jones (1970) argues that policy-making process revolves around defining a problem, setting the government’s agenda, formulating proposals, having a program or coherent set of proposals legitimated by the legislature (including assigning a budget), and implementing and evaluating policy. Cairney (2012) asserts that there is some variation in the literature regarding the number of stages in a policy process, but most writers/researchers describe the identification of policymaker aims, the formulation of policies to achieve these aims, the selection, and legitimation of policy measures, and implementation and evaluation.

A public policy passes through different stages before being implemented. These stages include agenda-setting, policy formulation, policy legitimation, assignment of the budget, policy implementation, and evaluation (Cairney, 2012). Agenda-setting first involves identifying problems that require government attention, deciding which issues deserve priority and attention, and defining the nature of the problem (Cairney, 2012). Second, policy formulation involves setting objectives, identifying the cost and estimating the effect of solutions, choosing from a list of solutions, and selecting policy instruments. Third, legitimation involves ensuring that the chosen policy instruments have support (Cairney, 2012). It can involve one or a combination of legislative approval, executive
approval, consent sought/obtained/derived through consultation with interest groups, and referenda. Fourth, implementation involves establishing or employing an organization to take responsibility for implementation, ensuring that the organization has the resources (such as staffing, money, and legal authority) to do so, and making sure that policy decisions are carried out as planned (Cairney, 2012). Fifth, evaluation involves assessing the extent to which the policy was successful or if the policy decision was the correct one, whether it was implemented correctly and, if so, whether it achieved the desired effect. Finally, policy maintenance, succession, or termination involves considering whether the policy should be continued, modified, or discontinued (Cairney, 2012).

Agenda-setting is an ongoing competition among issue proponents to gain the attention of media professionals and public and policy elites (Dearing & Rogers, 1996). It includes both governmental and decision agendas (Cairney, 2012). Governmental agenda denotes the problems to which decision makers are addressing serious attention at any given time, while the decision agenda implies the problems that are up for an active decision (Kingdon, 1984). In this context, agenda-setting can be viewed in two ways. First, there is an almost unlimited number/index of policy problems that could reach the top of the policy agenda. Yet, very few do. Second, there is an almost unlimited number of solutions to those policy problems (Cairney, 2012). Policy-making is a never-ending process. Different actors are influential at different stages and previous decisions often set the agenda for future decisions.
2.6 Policy Analysis

Public policy traditionally has been regarded as a thorny and even mysterious research area because of or based upon its temporal nature, multiplicity of participants and provisions, and the contingency in theoretical effects Greenberg, Miller, Mohr, & Vladeck (1977). Collaboration and cooperation are separate, though closely related (Hall 2005). In examining issues of collaboration and cooperation in relation to public policy it becomes vital that the range of stakeholders involved in such arrangements is examined so as to ensure that the process is as inclusive of the public interest as possible.

An ideal collaborative approach toward public-policy planning emphasizes on planning, with as comprehensive a set of stakeholders as possible, thereby attempting to meet the public interest rather than preparing for a narrow set of industry stakeholders or private interests as under a corporatist perspective (Hayes 2001). Such an approach may well be more time-consuming than a top-down approach, but the results of such a process will have a far greater likelihood of being implemented because stakeholders will likely have a higher degree of ownership of the plan and the process. Furthermore, such a method may well establish greater cooperation or collaboration between or among various stakeholders in supporting the goals and objectives. Nevertheless, while partnership has potential to contribute to the development of more sustainable forms of public policy in that it can create social capital, it has to be emphasized that the goal of cooperation need not be the same as an inclusive, collaborative approach.
In conclusion, for the researcher to investigate the research question at hand, it is essential to understand the prospective effects from using public policy, and from its function. Public policy has been chosen as one of several perspectives used for investigating tourism development in the EAC. Based on available theories in the sphere of public policy, the researcher is attempting to investigate while understanding why tourism development is a shared agenda among some countries in East Africa, but not for others. A specific focus on tourism policy complemented by a broader focus on other prospective tools that are relevant to the research question; this study comprises the next phase of the review of the literature. This research undertaking through the ACF lens presents a novel discussion on the subject of regional tourism in East Africa. It is with a great appreciation that a policy sub-system is not controlled by a handful group of players and actors, but rather a wider variety of players. Although the ACF was conceived in the United States, its utility can still be borrowed and used to analyze complex issues and give value to its ability to examine the research questions set for this research.

2.7 Tourism Policy

Since the beginning of time, people have traveled for one purpose or another. Tourism has been associated with this phenomenon, and as Edgell (1999) stated, there is no single place in the history of tourism that is precisely (and exclusively) identified as the foundation for tourism policy development. By nature, the tourism sector is the most wide-ranging industry in the sense that it demands products and services from other sectors of the economy. Therefore, its political aspects are interwoven with its economic and social consequences (Edgell, 1999). Because there is no other industry in the economy that is
linked to so many diverse products and services, it is crucial for any government to develop policies that can guide policymakers in navigating the complexity of this industry.

It is also understood for the purpose of this research that tourism policy is any government action that is either legislative, administrative, or judicial, and that affects tourism. Most tourism-related public policies have a primary focus on other issues but may have a secondary impact on tourism (Jafari, 1983). In Anatomy of the Travel Industry, Jafari (1983) provided a foundational element of the tourism policy literature that has contributed to an understanding of its many components. Specifically, Jafari (1983) grouped the tourism system components as accommodations, restaurants, transportation, travel agencies, recreational facilities, and diverse businesses. Additionally, he categorized attractions such as natural, socio-cultural, and human-made. All public policy or programs that affect any of these components of the tourism system can, therefore, be considered tourism policy (Edgell, 1999). They also need to be understood conceptually and substantively and analyzed once the philosophical guidelines and practical interests of tourism are investigated and described in a broad contextual framework (Edgell, 1999).

2.8 Defining Tourism Policy

According to Goeldner and Ritchie (2006), tourism policy is a set of regulations, rules, guidelines, directives, and development/promotion objectives and strategies that provide a framework within which collective and individual decisions directly affecting long-term tourism development and the daily activities within a destination are taken. A tourism policy defines the direction or course of action that a particular country, region, locality, or an individual destination plans to consider when developing or promoting
tourism (Goeldner & Ritchie, 2006). The fundamental principle for any tourism policy is that it should ensure that the destination (state, region or locality) would draw maximum benefits from economic and social contributions of tourism. The ultimate objective of a tourism policy is to improve the progress of the destination and the lives of the destination’s citizens or local residents.

Tourism policy is more broadly defined to include marketing, planning, and sustainability (Edgell, Allen, Smith, & Swanson., 2008). In this context, a tourism policy is derived through a progressive course of actions, guidelines, directives, principles, and procedures set in an ethical framework that is issue-focused and best represents the intent of a community (or nation) to adequately meet its planning, development, product, service, marketing, and sustainability goals and objectives for the future growth of tourism (Edgell et al., 2008). The highest purpose of a tourism policy is to integrate the economic, political, cultural, intellectual, and economic benefits of tourism cohesively with people, destinations, and countries to globally improve the quality of life and contribute to a foundation for peace and prosperity. The political aspects of tourism are interwoven with economic consequences. Tourism is not only a continuation of politics, but also an integral part of the world’s political economy. Tourism is and can be a tool used not only for economic but also for political means. Tourism has the potential to engage and change the economic, political, social, and ecological dimensions of future lifestyles (Edgell et al., 2008).

tourism policy seeks to ensure that visitors are hosted in a way that maximizes the benefits to stakeholders while minimizing the negative effects, costs, and impacts associated with ensuring the success of the destination. In fact, tourism policy seeks to provide high-quality visitor experiences that are profitable to destination stakeholders while ensuring that the destination is not compromised in terms of its environmental, social, and cultural integrity (Edgell et al., 2008).

The tourism industry is composed of private, public, and not-for-profit components interested in tourism development, new products, destination marketing, economic benefits, and future sustainability. These tourism interests have broad ramifications on community life and need parameters and guidelines to help define and plan the future direction of tourism policy, ultimately providing quality tourism products and services (Edgell et al., 2008). The tourism policy intends to integrate economic, social, and environmental goals. This integration is achieved through improving the quality of life of destination communities in terms of social, economic, and cultural well-being. Additionally, a tourism policy should be aimed at maintaining the ecological dignity of the destination. Local, provincial, state, regional, and national governments and other leveraging regional and global organizations help determine tourism policies that best represent the environment, as well as local community interests in tourism and governmental structure (Edgell et al., 2008). Numerous tourism associations and organizations seek to influence tourism policy so that their interests are also included. Tourism policy is therefore intertwined with the economic development process and dynamics, despite few scholars having studied this dynamic (Goeldner & Ritchie, 2006;
Schenkel & Almeida, 2015). Further, these researchers suggest that the application of policy for the tourism sector is highly correlated with the basic definition of public policy as defined earlier.

2.9 Tourism Industry from an African Perspective

With a sustained growth of 8% and international arrivals in 2017 reaching 62 million, tourism has become one of the largest and fastest growing industries in Africa (UNWTO, 2017). UNWTO reports show that tourism accounts for a nearly 7% share of the global economy, generates about US $7.6 trillion per annum, and employs 6-7% of the global workforce. International organizations such as the World Bank, UNWTO, the International Monetary Fund, the European Union, and the United Nations Development Program view tourism as a potential means for economic diversification and regeneration, poverty reduction, post-conflict stability, multilateral integration, and peace (Novelli et al., 2012).

In more than 150 countries, tourism is one of the five top foreign exchange earners, and in 60 countries it is the number one foreign exchange earner. In 23 of the 49 most developed countries, international tourism is among the top three foreign exchange earners; and for 7, it is their single largest revenue earner (UNWTO, 2012). Tourism particularly plays a critical role in economic development and sustainable livelihood of many least-developed countries, and in some African countries, tourism is a significant sector with many developing countries viewing tourism as a panacea to poverty alleviation and underdevelopment (Chok, Macbeth, & Warren, 2007).
Tourism in Africa is an essential contributor to economic growth, the continent’s GDP, employment, and exports (UNWTO, 2017). However, the sector’s relevance varies significantly across countries, regions, and, in some cases, across cities. To better understand the significance of tourism for African countries, it is crucial to assess tourism’s impact based on national development plans outlined in the country’s vision. If the vision stipulates the priority of the tourism sector, its policy and sector priorities are reflected in budget allocations together with clear implementation planning. Mapping the prominence of different sectors in the plans of each country is one way to measure the role intended for the sectors in efforts to drive development (UNCTAD, 2017). Although tourism is often regarded as a private sector activity, government agencies at all levels of the state have been pursuing tourism development since the 1960s (UNWTO, 2017). According to UNCTDA (2017), national development plans in Africa fell into three groups: (1) plans that provide objectives for the tourism sector; (2) plans that provide objectives and/or some planned policies aimed at achieving those objectives; and/or (3) plans that provide objectives and/or policies and detailed implementation plans.

From a review conducted by UNCTDA in 2017 from 49 African countries, it was identified that 27 had plans that were attached to clear policies aimed at achieving objectives related to tourism development in broader terms, while 11 showed evidence of varying provisions for adopting tourism objectives and detailed implementation plans. Tourism, to be a national priority, requires concordant approval through an inter-ministerial process coupled to the ambition of the state to grow the sector being clearly defined and signaled to all stakeholders. Government helps shape the economic framework of the
tourism industry (UNWTO, 2017); it helps provide the infrastructure, establish the regulatory environment for tourism to thrive, and provides a conducive environment in which business operates. Governments lead by taking an active role in promoting and marketing any destination (Telfer & Sharpley, 2002). Governments take a number of roles in tourism (and it could be) despite possible variations from country to country based on the ambition of the country and how the sector contributes to the general economy of the nation. Politically, the ambition of the country for establishing tourism is due in particular to several factors and expected outcomes from the sector: job creation capability, economic diversification from a national level, and more structural transformation.

Rogerson (2007), asserted that in developing countries, tourism enterprises comprise most business in key market segments such as accommodation, transport, and tour operations; hence, linkages to other sectors can generate multiplier effects in other economic sectors and in communities in which tourism-related activities are undertaken. Diversification into other productive sectors signifies reduction to vulnerabilities of economic to external market dynamics and great value addition in the tourism value chain. Given the degree of heterogeneity, those advocating for inter-sectoral linkages of tourism needs to take into consideration country-and sector level context. From a policy framework standpoint, one may focus on the effectiveness of existing national strategies (for trade, finance, investment, technology, and job creation) in promoting economic growth, which partly relies upon multi-sectoral investment and technological upgrading at the national level (UNCTAD, 2017).
As envisioned in the African Union Agenda 2063, tourism development will require the development of regional integrated tourism policies, implemented in conjunction with supportive frameworks among regions to ensure that Africa’s improved competitiveness is positioned at the global business arena (2016). For Africa to achieve its ambitious objectives and targets as articulated into the African Tourism Strategy of Agenda 2063, tourism should be considered a priority area for economic transformation from a national to a continental level. For instance, in 2004, Africa adopted the Tourism Action Plan of the New Partnership for Africa’s development, which outlined a clear framework to foster sustainable tourism on the continent. Since that time, two key elements were tabled: an African Tourism Strategy and an African Tourism Organization, both with a mission to boost tourism’s contribution on the continent (2016). Fourteen years later, none of those set-identified objectives has been established or implemented. It is worth highlighting that the success of tourism policy and its implementations lie in what the World Economic Forum in 2007 titled the Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Index (2016). At the heart of the index were policy rules and regulations, prioritization of travel and tourism, human resources, infrastructures, safety, and security, as well as natural and cultural resources management. African countries need to first incorporate tourism in their national priorities and put in place appropriate national institutions to support the sector. Failing to do so at the national level has constituted the lack of success implementing the African Union agenda at the continental level (2016).

On March 21, 2018, African leaders met in Rwanda to sign the first agreement of its kind in Africa, one that brought all 55 countries under a single African Continental Free
Area (AfCFTA). The primary role of this protocol is to bridge regional divisions by building on the industrial development policies and strengthening trade among African countries. Tourism squarely sits at the heart of the agreements as it will benefit from strengthened regional blocs, removing non-tariff barriers, by the establishment of an African common market, and a continental customs union. The success of sustainable development in Africa will depend on the ratification of the protocol by a minimum of 22 member states as stated by the African Union (2016). Some political and economic issues and challenges, such as poor infrastructures, harmonization of policies and procedures, buy-in from all concerned parties, and alignments of national interests with regional and continental interests need to be addressed.

