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The Potential for Improving Smallholders'
Livelihoods in Zanzibar: *A Case Study of a
Local Value-Chain of Goat Meat*

Master thesis

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Declaration

I, Anja Synnøve Moulton, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature.....

Date.....

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Researching for and writing this master thesis was interrupted by a serious illness that put me in one of the scariest, most difficult situations I have experienced. Yet it has also been a time where I have had some of the most beautiful and fulfilling experiences in my life. Those experiences have been solely because of the incredible people I have been surrounded by. Getting through this hard time in my life, culminating in the completion of this thesis has been made possible by the support of many people.

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Abstract

It is widely agreed that increasing capacity in agriculture and its associated industries is the most effective way to increase food security and lift people out poverty. Development organizations and researchers alike now argue that poverty alleviation depends on smallholder farmers' ability to transform from subsistence farming to market-oriented production. Two issues vital to this transformation have emerged; smallholders' access to markets and women's access to resources. I explore these issues through a case study of a goat meat value chain in Zanzibar.

The case study is a project headed by the Kizimbani Agricultural Training Institute (KATI) to enhance smallholders ability to access tourist markets in Zanzibar. The overall objective of my research is to understand, through the case study, how local farmers can improve their livelihoods. To reach this objective I critically examine farmers' potential access to the tourist market and women's position in goat farming in Zanzibar. A value chain approach inspired by Kaplinsky and Morris is used to analyze the opportunities and constraints in the value chain of goat meat. The analysis is supplemented by mainstreaming gender issues throughout the study, an approach developed by the Netherland Development Organization. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were used to collect the necessary data. A survey of 117 farmers was conducted in Zanzibar in August and September 2014 and further qualitative data was collected during a field visit in March 2015.

The findings show that women play important roles in dairy goat farming in Zanzibar. Women have ownership of the goats and receive income from goat products. They are also active participants in knowledge sharing farmer groups. The study confirms, however, that women spend substantially more time on household chores than men. This has implications for women's participation in upgrading strategies in the value chain. I argue that upgrading efforts must take into account women's multiple responsibilities. My investigation of the value chain of goat meat reveals that the hotels in question are reluctant to source meat from local suppliers because of inconsistent supply and poor overall quality. Findings from the study of the proposed value chain show that the lack of facilitators to oversee and ensure the transaction between local farmers and hotel and restaurant owners, is a major bottleneck. To address this issue, I argue that the project leaders must consider an exit strategy in order to avoid dependency on support from KATI. Based on findings, I suggest strategies for how the value chain can operate independently. The potential for smallholder farmers to improve their incomes through the development of a dairy goat value chain is uncertain in the immediate future. However, my research suggests dairy goats have the potential to play a significant role in the islands long-term sustainable development.

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Abbreviations

ASDP-L	The Agricultural Sector Development Programme—Livestock
ASR-PER	Agriculture Sector and Public Expenditure Review Zanzibar 2014
ASSP	Agricultural Service Support Programme
DFID	Department for International Development
EPINAV	Enhancing Pro-poor Innovations in Natural Resources and Agricultural Value-Chains
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FK	Fredskorpset (Peace Corps)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IFAD	International Fund Agricultural Development
KATI	Kizimbani Agricultural Training Institute
MANR	Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources
MKUZA	Zanzibar Growth Strategy and Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty
MKUZA II	Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty 2010
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NMBU	Norges miljø og biovitenskapelige universitet (Norwegian University of Life Sciences)
RGoZ	Zanzibar Strategy of Growth and Reduction of Poverty
SJH	Sogn Jord- og Hagebruksskule
SNV	Netherlands Development Organization
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
SUA	Sokoine University of Agriculture
TIC	Technical and Implementation Committee
TZS	Tanzanian Shillings
UN	United Nations
USD	United States dollar
ZATI	Zanzibar Agricultural Transformation for Sustainable development
ZAYEDES	The Zanzibar Youth Education Environment Development Support Association
ZGS	Zanzibar Growth Strategy
ZSGRP	Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1 Introduction

“Most of the people in the world are poor, so if we knew the economics of being poor we would know much of the economics that really matters. Most of the world's poor people earn their living from agriculture, so if we knew the economics of agriculture we would know much of the economics of being poor” (Shultz, 1979).

1.1 The economics of being poor

Two thirds of poor people in developing countries live in rural areas. For 85 percent of them agriculture is the main source of livelihood (WorldBank, 2008). As the majority of people living in Sub-Saharan Africa live in rural areas and almost all depend directly and indirectly on agriculture, understanding constraints and opportunities within the agricultural sector is of imperative importance. It is argued that increasing capacity in agriculture and its associated industries is the most effective way to reduce food insecurity and lift people out poverty (Diao, 2007). Indeed, there is extensive empirical evidence that agricultural growth is the key determinant for economic growth and poverty reduction in most countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (Yumkella, 2011).

Yet, Africa remains the only region in the world where agricultural productivity per capita has remained stagnated over the past 40 years (Jama, 2008). Attempts to replicate the Green Revolution, advocating export-led production of lower value staple crops, have failed. Studies on the nature of agriculture in Africa have lead to the conclusion that increased economic growth and poverty alleviation depends on smallholder farmers ability to transform from subsistence farming to market-oriented activates (Diao, 2007; Jama, 2008). Research shows that this is dependent on two key conditions, issues of gender and smallholders access to markets (IFAD, 2003; Quisumbing, 2014).

A major obstacle to smallholder farmers ability to improve their economic and social development is limited access to markets (Barham, 2009). Markets are where producers sell their products, get inputs for production and buy the food they do not produce themselves. Markets are also where producers earn their income that enables them to pay for their children’s education, and health services for their family. Indeed poor rural households in many parts of the world often indicate that one of the main reasons they cannot improve their living standards is because they have limited access to markets where they can sell their products (IFAD, 2003). Finding the technical and institutional constraints that smallholders

face in access to markets is therefore of crucial importance to increase food security and improve livelihoods for smallholder farmers (IFAD, 2003). Yet, poor producers are unlikely to make successful transition into the globally competitive production in many places. However, if different products, markets (including local and regional) and producer-buyer relationships are considered, it increases the chances of finding the true competitive advantage of the rural poor (J. Mitchell, & Christopher Coles, 2011).

In recent decades, the private sector has proven to be instrumental in assisting smallholder farmers transform from subsistence farming to market led production (FAO, 2014). In response to investment opportunities in the many resources in Africa, the private sector has emerged as an important element in stimulating economic growth (Yumkella, 2011). Cooperating with the private sector, often being better at marketing, can increase the demand for agricultural products and encourage investment in farming in Africa (Shepherd, 2007). The tourist industry has emerged as an important player in the private sector in developing countries. Measurements from 2007 shows that developing countries received three times more in tourism revenue than they received in development aid (J. Mitchell, & Caroline Ashly, 2010). The industry has the potential to expand markets for smallholder farmers and increase opportunities to improve their income (R. Torres, & Janet H. Momsen, 2004).

However, increased access to markets will not have an effect without addressing the other major obstacle to agricultural development, namely issues of gender. Women's lack of access to resources and opportunities within the agricultural sector is a major contribution to underdevelopment in agriculture. Recent data shows that closing the gender gap in agriculture, giving women equal opportunities and the same access to resources as men, could increase yields by 20-30 percent (Doss, 2014b). This could raise total agricultural output in developing countries by 2.5-4 percent, which in turn could reduce the number of hungry in the world by 12-17 percent (Doss, 2014b). While it is difficult to determine how much women contribute to food production, one can say with certainty that the agricultural sector is important for women. In the least developed countries, 79 percent of women report agriculture as their primary economic activity (Doss, 2014b). Understanding the constraints faced by women within the agricultural sector is thus crucial for institutions, organizations and individuals working to improve livelihoods for poor people.

1.2 Problem statement

Zanzibar, a semi autonomous archipelago about 30 kilometers off the coast of Tanzania, provides an interesting example of where issues of agriculture, gender and tourism play essential roles for social and economic development of the islands and its people. About 70 percent of Zanzibar's population are small scale farmers and depend directly or indirectly on agriculture for their livelihoods (ZATI, 2009). Yet, nearly half the population lives under the basic needs poverty line. At the same time, tourism in Zanzibar accounts for over 51 percent of national GDP and has an annual growth of 10 percent and thus represents a unique opportunity for economic and social growth on the island.(W. Anderson, & Saleh Juma, 2011). Indeed the potential benefits of tourism in Zanzibar have been widely acknowledged, and much has been written on its prospective by the governmental sectors and scholars alike (W. Anderson, & Saleh Juma, 2011; Mikidadi, 2011; Steck, 2010; ZATI, 2009). Most of the government policies on tourism development in Zanzibar is based on the assumption that tourism will stimulate economic growth through increased demand for local agricultural products (W. Anderson, & Saleh Juma, 2011). However, despite its recognized potential, tourism has contributed alarmingly little to improve the livelihoods of the local people in Zanzibar. According to a study on the benefits of tourism in Zanzibar, only 10.2 percent of the revenue from tourism goes towards pro-poor development (Steck, 2010). The revenue leakage and the inability to link local producers with the tourist industry are the main reasons why tourism has failed to improve livelihoods in Zanzibar (W. Anderson, & Saleh Juma, 2011; Mikidadi, 2011; Steck, 2010). Only about 20 percent of the food bought by the tourist industry is produced locally, the rest is predominantly sourced from mainland Tanzania, Kenya and Brazil. Moreover, less than 10 percent of the meats consumed in hotels and restaurants on Zanzibar come from local suppliers (W. Anderson, & Saleh Juma, 2011). This is startling when 70 percent of the population is directly or indirectly employed by the agricultural sector. The majority of the population make their living from small-scale farming and fishing (ZATI, 2009).

Linking the tourist industry with local producers is thus of crucial importance for poverty reduction in Zanzibar (W. Anderson, & Saleh Juma, 2011). Understanding what prevents hotels from buying food from local producer and why local farmers hesitate to explore the opportunities tourism offers is vital for the economic and social development of the islands. Such knowledge can enable organizations and individuals working within development find

ways to bridge the gap between tourism and the local population in Zanzibar and make better use of the opportunities tourism offer (Steck, 2010).

Research Objective:

Understand how local smallholder farmers can improve their livelihood through increased access to tourist hotel markets in Zanzibar.

The aim of this thesis is to identify the constraints and opportunities for local smallholder farmers in the tourism sector in Zanzibar. This will be done through an in-depth study of the value chain of goat meat and a project designed to enable local smallholder farmers to take advantage of the tourism market in Zanzibar. A *value chain* describes the full range of activities involved in bringing a product or service from its conception, through the different stages of production, to its final consumption or use (Kaplinsky, 2001). The term “value” refers to the fact that value is added to the primary product through the combination of other resources (Mayoux, 2008). The value chain also encompasses studying the actors in the chain and their relative power to influence their position, also referred to as governance. This feature of the study allows users of the approach to identify upgrading strategies that can change the position of specific groups within the chain and increase their benefits. The study of value chains has become a popular approach to understand why certain people and countries are unable to improve their economic and social status. Development practitioners are increasingly using value chain analysis as a tool to make assessments about smallholder’s ability to improve their livelihoods. It provides an effective framework to identify market opportunities for smallholder farmers. It is also effective in understanding women’s activities throughout value chains and can help researchers identify actions that can be taken to close the gender gap. In this thesis special attention will be put on women’s contributions in the value chain of goat meat and smallholders opportunities to increase their benefits from the value chain.

1.3 Outline of thesis

This thesis begins with an introduction into the main themes of the research, namely smallholder farmers access to markets, tourism and linkages to the agricultural sector in developing countries and gender in agriculture. A presentation of the case follows, a project aimed at linking local smallholder farmers to the tourist industry in Zanzibar in order to

improve livelihoods on the Island. This chapter will provide the necessary contextual background for the rest of the thesis. The analytical framework of value chain analysis will then be introduced with focus on gender, governance, and upgrading, as means to structure the research objectives. From this I develop research questions that are presented when I introduce the three main analytical sections: mapping the current value chain of goat meat in Zanzibar, reviewing the legislative and executive governance in the chain and gender in the value chain. Based on findings from the preceding section, upgrading strategies are discussed in a separate chapter. The thesis is concluded with a summery of important findings, a discussion on theoretical considerations, limitations and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2: BACKGROUND

2 Background

2.1 Themes

2.1.1 Market access and tourism in developing countries

In recent years, smallholder agriculture has received a great deal of attention and rightfully so. Smallholder farmers, defined as farmers that own and/or cultivate less than two hectares of land, provide over 80 percent of food consumed in the developing world, particularly in southern Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. However, they also represent some of the poorest people in the world (IFAD, 2003). The majority of those who go hungry in the world are subsistence farmers. This growing recognition of the importance of smallholder farmers in poverty reduction have given rise to theories and ideas of actions on how to boost agriculture in Africa. Through improved production, smallholder farmers have the ability to increase their income and better their opportunities for food security, education and health care (IFAD, 2003). However, this depends on their ability to sell their products. Without markets to sell their products, there is little point in increasing production. As Mitchell and Coles (2011) argue, one of the main obstacles to agricultural growth in Africa is smallholders' limited access to markets. Access to markets is thus an essential condition for smallholder farmers to increase their income and improve their livelihoods. Indeed, this is a realization among many rural households around the world (IFAD, 2003). However, accessing markets is much easier said than done. It requires a close examination of smallholder farmers' economic and social constraints and opportunities as well as identification of available markets (IFAD, 2003).

An increase in tourism in developing countries has opened up new markets for poor smallholder farmers around the world. *Tourism*, defined here as “the activities of people travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for no more than one year of leisure, business, and other purposes not related to an activity remunerated from the place visited” (J. Mitchell, & Caroline Ashly, 2010) has increased significantly in developing countries in recent years. Poor countries are viewed as having a competitive advantage in tourism related activities as they often embody unique wildlife, landscape and cultural experience, attributes often sought after by travelers. 40 percent of tourists from high to middle income countries travel to developing countries. In 2007, tourists spent 295 billion USD in developing countries, almost three times more than what these countries receives in

development aid each year (J. Mitchell, & Caroline Ashly, 2010). Moreover, of the 12 countries containing 80% of the world's poor, 11 are experiencing an increase in tourism and it already represents a significant part of their economies (Chok, 2007; R. Torres, & Janet H. Momsen, 2004).

The intensifying growth of tourism in countries with widespread poverty has led to an increased interest in tourism as a tool for poverty reduction (Chok, 2007; R. Torres, & Janet H. Momsen, 2004). Indeed, *pro-poor tourism* has become a common term among government institutions and non-governmental organizations alike (R. Torres, & Janet H. Momsen, 2004). Pro-poor tourism defined here as tourism that generates economic, social and environmental benefits for the poor, emphasize creating benefits for the disadvantaged in the community rather than expanding the size of the industry (Chok, 2007). Since 2002 the UN have specifically mentioned tourism as a strategy to fight poverty and many national governments have integrated tourism in their policy papers on poverty reduction (Chok, 2007). In 2010 approximately 80 percent of African Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers mention tourism as an important contributor to poverty reduction (J. Mitchell, & Caroline Ashly, 2010). The two most common arguments for using tourism as a tool for poverty reduction is that it is labor intensive and thus generates employment and that it stimulates local business by creating inter-sectorial linkages (J. Mitchell, & Caroline Ashly, 2010; Mutimucuo, 2011; R. Torres, 2004). Also common arguments are that tourism is often located in less populated areas and thus brings markets to people that are otherwise limited by location (Mutimucuo, 2011; R. Torres, 2004) and that it offers more work opportunities for women. (J. Mitchell, & Caroline Ashly, 2010; R. Torres, 2004). Table 2.1 presents the arguments for why tourism can be pro-poor.

Potential of Tourism in Developing countries

- Represent an opportunity to build on existing skills of the poor without requiring a major shift in economic livelihood strategy, lifestyle and tradition
- Investments required to enable local agriculture to achieve the high quality standards demanded by the tourism industry may also facilitate entry into other high-end urban nontraditional export markets
- It can enhance the principal productive asset of the rural poor—their land—and so creating additional employment, which will mitigate detrimental effects on culture and social fabric of agrarian communities.
- It can reduce mass migration to cities and help keep youths in rural areas.
- It can lessen the uneven and specially polarized development that typically occurs in tourist areas
- It permits tourism destinations to retain revenue from tourism and prevent leakages.
- There is a growing demand for ethnic cuisine, regional specialty foods, seasonal fresh produce and other locally grown products

Table 2.1: Potential of Tourism in Developing Countries (Source: Torres, 2004)

However, despite the many arguments for the positive effects of tourism on poverty alleviation there is little empirical evidence that it actually has a positive effect on the poor (J. Mitchell, & Caroline Ashly, 2010). Pro-poor tourism literature tends to neglect the fact that tourism is run by the private sector who needs to generate returns to be sustainable. The reality is that tourism is highly political and the effect on its surrounding environment is greatly dependent on stakeholders and policy makers. Put differently, tourism's ability to benefit the poor is dependent on the non-poor community's willingness to cover any additional cost (Chok, 2007). For example, if a hotel wants to help reduce poverty in the surrounding area by employing local people, they may have to organize and pay for language courses and hotel management training courses, as many poor people do not have access to such education. Hiring people from outside the area that already have the training would be more profitable for the hotel. Therefore, when discussing ways in which tourism can benefit the poor, one must not forget the main function of the tourism sector and pay close attention to the private sector, demand, marketing and motivation. Some skeptics argue that because the tourist industry is part of the private sector and needs to generate profits to survive, it is naturally anti-poor and its ability to generate benefits for the poor is over-stated (J. Mitchell, & Caroline Ashly, 2010). Undeniably, tourism is a commercial enterprise that is essentially profit-seeking, however it does include an increasing degree of sustainable operators that represent realistic opportunities for pro-poor development.

2.1.2 Tourism, food supply and local agriculture

In many countries where tourism is increasing, agricultural production is the main source of income for the majority of its population. One of the most common arguments for pro-poor tourism is that it stimulates local businesses by creating inter-sectorial linkages (Cohen, 2004). Indeed, most researchers and planners do recognize the potential tourism has for increasing markets for smallholder farmers. On the other hand, tourism can cause significant harm to local agriculture by exploiting resources that would otherwise be allocated farmers. It can also lead to patterns of dependency and uneven development causing polarization and animosity among people (Cohen, 2004). Until now there are few successful examples of programs and actions that have stimulated permanent linkages between local farmers and the tourist industry in developing countries. However, the action of deliberately linking farmers with the tourist sector to alleviate poverty is a relatively new pursuit, and thus results from efforts have perhaps not yet been documented (Cohen, 2004). Nonetheless, attempts of creating linkages between the tourism and agricultural sector have produced an extensive body of knowledge on the limitations both suppliers and buyers meet when trying to establish linkages. A summary of the limitations are listed in Table 2.2.

Demand related factors	Supply related factors	Market and intermediary factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The type of visitor • Accommodation with respect to ownership, size and class • Tourism industry maturity the type of tourist •The promotion of local cuisine 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Physical limitations •Entrenched production patterns (e.g.: plantation crops for export) •The quantity and quality of local production •High prices of locally produced food •Technological and processing limitations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Marketing and infrastructure constraints •Supply poorly adjusted to demand •Spatial patterns of supply

Table 2.2: Limitation to linking local farmer with the tourist industry in developing countries (Source: (Meyer, 2004)

A comprehensive overview of constraints faced by smallholder farmers in accessing the local tourism markets provides the necessary basis of which opportunities can be sought. Yet, limited access to markets is only one of many contributors to underdevelopment in agriculture in developing countries. Another major obstacle to growth in the agricultural sector are gender related issues. This will be explained further below.

2.1.3 Gender issues in agricultural development

Gender, “the social construction of identifying as a male or female” (Terrillon, 2011, p. 11) has an immense influence over men and women’s access to resources and their power to use these resources. *Gender roles*, “the household tasks and types of employment socially assigned to women and men”(Momsen, 2004) are not based on biological or physical traits, but “result from stereotypes and presumptions about what men and women can and should do” (Terrillon, 2011, p. 11). Roles are founded on the premise of cultural norms and traditions and vary significantly from country to country, city to city, even household to household. Gender and its influence on development have been heavily debated over the last decade (Behrman, 2014). Academics and organizations working within development have begun to recognize how development policies change the balance of power between men and women (Quisumbing, 2014). Modernization of agriculture has shifted the division of labor between the sexes, often placing women in a more vulnerable position. Work that was normally allocated to women by which they supported themselves and their families, such as food processing and clothes production are now taken over by technologically advanced machinery (Quisumbing, 2014; Terrillon, 2011). Although this could be an opportunity for women to find other, better sources of income, gender inequalities prevent them from taking advantage of the potential opportunities. Women often lose control over resources as the majority of the better-paid jobs involving new technology go to men. Men also enjoy much more flexibility than women and can move around to find better employment often leaving women to take care of the children (Momsen, 2004). Furthermore, women often carry a much heavier work burden than men as they are responsible for housework, childcare, subsistence food production and sometimes also paid employment (Momsen, 2004). In most places, women work longer hours than men, but because their work is within the household it is often not recognized (Momsen, 2004). The changes in gender roles influenced by modernization and an increasing globalized world is of crucial relevance for the success or failure of development policies.