Tourism has come to occupy and asserts itself as a critical sector in Africa. However, many factors could hinder its development based on vital outstanding issues, power struggles, and a plethora of government stakeholders in policy development. Hall and Jenkins (1995) noted that tourism could contribute to more inclusive growth if the appropriate policy framework is in place. This requires that African policymakers and leaders follow the vision of a united Africa as a tourism destination through a strategic focus on strengthening the development of continental and regional tourism. The Economic Development in Africa Report 2017 (UNCTAD, 2017) promotes tourism for transformative and inclusive growth, and could make a case for tourism as a true engine for inclusive growth and economic development while helping complement development strategies aimed at fostering economic diversification and structural transformation within the right policy context. Hence, it is paramount that one appreciate tourism development
by building a compelling case for its future from a policy standpoint and anchored in the principles and boundaries that clearly define future prospects of tourism.

2.10 Regional Tourism Governance

According to Zahra (2012), tourism governance is a complex issue involving multiple stakeholders in numerous relationships at a range of levels. Bramwell (2011) argues that the state operates at one or more geographical or spatial scales, which may be transnational, national, regional, or local. Regional governance, in particular, is not only an essential part of the spatial scaling of tourism governance, but also a growing issue in many countries (Pierre, 2000). Zahra (2012) asserts that regional tourism governance can bring together communities, local governments, and industry stakeholders, thus creating cohesion and market relevance. Functions for regional tourism governance include branding, infrastructural development, lobbying, training, partnership development, and the on-site implementation of national policies. More so, the critical contributions of regional tourism organizations are often too intangible, long-term, and elusive to measure in corporate terms. These include coordination of a horizontally and vertically fragmented industries with higher intermediaries, such as state and national tourism organizations; provision of leadership and vision for the tourism sector; and demonstration of expert knowledge in product development, domestic and international marketing, and sustainability issues (Zahra, 2012).

Regional tourism organizations are characterized by linkages including social, professional, and exchange networks and collaborative partnerships (Bramwell & Lane, 2006b; Lynch & Morrison, 2007; Zahra, 2012). Tourism collaboration stems from the
notion of communicative action that assumes unimpeded communication between and among tourism actors will deliver shared understanding, negotiation of trade-offs, and consensus (Dredge, 2006b; Habermas, 1984). Collaboration reflects the relationships between stakeholders seeking to resolve a common issue or problem within an agreed-upon set of norms and rules (Bramwell & Lane, 2006a). Collaboration has been proposed to facilitate sustainable tourism policy, planning, and marketing (Zahra, 2012). However, it has been noted that the vested interests of stakeholders in collaborations can stifle innovations needed to solve problems and powerful stakeholders can dominate collaborative tourism planning processes (Bramwell, 2004; Dredge, 2006b).

Public-private sector partnerships have dominated tourism policy development during the last two decades (Zahra, 2012). This period has seen the state shift from being a “provider” to an “enabler,” and from a “top-down” centralization to a “bottom-up” decentralized public administration, with the state seeking an inclusive form of governance (Hall, 2000). The state, in these partnerships, has a leadership role in facilitating strategic direction and innovation when working with a fragmented tourism industry (Vernon, Essex, Pinder & Curry, 2005). In this regard, the state is justified in its dominant role of initiator, organizer, and provider of resources for these partnerships (Zahra, 2012). Vernon et al. (2005), found that the role of partners does not remain static over time and can vary according to the ability of individual partners to influence outcomes. However, public-private partnerships have been heavily criticized for their narrow stakeholder and institutional base (Hall, 2005). Besides, there is little evidence in the literature that these
partnerships have made a positive contribution to regional tourism governance structures or their stability (Zahra, 2012).

Both collaboration and public-private sector partnerships reflect stakeholder theory (Zahra, 2012). Stakeholder theory is about the control and governance of an organization’s activities and recognizes the mutuality of rights and obligations constructed around the notion of economic, social, and political inclusion (Hutton, 1997). Rustin (1997) asserts that, ‘stake-holding’ emerged as a political concept at a point when conflicts and differences of political interest and principles had to be recognized and negotiated. A stakeholder is defined as any group that has a legitimate interest in aspects of the organizations’ activities (Freeman, 1984). The stakeholder-regional tourism organization relationship is often determined by the stakeholder’s interest in the regional tourism organization and its functions/activities rather than the regional tourism organization’s interest in the stakeholder (Zahra, 2006). However, regional tourism organizations recognize stakeholders as being important because they supply or facilitate an acquisition of funding, provide tourism super-structure and product, and participate in or generally support their programs, or influence governance (Sheehan & Ritchie, 2005).

2.11 Using Public Policy Theory to Understand Tourism Policy

It is in the interest of public policy makers to understand the fundamentals of how public policy can be used to influence other disciplines. In the case of tourism, it is through the lenses of one theory or policy instruments to be used that the researcher will be guided through a theoretical framework. The chosen policy process conceptualization revolves around defining the problem, the goals to be achieved, and the development of the
instruments that will assist in finding the solutions to the issues. After careful examinations of all possible tools based on the strengths and weaknesses presented, the researchers deemed the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) as the most suitable tool to guide this research. Hence, the guiding theoretical framework, as well as the application, are as elaborated below.

### 2.12 Guiding Theoretical Framework

Over the years, the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) has been used as a perspective to understand and explain belief and policy change when there are technical disagreements and goal differences involving multiple actors from different levels of government, research institutions, media, and interest groups. Since its inception, many case studies and publications on public policy problems have been completed/published (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999). Swanson (2010) used ACF to examine cooperation among coalitions and established that cooperation centered on similar policy preferences while also accommodating disagreements; personalities and mistrust were impediments to cooperation among coalition members. On the other hand, Dolan (2003) adopted ACF in the study of the USA’s National Economic Council (NEC) and processes associated with its international and domestic economic policy. Tyler and Dinan (2001) suggest that advocacy actors must communicate arguments in support of their position based on facts while connecting fact-based arguments to the objectives of those they seek to influence. Information is an essential resource in tourism policy development processes. Moreover, Richter (1994) found that successful tourism development relies on individuals and agendas that are able to directly confront political issues and social problems. One way to
deal with political and social issues is through compromise and reciprocity. To date, no research has been conducted on tourism policy development within the EAC using advocacy coalition framework. Recent researchers who attempted to look at tourism policy in East Africa focus mainly on governance and development (Dieke, 1993; Okello & Novelli, 2014). Utilizing the ACF framework, this research attempts to make a contribution to the body of literature.

The researcher, based on her working experience as a practitioner, policy advisor, and professional in the region has observed that tourism within the EAC faces a myriad of challenges and problems, starting with disjointed tourism policy interests that have often led to limited air connectivity and costly air travel. The region is crippled with different pricing, tax, and policy regimes, and fragmented marketing of destinations by partner states. Limited budgetary allocations for domestic and regional tourism and high visa fees and bureaucratic visa-application procedures have been noted as red-tape issues. The research also noticed a high level of skepticism among some partner states on the vision of one single destination; for example, Burundi and Tanzania haven’t joined the single tourist visa regime. These problems may be remedied by more effective tourism advocacy strategies and policies that lobby for beneficial gains from tourism. Moreover, regional governments are attempting to seek ways of improving cross-border, inter- and intra-trades, and investment conditions that aim to facilitate inter- and intra-regional tourism development. Addressing these challenges and complex systems will enhance the economic development and social stability of the region as one of the visions of the East Africa Community vision. In response to the need for collaborative tourism marketing, the
East Africa Tourism Platform (EATP) was created in 2001, driven by the private sector and supported by governments to align advocacy efforts and promote a unified agenda. The EATP represents its members through a coordinated and cohesive strategy to communicate the industry’s interests to policymakers across the EAC to advance a unified tourism development agenda.

Since this study is about understanding tourism development within the EAC and why it is a shared agenda among some member states and not others, it is deemed appropriate to adopt the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF). The Advocacy Coalition Framework has proven to be one of the most useful tools in dealing with severe public policy problems. For this study, ACF is deemed much stronger compared to other theories, such as multiple-stream analysis, when explaining how policy change takes place. Multiple-stream analysis focuses on agenda-setting and holds that a policy cannot be changed significantly unless there is a confluence of three streams: problems, policies, and politics. While ACF is about the policymaking process, it goes a step further to include the significant role of scientific and technical information in policy and political disputes. This is particularly relevant in this study as it will attempt to look at existing differences among EAC member states in their quest to create a single tourism destination (as illustrated in Table 2.1 below). The ACF, according to Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1999), offers a space for policy debates to occur within policy systems and include in the process both insiders and outsiders of the government in discussing a policy issue. These insiders and outsiders are formed into groups based on their interests, shared beliefs, and expected or desired outcomes. In the case of this research, it is known that all actors formed into groups; and
whether they represent their respective countries, groups, or interests they will use available resources to influence policymakers and shape the policy to match their coalition’s objectives.

In spite of EAC member states (Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda and Kenya) committing to working jointly through the common market protocol (enabling easier movement of people, goods, and services across East Africa), and even collaborate in tourism and wildlife management, they are at different levels in adopting cooperative measures aimed at creating a single tourism destination. Kenya, Rwanda, and Uganda have adopted the use of a single tourist visa since 2014; the application of e-visas; the use of national identification documents; and interstate passes as travel requirements since 2015. Tanzania and Burundi have not yet implemented any of the above, nor have demonstrated the political will to do so. Rwanda has even gone a step further, simplifying their visa regime for all nationals who can now apply for visa upon arrival in the country. This action propelled Kenya to follow suit in 2017. In the 2016/2017 financial budget, Kenya exempted park fee entry to its national parks and tour operators’ commissions from a Value Added Tax (VAT), while Tanzania and Uganda imposed an 18% VAT on the same tourism services. These actions necessitated the use of the Advocacy Coalition Framework as a lens through which to understand and explain belief and policy change, given that there are political differences and technical disputes not only among some EAC member states but also between the public and private stakeholders on collaborative tourism marketing. Within the same coalition of regional economic blocs with signed protocols and treaties to advance the region together, two groups are advancing at different paces, and on different
paths. One of the research questions to help this investigation is meant to examine the conditions under which EAC partner states cooperate to develop a shared tourism destination agenda and, most importantly, to investigate what drives a divide that is clearly and noticeably based on the decisions made by the two groups. What are the core beliefs fueling what could be called the competition between the two groups? Are the differences deeply ingrained in their core beliefs, and what could be the root causes that hinder collaboration and cooperation?

The issue of tourism development being a shared agenda within the EAC is a political matter influenced by competing ideologies. Tourism development in East Africa involves not only socioeconomic questions, but it requires a deeper understanding of the underlying political priorities of each partner state. As Lasswell (1956) proposed, politics is about who gets what, when, and how. It is through this lens that regional integration in tourism, according to Heywood (1986), is an understanding that politics play a significant role in public policy. Some heads of state are in full support of the idea, proposing an acceleration of the integration process through the Northern Corridor Integration Projects (NCIP). As such, achieving effective collaboration in tourism marketing at the EAC level requires an understanding of empirical beliefs of competing coalitions. Given its efficacy, the Advocacy Coalition Framework seems the most appropriate policy-making theory to adopt for this research study.

However, there is a need for an understanding of the magnitude and nature of the political conflicts. This understanding might help policymakers strategically achieve their goals and even negotiate better collective decisions. According to Iwersen-Sioltsidis and
Iwersen (1996), tourism policy should require increased public involvement in the development process while continually assessing the compatibility of tourism development with the social infrastructure of the destination once policies are implemented. Therefore, we shall use the Advocacy Coalition Framework lens to investigate why the shared vision of East Africa as a single destination is a complex exercise.

2.11 Application of Advocacy Coalition Framework in this Study

Developed by Paul Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1988), the Advocacy Coalition Framework is a useful tool as well as a lens through which one can utilize and research the policy process. The application of this framework has to be taken into the context of policy change and learning with an assumption that a policy is the product of bargaining between different actors involved in a coalition. Weible & Sabatier (2014) call on researchers to first put the functional purpose of the theory at the heart of an application of the ACF theory. One of the critical questions while conducting this research was an examination of why policy actors maintain and form coalitions, and what could be their uniting factors? Assuming that coalitions are built around specific beliefs systems whether they are core, policy, and secondary, it is critical therefore to use this application with those key cues in mind.

The application of the ACF also is about understanding that policymakers are motivated by steering and influencing their own political agenda, fueled by their own core beliefs in manipulative bargaining processes. The ACF requires that one use the lens of public policy in an evolving manner over time, in a system that requires learning and is shaped by power struggles between coalitions. Policy actors, mobilized by their core
beliefs, coordinate their behaviors whether rational or not (Jones 1970; Ostrom, 2007 and form allies within their political systems.

Understanding that the ACF focuses on policy learning and change requiring that some coalition members will be champions and entrepreneurs of public policies and one has to investigate and capture what is it that binds coalitions. The ACF will be applied in this research with an understanding that coalitions are composed of people, individuals, and organizations who share similar beliefs and values with an interest in a common policy issue. The researcher will use the ACF with significant consideration to the fact that policy making is highly influenced by both relatively stable system parameters and by dynamic systems, in this case, by events as defined by Birkland (2005). In the case of the EAC, the fundamental cultural values and social structure, as well as national legal structure and politics could play a role in this development of shaping a vision of a single tourism destination. To what extent and what could be the factors, the researcher would like to use the lens of the ACF to investigate this matter further. This research will use the of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), a theory that brings together the five causal process (choices, ideas, socio-economic process, institutions, and networks) in helping to understand the research question. Would the ACF allow for the development of a hypothesis that will explain and hopefully predict when a policy changes? Could this also occur through the bargaining process or coalition formulation and policy learning? The researcher will expect to predict regarding reality as constructed/viewed through the ACF some of the questions that will guide this investigation.
Table 2.1. Application of Advocacy Coalition Framework in this Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theory Concept</th>
<th>Questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coalition Management</td>
<td>• Which strategies should the EATP pursue in its advocacy for a shared tourism agenda within the EAC?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy preferences</td>
<td>• What are your policy preferences in developing a shared tourism agenda within the EAC?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy core beliefs</td>
<td>• Which policy issues need to be addressed in order to develop a shared tourism agenda within the EAC?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Are there any policy differences among the EAC partner states in regards to the development of a shared regional tourism agenda? If yes, what are the underlying policy beliefs?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.13 Chapter Summary

The EAC partner states regard tourism development as a critical pillar of national development. As a result, three member states (Kenya, Rwanda, and Uganda) have made significant achievements in the creation of a single destination with the adoption of a single tourist visa and semi-liberalization of their air space, while two (Burundi and Tanzania) have yet to implement the strategy towards a single destination. Coalitions are about allies, pooling resources for common purposes in an effort to influence policy change, and, according to Sabatier (2007), key among resources to be mobilized are skillful leadership, financial resources, and information.

A comprehensive review of studies related to the development of tourism from a shared agenda perspective has been outlined in this chapter, ending with the conclusion
that the Advocacy Coalition Framework is essential for this study. Through the ACF, it is understood that a group of people with shared policy briefs strategically work together to influence decisions with a goal of shaping policy outcomes that match their beliefs.

Also outlined in this chapter is the literature conducted on regional integration, the East Africa Community, the private sector, regional tourism governance, and tourism policy to provide the reader a better contextual understanding of tourism development within the EAC.

Research methodology is addressed in the next chapter, with particular emphasis on the research philosophy and design that will guide this study.
CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented literature on regional integration and tourism development within the EAC. The literature review investigated theoretical arguments and reviewed empirical studies on tourism development within the regional economic blocs. The aim of this chapter is, first, to present and explain a framework that was derived from the literature review to analyze tourism development within the regional economic blocs; and, second, to set forth the rationale for selecting a case study methodology to understand whether tourism development within the East Africa Community region is a shared agenda.

To provide a comprehensive understanding of whether tourism development within the East Africa Community region is a shared agenda, the Advocacy Coalition Framework was adopted to address the following overall and sub-research questions based on these objectives:

- To investigate conditions under which EAC partner states can cooperate to develop a shared tourism destination.
- To determine the role the East Africa Tourism Platform can play in creating a shared tourism agenda within the EAC.
- To investigate political, social, and economic realities that should be addressed in order to develop a shared tourism agenda within the EAC region.
- To investigate existing differences among EAC member states in regards to the development of a shared tourism agenda.
To determine areas of conflict among EAC member states pursuance of a shared tourism agenda.
To establish opportunities that can be harnessed within the EAC to usher/commend the creation of a shared tourism agenda.

Questions:

1) What are the conditions under which EAC partner states can cooperate to develop a shared tourism destination?

2) What role can the East Africa Tourism Platform play in creating a shared tourism agenda within the EAC?

3) What are some of the political, social, and economic realities that should be addressed in order to develop a shared tourism agenda within the EAC region?

4) Are there existing differences among EAC member states regarding the development of a shared tourism agenda?

5) Are there areas of conflict among EAC member states in pursuance of a shared tourism agenda?

6) What are some of the existing and future opportunities that can be harnessed within the EAC to usher in the creation of a shared tourism agenda?

3.2 Research Philosophy

This study is based on the principle that external reality exists and is independent of the beliefs and understanding that people hold. According to Snape and Spencer (2003), external reality can be understood and internalized into the lives and perceptions of
individuals only through socially constructed meanings. The approach in this study on whether tourism development within the EAC region is a shared agenda was informed by the epistemological principles of human social life. Neuman (1994), for example, argues that social life exists through the experiences of different actors and is defined by the meanings the actors attach to their experiences.

Based on the understanding of external reality and the beliefs of various stakeholders, this study highlights the importance of the interpretations of respondents to this research. Neuman (1994) reveals that perceptions lead to differences in understanding of the phenomenon. As such, a full understanding of whether tourism development within the East Africa Community region is a shared vision requires internalization of the different perceptions of what constitutes reality. This research was undertaken to determine the nature of external reality from stakeholders in the EAC. The view adopted for the study contradicts the positivist perspectives that do not take perceptions and perspectives of the regulated agencies and stakeholders into consideration. From an interpretive standpoint, the approach adopted for this study was based on the assumption that the social world is explained through continued engagement of the researcher with the phenomenon. The process of data collection has an impact on the investigator as well as the respondents being investigated in the five partner states (i.e., EAC members), contrary to positivist approaches that view phenomena as independent and unaffected by the researcher (Creswell, 2007; De Vaus, 2001). Previous literature has criticized qualitative studies as relying on subjective conclusions to explain the perceptions of social phenomenon without scientific analysis. Respecting this criticism, this study employed a mixed data collection
approach that triangulated data from interviews, field notes, and document analysis (Bryman, 2001; De Vaus, 2001; Yin, 2009). Figure 3.1 below provides an illustration of the process that this study follows as it seeks to untangle the policy process used in understanding the framework or the six heuristic stages comprising of (agenda setting, policy formulation, legitimation, implementation, evaluation and policy maintenance, succession or termination).

![Figure 3.1: Research Philosophy (Source: Nibigira, 2018)](image)

3.3 Case Study Design

The design of this study is an instrumental qualitative case. This chosen approach is in line with previous use of case study research design in the field of social sciences such as tourism, psychology, sociology, anthropology, and political science (Yin, 2003). Baxter and Jack (2008) define a case study as a research methodology that involves a detailed investigation of a phenomenon within its context. Additionally, this process entails an intensive, comprehensive, and in-depth examination of a single case (Luck, Jackson & Usher, 2006). According to Stake (1995), a case study is expected to capture the complexity
of a single case, thus helping the researcher understand the activities and processes within their unique circumstances. Related, Hartley (2004) believes that case study research design is particularly suited for research questions that require a detailed understanding of the social and organizational processes. A case study can be either quantitative, qualitative, or it can be a mixed method. For the present research, a case study was adopted based on rigor that allowed the researcher to explore and describe the research questions using a variety of data sources such as interviews with the richness of meanings and words, field notes, and document analysis (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Moreover, the use of multiple sources of data allows data triangulation, hence enhancing reliability (Yin, 2003). The other options relevant to the employing of case studies, as defined by Stake (YEAR), such as intrinsic and collective, were not deemed appropriate for this study. The intrinsic case could not answer the purpose of this study as it is guided by the interest of the researcher and the exploratory nature of the proposed study. The second option of employing the collective approach focuses on the multiple instrumental case studies contrary to the one this study focuses on as a single case. The researcher is also cognizant of the fact that the case study approach creates options for considering meaningful and holistic characterizations of life events as prescribed by Yin (2014). The instrumental case study approach, according to Stake (2005), is more about understanding an issue than it is about understanding the case. Contrary to the misunderstanding of the case study which posits that it cannot contribute to scientific development because a single case is not generalizable, or that case studies tend to confirm a researcher’s preexisting notions, Flyvbjerg (2011) asserts that knowledge is inherently context-dependent and that a case study squarely produces knowledge in a
way that can provide nuances of understanding reality. Hence, the instrumental case approach is deemed the most appropriate tool for this study and the researcher can select carefully the right sampling method in order to ensure that the case will yield resourceful findings pertaining to the research question.

3.4 Sampling Procedure

On sampling, qualitative research is known to use relatively small samples that are usually deliberately selected (purposive sampling) to inform the issue under study (Patton, 2002). Purposive sampling aims at deciding information-rich case studies that will elucidate the questions under investigation (Seidman, 2006). Information-rich cases are those from which the researcher can gather a great deal of information about a phenomenon of interest (Palinkas et al., 2013). The researcher then uses selected information-rich cases for an in-depth study. In this regard, this study used information-rich cases that were chosen purposively. The key determinant for sample size, in qualitative research, is data saturation. The researcher recruited 35 participants, including CEOs/directors general; tourism board members; ministry officials; apex body representatives; and members of EAC secretariat. These individuals possess the depth and breadth of knowledge on tourism relative to their respective countries. Each, relative specifically to the role performed in their organizations, has been voted or appointed by member organizations or via political appointments. The primary goal of purposive sampling, for this study, is to focus on particular characteristics of a population that is of interest and that best enable the researcher to answer research questions.
The study could have adopted an approach of looking at a large sample of the population of tourism officials and leaders, but it was deemed essential to focus on the purpose of this study which is interviewing exclusively those who were directly involved in the process of building East Africa as a regional block. In East Africa, all private organizations representing the voice of the tourism industry are grouped into five tourism apex organizations; those five organizations were selected for this study. Each organization serves its respective, registered members at the regional level, articulating interests, needs, and benefits of its members and countries. Selection of participants was based on their position of influence on tourism matters in their respective East African region. Participants occupied management and leadership roles in their organization, or a person recommended them as either an executive director, president, or chairperson of the trustee board. When the target person was unavailable, their deputy participated in the interview instead. All interviews were conducted on a one-on-one and face-to-face basis.

Participating organizations were also conveniently and strategically chosen because the aim was to involve all the critical tourism organizations in the region, following a list developed by the researcher in consultation with the East Africa Tourism Platform Coordinator. The reasons each organization was chosen include: (1) each organization was registered in their respective country to represent the voice of tourism in the private sector; (2) the members voiced their concerns and channeled these through the organizations to the highest authorities in their countries for advocacy and lobbying purposes; last and importantly (3), the leadership of each organization was selected through a voting system that allow members to have a voice. Table 3.1 lists the organizations that were targeted for
this study and those who actually participated. The two tables below also list the five in-country tourism apex organizations that are appointees to the EATP board and their specific short description.

Table 3.1. Target Organizations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>National Tourism Apex Body Included in this study*</th>
<th>Members (Represented)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
<td>Chambre Sectorielle du Tourisme et de l'hotellerie</td>
<td>Hotel Association of Burundi, Tour Operators Association of Burundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>Rwanda Chamber of Tourism*</td>
<td>Rwanda Tours and Travel Association, Rwanda Hospitality Association, Rwanda Safari Guides Association, Rwanda Tourism Educators Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>Tourism Confederation of Tanzania*</td>
<td>Tanzania Society of Travel Agents, Tanzania Air Operators Association, Tanzania Tour Guides Association, Zanzibar Association of Tourism Investors,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>Uganda Tourism Association*</td>
<td>Association of Uganda Tour Operators, Uganda Safari Guides Association, Uganda Travel Agents Association, Uganda Community Tourism Association, Uganda Hotel Owners Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAC</td>
<td>Secretariat</td>
<td>Ministry of Tourism and wildlife of Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda and Tanzania East Africa Business Council</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Nibigira (2018)
### Table 3.2. Tourism Portfolios in East Africa States

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Umbrella Ministry</th>
<th>Lead Tourism Agency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Institution</strong></td>
<td><strong>Head</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>Tourism, Wildlife and Antiquities</td>
<td>Cabinet Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>Foreign Affairs and Cooperation</td>
<td>Cabinet Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
<td>Commerce, Industry and Tourism</td>
<td>Cabinet Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>Natural Resources and Tourism</td>
<td>Cabinet Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Commerce, Tourism and East Africa Region</td>
<td>Cabinet Secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Africa Community</td>
<td>East Africa Community Secretariat</td>
<td>Secretary General</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Nibigira (2018)
Table 3.3: Checklist of the tourism associations selected.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vision and Mission Statements</td>
<td>Vision constitutes the association’s dreams and aspirations. The vision should be broad yet understood and shared by members and stakeholders. Mission is a concise, outcome-oriented statement that specifies how the vision is going to be accomplished and why. Both vision and mission are similar in that they both look at the “big picture” and should be regularly revised to reflect changing business culture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational Strategy</td>
<td>Organizational strategy charts a course for the entire organization. It sums actions the organization intends to take to achieve its long-term goals. These actions make up the organization's strategic plan. Its completion, adoption and fulfillment requires proactive involvement at all levels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Values and Principles</td>
<td>Values depict the organization’s place in the world and how it interacts with its stakeholders. Values guide the perspective of the organization as well as its actions. Principles help an organization think through how its values impact strategic decisions. Writing down a set of commonly-held values and principles can help a tourism association entrench its culture and beliefs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational Goals</td>
<td>Organizational goals are strategic objectives that an organization's management establishes to outline expected outcomes and guide employees' efforts. Because the goals (and objectives) define the real bottom line of your tourism association, they're the keys to unlocking support from your members and supporters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Board of Trustee</td>
<td>This a body of elected or appointed members who jointly oversee activities of an organization. Trustees can help an organization operate within its mandate in serving it members and the public effectively. The board also designate various committees that oversee different chapters in the organization.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational Structure</td>
<td>Organizational structure defines the way an association arranges people and tasks to meet its goals. Effective organizations consider the leadership, decision making process, people’s talents, work process and systems, and the internal culture. An effective structure reduces conflicts, recognizes skills, clarifies roles, promotes work flows and improves staff morale.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunities for Learning</td>
<td>Tourism associations should have a process and opportunities for creating, retaining and transferring knowledge for efficient and effective operations as well as to promote growth and innovation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

continued….
Table 3.3: Checklist of the tourism associations selected.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opportunities for Innovation</td>
<td>Opportunities for everyday innovation and creativity can transform how effectively tourism associations meet their missions and objectives. Innovation is application of better solutions to meet new requirements and evolving market needs. It involves identifying and connecting needs with human resources and technology for effective change.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing Strategy</td>
<td>Tourism associations should have an effective marketing strategy to help promote their causes to members, potential donors and volunteers. A marketing strategy outlines how the tourism organization will effectively convey its mission and goals in order to ignite the passion and incite viable actions on its behalf.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocacy Strategy</td>
<td>This is a strategy to influence policymakers to make policy changes that are conducive for a thriving tourism sector. A membership-based tourism association needs an advocacy strategy to influence policy and advance tourism welfare in-country. Strategy can be modified over time as more information becomes available.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication Strategy</td>
<td>Communication is both channel and language and can be used to create different kinds of social structures, including relationships, teams, and networks. Each tourism organization should have a clear strategy how it shares information with its members, employees and the general public.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stakeholder Portfolio</td>
<td>Stakeholder behavior and stakeholder management are key success factors for the organization’s projects. A stakeholder portfolio can help in managing expectations of different stakeholders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustainable Funding</td>
<td>An association should have sufficient revenue sources (mostly from memberships and donations) to maintain quality level of service over an extended period of time. Sustainable funding is predicated on there not being major economic shifts or downturns in the larger economic context.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development Strategy</td>
<td>This is the process of defining strategic goals, identifying important tasks, creating timelines, identifying required resources and asking for helped through collaboration and partnership building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Articles of Association</td>
<td>Articles of Association is a document containing all the rules and regulations that governs an organization. It outlines and clearly defines the purpose of the organization as well as the duties and responsibilities of its members. It is an important document and needs to be filed with the state’s Registrar of Companies.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

continued…
Table 3.3: Checklist of the tourism associations selected.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Risk Management</td>
<td>Risk management is a system of making good choices and framework for understanding liability and dealing with uncertainty. It is the process of planning, organizing, leading and controlling organizational activities in order to minimize adverse effects and unreasonable costs, which is imperative for tourism associations.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Nibigira, 2018

3.5 Data Collection

Both secondary and primary sources of data were utilized for this study. Secondary data were gathered from journals and books, while primary data were gathered with the aid of self-developed and structured interview guides. Secondary data, apart from the usual academic journals, articles, textbooks, and website searches, included the researcher’s records of field notes, reviewed reports, ministerial resolutions, policy brief, and newspapers records. Guided by the four criteria of evaluating secondary sources – authenticity, credibility, representativeness, and meaning – the researcher placed high emphasis on the authenticity of the sources, in order to report an accurate account of the information gathered, which included sampling the right documents and making sure to understand and properly interpret the data.