An extensive study on gender in agriculture published in 2014 concluded that “agriculture is underdeveloped because half of its farmers—women—do not have equal access to the resources and opportunities they need to be more productive” (Quisumbing, 2014, p. 4). The results from the research shows that although we cannot say for sure that women produce 60-80 percent of the food (statistics that are commonly used to describe women in agriculture), it

is certain that women's labor contributions has a positive effect on national-level agricultural productivity (Doss, 2014b). More importantly, agriculture is very important for women's economic and social status as 79 percent of economically active women in developing countries report that their primary activity is agriculture. There is now overwhelming empirical evidence that closing the gender gap—giving women the same opportunities and access to resources—could increase yields by 20-30 percent and in turn reduce the number of hungry people in the world by 12-17 percent (Quisumbing, 2014). However, closing the gender gap requires a comprehensive understanding of how development in the agricultural sector affects men and women differently. For example, when looking for opportunities to upscale production of vegetables to supply a specific market, one has to ensure that the changes take into account women's multiple productive roles. Because women generally have more responsibilities at home, they have limited time available to transport products to the market. Gender roles may also prevent women from taking part in certain upgrading strategies like acquiring a tractor or participating in training courses. It is therefore imperative for organizations, institutions and individuals working to develop and improve the agricultural sector to understand how changes in production methods alter the position of men and women.

2.2 Introduction to the case study

2.2.1 Agriculture and tourism: the two major economic forces in Zanzibar

Zanzibar, the country in which this study takes place, is an archipelago situated about 30 km off the coast of the Tanzanian mainland. It is a semi-autonomous state consisting of two main islands Unguja and Pemba with a population of 1.3 million. Unguja is the biggest island with 2561 km² of land and is also the most populated with approximately 1 million residents. (W. Anderson, & Saleh Juma, 2011). Although it is relatively small, Zanzibar has a fast growing population of almost 3 % each year. It is also a very young population with over 44 percent of the people under the age of 15. Approximately 70 percent of the population in Zanzibar depends directly or indirectly on agriculture and fishing for their livelihood. Agriculture is thus the largest provider of employment (ZATI, 2009). Farming on the islands is predominately subsistence, small in size and largely rain fed. There are no large-scale farms of several hundred hectares. The average farm plot is 1.2 hectare which includes living quarters (ASR-PER, 2015). Despite their small size, farms on Zanzibar are very heterogeneous. Most farmers have various crops such as roots, leaf-vegetables and fruit trees as well as a small number of livestock such as chickens, goats and cows. However, analysis

of production performance reveals that production of most food crops is far below potential levels. Livestock production growth is also far below its potential (ZATI, 2009). Some of the reasons for the low agricultural productivity rates in Zanzibar are listed in Table 2.3.

Causes for low agricultural productivity rates in Zanzibar
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited access to finance, knowledge, skills and technology • Recurrent droughts • Lack of improved planting materials like seeds, fertilizers and pesticides • Weak support services like research, extension and credit • High post harvest losses because of lack of quality storage • Inadequate provision of animal health and management services • Weak linkages between producers and market

Table 2.3: Causes for low productivity rates in Zanzibar (Source: RGoZ, 2015)

As agriculture employs such a large part of the population, its inadequacies are a significant cause of poverty (ZATI, 2009). On the other hand, because it employs a large part of the population it also has an enormous potential in supporting livelihoods, improve food security and accelerate economic growth in both rural and urban areas on the islands (ZATI, 2009).

Zanzibar’s potential for agricultural development has been at the center of focus since the beginning of the millennium with the creation of the Zanzibar Growth Strategy (ZGS) and Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (ZSGRP) also known as MKUZA. These documents, stating the government’s micro policies, strategies and programs, recognizes the great significance of agriculture on Zanzibar’s social and economic development and have led to the establishment of the Agricultural Service Support Programme (ASSP) and The Agricultural Sector Development Programme—Livestock (ASDP-L). The ASSP and ASDP-L together with MKUZA pledge to give all farmers, including women and the rural poor “better access to and use of, relevant agricultural knowledge and technologies” (MANR, Accessed 01/06/15).

In spite of these efforts, Zanzibar’s agriculture is still struggling to overcome its many challenges and contribute to sufficient and sustainable economic and social growth. In an attempt to continue the work set forth in the first MKUZA report, the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar launched, in 2010, a new Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty known as the MKUZA II to last for five years (2010-2015), the remaining period of

the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals. The MKUZA II draws lessons from the implementation of the first MKUZA and addresses the challenges whilst setting up sharper and more focused strategies (RGoZ, 2010).

One main focus of MKUZA IIs is on promoting the private sector, which in Zanzibar means to develop and strengthen the tourism industry. The 2009 Human Development Report on Zanzibar showed that the private sector was more successful in generating employment than the public sector. However, the report also showed that tourism did not generate the employment and economic growth the government expected it to do. Zanzibar started prioritizing tourism for economic growth in early 1990s after a decline in the value of cloves on the international market (W. Anderson, & Saleh Juma, 2011). Being an island of white beaches, tropical climate, flourishing coral reefs and a rich cultural history, the East African Island has become a popular tourist destination. From 1999 to 2009 international arrivals increased by 55 percent. In 2010 tourism accounted for 51 percent of Zanzibar's GDP and it has an annual growth rate of 9-10 percent (W. Anderson, & Saleh Juma, 2011). In the 2003 Zanzibar Tourism Policy Statement, the government wrote that their goal was that Zanzibar would "become one of the top tourism destinations of the Indian Ocean, offering an up market, high quality product across the board within the coming 17 years" (RGoZ, 2003). With that came the belief that tourism would effectively empower the people of Zanzibar. Furthermore, in the statement the government promised they would encourage businesses to use locally produced products and visitors to consume local goods and services and minimize imports to prevent leakages of money brought in by tourists (RGoZ, 2003)

However, despite the promising predictions written in the government policies, the linkages between tourism and local suppliers in Zanzibar are not encouraging (W. Anderson, & Saleh Juma, 2011). The Household Budget Survey for 2004/2005 shows that about 50 percent of the population live under the poverty line and not much have changed over the last 10 years (RGoZ, 2010). There has especially been a concern that many hotels and restaurants on the island import a substantial amount of their products from other countries (Steck, 2010). This concern has been confirmed by Zanzibar Association of Tourism Investor and Steck et al. who have found that over 90 percent of food consumed at the islands tourist hotels and restaurants is imported (2010). This gap is alarming considering the fact that agriculture employs over 70 percent of the population whilst tourism accounts for over half of Zanzibars GDP.

Local farmers, fishermen and livestock keepers are not able to meet the high standards local hotels and restaurants demand. This is partly due to the little emphasis that has been put on improving agricultural practices on the island. Also, a study on linkages between the tourism industry and local suppliers of meat by Anderson and Juma (2011) found that hotels did not source meat locally because of the poor quality, high transaction cost, high level of mistrust between hoteliers and local suppliers, inconsistent supply and the short payment periods demanded by local suppliers. On the supply side, the study found that the farmers often struggled with language barriers as well as the complexities involved in negotiating with foreign operators. They also listed lack of trust in the hotel and restaurant owners as a reason why they were hesitant to supply hotels. These kinds of challenges are common in many developing countries. A study by Torres (2004) asserted that the lack of trust and communication between local suppliers and hoteliers is caused by socioeconomic and cultural differences. Also, few of the farmers have higher education, not to mention training in business skills and thus find it intimidating to sign contracts with hotels and restaurants (W. Anderson, & Saleh Juma, 2011). Another essential constraint mentioned by farmers was late payments. Many hotels and restaurants prefer to pay for supplies per month or two months whereas many of the suppliers need cash on delivery to be able to keep production up. In addition, farmers said that they were often offered below market price by hotels because they had to compete with international industrial suppliers. On the issue of receipts, some farmers said they did not offer official receipts because they did not want to spend the extra money on the receipt books and also to avoid having to pay taxes on the transactions (W. Anderson, & Saleh Juma, 2011).

Although there are numerous challenges with linking tourism with the local agriculture in Zanzibar as demonstrated in the studies mentioned above, the government and development organizations alike are determined to bridge the gap between the two sectors. For although the challenges are many, the tourist sector is only increasing and thus there are few alternatives but to find ways in which the local community can benefit from it if the country is to improve their social and economic status.

2.2.2 Pro-poor development project: linking farmers with upmarket restaurants in Zanzibar

In 2013, a project to enhance smallholder farmers ability to access tourist hotel markets in Zanzibar, was initiated by a professor at Norwegian University of Life Sciences (NMBU). The project, funded by the Enhancing Pro-poor Innovations in Natural Resources and Agricultural Value-Chains (EPINAV) program, is a collaboration between NMBU, Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA), Norwegian Peace Corps Program (FK) and Kizimbani Agricultural Training Institute (KATI). In 2013 the head of the project contacted the founder of Emerson Spice Hotel and Emerson Hurumzi Hotel in Stone Town, the late Mr. Emerson and asked if the hotels would take part in a project to strengthen ties between the tourist industry and local farmers. Emerson Hotels agreed to collaborate with farmers to establish a value chain that can ensure high quality and ethically acquired food to their two restaurants, Emerson Hurumzi Tea House restaurant and Emerson Spice Rooftop Restaurant.

KATI is the project leader and in charge of strengthening institutional capacity and actors' collaboration for the successful development of a vegetable and sheep/goat value chain. KATI is one of the 9 institutions and departments that make up the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources (MANR). This particular ministry is responsible for all issues to do with the agricultural development sector and management of natural resources (MANR, 2011). KATI, located approximately 16 kilometer north east of Zanzibar Town in the Central district, is the only agricultural training institute in Zanzibar. The institution was established in 2007 with the purpose to "build the capacity and institutions of the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Environment in order to offer better technical advice to the farming community in the rural areas" (MANR, Accessed 05/06/15). However, in 2007 KATI was given more research functions and also started commercial activities to become more self-sufficient (Bie, 2013).

In the current project (hereafter referred to as the goat project), KATI has agreed to be responsible for training farmers and giving guidance on supplemental feed, animal health and slaughtering techniques to meet the standards of the tourist industry. The goal is to use research and knowledge held by staff at KATI to assist farmers improve meat quality. This initial phase of the project will be done in partnership with Zanzibar Youth Education Environment Development Support Association (ZAYEDESAs). ZAYEDESAs, a non-profit organization founded in 1998, owns 62 acres of land known as Tunguu farm located in

central/south on Unguja. ZAYEDESА signed a Memorandum of Understanding with KATI in May 2015, agreeing that they will “provide facilities for pre-slaughter fattening of the animals, slaughter and some training activities”(2015). Selected farmers from Uzi, an island located in the south on Unguja, and 7 farmers from the Kizimbani area have agreed to take part in the project by providing goats to Tunguu farm that will be used as example of improved animal husbandry. The overall objective of the project is to (a) improve smallholder farmers production, productivity and quality through group access to quality feed and market and (b) improve smallholder farmers’ capacity to participate in the livestock value chain (MoU, 2015). Table 2.4 lists all the stakeholders in the goat project in Zanzibar and their respective responsibilities within the project.

Overview of the goat project in Zanzibar (Supported by EPINAV)	
Parties involved	Responsibilities
KATI	Training farmers students and youth in agricultural techniques. Provide research and knowledge of animal husbandry and improved slaughtering techniques (head of project)
ZAYEDESА	Provide facilities for pre-slaughter fattening of the animals, slaughter and some training activities (owner of Tunguu farm)
FKs	Assist KATI with the establishment of a pro-poor value chain of vegetables and goat/sheep meat and provide research for monitoring purposes
SUA/NMBU	Provide knowledge and assistance from researchers and experts on agricultural and livestock techniques
Uzi and Kizimbani farmer groups	Participate in training courses and farmer-to-farmer training. Supply the project with goats

Table 2.4: Overview of participants and their responsibilities in the goat project in Zanzibar

The reasons the project has chosen to focus on dairy goat production are many. Goats play an important part in supporting smallholder farmers improve their livelihoods all over Africa. They provide a continuous flow of income by being a source of meat, milk, skin, manure and hair. They are able to withstand droughts much better than cattle and thus provide security for rural poor households when affected by droughts and crop failure (Peacock, 2005). They also have the ability to digest a wide range of poor quality forages, and require little land to maintain, an important feature in Zanzibar where land is scarce (Peacock, 2005). They have high reproductive rates, often produce twins and thus have a low investment risk. Furthermore, goats have smaller carcasses and are thus easier to market for smallholder farmers with limited storage space and access to transportation (Lebbie, 2004). Poor goat

owners in rural areas also often do not have access to banking facilities, especially women and therefore are known to use their goats as a representation of capital.

In addition, evidence from different developing countries shows that women are generally more involved in small ruminant production than men (Kristjanson, 2014). Goats make substantial contributions to the livelihoods of poor women, however their ability to benefit fully from livestock production is hampered by their constraints in access to information and resources. Many of the interventions aimed at intensifying livestock production, such as introducing high yielding breeds and shifting from grazing to stall-feeding can increase the workload for women because the intensification lies in their traditional tasks. Helping smallholder farmers improve their livelihoods through upgrades in livestock keeping therefore requires careful attention to women's contribution and access to livestock services and resources (Kristjanson, 2014). This emphasizes the importance of focusing on gender.

Through an in-depth study of the value chain of goat meat and the goat project in Zanzibar, with an emphasis on women's contribution to dairy goat husbandry, opportunities and challenges with linking local farmers with the tourist industry will be identified. This will provide a foundation for understanding how local smallholder farmers can improve their livelihood through increased access to tourist hotel markets in Zanzibar, the research objective of this thesis. The next section will explain the analytical framework for the study.

CHAPTER 3: ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

3 Analytical framework

The analytical framework I have chosen for this research is value chain analysis. The value chain analysis approach is chosen partly because it embraces the ideas and learning goals of international development studies (Kaplinsky, 2001, p. 79). Like development studies, value chain analysis is multidisciplinary and takes into account both economic and social aspects of change. Recently the value chain approach has experienced a renewed interest, especially with regards to smallholder farmers and the agricultural sector. Value chains are considered very important to raise smallholders' income and help poor farmers become integrated into the world economy. Also, there are now numerous arguments for using a value chain approach to study gender issues, a topic highlighted as being one of the study aims of this thesis. In addition, value chain analysis is a useful tool to identify constraints in value chain upgrading. The analytical framework is based on several frameworks for value chain analysis. The chapter begins by explaining what a value chain is. I then argue that local value chains are more relevant for smallholder farmers in developing countries than global value chains. In the second part of the chapter I will discuss the value chain approach and present the analytical framework. Finally, I will present the research questions based on the information above.

3.1 Value chain analysis

3.1.1 What is a value chain?

The term value chain describes the full range of activities, including the actors, involved in bringing a product or service from its conception, through all the different stages of production, to its final consumption and disposal after use (Kaplinsky, 2001 See Table 3.1). This definition does not only encompass the activities of one single firm, but take into account all the actors, activities and processes it takes to transform a raw material into a product for sale (DFID, 2008). A value chain also includes intangible activities such as issues of organization and coordination and the power relations between actors in the production chain (Kaplinsky, 2001). By concentrating on the linkages between sectors and the relationship between actors the value chain approach allows for an easy uncovering of constraints and opportunities within a production line both from an economic and institutional standpoint.

3.1.2 The value chain approach

With the emergence of an increasingly interlinked global economy, the value chain approach has been utilized to analyze the economic and social consequences of globalization. Noticing the increasing gap of income between countries, Kaplinsky and Morris found that a value chain analysis could be used to explain this development and uncover casual links between globalization and inequality (2001). By mapping the range of activities along the chain and identifying input and output costs, one can understand the distribution of earnings along the chain and thus see who benefits and who does not (Kaplinsky, 2001). Furthermore, with the contribution by Gereffi et al. (2005) who stressed the importance of governance in the value chain, the analysis has become more comprehensive. With governance Gereffi et al. points out that chains are entities with actors, each with their own constraints and value systems that can greatly influence the performance and operation of the chain. An analysis of the value chain should therefore include an in-depth look on the different actors that are involved in the chain.

Development agencies and researchers are increasingly using value chain analysis to capture the complexities in the global market with relation to development countries (DFID, 2008; J. Mitchell, & Christopher Coles, 2011; Rubin, 2014). Value chain analysis can help development practitioners design programs and projects that provides support to value chains in order to achieve a desired outcome (DFID, 2008). The approach is relatively flexible and an analysis can be done from the point of view of any actor in the chain. It can be used to assist a particular group in society, like increase benefits for low-income farmers or women, or it can aim to increase export of local raw material. There now exist a plethora of tool-books on value chain analysis giving guidance on how to achieve development outcomes for specific actors in the chain such as the women, youth or rural poor farmers (IFAD, 2003; Rich, 2011; Terrillon, 2011).

Value chain analysis is particularly being used in agricultural value chains to capture the complexities within the global market and to identify barriers to entry for smallholder farmers (DFID, 2008). Value chain analysis can make an important contribution to marginalized groups such as women and poor rural farmers by identifying upgrading strategies that can improve their relative power. It also identifies conditions that will make value chains work better for poor producers and allow those working within development to address these conditions when establishing new value chains.

3.1.3 From global to local value chains

Kaplinsky and Morris (2001) focus on ways in which smallholders can enter into global value chains. Indeed most institutions working within development in developing countries have been biased towards global value chains. Yet, studies have found that in global high-value agri-food chains smallholder farmers have little control (Shepherd, 2007) . Global markets have high quality standards that require good infrastructure. Producers also need knowledge of national and international trade requirements. This requires business and entrepreneurial skills that are seldom offered in schools in rural sectors. There is also a low level of literacy rate among the rural poor (WorldBank, 2013), as well as limited access to communication technology such as smartphones and computers with internet access. Focusing on global markets with high barriers to entry and little opportunities to attain any significant governing power, seems ill advised when there are growing local demands that are more easily accessible.

This is true in the small islands of Zanzibar. In Zanzibar where land is limited and most people are smallholder farmers it is hard to reach the production standards markets abroad are looking for, as well as developing economies of scale. Although industries like seaweed and shrimp farming are being developed and have created new employment, it has been heavily criticized for its impact on the environment as well as social impact on local fishing communities (Lange, 2009). However as discussed above, there is a booming local market represented in the tourist industry. Focusing on meeting local demand is therefore more appropriate for small-scale producers in Zanzibar.

Although, the focus of Kaplinsky and Morris is on global value chains, their analysis framework can also be used for analyzing local value chains. The only difference between global and local value chains is the span of the chain. The features being analyzed such as the production line and governance exists in both global and local value chains.

3.2 Mainstreaming gender in value chains

By including issues of gender in the analysis of the value chain of goat meat in Zanzibar, there is a higher chance that the project will realize its goal of improving smallholder farmer's livelihoods. Gender roles have a significant impact on men and women's roles and participation in the value chain (Terrillon, 2011). Gender determines what stages in the chain women and men are likely to be involved in. Areas where women participate are often less

visible, but can be critical links at which upgrading can bring about significant development in the chain. This is especially true for value chains that include smallholder farmers. It is now widely acknowledged that women play an essential part in agriculture in the developing world. A common argument has emerged that increasing women's access to information and resources within the agricultural sector can significantly reduce the number of poor people in the world (Quisumbing, 2014). It is thus imperative for development practitioners working to improve livelihoods of smallholder farmers through improved agricultural techniques, that they include gender issues in their development framework.

The Netherland Development Organization (SNV) has termed the process of including gender in value chain analysis *gender mainstreaming*. Gender mainstreaming is defined as “the integration of a gender perspective and gender analysis into all stages of design, implementation and monitoring of projects, programs, policies or planning at all levels (local, regional, national)” (Terrillon, 2011, p. 6). One entry point of gender analysis emphasized by SNV is examining gender *empowerment* within the value chain. Empowerment is about persons “gaining control over their own lives by acquiring skills and abilities that enable them to make decisions, determine choices and influence economic, social and political orientations of their communities” (2011, p. 12). SNV identifies four areas where gender inequalities come to the fore: (a) Gender roles/equal opportunities/women's empowerment (b) Gendered differentiation in access to resources/rights (c) Gendered differentiation in control over benefits/leadership (d) Gendered differentiation in influence on enabling factors/mainstreaming (2011, p. 14). To do gender-based analysis thus means to focus on understanding differences in gender roles, activities, needs and interests within a value chain context (2011). Gender mainstreaming can help development practitioners predict how different actors in the value chain will be affected by planned development interventions. In turn, this will help with the planning of gender sensitive interventions that will ensure that benefits are spread more equitably for all actors.