Primary data were collected in a six-month period in Rwanda, Uganda, Tanzania, and Kenya. Because of the political situation in Burundi, the participants in the research from Burundi traveled to Rwanda for interviews. The interviews were conducted during regional tourism expos, with the key informants including CEOs/directors general, tourism board members, ministry officials, apex body representatives, and members of EAC.
secretariat; each were selected because of their knowledge on regional tourism development within the East Africa Community. The study particularly selected information-rich participants who were able to illuminate the questions under investigation. English and Kiswahili languages were used. A total of thirty-five (35) interviews was conducted. In conducting interviews, the researcher chose a setting with little distraction; explained the purpose of the interview; addressed terms of confidentiality; explained the format of the interview; indicated how long the interview was to take; and provided respondents an opportunity to ask questions (McNamara, 2009). The interviews lasted between one, and one and one-half hours. While conducting interviews, the researcher not only maintained a friendly and professional approach but also made efforts to establish rapport with the interviewees. A well-thought-out discussion guide was used across all the interviews to achieve consistent insights. More importantly, the interviewer listened with understanding, respect, and curiosity during the interview sessions. Deeper probing and courtesy were used by the researcher during the interviewing sessions as the researcher utilized both English and local language to facilitate the interviews while optimizing the opportunities of engaging in a productive conversation. With permission of the respondents, all interviews were audio recorded, and later transcribed to transcripts and grids that were used in analysis, supplemented with note-taking to account for items which would not be audio recorded. Besides, field notes helped capture nonverbal information. A sample of the discussion guide is provided in Appendix 1.

Before the interview sessions, the researcher contacted the respondents and provided details of the planned interviews and sought the respondents’ consent for
participation. Additionally, interview schedules were sent to prospective participants before the interviews to enable them to prepare adequately for the interviews. While conducting interviews, the researcher ensured that venues were private and conducive for participants to freely exchange their ideas and opinions. Immediately after the interview, the researcher transcribed the interviews verbatim. The verbatim transcript allowed for reflection on the quality and richness of the data, informing whether there is a need for further interviews. After completion of interviews, tapes and notes were reviewed and transcribed. The research participants were labeled as follows:

- In Rwanda, individual respondents were labeled as RW-I-1, S-1, RW-I-1, S-2.....
- In Uganda, individual respondents were labeled as UG-I-1, S-1, UG-I-1, S-2....
- In Kenya, individual respondents were labeled as KE-I-1, S-1, KE-I-1, S-2....
- In Tanzania, individual respondents were labeled as TZ-I-1, S-1, TZ-I-1, S-2.....
- In Burundi, individual respondents were labeled as BU-I-1, S-1, BU-I-1, S-2....
- In EAC Secretariat, individual respondents were labeled as EAC SEC-I-1, S-1, EAC SEC-I-1, S-2......

3.6 Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was adopted for the purpose of this study. Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within textual data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). For this purpose, NVivo 8 was used to organize and describe data in detail. NVivo 8 is based on grounded theory methodology. NVivo is large and complex
software which is most helpful when working with large amounts of data, mainly where
the data include different formats. It is useful for managing and organizing projects with
many separate data sources to support more transparent and systematic approaches to
coding. The NVivo interface is divided into sections, the contents of which vary depending
on the elements or tools being used.

One significant advantage of NVivo is in its robust coding (Code) function. Also,
it has additional useful features including: Set, Query, Link, and Model. Many researchers
who utilize qualitative methodology are interested in evaluating, interpreting, and
explaining social phenomena. They can analyze unstructured or semi-structured data such
as including interviews, surveys, field notes, web pages, and journal articles, and they work
in a range of sectors, from social science and education to healthcare and business.
Researchers usually use a qualitative methodology to suit their research question, and for
this present research NVivo was deemed most suitable. For example, a social scientist
wanting to develop new concepts or hypotheses may take a ‘grounded theory’ approach.
NVivo doesn’t favor a particular methodology—it’s designed to facilitate common
qualitative techniques for organizing, analyzing, and sharing data—no matter what method
one elects. Another important function of NVivo is that it enables one to manage, explore,
and find patterns; provides for fast turnaround times; offers robust security and
confidentiality; has competitive transcription rates; produces high quality, accurate
transcripts in an ‘NVivo-ready’ format; and allows for automatic and seamless downloads
of transcripts into your NVivo project. It is worth acknowledging that two other options,
DQDA and Defoe’s, were considered for this exercise; both have similar particular features
as they allow to upload transcripts, help to highlight excerpts, and code them with user-defined terms such as those that are the subject of this study. The researcher purposely opted to use NVivo, as a greater familiarity and comfort has been gained during comprehensive training in this research and methodology. An additional factor in use of NVivo is that it was readily available and cost-effective.

The process of using NVivo was rather simple and straightforward as it helped to organize data in a source folder identified as ‘Literature’. The researcher, in consultation with trained assistants, coded each transcript to gather material by theme and created nodes for “statistics,” “good quotes,” and “definitions.” The process was followed by annotation throughout the processing of reading, marking content for follow-up or further exploration. Memos were used to describe the key themes and critique the transcript, as this activity is part of the exercise of a deeper understanding of different meanings of the content of the interviews. To organize attributes, one has to use source classifications and then use queries to find everything that has been written about a theme. A word frequency query was employed to see what common terms were being used.

A matrix-coding query was used to find gaps in the transcripts and check on what themes were already heavily discussed, and which provided scope for further exploration. The way we approached coding was based on the chosen methodology and research design. With “broad-brush” coding to organize the material into broad topic areas, the researcher explored the node for each topic and completed a more detailed coding. For example, the researcher gathered all the content about coalition management strategies and then examined the node, looking for exciting perceptions, contradictions, or assumptions that
are integral to the work done. As part of the process, there was a need to also dive straight into detailed coding (making nodes as needed and appropriate) and then, later on, to combine and group the nodes into related categories.

At the end of this process, the free-coding spectrum included 32 free codes and 119 references (Table 3.4). The aim of interpretive coding was to derive interpretive meanings. It involved classifying free codes based on literature review and continuously comparing and analyzing connections among codes and themes. This step identified the main themes within the data set. These broader themes covered many different cases and revealed the core concepts and elements of the research.

Secondary data, in this regard, came to complement the research as it helped to give more insight into the topic of this research. Both primary and second data helped the researcher to understand better the issues and points raised by the study respondents. It became clear that by evaluating both secondary and primary data, the researcher could refer to the Advocacy Coalition Framework (Sabatier, 2007) to understand the notion or conclusion that a small group in a government, institution, or organization controls a policy can be challenged from insiders or outsiders. The information used from secondary data is a reflection also of what the policy sub-system prescribes as a policy problem or issues. It requires a set of different actors who are involved directly or indirectly for one to understand the process of a complex world and how it is essential to use different methods of data analysis to dissect and digest information derived through this study.
3.6.1 Thematic Analysis of Text

There were 119 reference points and 32 free codes identified in the data. In the second step of interpretive coding, the 32 free codes were reduced to 14 interpretive codes. In the third step, the 14 codes were further reduced to three themes: EATP’s coalition management strategies (n=32; 26.9%); policy preferences (n=43; 36%); and policy core beliefs (n=34; 28.6%). These three themes were then chosen based on the fact that they are the ones that emerged from the data collected as the strongest ones and came to respond to the research questions as articulated in chapter 2, literature review. In the application of the Advocacy Coalition Framework using the theory concept, the questions were designed to answer the theory concept. In the following chapter; data analysis, each of these three themes will be elaborated upon.
Table 3.4: Coding Spectrum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Interpretive codes</th>
<th>Free codes</th>
<th>Frequencies</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EATP’s Coalition Management Strategies</td>
<td>- Arbiter</td>
<td>- Arbiter; independent; fair; non-partisan</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Coordinator</td>
<td>- Coordinator; synchronizing activities</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Facilitator</td>
<td>- Facilitator; agenda setting</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Moderator</td>
<td>- Moderator; seeking amicable grounds</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Arbiter; independent; fair; non-partisan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Coordinator; synchronizing activities</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Facilitator; agenda setting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Moderator; seeking amicable grounds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy preferences</td>
<td>- Capacity building</td>
<td>- Capacity building; training; workshops; seminars</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Complementary packages</td>
<td>- Complementary packages; multi-country packages</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Harmonization of regulations</td>
<td>- Harmonization of regulations; standardization of services</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Intra-regional tourism</td>
<td>- Intra-regional tourism; domestic tourism</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Market intelligence</td>
<td>- Market intelligence; research</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Product development</td>
<td>- Product development; diversification</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Capacity building; training; workshops; seminars</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Complementary packages; multi-country packages</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Harmonization of regulations</td>
<td>- Harmonization of regulations; standardization of services</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Intra-regional tourism</td>
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<td>- Market intelligence</td>
<td>- Market intelligence; research</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Product development</td>
<td>- Product development; diversification</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Nibigira (2018)
3.7 Validity and Reliability

Validity confirms whether the findings of the study can be relevant beyond the case study and the context of the research (De Vaus, 2008; Yin, 2009). According to Patton (2002), the period after interviews plays a vital role in the rigor and validity of qualitative inquiry. It allows reflection and elaboration (Patton, 2002). The timing process can be used to safeguard the quality of the data and minimize errors of misrepresenting the accounts of the respondents interviewed. Immediate analysis of interview data is useful for insight into the collected data and reconstruction of information. The interview data were assembled and interpreted within 72 hours of the collection as a safeguard against threats to integrity owed to the passage of time.

A pre-test survey was conducted with a group of policymakers and private stakeholders to establish whether the interview questions were clear, understandable, easy-to-follow, and easy-to-answer. In conducting the pre-test, the researcher contacted respondents and sought their permission for inclusion in the interview, the preferred mode of interviewing (face-to-face or telephone), interview venue, and whether to audio-record them. The study achieved reliability through a detailed description of the methods employed by the researcher during preparation, data collection, transcription, analysis, and presentation of research findings (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). This process involved outlining fieldwork preparation, data collection, transcription, coding, analysis, and presentation of findings (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). More to the point, the study was also concerned with data trustworthiness and whether respondents gave true, fair, and honest answers to the research questions. During data analysis, coding was done line by line, so as not to miss
any important information. To ensure the reliability and validity of coding, the researcher hired trained two people who coded the text separately (Cong, Fernandes, Messerli, & Twining-Ward, 2014). Double-checks were made through discussions of each coding result. Where there were disagreements that could not be resolved, a third person (the researcher) was introduced into the discussion and made the ultimate decision based on the guideline prescribed by Clemson’s IRB knowledge on how to conduct research and guided by Clemson’s Institutional Review Board (IRB) training on Human Subjects Research training completed by the researcher.

3.8 Ethical Review and Consideration

Social research requires that regardless of the design, it should conform to at least four broad ethical principles: voluntary participation, informed consent, avoidance of harm to respondents and researchers, and anonymity and confidentiality (Homan 1991; De Vaus 2008). Before conducting this study, the researcher complied with the requirements from Clemson University by first passing the IRB examination, and, after successfully passing the exam, the permission to start this research was granted. Steps taken in this study to ensure that the research met ethical standards included. First, pseudonyms were used in reference to statements and views from respondents to ensure that responses were not directly attributed to any individual. Second, the study design provided special attention to sensitive issues such as political ideologies among EAC member states. Third, a letter outlining the purpose of the study, basis of selection of respondents, rights to withdraw from the research and request for consent to participate in the research were sent to the study participants.
3.9 Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

This study adopted qualitative research methods. In spite of qualitative methods being touted as producing a more detailed and nuanced assessment of attitudes than do quantitative methods, they are usually criticized for biases including methods bias, researcher bias, and lack of instrumentation vigor. Despite its popularity, purposive sampling has high validity and credibility issues (Palinkas et al., 2013). Moreover, the range of variation in a sample is often not known at the outset of the study; thus, it is difficult to determine when saturation is reached. Additionally, it is not always easy to justify the rationale for selecting the study participants to fulfill the purpose of the study. To address these concerns, respondents for interviews were selected based on their involvement in tourism development within the EAC. Because of this, they were able to provide information that was both detailed and applicable to the EAC context as generalization could not be applicable due to the social, economic, cultural, historical, and developmental differences between other regional economic blocs in Africa. Critics of case study design in particular, and qualitative research in general, argue that case study method offers limited basis for scientific generalization. Criticism is particularly directed to the lack of statistical samples that would be the basis for generalization of the research findings. However, proponents of qualitative studies argue that such criticism is based on positivist views that treat generalization to imply application of data to the wider population, a form of representational generalization (Creswell, 2003; Yin, 2009). Whereas qualitative research is not designed to be statistically representative, the capacity of the research to generalize the findings to theory is possible through theoretical or interactive
sampling (De Vaus, 2008; Yin, 2009). Research should be geared towards enabling the comparison of findings from one context to another that lies beyond the research focus through the use of “thick description.” Detailed description of the research findings enables scholars reviewing a particular research to assess whether the results depict any shared characteristics that can enable the results to be generalized beyond the particular research (Miller & Brewer, 2003). In this research the countries selected could not be representative of other developing countries, particularly in West and Southern Africa, because the countries in the region have different political and economic characteristics.

From the researcher standpoint, it was clear that the data collected were subject to different interpretations and that the nature of qualitative data is to understand that data are subjective. Given this context, the researcher had two assistants selected to analyze the data independently. All interviews were recorded, and transcripts were read by all to avoid errors and misinformation. The researcher acknowledges also that due to the fact that she was close to the subject, in some cases her expectations of the interviews and her understanding of the issue could have affected this study. To mitigate this scenario, the researcher discussed some of her observations and understanding of the subject with the two most seniors respondents to the interviews based upon their knowledge of the subject of this study. This was a check and balance process which provided for a cross-check of the information gathered as well as making sure there was not for reducing and ideally eliminating miscommunication or misinterpretation.
3.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the research philosophy and design underlying the current study the aim of which was to understand whether tourism development within the East Africa Community region can be a shared agenda. The section started with the discussion of the research philosophy, followed by the development of the research design, sampling, data collection, and analysis, validity, and reliability of research findings, along with ethical considerations and limitations and delimitations of the study. The qualitative approach selected for this investigation provided a path to answer the research questions but also that methodology guided the structure. The purpose of using a qualitative methodology was also to help the researcher gain new knowledge on the chosen question that could shed light on and inform tourism stakeholders about whether in public or private sphere how tourism, from a public policy standpoint, could shape the future of devising a single regional tourism destination. The research findings are presented in the following chapter.
CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents results based on the research methodology and theoretical framework chosen for this research. Qualitative data are considered dense and requires that the researcher have the right method of analysis to use the findings based on what represents interests to the study while keeping an eye on the relevance of information. The research sought to provide a comprehensive understanding of why tourism development is a shared agenda among some EAC partner states and not among others, through the lens of the Advocacy Coalition Framework. The organization of the results was done based on the fact that some conclusions and recommendations could be used to effect change in the tourism policy process while others helped to actually shape a better understanding of the tourism policy process in the EAC. The study particularly addressed the following research questions, each of which is addressed in this chapter:

1. Under which conditions do those involved in developing tourism policy, within the EAC, cooperate with each other to develop a shared tourism destination?
2. What role can the East Africa Tourism Platform (EATP) play in creating a shared tourism agenda within the EAC?
3. Which political, social, and economic realities should be addressed in order to develop a shared tourism agenda within the EAC region?
4. What emerged as the prime areas of conflict/sources of political disagreements among EAC partner states in their pursuit of a shared tourism agenda?

5. To establish opportunities that can be harnessed within the EAC to usher/commend the creation of a shared tourism agenda.

4.2 Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

The research methodology and theoretical frameworks employed resulted in several findings which are described in this chapter. First, who were the respondents? It is important to first understand that for tourism advocacy to succeed, the competences and resources of the actors in the policy system has to be taken into account. Hence, necessitating the question of the roles and motivations of tourism-related associations and organizations that engage in the advocacy matter.

The researcher interviewed 35 respondents and the number of respondents in each country selected was based on these two factors: (1) the level of decision making of each respondent; and (2) their involvement in tourism development and policy formulation and implementation at the national and regional level. The number of respondents from both Burundi and Tanzania was limited because those selected were directly involved in regional tourism policy and voluntarily accepted the invitation to participate in this research. The majority of participation came from Kenya, as Kenya boasts several bodies involved in regional tourism from conservation, community associations, and business/trade with direct connection with the research topic. The respondents interviewed were from: Burundi (2), Rwanda (6), Kenya (16), Uganda (5), Tanzania (3), and the East Africa Community Secretariat (3). Sixty-four % of these respondents were tourism
ministry officials; 30 were members of national tourism boards; three were either chief executive officers (CEOs) or directors general; and three were representatives of tourism apex bodies. Most of the respondents (62%) were between the ages 41-50 years; 24% were between 31-40 years; 9% were over 51 years old while (5%) represented those below 30 years. Forty-six % of the respondents had acquired diploma certification, followed by 39% who held bachelor’s degrees; 10% who had a masters’ degree and the remaining five held a doctorate.

It was important for the researcher first to understand the characteristics of the key actors based on their competencies as well as their level of involvement in agenda-setting or any advocacy related to tourism policy. The organizations they represent play a crucial role in tourism and resource mobilization through their members to advance issues related to tourism. Sabatier and Weible (2007) asserted that for an agenda to be advanced, one has to mobilize personnel and resources for advocacy coalitions. One trait that dictated the selection of those respondents was fact that one of their essential functions, whether from a public or private sector point, was their role and involvement in policy at the leadership level. All organization executives interviewed stated clearly that their duties and obligations aligned with other organizations for advocacy purposes directly or indirectly. Motivations and responsibilities may vary due to the organizations; however, it is clear that all had to advance the interests as well as advocate for specific objectives. Although all organizations in the research sample were involved in tourism at different levels, it is essential to specify that their sole responsibility was to serve the interests of their members,
government, and the private sector in tourism in their respective countries as regards tourism, travel, hospitality, and human resources matters.

Another significant element is the fact that those interviewed claimed that for a policy to change, they have to be informed and that most of the time they are consulted based on their role as actors in the organizations they represent. One of the respondents stated that, “as tourism and hospitality partners, without our consultation and input, not much can be done, the government has come to realize that not only are we the key partners, but they need our experience as well as.” (RW-I-1, S-3).

The same point was echoed by each executive interviewed, thus demonstrating the importance of understanding the rationale for mobilizing the troops as an important resource of advocacy coalitions as stated by Sabatier and Weible (2007). Additionally, this is what Edgell et al. (2008) insists on, that for organizations such as the ones interviewed for this research to be successful, one has to understand their role and its importance in tourism policy formulation and development from a national or regional level. All research participants were involved in common policy preferences, dealing with similar issues and were chosen or voted deliberately to lead their respective organizations based on their experiences and knowledge of the industry. The remaining responses are shown in Table 4.1.
Table 4.1: Characteristics of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below 30 Years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40 Years</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50 Years</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 51 Years</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Position in Management</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEO/ Director General</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism Board Member</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry official</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apex body Representative</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masters</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PhD</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Nibigira (2017)
4.3 Under What Conditions do those Involved in Developing Tourism Policy within the EAC Cooperate?

To investigate this question the researcher adopted from conclusions outlines in the relevant literature that cooperation of any coalition is based on either shared policy core beliefs to guide the success of any cooperation or collaboration. Within the East Africa Community two groups are working toward the same goals but at a different pace, with some variant degree of differences on the implementation of policies and strategies. One of the identified key contributing factors to this divide was competition, which was stated as an impediment to cooperation. Competition was recorded as a major theme throughout the interview phase of this study. Most of the respondents (76%) felt that as much as despite the competition among EAC partner states to attract tourists to their countries, they needed to strengthen their co-operative marketing efforts. One of the respondents stated that; “As regional partners, we should not be worried about competition because we all have our unique products and experiences.” (RW-I-1, S-1).

An entry in the researcher’s dissertation diary at the end of several interviews based on this comment included a description of the reaction of respondents who emphasized the issue of competition. One might easily deduce that while reading between the lines, their responses implied more than just pure competition. It was clear that competition is not just a simple statement; it was a matter of concern with an underlying root-cause of conflicts. As much as each country has unique products and package their destinations competitively, they compete to attract tourism from the same source markets while many of their products are comparatively similar as each country is endowed with similar wildlife and nature-
based tourism attributes. One respondent stated: “We are all competing for the same markets, we meet at the same tourism and travel expos. It is in the interests of us, business operators, to seek opportunities for collaboration by expanding our product offerings. We need to be competitive.” (KE-I-7, S-1)

The study findings revealed pertinent information on conditions under which tourism policymakers within the EAC can cooperate. Conditions covered a broad range and included: regularity of policymaker meetings; creating or establishing regional destination development and marketing action plans; synchronization of calendar of marketing activities; development of the EAC marketing strategy; advancement of the ideals of reciprocity, political goodwill, fairness, mutual trust, openness, and curbing suspicion amongst partner states.

Since the ACF predicts that policy actors could seek coalition partners with similar policy core beliefs and policy preferences, it is clear that from the list above there are a number of common issues on which they agree and are willing to work, even though the competition is dynamic. As much as there was an indication that they shared the beliefs of collaboration, the competition factor was rooted in deeper fears of rivalry. Therefore, whatever is put forward to drive the agenda of a single tourism destination, the element of competition stands/arises as a challenge to some of the core beliefs of respondents. Competition is viewed as not the factor that binds the actors within the advocacy coalitions in the East Africa Community.

Policy core beliefs, in this case, raises issues of sovereignty, ownership, and identity as indicated by Cairney (2012) hence, some of these beliefs are generally specific and most
unlikely to change as they are adamant. Competition related to a sense of patriotism or sovereignty becomes a critical factor challenging all actors in building this coalition and advancing collaboration in pursuit of a shared agenda for regional tourism development.

In responding to the issue of cooperation, on the basis of Sabatier’s ACF, interest groups and policy actors are organized in a policy community within a policy sub-system. It is in that policy sub-system that there must be a framework established for those involved in the community to seek opportunities for collaboration in pursuit of a common or shared agenda. The actors involved in the policy sub-system, like the respondents (46%) interviewed, suggested that regular bilateral and multilateral multi-sectoral meetings amongst policymakers be an essential condition for cooperation among policymakers; followed by 30% of the respondents who were in favor of the development of EAC regional action on a single tourism destination; 15%, on the other hand, felt that there is a need for development of a synchronized calendar for tourism marketing activities among all partner states, while 9% were in favor of development of the EAC tourism marketing strategy.

When asked what conditions he believed will boost cooperation among policymakers, one participant responded:

“I will seek to may be increase the frequency of meetings - consultative meetings. I will seek to increase bilateral meetings to establish commonalities and areas that divide the opinion. Then I will arrange for multilateral meetings to seek mandate and after that seek compromises that will accommodate each stakeholder’s interests.” (UG- I-1, S-1)
The data collected regarding research participants’ interest allow/support the conclusions that interests were first and foremost related to their organizations, members, and countries and socio-economic matter. However, it was apparent that those interests also had in common, that even if the meetings were taking place, the conditions to be met had first to satisfy their primary interests. Thereby one can also understand that the motivations behind the motive of tourism policy actors in working together are bound by a desire to, whenever possible, advance their own respective agenda and consequently their coalitions, to help them achieve their mission and objectives. One respondent stayed this intent (value) with signal clarity:

“If you represent an association, you need to be the voice of your members who elected you to do the job. Their interests will be at the heart of each action. In the case of our issues, we need to be united to lobby and bring the government to listen to us.” (KE-I-10, S-1)

When asked about policy preferences of EAC tourism stakeholders, most of the respondents (70%) identified investment in market intelligence, development of complementary regional packages, promotion of domestic and intra-regional tourism, product development and diversification, review of EAC classification criteria, capacity building, and harmonization of tourism and wildlife management regulations as crucial areas. It is worth highlighting that among the above policies, two preferences were deemed as most important to respondents. These include the development of complementary regional packages and product development.
The conclusions and interpretations are consistent with findings reported by Hall and Jenkins (1995) that shared motivations can lead organizations to cooperate as they can be considered vital denominators. According to ACF, coalitions’ relationships with government officials or organizations with common interests can be regarded a resource (Sabatier & Weible, 2007). Social Exchange Theory (Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005) suggests that organizations perform a cost-benefit analysis when identifying the coalition, they wish/choose to join. The theory prescribes that parties and actors in a coalition have to make strategic decisions and choices, but that this can be done when negotiation is taking place among concerned parties. By building coalitions, all actors have to continue being involved in the process of negotiations, trading for one or two of their interests and looking at the benefits of their tourism sector.

The organization’s representatives interviewed research participants have an agenda fueled by interests and subject to cost-benefit analysis as well as comparative alternatives a concept borrowed from Social Exchange Theory (Blau, 1977). In pursuit of their interests, their motivations and actions, point into the direction and in alignment to Sabatier ACF:

“Our main goal is to make sure we extend the number of stays for our tourists in our region, we can’t do so, if we do not give them choices on the menu. The more products we have, the better. And each country currently has so much to offer and can add value to the whole experience. Hence, we need to see our visa policy, movement of people and vehicles and the cost of travel across the region improved. We cannot do it alone. We need each other.” (BU-I-2, S-2).
This issue of policy preferences resonates with the challenge on how agenda among coalition partners can be aligned and how each partner or actor can value the benefits to be gained from the coalition. The will to capitalize on potential measures and build on synergies is based on what initially brings the actors together. This objective requires a more in-depth involvement from all actors Sabatier (2007) noting that in the ACF coalitions need to be formed because there is an impetus or priority issue and available resources to accomplish the mission.

4.4 What role can East Africa Tourism Platform (EATP) play in creating a Shared Tourism Agenda Within the East African Community (EAC)?

According to Sabatier & Weible (2007), a mobilizable base of constituents is an inexpensive alternative resource for coalitions that lack substantial financial resources. The East African Tourism Platform (EATP) was viewed and appreciated by all interviewed executives as an example of a powerful body that has the ability to mobilize all the partners in the five EAC states. Most of the respondents (75%) expressed their satisfaction with the East Africa Tourism Platform efforts to bring the region’s private sector together. In fact, one of the respondents asserted that

“Before you can put any issue on the table, you need to know who you are talking to. In the past, there was no forum whatsoever where we would sit and talk with each other. Where else would I sit with Tanzanians to discuss anything? Before we would wait for an issue to rise and then argue over it. We were always talking at each other and arguing over conflicting issues. So through, the EATP, we normally sit down and examine issues together and look for points of commonality. The
EATP created a mediation forum where we engage and seek common ground and an agreed agenda before we proceed to lobby regional governments.”

(KE-I-11, S-1)

Another added that

“The East Africa Tourism Platform has been very instrumental in supporting the private sector in East Africa, and I am proud to see a huge participation (in the Kenyan Tourism Expo) from Tanzania, Uganda, and Rwanda. As the private sector, we appreciate the role played by the EATP in helping us improve our products and opening new doors for our businesses through networking opportunities and building new partnerships.” (TZ-I-2, S-1)

During interviews, it was established that the East Africa Tourism Platform could more credibly establish itself as an arbiter, moderator, and facilitator. Most respondents felt that the EATP has claimed a long overdue role to become an umbrella: a voice for all private sectors in the five countries. Through the EATP, regional issues could be brought to the table for discussion and respondents believed that the strength of their advocacy was grounded in the spirit of collaboration as well as in numbers. According to one of the respondents,

“The only thing the EATP can do, which it has already started, is that they should engage us as the private sector, from across the five countries, and help us in terms of being able to attend fairs like this (Kwita Izina – Gorilla-naming Ceremony in
Rwanda and the Karibu Fair in Tanzania) expo so that we can be able to show our governments that together we can actually work better.” (TZ-I-1, S-2)

When asked to comment on strategies that the EATP can pursue to create a shared tourism agenda within the EAC, respondents indicated that the EATP should strive to achieve a regional standing as a single umbrella body with a coordinating function, able to moderate differences between partner states, an independent arbitrator, moderator, and facilitator. They further added that the EATP should ensure that it does not put either of the five countries’ agenda on the negotiating table. A typical comment from one of the private stakeholders was:

“Whatever the EATP puts forward should be seen as an East African agenda; not to favor any individual country. The EATP should be seen as a defender of East African values.” (UG-I-5, S-2).