The aim of this research is to use the empowerment grid to analyze gender differences in the value chain. However, because the value chain is not yet established, the main focus will be on analyzing gender differences in households with dairy goats in Zanzibar. This is to understand how the proposed project can impact the producers and help to identify gender sensitive upgrading strategies. The following question has been developed to guide the research:

Research Question (1): How does gender affect division of labor and access to resources between men and women among dairy goat farmers in Zanzibar?

3.3 Analytical framework and research model

This research and analysis will be modeled on Kaplinsky and Morris (2001) approach to value chain analysis, but will be developed and adjusted to fit a local context with an emphasis on gender. In addition, the section on upgrading is influenced by the work of Mitchell and Coles (2011) who have added two upgrading strategies that better reflect the situation of smallholder farmers. The conceptual and methodological framework for case study research by Kaplinsky and Morris has three components. These include (1) mapping the value chain and characterizing the actors participating in it (2) examining the governance structure of the value chain (3) Looking for upgrading strategies in the value chain based on constraints and opportunities in the chain. This will be the analytical framework for the study of the value chain of goat meat in Zanzibar. Gender will be included at all levels. Research questions are introduced and discussed for each of these three research components.

3.3.1 Mapping the value chain

The goal of mapping a value chain is to illustrate the physical flow of commodities and services along the chain as well as examining the actors at each stage and the linkages between them. In this thesis, the mapping will be split into two. First, the current value chain of goat meat will be illustrated with the purpose of identifying constraints and possible opportunities. Second, the value chain of the proposed goat project will be mapped with a description of the actors involved at each level. The purpose is to evaluate the proposed value chain and see if there is room for upgrading. The mapping of the current and proposed value chains is guided by the following research questions:

Research Question (2): How is the current value chain of goat meat in Zanzibar structured and what are the constraints faced by producers and consumers?

Research Question (3): How is the proposed value chain of goat meat structured and who are the actors involved in the chain?

3.3.2 Governance structure

The mapping of the value chain goes hand in hand with the analysis of governance in the chain. To understand the full scope of a value chain one has to include analysis of the governance structure of the chain. Governance in a value chain illustrates how and by whom different decisions are made and implemented, and describes the boundaries of the value chain. Gereffi was the first to introduce the concept of governance in value chains and used it to describe relationships between actors in the chain. He highlighted the degree of complexity of transaction, access to information and the capabilities of suppliers, as key determinants for governance. These characteristics would determine the nature of the chain; whether it was buyer-driven or producer-driven. In buyer-driven value chains, typical in the agri-food sector, transaction costs are high and supplier capabilities are low (Gereffi, 2005). This means producers often have little power to increase benefits in the chain. However, this view of governance only explores vertical coordination in the value chain. Other forms of governance also influence the distribution of value and actors participation in the chain. Kaplinsky and Morris (2001) argue that governance in a value chain is best understood through the lens of civic governance with its analysis of legislative, judicial and executive governance. Legislative governance describes the rules defining the conditions for participating in the value chain such as quality, price, delivery reliability and environmental and labor standards. The judicial governance has the role of checking if actors along the chain are conforming to the rules and standards. Finally, the executive governance provides assistance to value chain participants in meeting the rules set by the legislative power. This may be done directly by helping suppliers meet quality standards or indirectly by forcing suppliers to change practices through sanctions (2001, p. 31). It is important to note that governance does not have to come from within the chain. External actors such as the national governments or supranational bodies like the UN can also influence the chain. Thus, governance of the value chain can be patents, government regulations or quality standards. It also includes buyer-seller agreements and philanthropic partnership where values and ideas create barriers by becoming rules (Gereffi, 2005).

Moreover, governance can be utilized to examine interactions between actors in the same position. For example, one can examine the power asymmetry between actors and the way they organize. This is particularly important to include when examining value chains where smallholder farmers are involved. The organization of activities among producers can be a key determinant for their ability to meet the standards of production. As the goat project in

Zanzibar is made up of many different actors and organizations, it is important to understand the power each actor holds and their motivation. It is also important to understand governance within the group of actors and not just between them. Because this a buyer-driven chain, it is important to first examine the motivations, wants and needs and quality standards of the buyer, in this case Emerson Hotels. Then it is important to understand how these quality standards can be met by the producers by examining role and motivation of the executive governance, in this case KATI. Finally, it is important to analyze governance among the producers, who does what within the household, who decides over resources and what motivates farmers to keep dairy goats. The following research questions will guide the analysis of the governance in the newly established value chain for goat meat:

Research question (4): Who performs the legislative, judicial and executive governance in the proposed value chain of goat meat and how does governance impact the farmers ability to meet the standards set by the buyers?

3.3.3 Upgrading strategies

The purpose of value chain analysis is to understand the activities in the value chain, the actors within it and the conditions in which it operates well enough to be able to suggest strategies to improve the chain in general and/or conditions for a particular group in the chain. Discussions on upgrading are thus the heart of value chain analysis. Upgrading encompasses many different meanings and activities. Kaplinsky and Morris (2001) identify four ways to upgrade the chain to achieve a desired outcome. These four forms of upgrading involve 1) improving in processes, either within a firm or between firms 2) improving in products within a firm or between firms 3) changing functional position by adjusting activities in the chain or moving to other links in the chain and 4) moving out of one chain, into another (p. 76). However, these “classical” forms of upgrading needs some adjustments if it is to be relevant for poor, disadvantaged agricultural producers (J. Mitchell, Christopher Coles, & Jodie Keane, 2009). Mitchell et al. defines upgrading as “acquiring the technological, institutional and marketing capabilities that allow resource-poor rural communities to improve their competitiveness and move into higher-value activities” (2009, p. 2). As the purpose of this research is to understand how local smallholder farmers can improve their livelihoods through increased access to tourist hotel markets in Zanzibar this definition seems more fitting.

In their book *Markets and Rural Poverty: Upgrading in Value Chains*, Mitchell and Coles (2011) have identified six different upgrading strategies that take in account conditions of small producers. They are as followed:

1) *Horizontal coordination upgrading*: is the process of firms (which can be as small as individual actors) collaborating within a functional node (be it input supplies, production, processing, trading or retailing) to achieve a strategic balance between competition and collaboration. The aim is to collaborate to compete more effectively (J. Mitchell, & Christopher Coles, 2011, p. 143). This form of upgrading is very important for small-scale farmers because coordination with other allow producers to reach for economies of scale, reducing transaction costs and strengthening the producers ability to deliver the products (J. Mitchell, Christopher Coles, & Jodie Keane, 2009). Important in horizontal coordination is the quality of management of the group. Examination of women's roles in production and women's positions within the group is a key focus of horizontal coordination.

2) *Vertical coordination upgrading*: is the process of strengthening relationships between functional nodes of the value chain by developing longer-term business connections. An example of vertical coordination upgrading is contract farming. The idea is that there is value in longer-term associations beyond simply establishing quality standards and prices for the finished product. A critical part of vertical coordination is building trust between actors in the chain (J. Mitchell, & Christopher Coles, 2011). This is particularly relevant when looking to establish links between local farmers and the tourist industry as research shows that the lack of trust is a major reason local producers do not sell to the tourist industry and why hotels hesitate to buy from local producers (W. Anderson, & Saleh Juma, 2011; R. Torres, 2004).

3) *Functional upgrading*: means changing the mix of activities executed by actors in the value chain by adding or deleting activities that the actors do (J. Mitchell, & Christopher Coles, 2011, p. 179). An example of functional upgrading would be that smallholder farmers add value to their raw product by taking on processing functions. It can also mean that they "downgrade" the number of activities, for example, increase efficiency of primary production (J. Mitchell, & Christopher Coles, 2011).

4) *Product upgrading*: entails improvement of product quality to increase value (J. Mitchell, & Christopher Coles, 2011, p. 191). This type of upgrading is essential for smallholder markets to be able to supply the tourist market. One of the most common barriers of entry for small producers in the tourist industry is that their products fail to meet the quality the hotels and restaurants demand (Meyer, 2004; R. Torres, 2004). Understanding

these standards and identifying ways in which farmers can improve quality to meet these standards are therefore essential for increasing markets for poor farmers.

5) *Process upgrading*: is closely related to product upgrading and involves improving efficiency in the value chain by increasing output volumes or reducing costs per unit output (J. Mitchell, & Christopher Coles, 2011, p. 192). Examples of process upgrading in value chains is introducing improved planting techniques, irrigation systems or animal husbandry resulting in higher productivity (J. Mitchell, & Christopher Coles, 2011).

6) *Inter-chain upgrading*: is the process of applying the skills gained in one value chain to participate in another. An example of inter-chain upgrading is producers growing traditional commodities for local markets changing to the production of high quality export goods.

The following research question will guide the research and the analysis with the aim to produce concrete suggestions for change:

Research question (5): Which upgrading strategies can improve the value chain of goat meat and how are they linked to governance and gender in the project?

3.4 Research model

In this chapter, I have presented the analytical framework for this research. I have described how I will study the different component of a value chain from the suppliers (dairy goat farmers), the support system (KATI) and buyers (Emerson Hotels) and the overall governance structure in terms of rules and regulations Identifying research questions that will guide the discussion. I have also introduced 6 upgrading strategies that can help improve smallholder farmers relative gain from the value chain. The analysis will help me better understand how smallholder farmers can improve their livelihood through better access to tourist hotel markets. The research framework is illustrated in Figure 3.1.

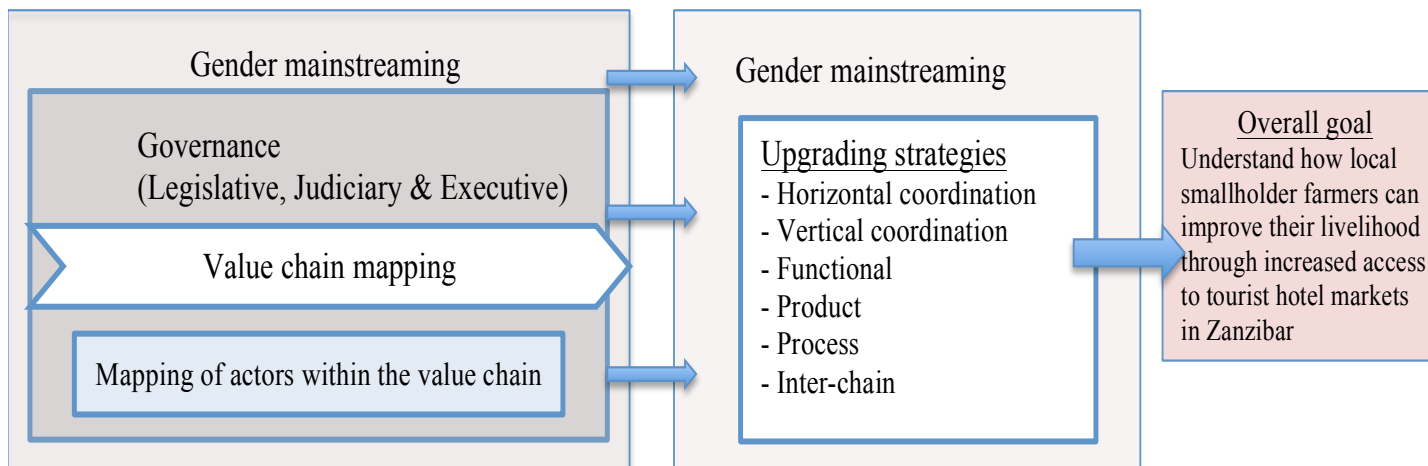


Figure 3.1: Illustration of research framework

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4 Methodology

The main purpose of this methodology section is to enable the reader to assess the credence of the research. A detailed description of data collection and the method of analysis will give other researchers the means to replicate the research, thus allowing them to test the reliability of the results. Also it gives the reader insight into problems and limitations to the research and how they were resolved. Such information can help future researchers avoid problems in their own research and make it more reliable (Berg, 2012). The analytical framework guides the method of data collection, thus the guidebooks for value chain analysis have heavily influenced the choice of data collection and methodology of analysis.

4.1 Case study design

The case study method is an approach that examines one simple or complex phenomenon in detail by employing various methods of data collection (Berg, 2012). The study is expected to catch the complexities of one single case and thus can be claimed to have little external validity. However, generalization is not the purpose of studying single cases but rather generate theory. A case study should therefore be judged based on its ability to generate theory based on its findings. Put differently, Berg argues that “the scientific purpose of the case study method lies in its ability to open the way for discoveries”(2012, p. 339). Case studies can provide a deep understanding of phenomenon, people, or organizations that can help observers, as well as people within the case make sense of what they see and hear. A better understanding of the world around us can help us find solutions to our problems as well as help others learn from our experiences (Berg, 2012). It is for this function the case study method was chosen for this research. Because the aim of this research is to understand how local smallholder farmers can improve their livelihood through increased access to tourist hotel markets in Zanzibar, the case study research method provides the best platform to do so.

The KATI project of linking local smallholder farmers to the tourist industry in Zanzibar was chosen as the case because of its purpose of improving farming techniques and livelihoods for rural poor people. The reason for focusing on the value chain of goat meat and not fruit, vegetables or flowers is partly coincidental. The Norwegian University of Life Science (NMBU) has a long history of working with villages surrounding Morogoro in mainland Tanzania in improving dairy goat production (Nymoene, 2012). The project in Zanzibar was

an extension of this venture and started out with the idea that farmers in Zanzibar should start selling goat milk and cheese to the tourist industry. However, after this was found to be much more difficult than originally thought, as well as the realization that the demand for dairy goat products were not as large within the tourist industry, goat meat was chosen instead.

Because the project is in the process of developing and thus changing frequently, it is important that the research design is flexible. In research where the goal is to produce summery statistics of a set of observations, changing and adding to the data collection during the study would make it untrustworthy. However, because the goal of this research is not to produce statistics, but to understand the case individually and in as much depth as possible, altering methodology during the study is not just legitimate, but also necessary. Flexibility is therefore viewed in this paper as controlled opportunism for the researcher to take advantage of the uniqueness of the case to uncover challenges and opportunities that can help other similar cases (Eisenhardt, 1989).

It is important to note that case study research does not limit the researcher to one data collection technique. Although case study research looks at one individual unit in depth and thus is often associated with qualitative study techniques, it is not limited to such techniques (Berg, 2012). Quantitative methods such as statistical analysis can expose complexities in the case that can help the researcher understand it better. How different data collection techniques have been used in this case will be explained in detail bellow.

4.2 Research phases & overcoming limitations

The reason limitations are highlighted so early in the thesis is because limitations have had a significant influence on research planning, and I want the research to be as transparent as possible to ensure reliability and to argue for the credibility of the data despite its unconventional organization.

In the spring of 2013, only a month after deciding to study the project in Zanzibar, I was diagnosed with a rare disease and had to go through a stem-cell transplantation. Because of the nature of the disease I could not travel outside of Norway until my doctors cleared me. For this reason, my planned field trip to Zanzibar was postponed for a year and a half. To continue my research on the project, I planned and constructed a survey instead as the first phase of my research. The survey was constructed to give me a better understanding of the

situation for dairy goat farmers in Zanzibar, specifically that pertaining to gender. The information found in the analysis of the survey as well as discussions with the heads of the project laid the foundation for the follow up field work in March 2015, the second phase of my research.

What is important to note is that only a month before leaving for Zanzibar, I was informed that the focus of the project had gone from goat milk production to the production of meat. This gave me little time to review existing literature on the subject before doing my fieldwork. On the other hand, because the project had just changed focus and many of the people working on the project were leaving and new ones were arriving, it allowed me to collect a lot of information in the short amount of time from key actors in the value chain. I also assumed a central role in driving the project forward and developed close bonds with many of the people working on the project, which allowed me to continue my interviews and questions after leaving the study area. The third phase of the research consists of review of literature and written documentation on the project, and the actors involved. Finally, the fourth phase of the research entailed organizing, consolidating and analyzing the data found and write recommendations for how the project may improve and succeed in its mission.

4.3 Quantitative method: Survey

Quantitative research entails the collection of numerical data, providing a platform to conduct statistical analysis of information. The advantage of using a quantitative method is that the measurement aspect allows researchers to delineate less obvious differences between people in terms of the characteristic in question (A. Bryman, 2008). Measurements give a consistent instrument for finding small differences between subjects and the exact degree of the relationship. If applied correctly, it is also replicable and objective so that different people can test it over time. In practice, this is useful since it will give an idea of how much is needed to make a change. In this case, I was interested in understanding the current situation of dairy goat farmers in Zanzibar. Because gender plays a significant role on income distribution and improvement in livelihoods, I was especially interested in getting information on women and men's roles within the household as well as gender differences in access to and control over resources. The aim was to get description of trends, attitudes and opinions on gender roles within the household, access to resources and benefits and challenges with dairy goat farming.

In order to obtain this information a survey was carried out in Unguja from August to September 2014. It was developed based on a literature review of gender roles in Zanzibar and a practical guide on how to mainstream gender in value chain analysis created by SNV (described in detail in Chapter 3: Analytical framework). The survey was divided into four parts: (1) profile of respondents (2) dairy goat husbandry (3) labor allocation and (4) organization. It consisted of 41 questions (for more details on the survey see Appendix 1). The survey was carried out as structured interviews and was therefore translated into Swahili. My supervisor and co-supervisor reviewed it before it was sent to KATI, who had agreed to help me carry out the survey on Unguja. A KATI employee assisted by two additional persons from Zanzibar carried out the survey.

4.3.1 Sampling method

117 dairy goat farmers from Unguja were interviewed from all the different districts on the island (See Table 4.1 for distribution of respondents). In order to get information from dairy goat farmers from all over

District	Frequency	Percent
North A	34	29.1
North B	4	3.4
South	39	33.3
Central	40	34.2
Total	117	100.0

Table 4.1: Distribution of respondents in Unguja

Unguja, a *stratified random sampling* method was used to select the farmers. This means stratifying the population in criterion, in this case districts, and then using simple random sampling from each district (Alan Bryman, 2012).

Because it is difficult to know exactly where the farmers live and how to contact them, an extension officer in each district was contacted. The extension officer provided the recorded number of dairy goat farmers in the district and from the record a random sample of farmers was identified. The person at the household identified as the main person in charge of the dairy goats was interviewed. This is a crucial detail when collecting data on gender issues. It is important not to simply assume that one particular individual does an activity based on cultural norms, but ask the question to account for contextual differences and changing roles (Doss, 2014a). A key challenge in cultural surveys is to ensure that women are being represented. When interviewing farmers it is important not to assume that the farmer is a man. In many places where men are culturally defined as the main decision-maker in the

family, it might help to ask who is in charge of specific tasks such as a particular crop or animal, as women are more likely to be identified (Doss, 2014a). Asking for the person specifically in charge of dairy goats led to a response rate of approximately 55 percent women and 45 percent men. This allowed me to compare information given by men and women.

4.3.2 Analysis of data

The data obtained from the survey was analyzed using the statistical program SPSS. The program was first used to analyze basic information about the respondents such as gender distribution, marital status, number of people living in the household and level of education. The program was further used to compare gender differences in responsibilities within the household and dairy goats as well as access and ownership over resources. Finally SPSS was used to test for statistical significant differences between how men and women responded to the questions. The results that are of most relevance to the study are included in the findings and discussion.

4.4 Qualitative methods

Because governance has a significant role in value chain analysis, using qualitative methods in the study of value chains are not just favorable, but necessary. Qualitative research techniques help researchers understand why people do what they do and what motivates them to make choices. It provides insight into an issue and seeks to explain why problems occur. Whereas quantitative techniques seek to *show* social behavior, qualitative methods seek to *understand why* certain social behavior occurs (Berg, 2012) . Governance is the power-relations among people, and governance determines who benefits from the chain and who does not. Understanding people governing the chain and what motivates their behavior is therefore essential if one wants to make changes in the chain. Qualitative methods, seeking meaning and not numbers are therefore fundamental in value chain analysis.

At the same time, qualitative research has been regarded by many as less scientific as it uses words, images and senses as data, which are fundamentally subjective. To overcome this limitation one must be precise in the data collection procedure and clear and direct in the writing up of data (Berg, 2012).

4.4.1 Sampling method

In order to retrieve as much information as necessary to get a thorough insight into the project and the value chain of goat meat in Zanzibar a variety of respondents were approached. The respondents were selected using a combination of techniques referred to as *purposive sampling* and *snowballing* (Berg, 2012; Alan Bryman, 2012). Purposive sampling means that researchers use their prior knowledge on the subject to guide who they will interview (Berg, 2012). Before traveling to Zanzibar I had conducted research on some of the people involved in the project and thus arranged to meet them while in Zanzibar. The rest of the respondents were selected using the snowball method. Snowball sampling is when the researcher establishes contact with a small group of people relevant to their research topic and then uses them to get in contact with others (Alan Bryman, 2012).

Four categories of actors were identified to have influence in the value chain: (1) Goat owners (2) teachers, researchers and administration at KATI (3) NMBU and FK volunteers and (4) leadership at Emerson hotel. In addition to the actors directly participating in the chain in Zanzibar, information was also gathered from actors doing similar businesses in order to better understand challenges and possible solutions to the problems in the value chain. Various types of interview techniques were used to acquire information, which will be described in more detail below.

In this paper an *interview* is understood as a conversation with a purpose (Berg, 2012). Much have been written on the interviewing process and what makes a good and bad interview (Berg, 2012). Some scholars argue that being a good interviewer is an innate quality only possessed by certain people. However, to avoid a lengthy discussion on the do's and don'ts in interviewing, I refer the trustworthiness of my interviews to the discussions on cross-cultural research and research ethics further below in this chapter.

Semistandardized interviews—is a combination of the rigid standardized interviews and the loose unstandardized interviews (Berg, 2012, p. 109). The questions were more or less structured and planned before the interview, however the wording of the questions was flexible and further explanation of the questions were provided if the respondents did not understand. This technique was used when interviewing farmers who had participated in workshops on dairy goat farming organized by two FK volunteers working with KATI. Later they had received 2-3 dairy goats from KATI.

Unstandardized interviews—are conversations with a topic, but questions vary considerably according to how informants respond. No questions are scripted beforehand and the informants are encouraged to lead the conversation as much as possible. The interviewer may prepare a set of topics or issues of which he or she would like to discuss that can also serve as notes (Berg, 2012, p. 109). This technique was used when talking to (a) the leadership at Emerson, (b) new and former FK volunteers, (c) teachers and administration at KATI, (d) extension officer at Uzi (e) project leader at Sandals Hotels and (f) head of EPINAV.

Focus group interviews—are guided or unguided group discussions on topics that are of special interest or relevance for the group and researcher (Berg, 2012, p. 164). The technique is often used to conveniently gather a lot of data simultaneously, however it is not the main purpose of this technique. Researchers use group interviews when they are interested in how “people respond to each other’s views and build up a view out of the interaction that takes place within the group” (Alan Bryman, 2012). This technique was used when gathering information about goat farmers in Uzi and Muungoni. Farmers in Uzi had been identified by the director of KATI to be potential suppliers of goat meat to Emerson Hotels. It was therefore important to understand their opinion of the plan and if they were willing and able to participate. The goal of the interview was to gain insight into the farmers’ motivations and ability to supply hotels with goat meat. An extension officer living in Uzi known to the director at KATI was contacted and a meeting was arranged with him and a farmers group on Uzi Island and Muungoni.

4.5 Observation

In survey research, respondents are asked to report their behavior. But anybody who has taken a survey understands that the information gathered is not always entirely accurate. Respondents may not fully understand the questions, they may not remember what they did and there may be gaps between stated behavior and actual behavior. Observation of the subject can help overcome this limitation. There are many ways to observe a subject (Alan Bryman, 2012). Some calls for scheduled, structured observations or participatory observations. However, because I had limited time in the field I used *unstructured observation* with the purpose of checking information from the survey and interviews. Unstructured observations do not call for any schedule, rather, the aim is to record as much

details as possible of participants in order to develop a narrative account of their behavior (Alan Bryman, 2012).

This type of research method is particularly important when studying gender roles, as it is intrinsically a study of behavior among people. Gender roles are also heavily dependent on culture and thus require a certain level of ethnographic research (Berg, 2012, p. 197).

4.6 Document Analysis

The collection and examination of written documentation is another common source of information in case study research (Stake, 1995). Document analysis is an acknowledged part of qualitative research and can be very useful especially when the researcher has limited time and money (Alan Bryman, 2012). Four categories of documents have been used to gather information on the subject. (a) Official governmental documents (b) official documents from private sources and NGOs (c) Doctoral and master dissertations written on related subjects in Zanzibar and (d) Unpublished reports produced by NMBU, KATI and Volunteers working with KATI.

4.7 Mixed Method Research & Triangulation

Mixed method research is a term used to describe research that integrate both qualitative and quantitative research methods. There are many good arguments for combining qualitative and quantitative data when investigating a case. Mixed method research is particularly relevant in the study of gender. As mentioned in the introduction gender roles have a profound influence on agricultural development around the world. Because gender is complex and context-specific there is a need for nuanced and context-specific data. Therefore to understand gender issues in agriculture requires drawing on the strengths and weaknesses of both qualitative and quantitative research methods. For example, in the study of gender and agriculture, quantitative methods can give information on general differences between the activities of men and women both on the field and in the household. Qualitative analysis on the other hand can help the researcher to understand why women and men are responsible for different tasks and thus better understand what can be done to change practices to better the situation.

There are numerous ways to process information from qualitative and quantitative data (Alan Bryman, 2012). In this research I have utilized the method of *triangulation* as it best reflects the aim of the study. The purpose of a value chain analysis is to understand the activities and

actors within the production chain well enough to be able to suggest ways in which it can be improved at a general level or for a specific group within the chain (Kaplinsky, 2001). To make suggestions of improvements that will make meaningful change for those it is meant for, depends on the researchers ability to obtain as accurate and holistic data as possible. Triangulation was originally conceptualized by Webb et al. and is an approach developed to ensure greater confidence in findings (Alan Bryman, 2012). The process of triangulation is now increasingly being used in social sciences to achieve greater validation in findings. Triangulation in social science refers “to the use of several different research techniques in the same study to confirm and verify data gathered in different ways” (McMurrey, 2004, p. 263). In this case, the goal was not only to gain an insight and understanding of the value chain of goat meat catered towards the tourist industry in Zanzibar, but also to get a greater insight into how the producers within the value chain live and divide work both within and outside the household. Because both areas involve a great deal of complexities such as cultural and traditional norms, a multitude of actors and various different activities, cross checking data was very important in order to ensure that the information I got reflected reality as much as possible.

A triangulation exercise can occur as a result of a planned or unplanned strategy (Alan Bryman, 2012). Because of the nature of the case study—that it is in a state of conception and thus constantly changing, data, apart from the survey, was constructed and analyzed as it was collected. First data from the survey was analyzed in Norway, and later crosschecked with observation and in depth interviews during field-work in Zanzibar. Information on the value chain of goat meat was collected by interviewing all major actors involved at different stages of the chain and crossed checked with each other. Data on current activities within the goat project and future plans was collected through formal and informal interviews with actors and examination on written documentation and contracts by and between different stakeholders.

4.8 Use of translator

While conducting my field research in Zanzibar I was assisted by various translators. It posed some extra challenges to my research as an extra link was added in the communication process. Not only did it increase the risk of miscommunication, it also limited my ability to interpret how the respondents answered the questions and how they chose to word themselves (Berg, 2012). However, to limit some of the language barriers, I employed translators that are

particularly familiar with the area and the research topic that could provide me with insightful information.

While in Zanzibar I mainly used three translators, two of which were employed at KATI and involved in the project, and one that was a former extension officer with great knowledge of agricultural practices and local farmers in Zanzibar. However, not knowing the language was frustrating at times. Speaking the language is a great way to gain the respondents trust. Using a translator adds distance between the respondent and me. On the other hand, as many of the respondents knew the translators and respected them, it may also have given them the courage to be more honest. Nevertheless, although I wish I could have spoken the language, the use of translators allowed me to reflect on the answers and crosscheck with the translator on what they said, which was useful when I later analyzed the results.

4.9 Ethical Research

According to Berg and Lune “social scientists, perhaps to a greater extent than the average citizen, have an ethical obligation to their colleagues, their study populations, and the larger society” (Berg, 2012). This is because social scientists study the life of human beings and thus have a responsibility to ensure that their rights of privacy and wellbeing are upheld. To ensure that I did not mislead any of my respondents, all reasonable attempts were made to make my interests and intentions clear and transparent before conducting both formal and informal interviews. Furthermore, all respondents of the survey were informed of the intentions of the study and ensured that their identity would be protected. Nevertheless, some exceptions were made regarding anonymity. Names are included when using information of people that have officially given their consent on having their names referenced in the thesis.

4.9.1 Cross cultural research

Doing research in a cross-cultural setting, meaning doing research in a culture different from yours, is full of methodological and ethical challenges. When I was first presented with the project in Zanzibar, I was very skeptical to the idea of doing research on this topic and in this area. From previous experience in Zanzibar I was aware of the cultural divide between tourists and the local people. From conversations with a few of the local people I got the sense that some Zanzibaris carried a degree of animosity towards the tourists and how they were treated by them. Zanzibaris have a unique cultural base embedded in strong Islamic practices. At the same time, there is a great deal of foreign influence coming from the many leisure tourists coming to enjoy the warm weather and exotic nature. While Zanzibaris are

known to be incredibly accommodating people, some foreigners have acted disrespectful towards their culture and thus caused degrees of frustration. When posed with idea of doing research in Zanzibar, I was not afraid of being accepted as a foreigner. I was more concerned about being looked upon as yet another tourist or researchers looking to take up peoples time and impose changes.

The fundamental tenet of all type of social research is that it should *do no harm* (Berg, 2012). There are many different interpretations of what that actually entails, however what is important to take away from lessons on cross-cultural and cross-gendered research is that it is of outmost important to be aware that your presence and actions may inflict change on the research subject for both good and bad. It is important to realize that as a researcher from a western country, you carry with you some preconceived ideas and values that will influence your view of the things you encounter. In the same way, the people you encounter may have preconceived ideas of you and what your presence may carry with it.

Often in cross-cultural research a power-imbalance arises between the researcher and the research subject, as one is associated with a higher education and better access to money and assets than the other (Desai, 2006). Being associated with Norway and KATI, a governmental institution and a project intended to improve livelihoods for local people, might lead respondents to alter their answers in the hopes that it will help their chances of receiving more money. This was in some degree mitigated when collecting data for the survey, as I was not present. Nevertheless, this concern is a serious issue in data collection, and not uncommon when doing research in developing countries (Desai, 2006). To minimize the probability that incorrect information was provided, it was made clear in all conversations that the researcher did not come with promises of any funding or money. In addition, I was constantly aware of how I presented myself and my relationships with the respondents. As pointed out by Scheyvens, (2000) it is important that those studied are not just viewed at a source of data through which the researchers can advance his or her career, but that they are recognized as fellow human beings and that the research is a two-way process of interaction.

My experience with cross-cultural interaction and research is that it is just as much about me learning from them as they learning from me. Much can be gained from respect and understanding and being flexible and open for new experiences. Being genuinely interested in peoples struggles and wellbeing is an important way to gain peoples trust, but also for the

researcher to fully understand their respondents. It is also important to recognize that as a foreigner you do possess certain privileges that set you apart and might help to explain certain behavior. However, humor and personal relationships goes a long way in developing mutual understanding and respect and will allow you to get a better insight in the world of your respondents as well as insight into your own way of being.

4.9.2 Reliability, reliability and validity of research design

As mentioned earlier, the point of studying a specific case is not to produce findings that can be generalized to a wider universe, but rather to generate theory. The study is therefore subject to a different interpretation of research design criteria—Reliability, replicability and validity—than other quantitative or experimental studied. *Reliability and replicability* of a social research design is concerned with whether the results of a study are repeatable (Alan Bryman, 2012). In order to ensure the reliability and replicability of this study, great efforts have been put into transparency of the research design and research method. All concepts have been defined and held consistent throughout the study. To test the results from the survey, answers have been cross-checked with the study by Stone (2014), which was done using the same sampling method and on many of the same farmers.

Validity, the integrity of the conclusion from the research, is perhaps the most important criterion in research (Alan Bryman, 2012). In the social sciences it is impossible to know with certainty that the results are correct, however, measures can be taken to minimize the possibility that the study is incorrect. In a case study design, the conclusion is not meant to be generalizable, however findings from the case can be compared and generalized with findings from similar cases investigated by others (Alan Bryman, 2012). The purpose of this study is to examine, in-depth, if stronger links between local farmers and the tourist industry in Zanzibar can help local farmers increase their income. Much literature has been produced on linking agricultural sector with the tourist industry (W. Anderson, & Saleh Juma, 2011; Meyer, 2004). The conclusion of my findings have therefore been compared and analyzed with previous literature in order to test its external validity. In addition, the process of triangulation described above, is a way to ensure the data's internal validity. Multiple sources of data have been used to measure the same phenomenon so to minimize the likelihood of misinterpretation.

Figure 4.1 is made to show the different sections of this paper and how they all contribute to fulfilling the goal of this paper in a comprehensive and authentic way.

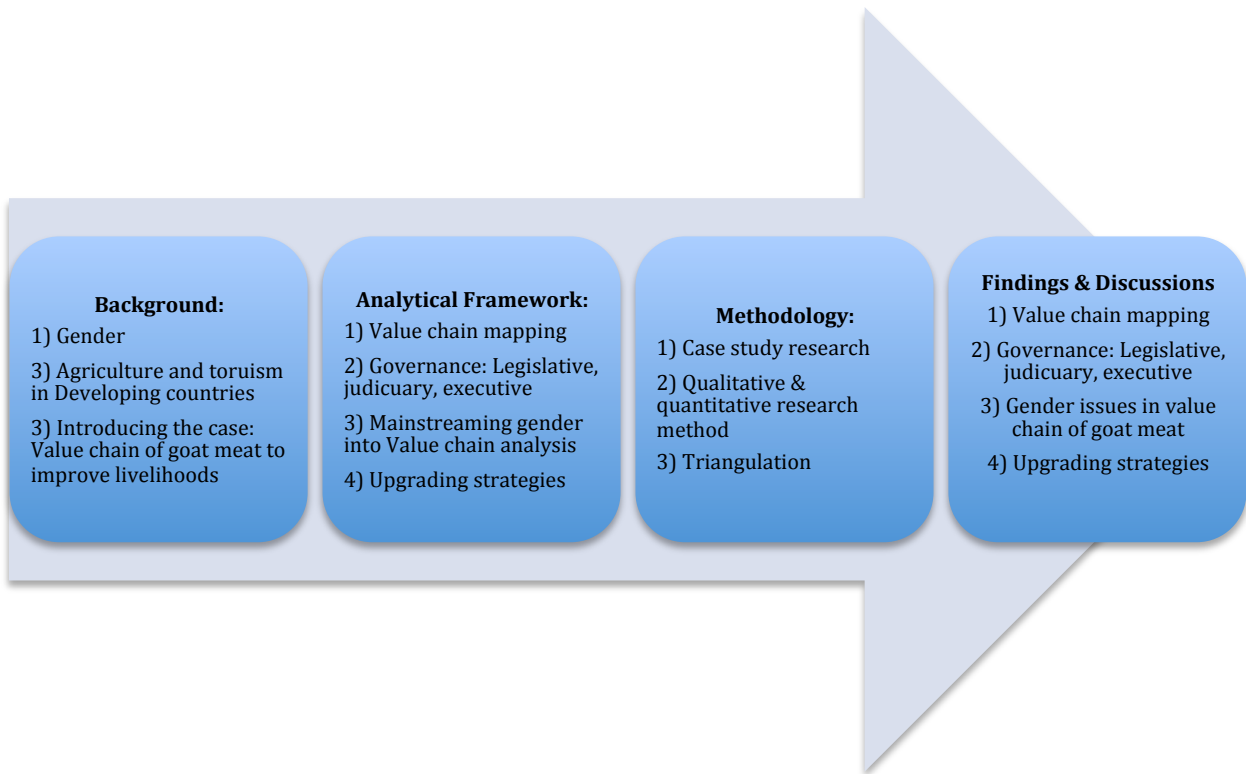


Figure 4.1: Overview of research structure

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

5 Findings

In this chapter, I will present and discuss the empirical findings of my research. I will begin by presenting the results from the survey on gender roles among goat farmer in Zanzibar and discuss women's roles in goat farming. This is to establish a base from which to discuss the findings on the envisioned goat meat value chain where I specifically focus on governance. A presentation of the findings from my interviews and observations on the legislative and judiciary governance of the proposed value chain will follow. This section includes mapping the current value chain of goat meat and a discussion on its constraints. Finally, I will present findings on the executive governance and discuss the opportunities and constraints in the envisioned project headed by KATI.

5.1 Gender roles and organization among goat farmers in Zanzibar

Differences between women and men's access to resources and control over benefits in farming households' influences development of value chains. It is therefore imperative for development practitioners to understand how women and men divide work within the household and who makes decisions and who has control over resources and benefits from production. In this case, it is important to understand how dairy goat farmers in Zanzibar divide work between them and how resources and benefits are distributed among men and women. A better understanding gender-differences will help the project leaders set up the value chain so that it ensures equal benefits for both men and women.

5.1.1 Gender differences in responsibilities in the household

The results of the survey indicate that women spend about 3 ½ hours more on household activities than men among goat farmers in Zanzibar (see Table 5.1 for detail). 92.2 percent of the women said that they were responsible for fetching firewood whereas only 37.7 percent of the men identified this as their responsibility. On average, women spend almost 2 hours more per day fetching firewood than men. Furthermore, 78 percent of the women said they also were in charge of fetching water for the household. 94 percent of the women said they were in charge of cooking, compared with only 7.5 percent of the men. Approximately 60 percent of the women said they were in charge of caring for the children whereas only 3.9 saw this as their responsibility.

Responsibilities	% of women and men identifying the activity as their responsibility		Time (average min/day)		More (average min/day)	
	Women (%)	Men (%)	Women	Men	Women	Men
Activities						
Firewood	92.2	37.7	156.3	42.6	113	
Water	78.1	35.8	43.4	24.1	19	
Cooking	93.8	7.5	82.8	7.4	76	
Children	60.9	3.8				
Goats	92.2	90.1	116.1	124.5		8
Livestock	12.5	32.1	18.3	49.8		31
Agriculture	95.3	88.7	207.7	191.3	17	
Business	31.3	7.5	59.3	21.5		
Fishing	7.8	22.6	30	91		61
Crafts	23.4	5.7				
Other						

Table 5.1: Time spent on household and business related activities among dairy goat farmers in Zanzibar (Source: see Appendix 1)

Although it is not a surprising finding it is important findings for a project aimed at improving livelihoods for smallholder farmers on Zanzibar. Because women spend longer hours on household chores than men they have less time that can be allocated to other activities such as training in new agricultural practices. Also, because they have more responsibilities at home, they have limited mobility and capacity to leave the house for an extended period of time, for example to attend courses, group meetings or seminars. In addition, agricultural interventions that require farmers to spend more time on specific activities may not be feasible, because of women's other responsibilities within the household.

5.1.2 Responsibility for livestock and farming

According to the survey both men and women play important roles in dairy goat farming in Zanzibar. When asked who was primarily in charge of goats in the household 41 percent said

women and 41 percent men. Eleven percent said that they shared the responsibility among them. Only about 4 percent said that their children were responsible. However, often in agrarian poor communities children herd and feed the goats because they are small and easy to handle (Peacock, 2005). Also on Unguja children were often observed herding goats. Local goats were fastened with a rope on the side of the road to graze and children would pick them up on their way home from school. The relatively low number of children being in charge of the goats indicated in the survey may be influenced by it being a question about dairy goats and not local goats. To prevent them from getting sick, dairy goats are often kept in elevated sheds called *banda* located close to the house and thus do not need as much herding. When a follow up question on responsibilities and ownership of goats was asked, 32 percent indicated that their sons helped with herding.

Decision making with regard to the purchase and sale of goats was also equally divided between men and women. When asked who decides to sell or purchase goats in the household, 69 percent said women and 63 percent said men meaning about 30 percent said that both women and men decides. Also when asked who keeps proceeds from sales 60 percent said women and 22 percent answered both. This indication of women's involvement and ownership of goats is also reflected in observations and interviews with goat farmers. In the training courses for those interested in dairy goat farming held by the two FKs, most of the farmers who showed interest in attending the course were women. At the end of the course the FKs selected seven farmers who had showed most dedication and interest in the project to receive two dairy goats each. Of the seven farmers selected, five were women.