On the other hand, some respondents felt that the EATP should carry-out continuous research to identify regional opinion leaders who influence policy and collaboration. As suggested by Sabatier and Weible (2007), there has to be some common activities to bind and sustain advocacy coalitions. Sustaining the coalition requires that relationships and partnerships are treated and viewed as complex processes which could be tied to common activities among actors in the coalition. The EATP, according to the respondents, played the role of moderator helping to establish amicable grounds for collaboration while taking into consideration the strategic decisions and capacity issues at play. The EATP defined the objectives, aims, and goals to be achieved as a region, and
through data collected indicated that first of all through this coalition objectives have to be well defined. As predicted by the ACF, the policy preferences of each of these organizations such as product development and diversification, harmonization of regulations, and market intelligence had to be aligned. The sooner the concerned organizations come together and decide to move forward, the better they can achieve their objectives. One respondent articulated this:

“I think the EATP has to do whatever it can to identify, understand and clearly know who are the real movers and shakers in each of the five partner states. Once it has each of the people and knows who they are, it should get to understand their opinions and fears and seek to win their goodwill.” (BU-I-1, S-2)

From the preceding statement and consistent with the ACF, it is important to note that coalitions are driven by people, personalities, and how they build their working relationship. Networks matter to the alliances. Understanding who the decision makers are in each partner state is equally important. Trust is a factor that, if not taken as a critical part in the coalition based on what those weaving the alliances are doing, a single objective could be challenged.

4.5 Which Political, Social and Economic Realities Should be Addressed in Order to Develop a Shared Tourism Agenda within the EAC Region?

Each EAC member country has different products to offer. The purpose is to harmonize this policy for the region to provide an integrated product, or a central argument why all actors are seeking to optimize the benefits from tourism. Since coalitions are about
being part of an integrated and single destination, what are the political, social, and economic realities to be addressed? In the course of the study, it was established that in spite of 76% of respondents being supportive of competition, some partner states preferred to individually market themselves in international tourism markets, including at the International Tourism Bourse (ITB) Berlin and London’s World Travel Market (WTM), as competitors rather than complementing one another. One of the respondents provided a common response:

“The spirit of oneness and cohesion needed to market Destination East Africa as a Single Tourist Destination in international fairs is curtailed by the preference of some partner states to market themselves as competitors. In the process, EAC’s motto of “One People, One Destiny” is ignored.” (EAC SEC-I-1, S-1)

The study also found that divergent views on the implementation of regional tourism projects and programs were inhibiting cooperation in marketing East Africa as a single destination. A number of respondents (60%) noted that partner states had divergent visa policy regimes. Some of respondents felt that full adoption of the East Africa Single Tourist Visa was hindered by partner states’ divergence of opinion regarding the visa fees administration and accounting, method of visa fee collection, and revenue sharing. They went further to state that the single tourist visa can be a success only if policymakers can legislate and institutionalize computerization of immigration services across entry and exit points in the region.
Protectionism was identified as a major contributing factor to the differences exhibited by some partner states in the development of a shared tourism agenda. A majority of the respondents (73%) believed that some partner states were unwilling to open their borders. While commenting on protectionism, one of the respondents observed:

“For me, the bottom line is that Tanzania has not realized the benefit of working together as a region or as a destination. Tanzania wants to protect itself whereas the other member states want to go out. Government policies are very stringent and contradictory as the government seeks to protect its own.” (UG-I-3, S-2)

While another respondent concluded:

“Our region is being held back by a myriad of challenges; key amongst these is protectionism. [A/The] Majority of existing regional Bilateral Air Service Agreements (BASA) are restrictive, leading to inadequate connectivity and exorbitantly expensive fares.” (KE-I-4, S-1)

Based on these factors, one has to look at how to manage the relationship within the coalition as the differences, fears, and mistrust could jeopardize the vision of one destination. Coalitions involve negotiations and people could differ on specific aspects but dealing with all those partners with such differences could stray from coalition objectives.

Another element that could be brought into this analysis is what Olson (1965) described as free riders in a coalition, based on those actors who seem to create challenges and who are not progressive enough but still expect to benefit from the coalition. In this regard, Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1999) (in the context of ACF); suggest that it is also
necessary to understand what could be the underlying issues that maybe, actors in the coalition perceived the benefits not matching their expectations and that in the process impede the intended or designed progress. If one country sees that another is not expending all of the necessary efforts and resources, this could create the frustrations and those not pulling their weight or not fully participating could be questioned why they are (even a) part of the coalition, as the following comment suggests:

“Kenya is looked at as the big brother, and Tanzania at one point will look at Kenyans as wanting to grab what is their own, they have this one thing of protecting their own. Remember I said they have this thing of protecting their own. They have not opened up to see that if they partner with others they will benefit. Even at the EAC level when they want to sign something, Tanzania is always lagging behind in signing.” (TZ-I-3, S-1)

At what point can a coalition actor be removed or perceived as a free-rider in the coalition? From data collected, issues of historical and cultural differences in past experiences were mentioned as contributing factors as to why some partner states were not fully integrating and adding their value to the single destination vision. From the experience of the 1970s collapse of the original East Africa Community, lessons were learned that, actually, the coalition could also end without achieving positive or significant results when disagreements and core policy beliefs become conflicted. Data indicated that cooperation among partner states within this coalition was based on what they valued as similar preferences, including complimentary tourism packages, harmonization of
regulations, intra-regional tourism marketing, and product diversification, as well as capacity building. The suppositions or propositions regarding how to resolve common issues was also grounded in disagreement on approaches to resolving issues. In this case, the respondent stated:

“Kenya is focused on short-term gains and its tourism policy is geared towards mass tourism, while our tourism in Tanzania has to take into account our biodiversity and protection of natural resources. We can’t agree on opening our borders to mass tourism, hence our visa regime and harmonization of some our policies need to go hand-in-hand with our long-term vision.” (TZ-I-3, S-1)

4.6 What Emerges as the Prime Areas of Conflict/Sources of Political Disagreements among EAC Partner States in their Pursuit of a Shared Tourism Agenda?

In the course of the research interview process, the following were identified as the prime areas of conflict among EAC partner states: vested interests; misunderstandings; historical and cultural differences; fear of the unknown; suspicion; and conflicting policy frameworks. A majority of the respondents (60%) identified conflicting and vested interests as the primary area of conflict. A typical comment among the policymakers was: “Everyone is pushing own interests at the expense of regional projects and programmes for theirs” (TZ-I-1, S-2).

Twenty % of the respondents attributed conflicts to historical and cultural differences. One of the respondents expressed the following view regarding cultural differences:
“That for me, don’t forget that people like Tanzania have been socialists for a very long time, Kenyans have been capitalists from day one; they intend to capitalize much harder than what they are doing right now while other partner states are coming out of wars and conflicts. So when you put all these guys together at the same level, you will find that some guys are very impatient, others are very hesitant while others are patient and cautious and wondering why you are rushing them.”(KE-I-14, S-1)

What’s more, 15% of study participants felt that fear of the unknown and suspicion were major areas of conflict. One of respondents while commenting on fear of the unknown concluded:

“They have fears. Like I know Tanzania they fear is that when you allow Kenyans in, they would flood their market and render Tanzanians jobless.” (RW-I-3, S-1)

The remaining respondents (5%) identified conflicting policy frameworks and divergent opinions on monitoring and administering of the EAC Single Tourist Visa as areas of conflict. The study, notably, established that some existing laws were contrary to the provisions of the common market protocol. Besides, it revealed the existence of divergent opinions on monitoring the use of the EAC Single Tourist Visa, its administration cost and visa revenue sharing modalities. Regarding the conflicting policy frameworks, one respondent recommended:

“There should be a review of the legislative framework to identify all the laws that are conflict the common market protocol.” (UG-I-4, S-1)
When asked to comment on opportunities that can be harnessed within the EAC to develop a shared tourism agenda, a majority of the respondents (67%) pointed out the existence of common languages, single tourist visa, complementary tourism products, skilled workers, free movement of goods, services, persons, labor, and capital, along with the right of establishment and residence. The opportunities are what Sabatier and Weible (2007) call policy preferences that act as the factors binding the coalition. All the respondents revealed that their organization’s public policy preferences are all rotated around the opportunities highlighted above. Data showed that policy preferences of tourism associations and organizations interviewed demonstrated that all tourism-related interests and opportunities could all fall under a single vision, from a state to a regional level perspective, as articulated by one respondent:

“Our opportunities are shared. Burundi as the least developed country in the region, cannot go far unless it capitalizes and harnesses what others are offering. Without an airline, a hotel and tourism school and undeveloped products, we rely on our neighbors to help us develop our sector.” (BU-I-2, S-2)

The above statement demonstrates what the ACF prescribes in saying that policy and preferences that are common to some organizations are the foundations for the survival of the coalition and through the EATP all actors attempt to influence policy. Through a policy sub-system actors like the one from Burundi or Rwanda are expected to present their issues and explore opportunities using a united voice on what they see as similar issues.
The same is echoed by a representative from the East African secretariat who noted that even though opportunities to grow as a single destination were many, a deficiency of resources in terms of allocations of budgets for the execution of joint programs existed:

“Based on the protocols signed by all EAC partner states, many opportunities are presented for all concerned parties to collaborate. However, each country is facing its own challenges and this could lead to apparent disunity and lack of focus on pursuing common objectives.” (EAC SEC-I-1)

What emerged as conflicts or sources of divergence and conflicts gathered from interview data demonstrated that even though there are several advocacy coalition opportunities to be pursued, there were also some key concerns such as lack of budget to support joint projects and, as the ACF predicts, the process of coalition could be messy and is not that linear.

4.7 Chapter Summary

Results have provided an insight into why tourism development is a shared agenda among some EAC partner states and not for others. Results, notably, revealed that protectionism; fear of unknown and suspicion; vested interests; and historical and cultural differences were core policy beliefs at play in the creation of a single tourism destination. In a nutshell:

“Everyone is pushing for their own interests at the expense of regional projects and programs.” (TZ-I-1, S-2)
Regional policymakers should pursue reciprocity, political goodwill, fairness, mutual trust, and openness to curb suspicion among EAC partner states. Importantly, the East Africa Tourism Platform should be an independent arbiter, coordinator, facilitator, and moderator for it to nurture a strong coalition within the EAC. The EAC lacks a single strategic tourism development blueprint, and both an agreed-upon, mutually beneficial regional tourism policy and its partner states are at different stages of tourism development. The absence of a single strategy has been reflected in individualistic approach to governance and marketing of tourism and untapped domestic and regional tourism.

The content analysis based on interviews demonstrated that data could be utilized to theorize the tourism policy advocacy process using the qualitative approach. What was apparent from the data collected is that significant variability existed among public policy issues because of what all the five partner state actors and stakeholders shared. However, it was also apparent that there was quite a number of issues, conflicts, and divergences in how the common agenda could have been achieved.

All interviewees were guided and were in pursuit of fulfilling the goals and objectives of their organizations; hence they are/were looking at how to grow the size of the pie. However, a tourism policy agendum for each partner state had to take into account other factors such as the political standing of the state. As one interviewee pointed out, collaboration and cooperation will build bridges that would benefit each of the organizations, members and respective countries, and whatever political decisions are to be adopted, they stand a chance in unity.
CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

In this final chapter, guided by the impetus of investigating the dynamics that drive the vision of a shared tourism development agenda in East Africa, the ultimate endeavor is to provide a summary of the main elements of the research, the interpretation of the data, and discussion of the findings from the research questions. In this chapter, conclusions from the study are set forth with recommendations that may be of utility for future research, or that inform policy experts on the subject matter. The summary is guided by the overall objective of this study that underpinned and stimulated the quest for these answers and recommendations: Why is tourism development a shared agenda among some EAC countries, but not others?

5.2 Answers to Research Questions

5.2.1 A Research Question One: What are the conditions under which EAC partner states can cooperate to develop a shared tourism destination?

The conditions that those involved in developing tourism policy provides the foundation for conceptualizing the tourism policy advocacy coalition process and for developing recommendations that could guide, inform, and shape the dynamics of regional tourism in the EAC. In addressing this research question, the first exercise was to understand the key actors and players involved in the tourism development process based on their motivations, roles and exogenous and internal factors that are at play in this process. As the unit of analysis, five East Africa partner states (Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda,
Kenya and Tanzania) were selected, each represented by association bodies grouped under one umbrella at the national level. Each organization within the East African Tourism Platform’s (EATP) coalition was called upon to advance the interests and objectives of their respective members through policy, marketing, business, and advocacy. These motivations were focused as they are the common thread connecting members, actors and coalition as prescribed by the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF). The motives fueling the concerned parties to cooperate and collaborate within the EAC regarding tourism development are reported to be divergent and varied. At upon the inception of the EAC as a regional economic bloc, the partner states signed a protocol driven by a common agenda, but each state’s implementation was marked by a different pace of development.

Divergent politics and different stages of development were the principal identified reasons influencing the development phase for tourism. Even though the five East African partner states signed the same protocol, what significant political events and decisions in 2011 trigged a sea of change in the coalition of the region in relation to tourism development as a national priority? Three countries out of the five—Kenya, Rwanda, and Uganda—formed a strategic alliance driven by common socioeconomic projects that benefited their individual state’s political and economic ambitions. The ACF literature indicates that within a coalition an internal shock can occur and signal a change in priorities, shape the conditions that can either undermine, or strengthen the coalition. One can look at the 2011 event in which the heads-of-state of the three countries convened and signed a tourism directive that became a trigger within a subsystem of actors. That event created an upset and drastically changed the status quo of the majority and created an
opportunity to be exploited and a shift of balance of power, ultimately resulting in tourism policy change. From data, it is recorded that new allies were formed and redistributions of resources and priorities were shifted in the protocols for tourism development in East Africa. In 2013, for instance, the East Africa Single Tourist Visa (EATV) was adopted and implemented in January 2014 by only three partner states instead of all the five-member states. The unified system provided for the EAC partner states that are adhering to this new policy to share information about people traveling to countries within the region, and facilitated the free movement of people, service, and goods and ultimately solidified these nations three members’ tourism partnership.

The three partner states signed an agreement to allocate a regional budget that will promote the three countries as a single tourism destination. They also revised their open sky policy in favor of their national carriers, using the fifth freedom movement that allows Kenya Airways and RwandAir to operate more flights, hence reducing the costs of travel within the region. Subsequently, the three countries reinforced their efforts in promoting joint cross-border products and in developing and promoting regional tourism in boosting national and regional tourism. Rwanda and Uganda borrowed a leaf from Kenya’s domestic policy playbook by creating a domestic entity that actively markets domestic tourism. The Kenyan model is dubbed Tembea Kenya, while the newly created models are Tembera Rwanda in Rwanda and Tulambule Uganda in Uganda.