The results from the household survey coupled with observations and interviews with people working on agricultural training in Zanzibar shows that women do play a significant role in goat farming. It also indicates that women in Zanzibar do have a relative power in terms of decision-making and ownership of goats. This finding can serve as an important strength of the goat meat project in Zanzibar and its aim to assist disadvantaged groups benefit more from agricultural development.

However, it also indicates that the project should pay extra attention to how development in the chain, for example, increasing sales and changing goat-keeping practices, affects women. Emphasis of the project should be to uphold women's involvement and ownership of goats. As discussed in Chapter 2 and 3, modernizing and upgrading agricultural practices often

place women in more vulnerable positions (Momsen, 2004). Understanding and taking into account the responsibilities women have both within the household and with farming practices, when planning to establish a value chain or upgrading one is crucial for the success of the project.

5.1.3 Group membership, knowledge and information sharing among goat farmers in Zanzibar

Group membership, is a common feature among goat farmers in Zanzibar. Sixty eight percent of the respondents said they were part of groups. The groups varied from being concerned with livestock production, production of fruit and vegetables and micro-loans (see Appendix 3 for list of groups). That 68 percent of the farmers are part of groups indicates that operating within groups is a common way farmers organize and share knowledge. Also when I met with farmers during my fieldwork it was organized through farmers groups or cooperatives. It is also common that men and women are part of the same group. Organizing in groups and cooperatives can increase farmers' competitive advantage, reduce transactions cost and increase security (J. Mitchell, & Christopher Coles, 2011). The fact that many dairy goat farmers are part of groups and know how to operate in them is important in the discussion on how to increase farmers' relative power in value chains.

According to the survey, many of the dairy goat farmers feel that they have good information about dairy goat keeping. Moreover, results indicate that women and men have relatively equal access to information about dairy goat keeping. When asked if they felt they had enough knowledge about dairy goat keeping 41 percent said that they agreed. Furthermore, 42 percent said that they shared information with other dairy goat farmers and that other dairy goat farmers shared information with them. When asked if they attended periodic meetings about dairy goat farming only 18 percent said that they did. Among the people that attend periodic meetings only 16 percent agreed to the statement that they could express their views freely in the group.

On the question if women have the same access to information about dairy goat keeping as men, 69 percent said they agreed or strongly agreed. On the question about women's work with dairy goats, almost 66 percent said that they agreed or strongly agreed that women do most work with dairy goats, 27 percent were undecided, while 7 percent disagreed. This is an

interesting finding as an earlier question indicated that only 41 percent of women in the household are primarily in charge of goats. This shows that although women do most work with dairy goat, they are not necessarily identified as the ones primarily in charge of them. However, it is important to note that many respondents answered “undecided” (27 percent). This might be because the questions were located near the end of the survey and the respondents were anxious to finish. Also they were also questions that required some time for reflection, which the respondents might not have the time for. In addition, it was opinion based questions which is also hard to capture in a survey as respondents may say one thing and do another (Alan Bryman, 2012).

Nevertheless, the results in this section do give further understanding on women’s involvement in dairy goat keeping. Although limitations in the data prevent exact calculations, result do give some useful insight into women’s involvement in groups and their opinion on access to resources and information. Furthermore, the discovery that 68 percent of the farmers participate in groups shows that group adherence is strong in Zanzibar. Also significant is that many groups have both female and male members. This was also observed when interviewing three farmer groups in Uzi, Muungoni and Kizimbani area. In addition, 42 percent said that they share information about dairy goat farming with their neighbors and that neighbors share with them. This can be an incentive for people working with agricultural training and development to encourage farmer-to-farmer training.

5.1.4 Reasons for keeping goats

Understanding the reasons why farmers in Zanzibar choose to keep dairy goats can help explain the motivations and purpose for choosing dairy goats. The results of the opinion based questions about reasons for keeping dairy goats are presented in Table 5.2. In the table, the highest percentages for each question have been highlighted. From the analysis it is clear that the respondents did not find consumption of meat an important reason for keeping dairy goats. Almost 90 percent of the respondents said it was a weak reason or not a reason. On the other hand, approximately 80 percent of the farmers indicated that selling live animals was the main reason or a strong reason they keep dairy goats. This may be because very few of the dairy goat farmers are able to actually sell their milk (Stone, 2014). Only 27.4 percent said they sold milk from their goats and that was mostly to neighbors. The average amount of milk a dairy goat produced in Zanzibar among the farmers is 0.92 liter per day. This is two to three times less than the average amount produced by most dairy goat breeds (Stone, 2014).

Reasons for keeping dairy goats	Not a reason (%)	Weak reason (%)	One of the reasons (%)	Strong reason (%)	Main reason (%)
Consumption of meat	41.9	47.0	7.7	1.7	0
Consumption of milk	2.6	18.8	41.0	25.6	10.3
Raise household income	0	0	0	15.4	84.6
Hobby	14.5	4.3	49.6	23.1	5.1
Sale (Live animals)	1.7	1.7	10.3	31.6	49.6
Sale (meat)	29.1	39.3	17.1	6.0	3.4
Sell milk	3.4	0.9	19.7	45.3	25.6
Manure	6.8	0	53.0	39.3	0
Household status	28.2	12.0	52.1	3.4	2.6
Other					

Table 5.2: Reason for keeping dairy goats among farmers in Zanzibar (Source: See Appendix 1)

When yields from milk are so low, selling live animals is the most profitable for the farmers. Moreover experiences in Zanzibar indicate that increasing dairy production for commercial sale, for example to the tourist industry is difficult for the farmers (Stone, 2014). Very few of the farmers have access to cooling facilities or suitable hygienic locations to process dairy products that can be sold commercially. According to the survey, only 2.6 percent answered that they strongly agree to the statement “I am able to store goat milk in my house” (Appendix 1). In addition, the dairy goats are not producing enough milk to supply both the

household and external consumers (Stone, 2014). Although there are projects in place to help farmers increase goat milk productions, this can take time.

Nevertheless, the main reason farmers keep dairy goat is to raise household income. Ninety-nine percent of the farmers said it was a strong reason or main reason they chose to keep dairy goats. Most farmers would also like to increase their number of dairy goats. When asked how many dairy goats they would like to keep, most farmers answered 1-4 more than what they currently had.

The findings from this section of the survey suggests that farmers do have an interest in keeping more goats and that they would like to sell them to raise household income. This provides a reason for the project to focus on the sale of meat. When interviewing the 7 farmers that received dairy goats from KATI, all of them showed an interest in selling the male kids that were not used for breeding. Until now, they have just been selling live animals to their neighbors. Moreover, very few of the farmers indicated that they keep dairy goats for the meat, either to eat themselves or to sell. This can be because dairy goats are more time consuming and harder to keep than local goats does not make sense to keep them for meat purposes. However, farmers do recognize the multifunction of dairy goats, as 92 percent answered that manure was a strong or one of the reasons they keep dairy goats. The suggestion that male kids could be sold for meat, and females are kept for milk could increase farmers' benefits from the goats. The management at Emerson did sample meat from dairy goats after being invited to do so at KATI and expressed satisfaction with the product quality and taste.

5.1.1 Summary of Research Questions 1

Research Question (1): How does gender affect division of labor and access to resources between men and women among dairy goat farmers in Zanzibar?

From the survey, there are two findings with regards to gender that are of particular interest for the project. First, women spend significantly more time doing household chores than men. On average women spend 3 ½ hours more on household activities such as fetching firewood and water and cooking, than men. Although this is not a surprising finding, it does put into perspective the different roles women have, also among dairy goat farmers in Zanzibar. Because the women have more responsibilities at home, they will have less time for other

activities. This has implications for development practitioners because it means women's lack of time and mobility must be planned for in order to ensure that the whole household will benefit from the intervention. Second, from the survey it also becomes clear that women play significant roles in dairy goat keeping. Over 50 percent indicate that women owns the goats and can keep proceeds from sales of animal products. A majority of the farmers also agreed that women have equal access to information and resources about dairy goats. This was also observed while doing fieldwork. It is also important to note that groups of dairy goat farmers include both men and women. This finding is relevant because it highlights the important roles women play in goat farming in Zanzibar. It is important for the project to ensure that women continue to benefit from dairy goat farming when upgrading the farmers' activities.

5.2 Mapping the current value chain

The value chain of goat meat is seen from the prospective of supplying Emerson hotels. Emerson hotels function, in other words, as the legislative governance of the chain because they represent the demand side of the chain. Emerson hotels are interested in purchasing locally produced products for their two hotels and try to do so as much as possible. However, as a hotel that strives for quality and safety and thus is required to follow international standards on the product and service they provide, they have certain rules and conditions they need to abide by. The criteria's set out by the Emerson management are the rules that govern this value chain of goat meat and has consequences for all the other actors further down in the chain. Understanding the rules set by Emerson hotels is thus crucial in order for farmers to have access to the hotel market.

Situated at the heart of Zanzibar Town, Emerson Spice and Emerson Hurumzi are hotels that strive for quality and authenticity. Emerson Spice is a multi-storied small hotel built from a restored nineteenth-century Swahili Sultans Palace. It has 11 rooms, all with a unique style. Emerson on Hurumzi is the sister hotel of Emerson Spice, also situated in a restored historic Zanzibar Town building and has 16 rooms. Although the founder and owner Emerson Skeens was American (he passed away in 2014) and the current director and managers are from abroad, the hotels only employ Zanzibaris. This is noteworthy, as hotels often employ people from mainland Tanzania or elsewhere, causing frustration among local Zanzibaris and further leakages of foreign exchange (Mutayoba, 2013).

Although the hotels have a good reputation, they are particularly known for the quality of their restaurants. Situated at the top of both hotels the restaurants give the guests a unique view of the tight knitted city of Zanzibar Town. It also provides a cool environment and gives some shelter from the hustle and bustle on the streets below. At the rooftop restaurant at Emerson Spice, guests are offered a multi-course meal with high standards. At the Tea House restaurant at Emerson on Hurumzi, guests can enjoy a Persian-inspired menu playing off of Zanzibar's Middle-Eastern heritage. According to the manager at Emerson Spice the menu is constructed to give their guests a taste of authentic Zanzibari and East African dishes with as much locally produced products as possible. The menus have also been influenced by the Norwegian TV Chef and food columnist Andreas Viestad who came into contact with the founder of Emersons hotels in 2007. To cater to the tourist's European and American palates, hotels and restaurants often serve European or American food such as pizza, pasta and burgers. However, together with the chefs at Emerson Spice restaurant, Viestad came up with a menu based on local products. The menu changes with the seasons and strive to use what is available of local fresh produce. Dishes contain many of the common Zanzibari spices such as cloves and cinnamon as well as an assortment of seafood and meats. Another important feature of the kitchen at Emerson Spice is that the head chef is a local Zanzibari woman. Not only is she the boss of five Zanzibari men working with her in the kitchen, but she is also Christian, a rarity in a country where 99 percent are Muslim. Although it is quite an unusual occurrence in Zanzibar it can serve as a good example on how women can play key roles in the value chains.

The products used in the restaurants are normally purchased by their chefs at the nearby local food market called Darajani market. However, the hotels have also established relationships with local farmers that deliver products directly to the hotels. At the market the chefs purchase vegetables such as tomato, cucumber, lettuce and spinach. They also buy goat meat and chicken. They receive a fresh supply of organic eggs and milk twice per week from a farm run by nuns located outside of Zanzibar Town. The manager at Emerson Spice expressed great satisfaction with this arrangement and considered it a model for any future arrangements. At the time of the interview (March, 2015), the manager also said that they had received samples of dill, rocket and lemon basil from Msongo Organic Family Farm situated about 12 kilometers from Zanzibar Town. The chefs at one of the hotels were arranging twice weekly deliveries to both the hotels.

Although Emerson hotels have managed to set up several satisfactory arrangements with farmers, they are still met by various challenges when sourcing local products to their restaurants. The manager said that at various occasions they had tried to buy organic products from farmers with a stand at Darajani market. However, the supply was very unpredictable. They never knew, beforehand, the kind of quantities the farmers would have, nor what kind of products would be sold on the day. Although their restaurants make their menus according to the season, they still need a certain predictability of products and quantities ahead of time in order to meet the demand of their customers. The manager also said that they had tried to order vegetables and fruits from UWAMWIMA, an association of smallholder farmers, with a website where you can place your order and have it delivered directly to the hotel. However, the arrangement was unreliable, as many of the products they ordered were not available and they were not notified beforehand meaning they would sometimes only receive half of their order.

When it came to the supply of goat meat, the manager said they were met by various challenges. The meat was normally purchased from the meat section of Darajani market. Darajani market is situated at the east side of Zanzibar Town along the Darajani Road. It is where local Zanzibaris come to sell and buy spices, fruits, vegetables, seafood and meats and various other household products. The market is spread out along the Darajani Road and has both an inside and outside area. The market buildings are made of concrete with tin roofs. The meat section of the market is situated on the inside. The meat sold here is mostly beef and goat. There are no cold storage options at the market and water is scarce, making it hard to facilitate a sterile, hygienic place to handle the carcasses. Emerson hotels, catering to tourists coming from abroad and thus having to comply with certain quality standards find it problematic to source meat from Darajani market. This was reflected in the managers frustration that the meat they bought from the local market only allowed them to make dishes where the meat has to be cooked for a long time.

The goat meat sold at the market is usually sourced from local farmers in the nearby villages. According to Aliy, an extension officer from Uzi, the meat is either purchased from the farm by the butchers themselves or bought from a middle-man who purchase goats from local farmers and then sells them on to the vendors or butchers at Darajani market (see Figure 5.1). Farmers typically slaughter the goats at the farm. Aliy said that goat meat is normally sold for between 8000 to 9000 TZS per kg. This complies with the amount the manager at Emerson Spice said they paid for the meat they bought at Darajani market. Information on how money is distributed among actors in the chain was not obtained. However, Aliy says that a live goat

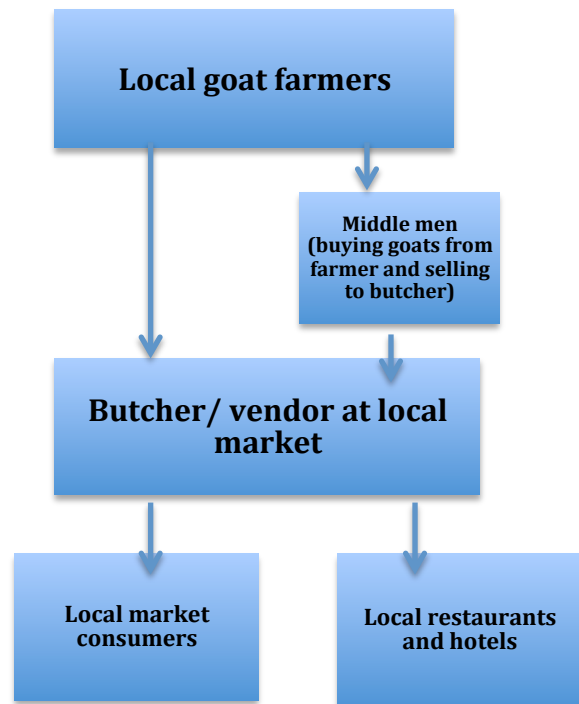


Figure 5.1 Mapping of current value chain

can be sold for somewhere between 50 000 to 85 000 TZS depending on size, age and quality of the animal. Price of goat meat also fluctuates according to season and local holidays. Being an island of 99 percent Muslims, during holidays such as Eid ul Adha, Eid al Fitr where goat meat is an important part of the celebration, the demand for goat meat significantly increases.

Emerson hotels would like to continue to serve goat meat to their customers, but they want a more reliable and secure source. Currently they have problems with the sanitary conditions of which the meat is handled, the variable quality and unpredictable supply. The issues that the manager at Emerson Spice mentions are not uncommon among hotels operating Zanzibar. From the literature review it is clear that these issues are common among most hotels and are reasons why a lot of hotels end up importing most of their products, especially meats. In a study from 2010 on hotels purchases of beef and poultry, the researchers found that only 10 percent of the meats were sourced from local suppliers (W. Anderson, & Saleh Juma, 2011). Based on experience with the current market as well as already established arrangements with farmers, the manager at Emerson Spice outlined various criteria's he would like in a potential

new value chain of goat meat. Table 5.3 lists the terms and conditions identified by the manager at Emerson Spice hotel.

These criteria define the parameters of this value chain of goat meat and have consequences for all other actors further down in the chain. Furthermore, Emerson hotels also want to sample the products before any agreements are finalized. The chefs and managers at the hotels will sample the finished products and determine if the criteria have been followed. Emerson hotels therefore also function as the judicial governance in the chain. In addition to the goat meat

Criteria
• Will pay 9 000 TZS per kg
• Meat delivered directly to hotel
• Deliveries twice per week (e.g. Tuesday & Friday)
• Orders should be placed by SMS or e-mail
• Steady and reliable supply
• Sanitary conditions for slaughter and packaging of animal
• Meat has a higher quality than that sold at the market
• Organic (if possible)
• Production is environmentally friendly

Table 5.3: Criteria’s for the value chain of goat meat in Zanzibar (Source: Emerson management)

Emerson have also identified various plants and other animal products that they would like to source from local farmers. The other products are listed in Appendix 2. However, as this paper focuses on goat meat, the other products will just be mentioned.

5.2.1 Summary of Research Questions 2 & 4

Research Question (2): How is the current value chain of goat meat in Zanzibar structured and what are the constraints faced by producers and consumers?

The current value chain of goat meat, where Emerson hotels are the buyers have several constraints. For Emerson hotels the main constraint is the lack of food safety of the meat. Although Emerson currently pays 9000 TZS per kg for the meat at Darajani market, the same as what they are willing to offer for a better product, it is uncertain how much of the end value actually ends up in the hands of the goat farmer in the current chain. But, it is suspected that much of the value ends up at the retailer, butcher or middle-men (Gatsby, 2010). However, this would be worthwhile looking into for the people involved in the goat project to see how much more farmers could get for an upgraded product sold directly to the hotel

Research Question (4): Who performs the legislative, judicial and executive governance in the proposed value chain of goat meat and how does governance impact the farmers ability to meet the standards set by the buyers?

Emerson hotels represent the buyers in the value chain of goat meat and thus determine the quality standards for the meat they will buy. They are, according to Kamplinksy and Morris (2001) definition, the legislative governance in the value chain. Emerson Spice and Emerson on Hurumzi are hotels that aspire to give their guests an authentic and cultural experience with a focus on quality. Situated in the heart of Zanzibar Town, Emerson hotels cater to tourists that want to experience the unique Zanzibari culture. The management is environmentally conscious and aware of common concerns within the tourist sector on the island such as revenue leakages and issues of employment. Apart from the management, only Zanzibaris are employed at the hotel and they show a great deal of enthusiasm with sourcing food locally. However, they do want to offer their guests assurance that the products they serve are safe and are of high quality. They also need predictable and steady supply of products to be able to operate in a competitive environment. An outline of the current value chain of goat meat as well the list of preferred standards of Emerson hotels reveals the difficulty the hotel has from sourcing meat from local farmers at Darajani market. The market for goat meat is mostly informal and involves several links, making the actual income for primary producers an important question. Improving producer's ability to meet the standards of the tourist industry and well as improving the links, eliminating some of the middlemen, may improve conditions for smallholder farmers as well as give the Emerson hotels quality products. This will be discussed further in the upgrading section

Although Emerson Hotels are just two examples of many hotels in Zanzibar, they have to comply with the same rules and regulations as other hotels and restaurants. Unique with Emerson hotels is that they strive to give guests a taste of authentic Zanzibari food. Many of the all-inclusive hotels follow the demand of their clients and thus serve European and American inspired food (W. Anderson, 2011). Also worth noting is that goat meat is in relatively low demand. According to data on the demand of animal products from 34 hotels in Zanzibar, prawns, tuna, beef, cheese and butter are in the highest demand while goat and yoghurts are in the lowest demand (Gatsby, 2010). However, as goats are much easier to

maintain (Peacock, 2005), encouraging hotels to serve more goat could be a pro-poor initiative. This will be further discussed in the upgrading section.

5.3 Executive governance of the value chain

KATI has agreed to assist with training and knowledge sharing in order to meet quality standards for product, delivery and consistency, specified by Emerson Hotels. KATI is thus the central actor responsible for assisting smallholder farmers with upgrading and value adding in the value chain. Using the terms of Kaplinsky and Morris (2001), KATI serves as the executive governance—providing assistance to value chain participants in meeting the operating rules set out by the legislative governance, in this case Emerson Hotels. This section will evaluate to what extent KATI is able to fulfill its role as executive governance and identify what are their strengths and weaknesses.

The concept of establishing a value chain of goat meat that would create a direct link between the hotel industry and local goat farmers was first suggested by a newly established collaboration between NMBU, KATI and SUA. In 2013 a professor initiated collaboration between KATI and Norwegian Peace Corps (FK) as part of the continuation of the EPINAV program. These partners, in turn contacted the founder of Emerson Spice and Emerson Hurumzi in Zanzibar Town, the late Mr. Emerson. Emerson Hotels agreed to collaborate with local Zanzibari farmers to establish a value chain that can ensure high quality and ethically acquired food to their two restaurants, Emerson Hurumzi Tea House restaurant and Emerson Spice Rooftop Restaurant. This initiative started an ongoing dialogue between the management at Emerson hotels and employees and volunteers at KATI.

In a meeting between KATI and the management of Emerson on the 18th of February 2015 initiated by an employee AT KATI and a Norwegian volunteer at KATI, a list of products Emerson would like to purchase was produced. The list contained both local and exotic products of meat, fruits and vegetables (see list in Appendix 2 for details). The hotel management and attendees from KATI agreed that next contact would be made when products were ready to sample.

The next stage involved planning of how to acquire the products the Emerson Hotel management had asked for. A detailed report by the Norwegian volunteer, summarizing her

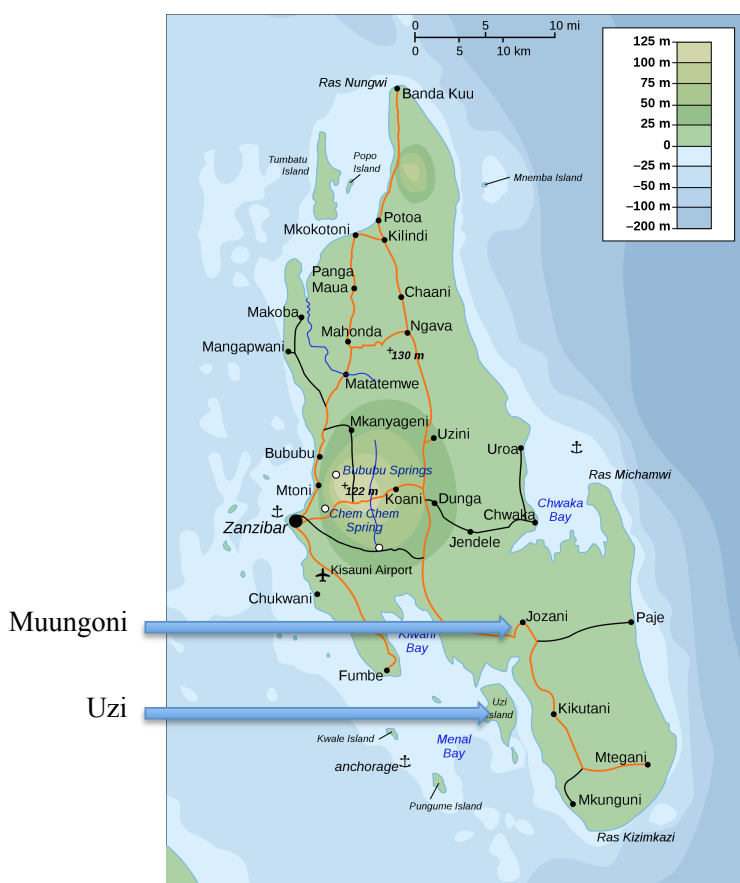
experience with planning and implementation of the project with KATI, displayed feelings of frustration and miscommunication. Although the management and teachers involved in the project initially showed enthusiasm and dedication to bringing it forward, little was done in the aftermath of the meeting with Emerson. The minutes produced from the meeting did not reflect what was said and it contained little information that would be useful for the next stage of the project. The volunteer tried to meet with the teachers that had been selected to head the project at KATI, but was constantly met by cancellations or people simply not turning up to meetings. There can be many reasons for this occurrence. According to my interviews and observations teachers employed at KATI take on many responsibilities, they teach, are responsible for boarding students, for planting on the farm as well as administrative work. Furthermore, a lot of the communication with regards to the project went through the Director at KATI who would then allocate responsibilities to employees at KATI. Respect for authority and inability to say no may have led to some of the member to take on responsibility they did not have time for or wanted. This was also reflected in the report from the volunteer at KATI. In addition, there is also the language barrier. Although most of the teachers speak English their proficiency may cause some miscommunications. Since the meeting with the management at Emerson was held in English some things could have been missed in translation.

The two FKs working with KATI for the year 2014 to 2015, expressed frustration with KATI's implementation and management of the project. The two volunteers were originally expected to work with KATI to start a project that would teach farmers how to keep dairy goats and start processing milk into yoghurt. However, after several attempts to come up with a cooperative plan, the volunteers decided to manage the project themselves with assistance from workers employed at KATI. In January 2015 the two volunteers had successfully held several training courses in dairy goat keeping for selected farmers around Unguja. 7 of the farmers who had showed special interest and commitment in the courses were selected to receive two dairy goats each from KATI. The two FKs ensured that the line between KATI and the farmers was held by appointing one of the workers at KATI to serve as a contact person that the farmers could contact if they had questions or concerns about the dairy goats. In my interview with the farmers, all of them expressed gratitude and satisfaction with the training they had received from the FK volunteers. Records of weights of the goats also showed that their weight had increased significantly since being received from KATI.

It is clear from these experiences, interviews and observations that KATI, as the executive governance of the chain, is lacking some coordination skills and a clear plan on how the value chain should be established and operated. However, it is important to note that this project is in its initial stages and thus subject to frequent changes. This is significant because it helps to explain some of the criticism I express of the executive governance of the value chain. In addition, several actors have been added along the way, making it difficult as a researcher to have a full overview. The project is also influenced by various external actors such as NMBU employees, volunteers and FK students. According to my findings, this further muddles the governing of the project. How to overcome these challenges will be discussed in the section about upgrading of the chain.

5.3.1 Dairy goat farmers in Uzi and Muungoni

Having met with the director at KATI prior to my fieldwork in Zanzibar, I had been informed that the farmers selected to be part of the value chain of goat meat would be from Uzi. Uzi is



Map 5.1: Uzi and Muungoni village

a small island located in the south of Unguja. The island is located in the Menai Bay Conservation Area and has an ecosystem dominated by mangrove forests, sea grass beds, fresh water forests, coral reefs and a large diversity of plants and animals. The island is only accessible by car during low tide and visitors and residents have to drive on a 2 km long road made up of coral rocks carved through thick mangrove. There are about 5000 inhabitants on the island, most of which are fishermen or farmers. The island has experienced little development during the last century and the people have shown strong resilience against mass tourism. The island has no hotels or restaurants (UZI). The island is

thought to have a favorable environment for goat keeping because of its abundance of leafy trees and brush. According to Aliy, an extension officer and resident of Uzi, the island has approximately 400 goats (200 young, 100 adult and 100 small).

A meeting with a farmers group in Uzi was set up on 20th of March 2015. Attending the meeting was the director at KATI, head of the livestock at KATI, Aliy and 13 farmers (4 women and 9 men). The meeting was held in Swahili and thus hard for me to follow. However, Aliy later translated the proceedings of the meeting to me. After the director at KATI explained our intentions; that KATI was looking for farmers to participate in a project with the aim of supplying goat meat to two hotels in Zanzibar, the farmers expressed questions and concerns. The meeting ended with the agreement that the farmers group would discuss amongst themselves whether they would take part in the project and report back to Aliy who would then convey the message back to KATI. In a later interview with Aliy, he said that the farmers had discussed amongst each other and agreed to part take in the project. They had discussed some of their limitations such as butchering, transportations and steady supply of meat and found that they could deal with these limitations and they would part in the project. They are accustomed to working in the night and thus could slaughter the animal in the late evening to be ready for consumption the next day. This to compensate for the lack of cooled storage on the island. Public transportation from the island to Zanzibar Town left in the night and in the morning and thus could be used to transport the carcasses to Emerson hotels in Zanzibar Town. The farmers also agreed that goats would be kept by each individual farmer as opposed to collectively. However, the farmers were concerned that they did not have enough goats, however after discussing some more they agreed that they would ask farmers outside the group to contribute goats. They would coordinate this transaction. However, Aliy was concerned that since the project was presented to one particular group, they would not want to outsource it to another group, as they did not want to give up an opportunity to earn an extra income.

After visiting with farmers in Uzi and presenting the project we travelled to Muungoni. Muungoni is located north of Uzi, about 40 minutes from Zanzibar Town (see Map 5.1). Here we met with four farmers (two women and two men) that are part of a farmers group focusing on dairy goats. This farmer group has a long history of working with dairy goats and has extensive experience in participating in agricultural enhancement programs and thus was less hesitant than the farmers group in Uzi and expressed enthusiasm in the project. They also

agreed to participate in farmer-to-farmer training and to assist farmers in Uzi adopt improved animal husbandry techniques.

5.3.2 The pilot project

At the beginning of May 2015 a pilot project was initiated by KATI with assistance from NMBU and the FK volunteers working at KATI. The project would utilize Tunguu Farm owned by the non-profit organization ZAYEDES. ZAYEDES was founded in 1998 with the vision of tackling socio-economic problems facing youth in Zanzibar. The organization owns a 62 acres farm in Tunguu area (hereby referred to as Tunguu farm) that they have turned into a youth vocational training center (MoU, 2015). ZAYEDES and KATI signed in June 2015 a Memorandum of Understanding where they agreed to collaborate on the sheep/goat-fattening project. The objectives of the collaboration are as follows:

- 1. To enhance the capacity of the institutions involved in training and outreach for vegetable and sheep/goat value chains*
- 2. To enhance standard compliance and efficiency in production, handling value addition within vegetable and sheep/goat value chains.*
- 3. To promote coordination/linkages between stakeholders and actors in vegetable and sheep/goat value chain (MoU, 2015)*

The overall goal of the project is to enable smallholder farmers to gain access to tourist hotel markets. Specifically, the purpose of the collaboration is to create a place to train farmers in animal husbandry, fattening sheep/goats to improve quality of meat and to teach slaughtering techniques that would ensure hygienic standards. Tunguu farm is also intended to be a permanent part of the project where a constant supply of goat/sheep meat can be sourced. KATI plans to build slaughtering facilities that will ensure hygiene and quality of the goat meat. Once the chefs from Emerson Hotels have sampled the products, employees will begin supplying Emerson with 2 goats/sheep per week from Tunguu farm. The goats will be slaughtered at Tunguu farm and transported by employees at KATI to Zanzibar Town. Once the transactions have been initiated, selected farmers from Uzi and Kizimbani area will send goats to Tunguu farm where they will be kept for 2-3 months to receive supplemental feed. A Technical and Implementation Committee (TIC) made of representatives from both KATI and ZAYEDES will serve as the operational management and will be responsible for

running the project. The actors and activities in the value chain of the pilot project is illustrated in Figure 5.2.

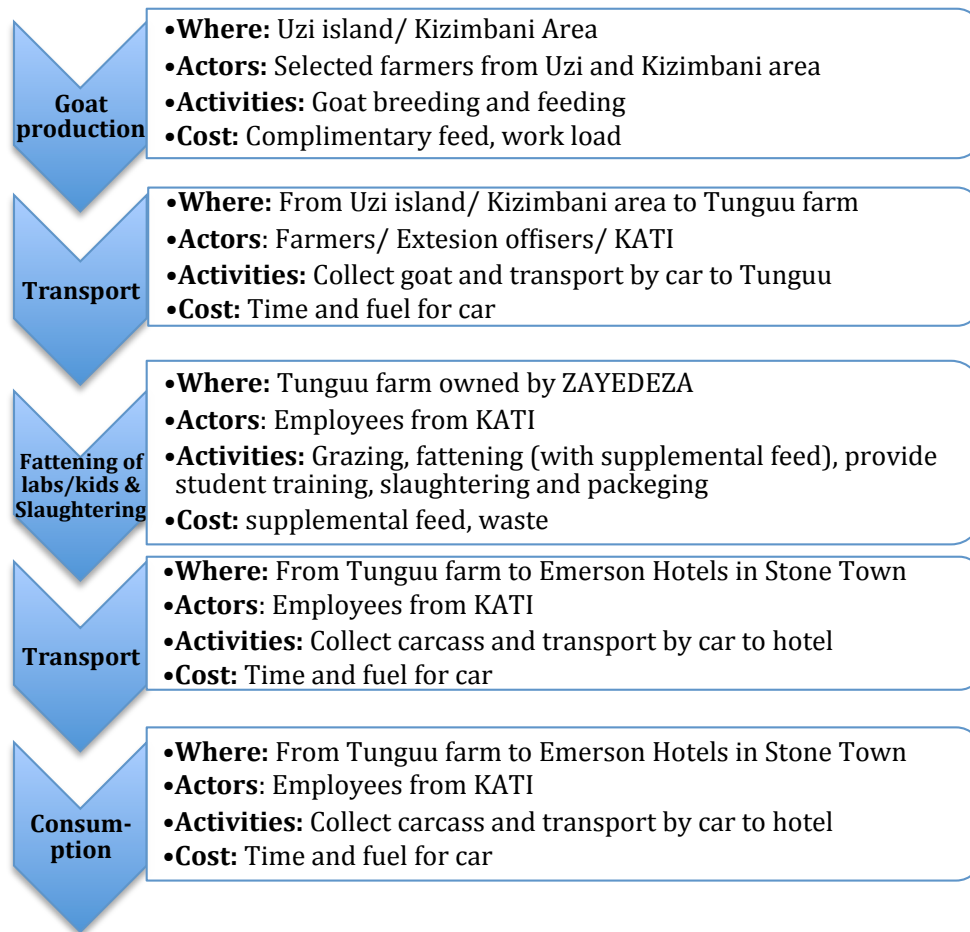


Figure 5.2: Overview of actors and activities in the proposed value chain of goat meat

Although the project is in an early stage and planning and development is still going on, there are several issues with the value chain that can have significant effect on the project. The major issue is cost. How will costs be distributed along the chain? Emerson hotels have offered to pay 9000 TZC per kilo for meat they receive from Tunguu farm. In the current chain this money must cover transportation fees both from Uzi or Kizimbani to Tunguu farm and from the farm to Emerson hotel in Zanzibar Town. In addition, those in charge of feeding the goats need a salary in addition to money to buy supplemental feed. Also, farmers in Uzi or Kizimbani area need to be paid a decent price for their live animals. Some funds are expected to come from participation fees of farmers attending training courses as well as governmental/private support. However, currently there is no external funding for the project,

thus leaving many transaction costs without funding. Cost is an important component of the chain that should be explored further.

5.3.3 Summary of Research Question 3 & 4 (continued)

Research Question (3): How is the proposed value chain of goat meat structured and who are the actors involved in the chain?

Research Question (4): Who performs the legislative, judicial and executive governance in the proposed value chain of goat meat and how does governance impact the farmers ability to meet the standards set by the buyers?

From the study of the establishment of the project and from interviews with different actors involved, several issues concerning the project and its governance have been identified. First, there are concerns about the obligations and implementation capabilities of KATI. Teachers and workers at KATI have many responsibilities and may have little time and incentive to commit to the program. Also, there are many actors involved in the project (KATI, NMBU, ZAYEDESA, Uzi farmers, Kizimbani farmers, Emerson Hotel and FKs) making it difficult to maintain a comprehensive overview and delegate responsibilities sufficiently to ensure that the goals of the project are followed through. Furthermore, the proposed project raises questions of the sustainability of the value chain—its ability to operate without the supervision of KATI and other “external” stakeholders. KATI plans to use Tunguu farm as training facilities where students and farmers can learn how to improve animal health, feeding practices and overall quality of their goats. An important question with this model is whether farmers are equipped with the same resources as are available at Tuunguu farm. If the farmers do not feel they have the same resources on their own farms, then it is less likely they will adopt practices. Another major concern is costs in the value chain. To date, the project has no secure funding from external sources. Furthermore, even with external funding, the project is set up so that it needs a continuous flow of funding in order to pay salaries for the employees feeding the goats at Tunguu farm. Also an important consideration is how this project will teach farmers the important skills of setting up business deals with private enterprises represented in the tourist industry. Based on Anderson and Jumas’ (2011) findings in beef and chicken value chains on the island, many farmers in Zanzibar are reluctant to supply hotels and restaurants because they lack knowledge of formal business

practices. Building trust between farmers and the hotel industry is an essential condition for a value chain between local producers and the tourist industry to function.

CHAPTER 6: UPGRADING

6 Upgrading strategies

In previous chapters, I have identified opportunities and constraints for a goat meat value chain in Zanzibar through the KATI training program. The goal of this section is to tie together the findings and discuss the fifth research question: which upgrading strategies can improve the value chain of goat meat and how are they linked to governance and gender in the project? It is important to note that the purpose of the project under investigation is to provide training and practical experience to smallholder farmers on how to improve farming methods. The overall aim is not to establish a permanent value chain the way it is now, but to use this model as a training facility for farmers to improve farming techniques, increase incomes and meet the demands of the tourist sector. However, I argue that those involved in the project must look at ways in which the value chain of goat meat can function independently of KATI and other stakeholders in order to reach its overall goal of improving the livelihoods for smallholder farmer. Thus my main focus in this section will be on an exit strategy to develop a value chain independent of KATIs support.

The major bottleneck with the value chains ability to function without external coordination is the question of who will manage business transaction between farmers and the hotel. Another important issue for the value chain to function without KATI is farmers' lack of access to sterile slaughtering facilities. Overcoming the problems that stand in the way for farmers to be able to meet the demands of the tourist sector, increase their profits and function without external coordination depends on engaging strong farmers and persons with knowledge in how the private sector operate. Finding innovate solutions to these challenges is of critical importance for the project to materialize its goal to expand market possibilities for rural farmers and improve livelihoods. The upgrading discussion in this chapter will be based on Mitchell and Coles six strategies for upgrading outlined in Chapter 3. I will focus on the strategies that are most relevant for the project, namely horizontal coordination, vertical coordination and product and process upgrade. Finally, there will be a presentation of measures that can be taken to ensure that women farmers are being heard in the development of the value chain.

6.1 Exit strategy for the goat project: why is it important?

According to Mitchell and Cole (2011) there is a tradition for organizations working on development to facilitate and organize groups of producers as well as provide a market for their outputs (p. 166). The rationale is to protect producers from exploitative intermediaries and to help them improve the quality of their products. Although this makes the chain easier to coordinate and may show good results, their success is often superficial as producers are held in a “captive” chain, entirely dependent on the NGO for input supply and output markets. The role of the support organization is to provide training to farmers to improve agricultural practices so that they can increase the value of their outputs. The role of the support organization is therefore temporary and the goal is that once the farmers are taught the skills they will be able to operate independently (J. Mitchell, & Christopher Coles, 2011). This is essentially the aim of the KATI project. Farmers from Uzi and Kizimbani area will first send their goats to Tunguu farm where they will be fed and supervised by employees from KATI. KATI will then slaughter and butcher the animals and send the meat to Emerson hotels. The plan is that farmers and students will come to Tunguu farm to learn about improved animal husbandry techniques that they can eventually use to establish a value chain of goat meat independent of KATI. However, without a robust exit-plan the project runs the risk of creating a damaging web of dependency (J. Mitchell, & Christopher Coles, 2011). NGOs are often dependent on showing positive results in order to secure more funding and projects are dependent on funding to be able to run (J. Mitchell, & Christopher Coles, 2011). To continue the training program at Tunguu farm KATI is dependent on getting goats from farmers in Zanzibar as well as securing funds to build slaughtering facilities and to pay for the workers managing the goats. The plan is that these costs will be covered by revenue from selling goat meat, training fees and contributions from “well-wishers” (MoU, 2015). This means that the success of the project depends on funds from outside sources and can be heavily impacted if these funds are not secured. In addition, this requires continuous coordination and the availability of workers and teachers from KATI to run the project. According to my interviews, previous experience with a similar project showed that coordination and availability of workers and teachers from KATI was a big challenge. Without an exit strategy the project will be under constant pressure to find funding and personnel that can continue the project. Also without a viable strategy to continue the value chain without the coordination from KATI, the project will be unsustainable for the farmers currently involved in the chain.