These series of events from the ACF theory cemented the stance that coalitions leveraging of available resources can trigger an active and strategic alliance that challenges the EAC status quo by dividing the coalition into two groups. One could also derive from
Multiple Streams Analysis of Kingdon (2003) by using the policy window concept to emphasize that change can be driven from different streams, in this case, the political stream. The “coalition of the willing,” as this coalition of the three countries was named, identified the slow development of projects within the existing East Africa Community framework and decided to take an active approach to the challenge in a bid to speed up the implementation of these projects that are considered strategic for economic development. A policy alternative was proposed supported and adopted by strong political goodwill from the three heads-of-state. The East Africa Tourism Platform in its capacity as a regional tourism lobby group played a significant role as a policy entrepreneur and was ready to tie the problem to a solution by putting tourism issues as a priority on the agenda. The stage was set in motion allowing the tourism agenda of promoting and developing a single tourism destination to be charted and implemented. A move in the right direction from an implied perspective was that countries such as Burundi and Tanzania decided to withdraw and hold back the process. However, this was viewed as a drawback by others.

Regarding research question one, however, the view was that not all the conditions were optimal in the first place for all actors involved in the development of a tourism policy geared towards a shared vision. Those who decided to cooperate and join efforts made significant strides. An internal shock propelled the coalition to change its course, resulting in the emergence of an active and strategic coalition and with redistributed critical power as well as financial resources within the subsystem. One can conclude that the tourism sector within the regional context at the time of this study was subject to several factors that underpin the vision of a shared agenda. Some of those critical factors are highly
correlated to national politics, geopolitics dynamics, and vested interests that could either bind or divide the coalition. Differences regarding interests, national priorities, and, most importantly, the gains and losses of the results of the coalition were determinants in the process of the development of tourism from a regional standpoint.

5.2.2 Research Question Two: - What role can East Africa Tourism Platform play in creating a shared tourism agenda within the East African Community (EAC)?

The East Africa Tourism Platform’s role and expected objectives of creating a shared tourism agenda with the EAC was indicated as an important factor in the success of the coalition. As set forth in the ACF Theory, coalition management activities include forming an alliance, maintaining it, and pushing a common agenda. Hence, it was the impetus of establishing the East Africa Tourism Platform. In this coalition, EATP was viewed as a player that binds the actors from the different organizations, countries, and divergent policy preferences. In the capacity of an arbiter, coordinator, facilitator, and moderator, EATP’s role evolved as a catalyst in the process of formulating a shared tourism agenda. The main role of EATP was to advocate for a single tourist destination vision and was mandated to advance the benefits of all partners in creating partnerships and synergies. One interviewee described the role of EATP:

“We come together with our own challenges, strengths and opportunities with the understanding that alone we can’t go far but together we can achieve a lot, and EATP is the best channel through which our common goals can be achieved”
To achieve its goals, the EATP considers that the factors that influence tourism development in East Africa are driven by supply and demand, which are crucial to achieving tourism development across the region. Its focus is on quality of products and services delivery across the region, diversified tourism products, number of tourists visiting the region (national, regional, and international) as well as supporting infrastructures, facilities, and human capital. Tourism for East Africa is the leading source of foreign exchange in the service sector; hence, the sector is taken seriously at the regional level. One has to take into consideration the internal operational characteristics as well as the physical architecture of the tourism sector in East Africa to understand that each partner state has its own domestic issues before even contemplating or joining in resolving regional ones. Tourism in East Africa is an extremely sensitive industry and the EATP strategy was to bring together all actors, stakeholders, and policymakers to agree on common agendum and encourage the growth of tourism within the region in pursuit of collective gains. With the EATP slogan of “Borderless Borders – One Visa, One Destination,” the EATP’s role remained central into the integration process of the vision of a shared agenda for tourism in East Africa. From the author’s perspective, the construction of the tourism industry relied mainly on the role of the private sector tour operators and those who invested in more than one country for this process to work and be legitimized. The business journey and case was built on integrated and regional itineraries that sell more than one destination, or an integrated service system to meet the needs of the tourism market and branding a seamless experience across the region. For instance, through the use of the East Africa Tourist Visa, tour operators had a strategic business tool that builds integrated packages
that combine the diverse wildlife, culture, and people of East Africa, hence increasing their businesses.

EATP played the coordination role among countries in the region in order to enhance the efficiency of the partner states in agreeing on a common agenda. On a quarterly basis, the organizing of the steering committee meetings, providing information, organizing training, meetings for members as well as supporting marketing efforts that support the vision of one destination were some examples of coordination obligations or opportunities. The impetus of EATP is appreciated from the notion that it came to be a product from a consensus of five partner state stakeholders that believed in advancing the tourism public policy agenda from an advocacy coalition called the EATP. One could conclude that to create one vision, one needed to create a platform that offered a sound stance that could be a conjoint denominator to actors and partners of a coalition. From an ACF stance, those involved in the coalition don’t have to share their limited resources in fear of losing their power, strengths, and control. If through the EATP they are willing to work together, collaborate, and exchange their resources, this could be a starting point. However, as Lowndes and Skelcher (1998) concluded, those involved in the coalition are not always willing to share resources and may even oppose any proposition or policy that could diminish their economic power in a dynamic and competitive market such as tourism. The future and impetus of EATP one could conclude that it will be driven by the policy beliefs that will bring them together to serve a shared agenda and vision. However, this research has demonstrated is that a survival of a coalition is grounded on many factors, and
in this case, political will is without any doubt one of the key ingredients in the recipe of survival of EATP.

As a remedy to this motive for non-cooperation for tourism to contribute to the development of the EAC’s partner states, there is need to have a shared tourism development agenda that will address investment in tourism superstructure, training, product development, human capital investment, diversification, funding, entrepreneurship, and regional tourism marketing. The absence of such heightens the need to critically examine the EAC partner states’ tourism policies in line with the development of a single tourism destination through the lens of ACF.

5.2.3 Research Question Three: What are the policy preferences of tourism stakeholders in the EAC level?

The research findings indicated that the conditions identified revolved around cooperation driven mainly by business interests and political ties developed between some, but not all, partner states. Cooperation among coalitions is centered on similar policy preferences, nestled around organizations with related policy preferences and complimentary resources form coalitions (Cairney, 2102). Policy preferences brought the partner states in East Africa together and yielded wins and gains that were deemed potentially shareable; this being one of the key impetus for the coalition. Investment in market intelligence, development of complementary regional tourism packages, promotion of domestic and intra-regional product development, as well as diversification were deemed the most salient factors that drive their regional cooperation and collaboration. However, upon deeper investigation, those policy preferences were rooted in terms of the
development of complementary regional packages and tourism product development as they presented business opportunities. Based on the growth of the region in terms of market and tourism revenues, each actor in the coalition was expected to see a return on investment. The size of the regional market and growth opportunity were perceived to be the best incentives for collaboration.

The relevant literature suggests that, cooperation and collaboration drive policy preferences when common interests are considered to be common denominators that can produce mutual shares and gains. From the study’s data, it was clear that all actors representing member associations stated that their organizations co-aligned with other organizations and believed in the EAC’s vision mainly for the benefits they perceived the joint community would give them. One interviewee stated, that the partnership was centered primarily on related tourism development and business, this being the main reason they are working together for forming a coalition. It was also noted, that countries such as Burundi and Tanzania even though they had the same policy preferences regarding these two issues, their motivations were divergent, mainly fueled by different political policies. The “coalition of the willing” comprising Kenya, Rwanda, and Uganda demonstrated that through one coalition, not all actors can progress on the same pace and that each can be driven by different motivations. An entry in the researcher’s dissertation diary at the end of an interview day included a description of the reaction of one of the leaders of an association who when probed regarding the coalition of the willing, responded that as much as they all shared the same issues, the way to tackle them didn’t have to be the same, the use of words such as “we do not want to be dictated to what to do.” refers to a sense of
resentment, mistrust and fear. Since the ACF predicts that policy actors could seek coalition partners and solutions with similar core policy beliefs and preferences that suit them within a definite coalition, this was not deemed to be a big surprise.

This study’s findings showed that even though politics around regional development was not mentioned predominantly as the driver, the researcher believes that politics was indeed the underlying determinant, as politics define the agenda, budget allocation, priorities and vision of tourism from a national and regional standpoint. To have a common stance on the same issue was not as difficult as having one collective voice that set the tone on how to solve those issues from a practical and implementation perspective. Tourism organizations or boards, whether public or private, considered offering complimentary resources, reciprocity and sharing information as some of the key benefits of working together as partners. For instance, tourism boards executives mentioned that they were motivated by advancing their tourism agenda and through trusted regional partnerships with the expectations gaining common wins in the process. Their core policy beliefs were anchored in a socioeconomic development framework that increased their footprint and level of participation in new source markets as well as yielding more in terms of tourism revenues and tourists numbers. This finding or conclusion is consistent with the Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1999) conclusion that such policy preferences are the fundamental glue of coalitions.

From the data, the policy preferences were defined along the above mentioned factors, but the connecting factors were not deemed as worthy incentives for countries such as Burundi and Tanzania, which likely accounts for their country’s not joining others in
driving the same agenda. At the EAC level, differences in policy preferences led actors in Kenya, Rwanda, and Uganda to take the lead and leave others behind. If the policy preferences are indicated by the position each partner state or actors take on these issues in this coalition, one could say that the trust factor is a salient one. In the case of Tanzania, the coalition was viewed as Tanzania will not gain if they open their country and compete with their biggest competitor Kenya. Burundi, due to its tourism development level and capability, instead was viewed as it has little to offer to the coalition, then the cost of pursuing them to join the coalition from other members in terms of resources and time will be too great for members nations that have more to offer.

By looking at each of the country’s tourism board’s strategies, it is notable that their policy preferences were diverse and not aligned. Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda articulated clearly in their tourism marketing strategies that their intent to grow their regional tourism base, increase revenues allocated to regional marketing and development of tourism products that are attractive to regional market. In the case of Tanzania, it was only in late 2017 and beginning of 2018, that their Tourism Board (Tanzania Tourism Board) started slowly investing in domestic and regional tourism. In the case to Burundi, due to its political crisis in 2015, the country has increased its protectionism mechanisms by reducing tourism budgets, restricting visa regimes and diminishing their attendance at regional tourism exhibitions and fairs since 2015). As long as the five partner states of East Africa that are subject to this study do not have the same policy preference towards the same issue of sharing a common tourism vision, driven by similar motivations, one could conclude that it will be quite challenging to attain a unified vision in the near future.
Since the ACF predicts policy actors can seek coalition partners with similar core policy beliefs and policy preferences, the author judges that opportunities for a single tourist destination objective or dream could still be realized through alliances within the sub-system of the same coalition, as long as policy preferences might be aligned. From interview data it was concluded that actors and policy makers that support the idea of a single destination, could be those who buy into the idea and those who will remain skeptical. One has to remember that an advocacy coalition process begins when tourism policy actors can reach out to other groups with whom they had a relationship or with whom they have a common policy preference. The East Africa Tourism Platform is identified as the strategic connector and seen by all actors as an organization that can continue to engage all stakeholders on the same agenda. As predicted by the ACF, the more closely aligned the policy preference of two or three partner states, the quicker the objective of achieving a shared vision of a single tourist destination will be achieved.

The researcher considered these sub-questions that helped in answering the research question. “Which political, social and economic realities that needed to be addressed in order to develop a shared tourism agenda within the EAC region.” Blau (1977), in this regard, stated that tourism advocacy coalitions need to be devoted to a cause or an agenda to justify their coalition. The data indicated that prime issues (political, social and economic) were at the heart of the coalition and were the motives that drove at least three partner states of the EAC into partnership. From the standpoint of the leading destinations in the coalition; Kenya, Uganda, and Rwanda, what they had to offer and gain from the coalition were greater and justified their impetus to be involved in the coalition.
They viewed each as partners politically by signing joint-marketing efforts; for instance the single tourist visa, they shared the revenues collected from the visa to push for joint marketing efforts and viewed each other as allies in the development of tourism. On the other hand, data also showed that weaker partners like Burundi were kept aside in the coalition and their voice was not deemed trustworthy even though the country was part of the same regional economic bloc. Data also support the conclusion that political context had a significant influence on how the issues were formulated and addressed to develop a shared tourism agenda. Based on strengths and weaknesses of each partner state, there was room for opportunities to be prepared and harnessed, however, all were linked to how current challenges were addressed whether collectively or separately.

5.2.4 Research Question Four: What are some of the political, social and economic realities that should be addressed in order to develop a shared tourism agenda within the EAC region?

Dr. Kwame Krumah, former president of Ghana and founding father of the African Union, said: “The forces that unite us are intrinsic and greater than the super-imposed influences that keep us apart.” This statement resonated well with also one of the founding fathers of EAC, and former president of The Republic of Tanzania, Prof. Julius Nyerere, who stated: “Without unity, there is no future for Africa.” Based upon the construct of unity and pan-Africanism, since its inception in 1967, the EAC with Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania as members partners was characterized by myriad conflicts, mainly political and managerial disagreements. Even before the signing of the 1992 Maastricht Treaty that formed the European Union, East Africa was ahead; the EAC had established an economic
and monetary union based on a common market, an East African Development Bank, a single currency, a single post office service, railways, and airways. On that basis alone, one could argue that the same challenges that were at the heart of dissolving the EAC in 1977 are still some of the most pressing issues at the heart of the disagreements on pursuing a shared agenda. From the ACF, a policy framework allows for goal conflicts and technical disputes or disagreements among groups with similar policy agendas (Sabatier & Weible, 2007). The data from this research supported this stance as those prime areas of conflict among EAC partner states identified were: conflicting vested interests, misunderstandings, historical and cultural differences, fear of unknown, suspicion and conflicting policy frameworks. The coalition formed among East Africa Tourism Platform partners and actors was based on a coalition that serves collective action for addressing problems; hence, this is a competitive one due to the fact that partnerships are subject to competing interests and most likely divergent opinions on how to solve some of the common challenges and issues.

The issues coded with conflicting results were carefully analyzed as the researcher deemed too be important to be overlooked, they represented the root causes to some of the issues that affected the coalition in its ambition to achieve its objectives. In the course of conducting interviews, the three most common words associated with conflicts were: lack of trust, divergent policies, and political vision, as well as lack of political will. The disagreement led three partner states to advance their interests together and leave the other two behind. The varying viewpoints on how to handle their conflicts and their policy position, for instance on the implementation of the East Africa Single Tourist Visa, created a breach in the relationship of the five partner states. The disagreement also led to some
political tensions between Kenya and Tanzania, whereby their refusal to cooperate on free movement of tourism vehicles between the two countries resulted in creating an inconvenience to tourists and visitors. Tanzanians viewed Kenyan tourism operators as aggressive and taking over their business and this non-cooperation was perceived as a negative point that hampers tourism business in both countries. The divergence was also fueled by political tensions between the two countries on other related issues such as free movement of people, service, and goods, and to Tanzania denying issuance and renewal of work permits to Kenyan citizens. One could also conclude that the shortcomings highlighted and identified from data could indicate that the integration process is still a challenge due to the lack of both the functional integration and the lack of a shared community of values. The issues that emerged are deeply rooted in an evolving process that defines the EAC in its essence. The message delivered to those championing regional tourism also needs to be understood as that the shared community of values is still fragile to be left alone to hold the vision together. One could go even further and assert that without a shared political goodwill, often associated with individual leaders, the future of shared vision for a single tourism destination is subject to future threats. The socio-economic foundation that will shape the basis under which regional tourism will thrive, tourism will have to be crafted and mastered first at the local level, create a significant social and economic impact, support economies at the grassroots, and, with concerted efforts, pave the way at the regional level.
5.2.5 **Research Question Five: What are some of existing and future opportunities that can be harnessed within the East African Community (EAC) to usher/commend the creation of a shared tourism agenda?**

With such community-shared values and interests, advocacy efforts and attempts to unite the EAC will yield results that will push the movement forward in the pursuit of a shared tourism agenda. One interviewee proposed that national tourism advocacy has to start at home but supported by a regional organization that may be able to accomplish and achieve common objectives that will benefit the interests of the members. Since tourism is economically and politically important to all partner states by their national policies and visions, confronting the challenges and conflicts that will arise over time at the regional level ought to be viewed from the ACF’s perspective that says that management of coalition and actors is an ongoing exercise in refinement. Formulation and maintenance of coalitions are therefore developed over time based on shared core policy beliefs and the likelihood of a policy change. From the findings, it is learned that internal or external events to a subsystem do also matter. The learning process and negotiated agreements, as much as they matter, conflicts and sources of disagreements played their role in the outcome that shaped the tourism agenda, whether shared or not. What the researcher learned and would emphasize is that through the ACF, one could agree that public policy is, simply put, about power struggles between coalitions; that is, while some partner states championed and became entrepreneurs of the same agenda, putting together policy solutions that fostered collaboration and cooperation, others chose a different path. In conclusion, one has to remember that the glue that binds coalitions is paramount to the survival of any agenda
because what is known is that governments will decide to take deliberate action on some matters and not on others; if one agenda has to be pursued, it can be compelling enough to be pursued. Existing and future opportunities that could harness the continuity of this shared agenda will be based on the basis of those that are important to the partners. Trade disputes that are known the shake and worsen trade relations in East Africa would need to be turned into opportunities for strengthening collaboration. In view of the recent developments, fostering ties and business collaboration in the tourism sector will benefit not only each partner states, but as a regional bloc they can extend their size and scale of the tourism sector in the region. The private sector is expected to seize the opportunities of expanding their market can only be done through regional policies and implementation strategies., and an economic union with joint investments supported by ownership of joint projects are supported by people’s shared prosperity. The things that could hold the regional bloc together could also be the source that could break it like a game of chess. The rules of the game are not that evident, but the factors that will shape the success of tourism development in the region will depend on policies that will harness free movement of goods, services at speed, and costs that are competitive.

5.3 Limitations to the Research

Without any doubt, this research endeavor was not conducted without facing some degree of limitation. Due to the fact that the researcher was directly involved with the East African Tourism Platform as a tourism expert familiar with policy issues related to tourism at the regional level, it was important to put in place all mitigating mechanisms that could hamper the research from a validity and reliability standpoint. .
All participants in the interviews were either former and/or current colleagues and partners in the same project. However, the author made clear that she was neutral and stipulated the objectives of the research. For instance, some participants, because of their political positions or their responsibilities to represent their respective countries, were reluctant to openly share their views and opinions. Some, because of their respective countries or positions on the research matter, tried to stay neutral and not be critical. Based on the rapport between the researcher and the participants, the interview techniques used was to make them feel at ease with the questions and guarantee them that their answers were confidential. By creating this trusted environment, some respondents, although not all of them, candidly allowed the researcher to ask straightforward questions with satisfactory results.

During the course of the data collection, the researcher had to make sure she revisited the data several times in the months following its collection to make sure she distanced herself from it and helped to partially limit research bias. Additionally, working with two assistants that helped in transcripts of all interviews as well as in coding was also another helpful in avoiding any bias. The issue related to descriptive validity was taken into consideration and the best way to mitigate against this was to rely on assistants who participated in recording and analyzing the data. Using verbatim quotes for data interpretation allowed the key interviewees’ points and perspectives that were deemed important to be coded. Strauss and Corbin (1990) encourage researchers to use both descriptive and interpretive data in research to ensure mitigation against issues of credibility and validity.
The use of a journal for note-taking proved to be useful, consistent with the Strauss & Corbin (1990) conclusion that it is important to keep a journal that helps in gathering the thought process, observations, and other important events that occur during interviews. When interpreting the data, the researcher relied on key informants to ensure the accuracy of the information recorded and verify on one or more points requiring clarifications.

Another key factor was the time and financial resources associated with data collection, as the researcher had to organize all meetings and interviews during important regional forums and events. As the researcher was self-funded, all interviews had to be planned in advance and all key stakeholders and actors required for this research were reimbursed for transportation, meals, and accommodations. Within the limited budget and resources available, the researcher believed that all interviews conducted were insightful, rich in content, and provided key data that allowed the researcher to know when the theoretical saturation was reached with the data collected.

5.4 Recommendations for Future Research

The primary focus of this research was to investigate tourism development in the East Africa Community region by looking closely on the development of a shared agenda. The issue related to the agenda was framed using the ACF lens and the focus was on the key actors that formed the EAC coalition. The researcher believed she obtained significant results to the research questions that brought to the fore a number of issues that hinder tourism development in the EAC as a shared agenda. The researcher could suggest that future research investigate more on policy issues, focusing on the agenda aspect and broadening the scope of research. This research should stimulate future researchers in the
EAC to study issues of integration from also a business perspective as this transpired to be one key factor that drove integration. Other opportunities for future research could also include analyzing the partnership and collaboration beyond the East African Tourism Platform, and what it could achieve through the EAC Secretariat or the East African Business Council.

From the ACF standpoint, the coalition has many actors beyond the ones studied, even though this research concentrated on those who influenced tourism policies and formal national and regional organizations and associations; studying other actors that are not part of this formal architecture therefore could lead to more information. Weible & Sabatier (2014) argued that public opinion does count in policy formulation as well as on agenda setting. Future researchers therefore could look at studying this research topic using a longitudinal methodological approach, consistent with integration processes timelines. This study captured a short and limited specific time to investigate this research question, one could suggest that this forms the basis for another research that could continue to look into this phenomenon and possibly using other theories that could investigate the issue further. The focus was on five partner states constituting the EAC, but what transpired is that each partner had its characteristic, national political agenda and the tourism sector was grounded on development stages that were divergent. This focus might profitably be expanded.

Another recommendation could be to investigate the progress of tourism development through the lens of similar development stages. Hence, one could study the phenomena of those who are free riders within the perspective of the ACF. Olson (1965)
said that organizations are motivated and driven by self-interests rather than by the interests that may be gained by the group as called “free-rider” issue of collective action. What this research did not investigate extensively and that could be a focus for future research is the study of the level of contribution of each partner state into this coalition, from monetary value, resources, and, equally important, the perceived benefits that could be gained from the coalition. The researcher understood from the beginning of this study that one of the principal goals of policy process research is the accumulation of generalizable and context-specific knowledge, which is not a zero-sum game, a thought borrowed from Weible and Sabatier (2014). It is with this view in mind that there has to be room for more research that can help explain contentious policy issues that center around coalitions, policy change, and to further investigate why policy actors form and maintain coalitions over time. To take a lead and possibly prompt the next research, one could investigate what factors explain major and minor policy changes that could trigger a change in the tourism dynamics of the East African Tourism landscape in the future. This research could be a starting point.

5.5 A Conclusion of the Analysis

This research makes two types of contribution to existing knowledge. The first type of contribution is the fact that only modest attention has been focused on East African Tourism with a concentration on tourism policy and regional development. Through tourism literature that guided the ACF theoretical framework lens, this research depicted some of the current issues affecting the success of regional tourism development that could
inform policymakers, tourism actors, and stakeholders on how a common tourism agenda could be shaped.

The second contribution is based on the fact that policy decisions are made through a process that can be viewed in terms of studies of tourism policy. According to Hall and Jenkins (1995), studies of tourism policy have emphasized what governments should do rather than what happens and why. The researcher judges that through this research, by dissecting the reasons and issues that influence the tourism policy on what happens and the reasons, value is added to the existing body of knowledge in the literature. Data indicated that tourism actors and stakeholders involved in advocacy are part of coalitions that are shaping and advancing a certain public policy agenda. What transpired from the data is that not all coalitions are wed to similar policy preferences as several factors need to be taken into account. Political divergence, conflicts, and the maturity of each tourism destinations, from a standpoint of development, were among factors that contributed to the variance of the shared tourism agenda among partner states. Supported by existing theory, specifically the ACF, a shared tourism agenda could be the result of economic and political struggle powers that have to be aligned to a common agenda. Regional tourism development might be profitably pursued as a consortium of partners and actors functioning under one umbrella and embracing a singular agenda.

From data, the reality is that within the same coalition, differences abound. Presenting one shared agenda, for an economic sector that is highly correlated with political decisions and vested interests, tourism policy advocacy will need to pass the test. Even though, from research, one learns that through the ACF, policy actors are assumed to be
rational and motivated by a belief system in steering their political behavior and decisions. The data shows the causal drivers of change of an agenda can and could happen within a coalition. As Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) articulated, given that humans are the principal source of a target of change in policy processes, leaving them as a black box of decision-making is an oversight that should not be overlooked. A shared agenda is first and foremost built as a web between different actors who are driven by human self-interests, beliefs, and in pursuit of a set of lines of objectives. Conclusions drawn support the claim that tourism issues should be framed under one agenda respecting the construct of mutual interests and intentional regional tourism as a chosen policy.

In conclusion, the critical factor that explains the prominence of an item on the agenda is not necessarily its source, but rather the climate in government or the receptivity to the idea (Kingdon, 1984). For tourism in East Africa to be a sustained shared agenda of purpose and prominence will definitely depend upon a complex combination of factors. It is hoped that this research depicted some of those factors, inspiring pursuit of related research in the future.
REFERENCES


Institutional Review Board Certificate (2016-413)

April 9, 2019

Dr. Sheila Backman
Clemson University
Department of Parks, Recreation and
Tourism Management
263 Lehotsky Hall
Clemson, SC 29634

RE: IRB2016-413: Tourism Development in the East Africa Community
Region: Why is Tourism Development among Some Countries in
EAC a Shared Agenda, but Not for Others?

Dear Dr. Backman:

The Clemson University Office of Research Compliance reviewed the protocol
identified above using exempt review procedures and a determination was made on
December 14, 2016 that the proposed activities involving human participants qualify
as Exempt under category 2 in accordance with federal regulations 45 CFR
46.101(b).

No further action or IRB oversight of the protocol is required except in the following
situations:

1. Substantial changes made to the protocol that could potentially change the
   review level. Researchers who modify the study purpose, study sample, or
   research methods and instruments in ways not covered by the exempt
   categories will need to submit an expedited or full board review application.
2. Occurrence of unanticipated problem or adverse event, any unanticipated
   problems involving risk to subjects, complications, and/or adverse events must
   be reported to the Office of Research Compliance immediately.
3. Change in Principal Investigator (PI)

All research involving human participants must maintain an ethically appropriate
standard, which serves to protect the rights and welfare of the participants. This
involves obtaining informed consent and maintaining confidentiality of data. Research
related records should be retained for a minimum of three (3) years after completion of
the study.

The Clemson University IRB is committed to facilitating ethical research and
protecting the rights of human subjects. Please contact us if you have any questions
and use the IRB number and title when referencing the study in future
 correspondence.

Sincerely,

Nalinee D. Patin, CIP
IRB Administrator

IRB Number: IRB0000481
FWA Number: FWA0000497

www.clemson.edu/research/compliance
Interview schedule

Interview Number _______________  Interview Date _______________

Dear Respondent,

I am conducting research on ‘Tourism development in the East Africa Community region: why is tourism development among some countries in EAC a shared agenda, but not for others?’ and I am interested in your experiences as a policymaker. The purpose of the research is to investigate whether tourism development within the East Africa Community (EAC) region is a shared agenda. Specifically, the study will investigate not only priorities and expectations of member states in developing a single tourism destination but also identify any existing policy, political and ideology differences among EAC member states in regards to regional tourism development. Your participation will involve one informal interview that will last between thirty minutes and one hour. This research has no known risks. Please do not share any information that may be sensitive or make you uncomfortable. You may refuse to answer or leave the discussion at any time if you become uncomfortable.

This research will benefit the academic community, as well as those interested in integration and socio-economic development in East Africa. Moreover, it helps us understand the framework in which EAC’s tourism industry could thrive, based on existing political, social and economic landscapes.

Please know that I will do everything I can to protect your confidentiality. You will not be identified in any presentation or publication that may result from this study. Notes that are taken during the interview will be stored in a secure location for 6 months to aid in dissertation writing.

Would it be all right if I audiotaped our interview? Saying no to audio recording will have no effect on the interview. Audio files will be kept for 6 months in a password-protected and encrypted data files in a personal computer and external hard-drive accessible to my supervisor and I.

Thank you.
PART A: POLICY ISSUES

The following are some of the policy issues needed to develop EAC as a single tourism destination. Please provide your feedback on whether or not they have been a success; and any feasible recommendations to improve them.

Harmonization of standards in the hotel sector

Capacity building

Cross-border movement of tourists

Free movement of labor and services

Tourist visa

Open sky policy

Legal and regulatory framework

Regional tourism marketing

Any other
PART B: POLICY AGENDA

1. Which strategies should East Africa Tourism Platform pursue in its quest to develop a shared tourism agenda within the East African Community?

2. What are your policy preferences in developing a shared tourism agenda within the EAC?

3. Which policy issues need to be addressed in order to develop a shared tourism agenda in the East Africa Community?

4. Which opportunities can be harnessed within the East African Community to develop a shared tourism agenda?

5. Are there any differences among EAC member states in regards to the development of a shared regional tourism agenda?

6. If yes, what are the underlying policy beliefs?

7. In your own opinion, what are sources of disagreement among EAC member states’ tourism agenda?

8. What do you suggest can be done to manage differences among EAC member states.

9. Give any other comment(s) you may have on developing EAC as a single tourism destination.