	Constraints	Opportunities
Facilitation*	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Farmers without knowledge in business - Language barrier - Lack of organization - Communication barriers - Issues of trust 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Extension officer with knowledge in private enterprises and good relationship with farmers - Strong farmers with knowledge in agribusiness
Production	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Poor quality of product 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Many goats - Favorable environment for goats - Farmers like to keep goats to raise household income - KATI, with knowledge of feeding and good animal husbandry, can offer training - Farmers to farmers training - Farmers can organize
Processing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No access to sterile slaughtering facilities - No formal training in butchery - No cooling facility -Investment needed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Training - Funds from government and external NGOs - Accustom to work in the night
Market	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Limited market for goat meat -High dependency factor -Limited access to market -Lack of information - Transportation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Multifunction of dairy goats -
Cost	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of external funds - Access to credit - Cost of transportation? - Cost of supplemental feed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Emerson willing to pay a higher price for product directly from farmers - Support from government and external NGOs
Gender	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Women have more responsibility at home 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Women play significant part of goat keeping -Women are part of groups - Women have access to information about goat keeping - Women have ownership of goats -Women get proceeds from sale of goat products

Table 6.1 Constraints and opportunities in the value chain of goat meat in Zanzibar

Based on the constraints and opportunities listed in Table 6.1 I suggest ways the value chain can operate without external coordination by KATI. I use the six upgrading strategies from Mitchell and Coles (2011). I relate suggested strategies to the proposed value chain illustrated in Figure 6.1

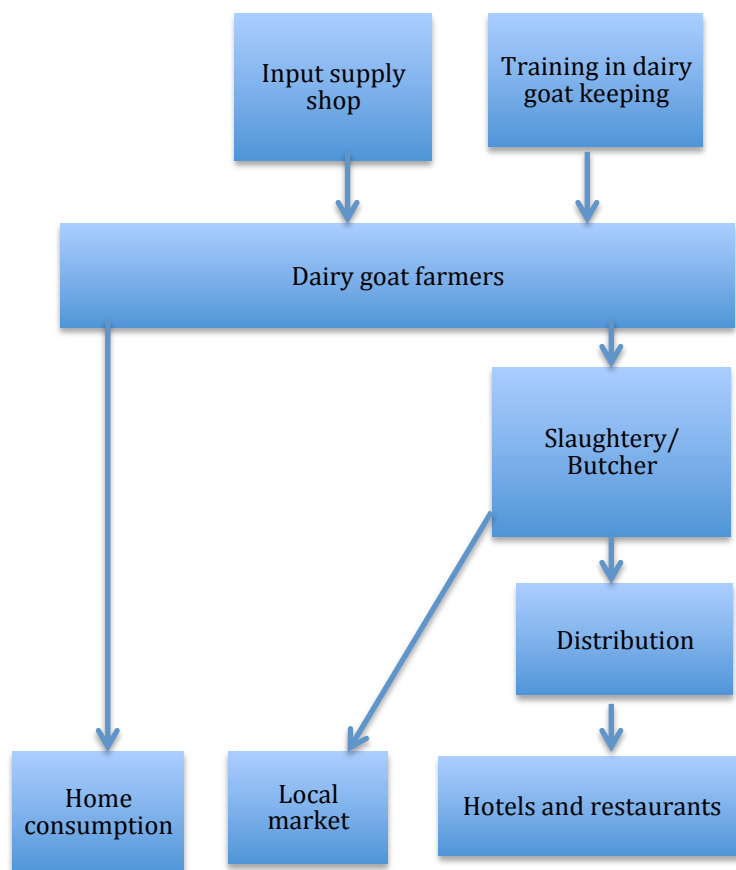


Figure 6.1: Proposed value chain of goat meat in Zanzibar

6.2 Upgrading strategies

6.2.1 Horizontal cooperation upgrade

There are many benefits to horizontal coordination upgrading. Horizontal upgrading pertains to farmers cooperating to form groups or cooperatives. Operating in groups can help farmers compete more effectively (J. Mitchell, & Christopher Coles, 2011). From the literature of linking the local agriculture and the tourist industry in developing countries it is evident that one of the main factors constraining the cooperation between farmers and hotels is farmers inability to produce quality and quantity of products (W. Anderson, & Saleh Juma, 2011; R. Torres, 2004). This is also the case for goat meat in Zanzibar. The manager at Emerson pointed out that unstable supply and uncertainty of quality averts the hotels from purchasing from local farmers. By organizing farmer groups and cooperatives farmers can pull resources together and offer a more stable supply. Farmers can also reduce transportation cost if they transport goods together in larger quantities. Also by operating in groups farmers can increase their negotiation power to discuss prices and benefits (Meinzen-Dick, 2014; J. Mitchell, & Christopher Coles, 2011). Results from the survey on dairy goat farmers in Zanzibar as well as the study on farmers in Uzi and from around Kizimbani indicate that horizontal coordination is beneficial to increase positive outcome of the project. From the

survey it is clear that working in groups or being part of groups for the purpose of learning and information sharing is common among dairy goat farmers in Zanzibar (see Chapter 6). Farmers in Uzi used the group as an arena to discuss terms and conditions for the trade with Emerson as well as prices for the goats. Furthermore, the farmers groups in Uzi and Kizimbani make it easier for KATI to facilitate practical training and learning courses. KATI can either provide on farm training at the farm of one of the members of the group or they can invite the farmers group to visit Tunguu farm to learn about slaughtering and animal husbandry.

In addition, horizontal coordination can promote collective learning through group-based initiatives such as farmer-to-farmer training and exchange visits (J. Mitchell, & Christopher Coles, 2011). This type of upgrading has already been discussed with farmers in Muungoni who have more experience in dairy goat keeping and adapting new practices to improve production. The farmer group in Muungoni could teach the farmers group in Uzi how to improve animal husbandry. This might be more effective than sending farmers to Tunguu farm as Muungoni farmers live under similar conditions as the Uzi farmers and could give more practical advice (J. Mitchell, Christopher Coles, & Jodie Keane, 2009). Horizontal coordination could also help dairy goat farmers learn how utilize the dairy goats' full potential. Farmers in the Kizimbani area have already been to several dairy goat training-courses and have adapted practices to increase milk yields. In addition, one farmer from the group in Kizimbani area has started producing vegetables that can be sold to hotels. Manure from dairy goats is a great source of fertilizer for vegetables and fruits (Stone, 2014). Results from the survey shows that some farmers are already utilizing this resource. However, farmers to farmers training and exchange visit can train more farmers to use manure and thus increase benefits from their dairy goats.

Another important benefit of horizontal coordination concerning Zanzibar is that groups have members of both sexes and women are valued members of the groups. Often in rural agrarian societies women are excluded from groups with men and thus are left out of decision-making about agriculture (Meinzen-Dick, 2014) . Evidence shows that mixed-gender groups may be more effective in some areas as they draw upon the skills of both women and men (Meinzen-Dick, 2014) Similarly, because women generally have less access to resources, women-only groups tend to perform less efficiently than men-only groups (Meinzen-Dick, 2014). In Zanzibar, mixed-gender groups are accepted and practiced. According to the survey on

women's access to information on dairy goat keeping, almost 70 percent said they have the same access to information on dairy goat keeping as men. Also from the experience of former FK volunteers' women are active participants in group-work. Ensuring horizontal coordination can thus increase women's access to resources and services and increase their social status.

However, increased benefits for women through horizontal coordination do not happen solely by including women into groups. It requires effort to ensure that women's voices are heard and that the time spent in the group is relevant for women's activities. Women do spend significantly more time on household activities and have more responsibilities than men. Ensuring that group activities such as meetings, training and farm visits take into account women's multiple responsibilities is therefore essential to maintain and increase women's position in the chain. Making sure that meetings or seminars are not organized at times when women are busy with other chores could be a way to include women. Similarly, allowing women to bring their children to meetings and training courses could be a way to ensure women's participation. Research also shows that in projects aimed at increasing productivity through technological upgrading, women often get excluded when new technology is introduced (Quisumbing, 2014). Identifying strong women farmers such as the owner of Msongo Organic Family Farm and invite women and men to learn from her, can encourage both men and women to see opportunities for women in farming. In addition, with regards to value added activities in the chain such as teaching farmers better slaughtering techniques to improve sanitation of the product, may contribute to the exclusion of women. I did not examine cultural norms surrounding slaughtering and processing of meat. However, according to informal sources on the Internet as well as conversations with people in Zanzibar, there are no laws in Islam that prohibit women from slaughtering animals. However, there may be cultural and social norms specific to Zanzibar that would limit women to take part in this activity in the chain. Paying special attention to how value added intervention in the value chain affects women is important to understand how value chains can improve smallholder farmers livelihoods (Quisumbing, 2014). Related to this is also the issue of governance within the group. For the group to function efficiently and take advantage of the benefits of horizontal coordination as well as benefits from mix-gender groups depends on rules of entering, governance structure and how funds are distributed within the group. A closer look into how farmers group in Uzi, Muungoni and KATI operate would thus be of interest.

Finally, horizontal coordination is often prerequisite for vertical coordination and functional upgrade (J. Mitchell, & Christopher Coles, 2011). Having achieved economies of scale, eliminating insecurities in production and decreasing transaction costs through horizontal coordination increases chances of establishing long term, stable relationship with actors higher up in the chain. I will discuss this more in the following section.

6.2.2 Vertical coordination upgrade

Vertical coordination is the process of strengthening ties between actors of different activities within the chain. Vertical coordination upgrades involves moving away from one-time transactions to more long-term contracts between actors in the chain (J. Mitchell, & Christopher Coles, 2011). Having long-term contracts can increase farmers security and provide a dependable, constant source of income. Mitchell and Cole define contracts loosely to describe vertical relationships of varying degree of formality (2011). For example, contracts do not only encompass exchange of money, but can also involve information exchange. Permanent vertical relationships between producers and buyers can allow buyers to specify how they want the product, giving producers input on quality, quantity and how they want it delivered. This will give buyers the privileges to enjoy better quality products. It also gives them important connections that can give them access to other locally produced products. In turn, long-term commitments with buyers can give producers access to market information, for example what is in demand, and technical assistance (J. Mitchell, & Christopher Coles, 2011). In the proposed value chain of goat meat, vertical integration is already taking place. Emerson hotels, in this case the buyers, have agreed to cooperate with KATI and selected farmers in Uzi and Kizimbani to buy goat meat as well as some vegetables, flowers and fruits. This vertical relationship has already given farmers information on market demand and quality specification that can ensure them a contract. Emerson hotels have agreed to start purchasing two goats per week from local farmers selected by KATI, if they comply with the quality standards they have outlined. As it is still in its initial phase, no formal contract has been written between the farmers and Emerson hotels yet. However, if farmers are able to produce the quality and quantity specified by Emerson, writing a formal contract could make the relationship more stable for both the producers and the buyer.

However, vertical coordination rarely takes place in isolation from other upgrading strategies. As mentioned earlier, horizontal coordination plays a significant role in securing contracts (J. Mitchell, & Christopher Coles, 2011). Since permanent vertical coordination usually happens when buyers see that producers can produce to the quality and quantity that they want, horizontal coordination that increases volumes, reduces transaction costs and ensures quality, is key to secure the contract (J. Mitchell, & Christopher Coles, 2011). This provides another incentive for why KATI should encourage dairy goat farmers to organize in groups. The group can, not only, be a place where members learn how to improve animal husbandry, but it can also take the responsibility to organize a common slaughtering area for all members to use rather than each individual farmer building one of their own.

Overcoming the gap between producers and the tourist market in Zanzibar is a challenge for vertical coordination. The major bottleneck with the process of linking farmers with the tourist industry in Zanzibar is the lack of facilitators that can ensure that the product reaches the buyer according to their specifications. An interesting solution to this problem is the use of traders called “professional marketing intermediaries” (J. Mitchell, & Christopher Coles, 2011, p. 166). A federation of beekeepers in South India had managed to increase production of honey but realized that they needed more buyers to help them access markets for their product. The beekeeper federation identified a number of local entrepreneurs with good financial and business backgrounds and suggested to them that the honey trade was a good business opportunity. Of the 25 entrepreneurs that attended the meeting, six became professional marketing agents eventually supplying large buyers across India with honey (Kumar, 2010, p. 129). In contrast to private traders buying from individual farmers the professional marketing agents, working with farmers groups, have lower procurement costs because they have access to larger quantities in one place and better purchasing and sales networks (Kumar, 2010). This serves as an excellent example for how to overcome one of the major constraints in the value chain of goat meat. Local entrepreneurs such as Aliy and others like him with experience in working closely with farmers and the private sector can, not only, facilitate the trade between the tourist industry and local farmers, making the links more secure and permanent, but also increase job opportunities. By cooperating with groups, entrepreneurs will gain access to larger product quantities and transaction costs for farmers will be reduced. In addition, by including these “professional marketing agents” in the value chain will help build the necessary trust between local farmers with the tourist industry. In a study of the value chain of beef and poultry in Zanzibar, Anderson and Juma found that

issues of trust are major reasons for why local farmers do not supply tourist hotels and restaurants and why hotels do not buy from local suppliers (2011). Experiences with local producers had caused hotels to doubt farmers' ability to supply them with the quantity and quality that they wanted. In turn, farmers did not like to trade with hotels, as they were often overwhelmed with language barriers and complicated contracts (2011). Similar situations are reported throughout the world. The head of Sandals Foundation, a major all-inclusive hotel chain in the Caribbean, also experienced this issue of trust. Sandals had tried for several years to trade directly with farmers in Jamaica, but eventually had to give up because farmers were not able to supply the quantities and quality that the hotels required. However, they now get products from farmers through a "middle man" with knowledge of business and trade and with good relationships with farmers. Having close ties with farmers groups, professional marketing agents can negotiate with farmers on prices as well as communicate market specifications and demand from the hotels (Kumar, 2010). In addition, when identifying entrepreneurs, one can specifically look for resource strong women, with knowledge in agribusiness and marketing, to increase the involvement of women in this link of the value chain. To identify entrepreneurs KATI could, for example, invite students in agribusiness to discuss different business models for how to link farmer with the tourist industry. They could also improve learning and training in social entrepreneurship and agribusiness skills to increase the number of entrepreneurs.

However, there are also tradeoffs to vertical coordination. First, there is a risk to introducing resource strong entrepreneurs in the value chain as they can take out a large portion of the cost of the final product for their own work, and thus reduce the money actually reaching the farmers. A way to minimize this risk is to start a wholesale company or look for opportunities for farmers to supply already existing wholesale companies. This model was suggested by the Gatsby Charitable Foundations (2010) based on research on how to best link the tourist industry with local farmers in Zanzibar. Looking into ways in which farmers in Uzi and Kizimbani can be suppliers to organizations such as UWAMWIMA could be of great value for the sustainability of the project.

Second, another major limitation to vertical cooperation is that it can exclude resource poor and vulnerable groups. Resource poor groups have a lesser opportunities to improve quality and quantity, which is the prerequisite for acquiring vertical cooperation such as permanent contracts with buyers. Putting special emphasis on teaching resource poor communities how

they can meet quality and quantity standards should therefore be a priority for KATI and other organizations working to improve value chains in Zanzibar.

6.2.3 Product and process upgrade

As already mentioned throughout this paper one of the most common barriers to entry into the tourist industry for rural poor farmers is that their products fail to meet market specifications both in terms of both quality and volume. Product upgrade is about making better products that can increase its value and fetch higher prices. Process upgrade is about efficiency within or between actors of the value chain (J. Mitchell, & Christopher Coles, 2011). One of the most common product and process upgrade in rural-based value chains is improving agronomic practices to increase productivity, production and sales. Increasing output for smallholder farmers through improvements in farming methods such as animal husbandry is one of the simplest forms of product and process upgrading (J. Mitchell, & Christopher Coles, 2011). In Zanzibar, KATI in cooperation with ZAYDESA, SUA and NMBU has already made plans to help smallholder farmers improve the quality of their products. FK volunteers, working for KATI, have already held several courses for dairy goat farmers on how to improve practices in order to increase milk production. ZAYEDESAs has agreed to lend part of their farm to KATI to keep lambs and goats for fattening and slaughter. Students as well as farmers will be invited to the farm to learn good animal husbandry practices as well as slaughtering techniques that meet the standards of the tourist industry. The benefit with this model is that KATI has direct access to researchers, extension officers and “experts” with up-to-day knowledge on agricultural practices. However, there are two major limitations to this model that are important to note.

First, success in agricultural development is strongly dependent on the availability of relevant up-to-date technical support for producers. Often organizations working to improve farming, introduce high yielding varieties to help increase outputs. In the goat project, the high yielding variety is the dairy goat. Dairy goats have the potential to supply farmers with a steady source of income through milk production as well income from selling male kids for meat. It can also improve crop yields by supplying a valuable source of fertilizer. However, for farmers to enjoy the multiple benefits of dairy goat keeping, they need to increase inputs. Compared with local African goats, dairy goats have higher input requirements, they need more nutritional feed and maintenance (Eik, 2008). Often producers have limited knowledge

and resources and are not able to perform the activities that will increase output. Many smallholder farmers are not able to emulate the practices used in research trials (J. Mitchell, & Christopher Coles, 2011). This can also be the case in the KATI project. Will farmers have access to the same resources used to fatten goats at Tunguu farm? A way to overcome this challenge is to organize trials on a typical smallholder farms and organize farmer-to-farmer training. This also helps to overcome the challenge of convincing farmers to change practices. Agricultural practices are often bound in long-standing traditional norms. Farmers must be convinced that the benefits of new practices outweigh the costs if they are to change practices. Farmers to farmers training can help overcome this challenge because seeing other farmers succeed with similar resources as they have, is more convincing than a farm with much more technical advanced resources (J. Mitchell, & Christopher Coles, 2011). However, this needs further research in the Zanzibar context.

The second major concern with process and product upgrade in Zanzibar is the issue of market demand. The purpose of upgrading the value chain is to increase value and sales of products in order for farmers to increase their income. However, this is dependent on demand of the product. If the product is not in demand, upgrades in the value chain will be inefficient because nobody is buying the product or willing to offer a higher price for it. Support organizations that advocate strategies for their target beneficiaries without performing a market analysis first, runs the risk of making their beneficiaries more vulnerable (J. Mitchell, & Christopher Coles, 2011). Encouraging poor farmers to spend money on upgrading their product later to find out that it does not increase sales of the product can have devastating effects on resource-poor farmers. In Zanzibar, goat meat represents only a very small portion of what is in demand by the tourist industry. A survey distributed among 34 hotels in Zanzibar indicated that most hotels want beef or lamb (Gatsby, 2010). This could develop into a major bottleneck if the value chain of goat meat looks to expand its beneficiaries. The goat project is already showing signs of supply exceeding demand. To increase the market for the beneficiaries, the program plans to supply the local market specifically during Muslim holidays such as Eid Al-Fitr and Eid Al-Adha with the surplus goat meat. Important to understand with this plan is that the local market may not be willing to pay extra for higher quality products. Goat meat is a common dish to eat among local Zanzibaris and it is being sold at most butchers or from person to person. Zanzibaris do not seem to have a problem with the way goat meat is produced and sold today but this way is not accepted to the tourist industry. An important factor to look into for support organizations like KATI, before

encouraging smallholder farmers in Uzi and in Muungoni to increase quality and production, is whether improved quality will actually bring a better price.

Yet, there can be a point in looking into ways to encourage hotels to incorporate more goat meat into their menus. There are many benefits in goat keeping for smallholder farmers that have been highlighted throughout this paper. In addition, encouraging guests to eat more goat meat could help mitigate marine resource depletion. Similarly, goats are more suitable for farmers in Zanzibar as lack of available land for grazing makes increase in cattle farming challenging. Currently less than 10 percent of beef consumed at hotels in Zanzibar is sourced from local farmers (W. Anderson, & Saleh Juma, 2011). Goats are easier to maintain and can make use of different ecosystems on the island such as coral rag areas that are unsuitable for cattle. In addition, as indicated in the survey on gender and goat keeping, women control a significant part of goat keeping whereas they are largely excluded from fishing. Increasing goat production could open up new opportunities of employment for women and increase their income and household status.

6.2.4 Summary of Research Question 5

Research question (5): Which upgrading strategies can improve the value chain of goat meat and how are they linked to governance and gender in the project?

In this chapter on upgrading strategies, I have used information from the previous chapters to emphasize key constraints in the proposed value chain of goat meat in Zanzibar. I have argued that for the project to realize its goal of expanding market possibilities for local farmers, it must consider ways in which the value chain can function without the supervision of KATI. Using the upgrading framework outlined by Mitchell and Coles I have suggested strategies that could make the value chain of goat meat more sustainable and beneficial for local farmers. The suggested upgrading strategies are illustrated in Figure 6.2.

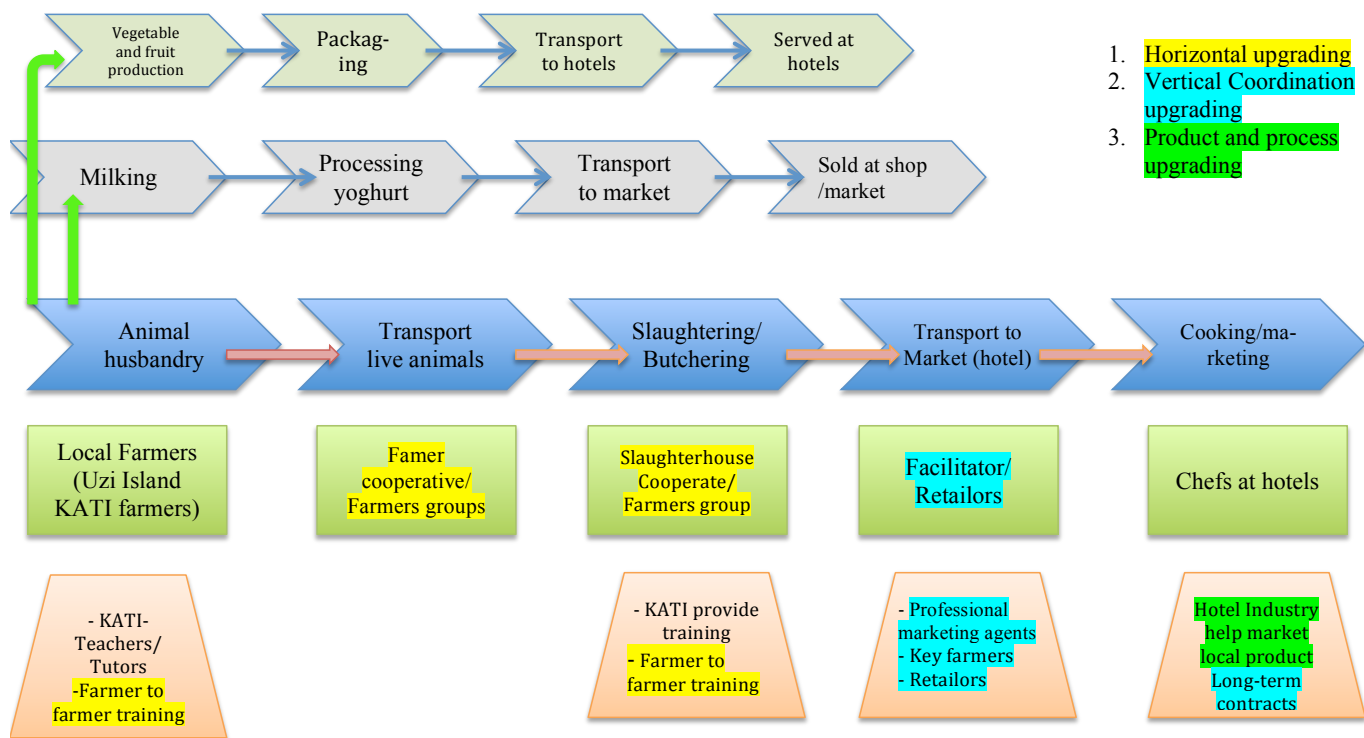


Figure 7.2: Proposed value chain of goat meat in Zanzibar with upgrading strategies (Source: Inspired by ValueLinks model of mapping value chains)

The blue arrows represent the stages of production and specific business activities in the proposed value chain of goat meat. The green rectangles represent the actors at each activity of the chain. The orange trapezoid represents the value chain supporters and enablers. Furthermore, I have highlighted the suggested upgrading strategies according to the type of upgrading. As a form of product and process upgrading, I suggested that dairy goats multiple functions should be utilized to branch into new value chains illustrated with the green arrows to the value chain of goat milk and vegetables and fruits.

Issues of gender have been addressed in all stages of upgrading based on what is known of gender among goat farmers in Zanzibar. I have suggested ways in which the project can ensure that women also benefit from the proposed value chain of goat meat. I have illustrated the constraints and solutions discussed above in Table 7.2

Key gender equality issues	Issues of gender among goat farmers in Zanzibar	Example of gender-sensitive intervention
Women have less access to resources and information than men. Women have less control over benefits from production	Women play significant roles in dairy goat farming in Zanzibar. They have ownership of goats and proceeds from sale of goat products	Improved gender sensitive business agreements in terms of packaging and handling technology, schedule and working conditions
Women face constraints because of gender roles. They have more responsibility within the household and have less mobility than men.	Women spend on average 3 ½ hours more on household chores than men	Training of farmers should be adopted so that women can participate
Women who are members of mixed groups/cooperatives will face specific constraints regarding their involvement and participation such as lack of time (household chores and childcare)	Mixed gender groups are practiced in Zanzibar	Study the composition of farmers groups and examine quality of women's participation
Women often become more vulnerable with upgrading strategies because men take over responsibility	Women spend more time at home	Identify women entrepreneurs with knowledge in agribusiness. KATI could facilitate training in business skills and entrepreneurship
Women do not have equal opportunities as men	Low demand of goat meat in Zanzibar. Women are excluded from fishing.	See how increased goat farming can increase opportunities for women

Table 6.2: Constraints and opportunities for women in the value chain of goat meat in Zanzibar

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

7 Concluding remarks and implications

The aim of this thesis was to understand how local farmers can improve their livelihood through increased access to tourist hotel markets in Zanzibar. Using a framework for analyzing value chains, I examined the constraints and opportunities in a dairy goat project headed by KATI aimed at expanding market possibilities for smallholder farmers in Zanzibar. My focus in the analysis has been on gender and governance issues in the value chain.

One of three main objectives of the research focused on women's roles within dairy goat farming in Zanzibar. The findings show that women play important roles in dairy goat farming in Zanzibar. Women account for at least half of the dairy goat farmers. As farmers, women have ownership of the goats and receive income from goat products. They are active participants in knowledge sharing farmer groups. However, the study confirms that women spend substantially more time on household chores than men. This is of significance for the project as it affects women's participation in upgrading strategies in the value chain. I have made suggestions for how to maintain women's positions in dairy goat farming. The project leaders should pay special attention to women's involvement in farmer groups and ensure that any upgrading strategies take into account women's multiple responsibilities within and outside the household.

The second objective of the research focused on identifying constraints in the current value chain of goat meat in Zanzibar. The investigation revealed that inconsistent supply, lack of sanitary slaughtering facilities and poor overall quality of the meat made it difficult for the hotel to source meat from local suppliers. The third objective was to examine governance in the proposed value chain of goat meat and suggest upgrading strategies in the project. Based on the findings, I have argued that the project leaders must consider an exit strategy for the project to successfully reach its goal of expanding market opportunities for smallholder farmers. One of the major bottlenecks in linking local farmers to hotels and restaurants on the island is the lack of facilitators that can oversee and ensure the transaction between local farmers and hotel and restaurant owners. There is a need for professional personnel that have knowledge of the demands and standards set forth by the tourist industry as well as good working relationship with local farmers. I have argued that KATI should offer courses in social entrepreneurship and agribusiness to overcome this constraint.

After having examined constraints and opportunities for selling goat meat to the tourist industry and taken a closer look on the governance and prospects of the goat project, I suggest that pursuing a value chain of goat meat in Zanzibar, on its own, is not an efficient way to improve livelihoods for smallholder farmers. Because the demand is low and local consumers seem content with the current quality of the meat, increasing production in the current situation is not likely to produce significant improvements to smallholders' livelihoods. It may be more beneficial to investigate the upgrading of fruit and vegetable production, as an initial means to access the greater tourist market. Local fruits and vegetables are in higher demand (Gatsby, 2010) and are not subject to the cultural eating habits of tourists, to the same degree as goat meat. Through this access, the cultural aspects of goats could be developed, over time, through the promotion of local produce and authentic East African cuisine. In a long-term sustainable perspective, I believe dairy goats can play a vital role in improving livelihoods in Zanzibar. The ecological environment in Zanzibar is conducive to goat production. Moreover, food security and poverty reduction depend on increasing women's participation in agricultural development. An emphasis on developing goat keeping would be a way to engage women directly in the development process.

The situation in Zanzibar does draw similarities to other tourist destinations in developing countries. My hope is that this work will also help give researchers inspiration to utilize the value chain approach to identify the complexities with linking farmers to the tourist industry in other countries and to highlight important aspects, like gender, in the analysis.

7.1 Linking tourism to agriculture in developing countries

In this study, constraints and opportunities for linking local farmers to the tourist industry have been identified and discussed. In the introduction, I emphasized the potential to increase food security and reduce number of poor people depends on smallholder farmers ability to go from subsistence farming to market oriented producers. In order to achieve this, farmers need access to markets where they can sell their products and obtain inputs. For smallholder farmers living in countries where tourism represents a large part of GDP, farmers have a unique opportunity to earn extra income by selling products to markets that are closer to home.

Although the goat project in Zanzibar is unique in that it is also a training program, it does reflect many of the challenges found in pro-poor tourism literature as well as linking producers to markets in global value chains. Important lessons can be drawn from the example especially on social entrepreneurial activities and actors

7.2 Theoretical considerations

Issues of gender and smallholder farmers' access to markets are issues emphasized as being essential for improving food security and reducing the number of poor people in the world. The value chain approach inspired by Kaplinsky and Morris (2001) as well as the SNV (2011) tool-book on gender mainstreaming have both been useful tools in gathering information and structuring this thesis. In addition, to adopt the upgrading framework to a more local context, horizontal and vertical coordination was included. Including issues of gender was seen as a necessary addition to the framework as women and men's roles within production are known to have significant influence on a value chains ability to improve benefits for smallholder farmers. It was interesting to understand women's multiple productive roles both within the household and with regards to dairy goat farming.

However, it is a challenge to conciliate economic and gender objectives in value chain analysis. Although I believe both gender equality and increasing market access are measures that are essential in order to improve livelihoods for local farmers, it was a challenge to address both in the thesis. Focusing on both gave a good overview of the project; however, it did not make room for detailed focus. A focus on group characteristics and asset endowments within farmers groups in Zanzibar could better capture farmers' ability to take advantage of the tourist market. It could also provide a more in-depth understanding of women's roles and opportunities in dairy goat farming (Barham, 2009).

In addition, looking to increase capabilities through the lens of social entrepreneurship could give way to new ideas for how to increase capabilities for smallholder farmers (Seelos, 2005). Social entrepreneurship offers insights that may stimulate ideas for more socially acceptable and sustainable business strategies and organizational forms. Social entrepreneurship is a rich field for the discovery of inspired models of value creation. Training in social entrepreneurship could help bridge the gap between local farmers and the

tourist industry by creating businesses that focus on efficient business strategies and social development.

7.3 Limitations and Recommendation for future research

This research focused on two aspects of agriculture in developing countries, namely access to markets and issues of gender among smallholder farmers. The research was done by examining a case study through the lens of value chain analysis. The research utilized both qualitative and quantitative data. However, there are limitations to both the data collection methodologies. Because of unforeseen circumstances, I was not able to travel to Zanzibar to conduct research before late in the research process. This also meant that I was not able to be present during the execution of the survey. Considering the location of the research and differences in culture as well as the subject of the survey, which is largely opinion based, the survey may not accurately reflect all aspects of gender in Zanzibar. Being present and actively participating in conducting the survey could have given me insight in aspect about gender that were not captured by the survey.

Two factors have specifically influenced the quality of qualitative data. First, the project that was my case study is in its initial phase and thus changes are constantly being made. This makes it difficult maintain a complete overview. Since the focus of the project changed from being on goat milk to goat meat only two weeks before I was travelling to do my fieldwork, I had limited time to prepare. Also because of the amount of actors involved in the project as well as continuous inclusions of more, it was difficult to extract data. My fieldwork time was cut short to only 3 weeks because of time constraints and health issues. This limited my ability to amass the amount of data that I needed to make a better assessment of the value chain of goat meat and value creation. Research on the opportunities for exact value creation of goat meat for smallholder farmers in Zanzibar would help facilitators of value chains better understand the impact they can have. In addition, limited time and capacity only allowed me to focus on one aspect of dairy goats, namely goat meat. It could be beneficial to assess the full potential of dairy goats with regards to milk production, meat production, the use of manure and how these can increase benefits for farmers. Nevertheless, the thesis does raise some important questions about gender issues and sustainability of development projects that I hope will help to increase benefits for local farmers in Zanzibar and inspire more research on the subject.

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Appendix 1 Survey on dairy goat farmers in Zanzibar

Survey on division of labor in households and women's status among dairy goat farmers in Zanzibar

Hi! My name is Anja Moulton. I am a master's student in International Development Studies coming from the Norwegian University of Life Sciences. I came to study the value-chain of dairy goats and gender in Zanzibar

The main objective of this study is to:

1. To understand the women and men's roles within the household and society at large
2. To find out the gender differences in access to, and control over resources related to dairy goats
3. To find out gender related benefits and challenges with regards to dairy goat farming in Zanzibar
4. To find out what projects, interventions or support will be helpful in the future

I will write a report and make a digital story as part of my thesis. I will send out a summary of the results upon completion of the project. This project does not come with any funding or any promise of future funding. I will complete my study and give recommendations that could be used for future decision-making.

Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this survey. Ahsante sana.

1. Date of Survey (DD/MM/YY) _____
2. Name of interviewer: _____
3. Name of Interviewee: _____
4. District _____
5. Shehia _____

Section One: Profile of Respondents

6. Sex:

1. Female 2. Male

7. Marital Status:

1. Married 2. Single

3. Widow/Widower

For male (Married)

8. Do you have more than one wife? If so, how many?

- 1.No 2. Yes _____

For Women (Married)

9. Does your husband have more than one wife? If so, how many?

- 1.No 2. Yes _____

10. People living in your household (put the number of people):

Head of household (HH)	Wife(s)	Children	Children of relatives	Siblings (of HH or Wife)	Parents	Grand-children	Other relatives	Non-relatives	Others (specify)

11. Age of oldest child/Age of youngest child: _____

12. What is the highest level of education for adults in your household?

- 1.No formal and illiterate 2.No formal, but literate
3.Primary school 4.High/Secondary school
5.University

Section 2: Dairy goat husbandry

13. How many dairy goats do your household own?

Goat type	Norwegian Dairy goat (#) (50% Norwegian Blood and up)	Cross breed #(Norwegian and Local)
Female kids* (0-4 months)		
Male kids (5-6 months)		
Female weaner**		
Male weaner		
Female adults (7 months and up)		
Male adults		
Castrates		

*Kid= a young goat, less then one year **weaner= a young goat, that no longer drink milk from mother

14. What year did you purchase or obtain your first dairy goat? _____

15. How much did it cost? _____

16. How did you get your first dairy goat?

1. Bought from a friend/neighbor 2. Bought from a individual/trader

3. Given through a project

4. Gift from relatives/other

5. Inherited

6. Other (specify)_____

17. Rank why you choose to keep dairy goats? 1=Not a reason 5. Main reason

	1. Not a reason	2. Weak reason	3. One of the reasons	4. Strong reason	5. Main Reason
Consumption of meat					
Consumption of Milk					
Raise household income					
Hobby					
Sale (live animals)					
Sale (meat)					
Sell Milk					
Manure					
Household Status					
Other (specify)					

18. What is the maximum capacity of dairy goats you can keep (based on endowments, resources, space etc):_____

19. Does anyone in your household drink goat milk? How much per day? Who drinks the milk?

1.No 2. Yes (liter)_____

3. Who drinks the milk:_____

20. Does your household have cows? If so how many?

	Fetching firewood	Fetching water	Cooking	Feeding Goats	Feeding other livestock	Taking care of children	Agricultural activities	Fishing	Business
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21. No Yes (#):_____

	Man (husband)	Woman (wife)	Son	Daughter	Grand-faher	Grand-mother	Employee	Other (specify)
Decides about sales and purchase of animals								
Keeps the sales proceeds								
Decides about sales of milk								
Keeps the sales proceeds								
Feeds the goats								
Herd the goats								

22. Please specify who does the following:

23. How many goats would you like to keep?_____

Section 3: Labor allocation

24. What are your responsibilities in the household?

Morning (6-12)									
Day (12-17)									
Evening (17-22)									

Continue...

	Formal employment	Crafts	Other (specify)
Morning (6-12)			
Day (12-17)			
Evening (17-22)			

25. How much time do you spend on each activity per day?

Activities	Hours pr day
Fetching firewood	
Fetching water	
Cooking	
Feeding the goats	
Feeding other livestock	
Agricultural activities	
Fishing	
Business	
Formal salary employment	
Crafts	
Other (specify)	

26. To what degree has working with dairy goat affected other chores?

	Not agree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	N/A
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Working with dairy goats have taken away time from other important chores					
Increasing the number of dairy goats in your household will affect other household chores					

27. In your household who is primarily in charge of the goats (feeds the goats, herd the goats)?

1. Women 2. Men 3. Children 4. Share

28. In your household who owns the goats?

1. Women 2. Men 3. Shared

Section 4: Organization

29. Are there any in your household who are a member of a group?

Name of group	Type of group*	Main function this group performs for you	How many men in the household belong to this group?	How many women in the household belong to this group?	What is the membership fee per year?
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					

*Farmers group, women's group, men's group etc.

Note: If you are part of a group, please answer the questions below, if you are not, skip to question

30. How often do you attend this group? _____

31. Where is the group based? _____

32. Why did you decide to join the group?

33. Information sharing and joint planning:

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided (Neutral)	Agree	Strongly agree	N/A
I have enough knowledge about dairy goat keeping						
I share my knowledge and information with other dairy goat owners						
Other dairy goat owners share their information and knowledge with me						
I learn about dairy goat keeping from the group I am part of						
I attend periodic meetings about dairy goat keeping						
I can express my views about dairy goat keeping freely in my group						
My view points about dairy goat keeping are taken into account						

34. Question women and dairy goat keeping:

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided (Neutral)	Agree	Strongly agree	N/A
Women have the same access about dairy goat keeping as men						
Women are active participants in groups focusing on dairy goat keeping						
Women have the same access to information about dairy goat keeping as men						
Women do most work with dairy goats						
Women milk the dairy goats						

Section 5: Market availability

35. Do you sell milk from your dairy goats?

36. Where would you sell goat milk?

- 1.To neighbor 2.At the roadside 3.In a market 4. Collection center
 5. Other (specify): _____

37. Who in the household is in charge of selling goat milk?

38. Available markets for goat milk

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	N/A
There is available markets for goat milk in my area all year round						
I have available transport to the market to sell my milk						
I would like to start selling goat milk						
I get information on prices for goat milk						
I am able to store goat milk in my house						

39. How do you feed your dairy goat?

1. Cut and carry?
2. Grazing
3. Supplemental feed

40. Do you have available supplemental feed for your dairy goats?

1. Yes
2. No

41. If yes, where do you get it from and how much does it cost?

Appendix 2 List of products Emerson Hotels wants

Vegetables and eatable flowers

1. Cherry tomatoes
2. Pomegranate
3. Red pepper
4. Mushroom
5. Arugula
6. Lollo roso lettuce
7. Zucchini flowers
8. Chive flowers
9. Nasturtium flowers
10. Red cabbage
11. Watercress
12. Mangosteen
13. Borage flower
14. Marigold

Meats

15. Goat (meat, milk and cheese)
16. Rabbit
17. Ginny fowl
18. Pigeon

Conditions:

- You would prefer that the products are delivered to the hotel twice per week. Eg. Tuesday/Friday
- You can send a chef from the hotel to inspect the products before and approve the quality
- You would like a fixed price which includes handling, packaging and transportation to hotel

You prefer to order products (type, quantity etc) online to avoid misunderstanding

Appendix 3 List of farmer-groups* in Zanzibar

Asali Chungu
ATOAE Allah
Atowaye Allah
Chaweza
Diblad Organization
Elimu kwa wote
Hatutogo Mbana
Hatuyumbi Shwi
Hidaya Yetu
Jica Kichangane
Jitihada Zetu
Kisitushinde
Laleo hufonywa Leo
Livestock farmer
Majunu Mwiko
Maskini Sikilema
Mkomafi
Mkorofi si Mwenzetu
Mpaviku Succos
Mshikamano
Muelekeo Mwema
Mutaalimat
Muungoni Saccos
Mwenda Pole
Mwengo
Nasisituwe mbele
Nuru Njema
PADEP
Pangali Lifestock keeping
Rehema Kwetu
Rehema ya Mungu
Saccos
Sebu ugomvi
TAKA
TASAF
Tuamkeni Kinamama
Tunajikongoja
Tupendane dunga Kiemboni
Tusaidie Wata Wako
Tusifichane
Tusirudi Nyuma
Tuvumiliane
Tuwembele
Tuwesawa
Umaskini Sikilema
Uwamabi

*(Some of the groups may be misspelled)



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