

Fostering tourism social entrepreneurship through community-based tourism: A window of opportunities for Fragile Collectives

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Abstract: Tourism social entrepreneurship is increasingly adopted as a more practical way that fosters sustainable livelihoods. Tourism scholars opine that this is especially to communities and individuals whose source of livelihoods is entirely dependent on tourism. But to date there has not been rigorous scrutiny of tourism social entrepreneurship in the community-based tourism context. The purpose of this study is to understand the practices of the CBT enterprises and its impacts on the livelihoods of fragile collectives living on the fringes of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park (BINP). Specifically, it explores the fragile collectives' forms of participation and benefits derived from participation. A qualitative and ethnography methodology is used in this study with the participation of 55 fragile collectives in the communities surrounding BINP. The study finds that: (1) fragile collectives engage in direct and indirect forms of participation in CBT related enterprises; (2) tourism social enterprises have created worthwhile new opportunities for fragile collectives and have substantially improved their livelihoods. These findings demonstrate the potential of CBT in promoting tourism social entrepreneurship among the fragile collectives living on the fringes of BINP. Thus, this study concludes that CBT is a good model for social entrepreneurship in which fragile collectives can use their business acumen to exploit tourism opportunities and improve their livelihoods. This paper gives practitioners a clear understanding of how they can successfully support and create a context for fragile collective's tourism social entrepreneurship to flourish. Theoretically, this study contributes to tourism social entrepreneurship scholarship that is scanty in tourism discipline by

providing a clear understanding of how community-based tourism initiatives can improve the livelihoods of the fragile collectives. For policy, findings from this study calls for establishing the right institutional conditions for assisting fragile collectives as tourism social entrepreneurs to create value in society.

Keywords: Tourism social entrepreneurship, fragile collectives, community-based tourism, and sustainable livelihoods

Introduction

Social problems continue to overwhelm marginalized and poor communities particularly those in developing countries (Aquino et al., 2018; Laeis & Lemke, 2016). Tourism social entrepreneurship has been identified as one of the models that can deliver positive economic, social, and environmental outcomes and create change in the lives of individuals and communities in particular the fragile collectives (Aquino 2022; De Lange & Dodds, 2017; Sloan et al., 2014). In the context of this study, fragile collectives refer to the marginalized, vulnerable and minority groups because of their identity as women, disabled people, people with chronic illnesses, widows, widowers, single parents, victims of domestic violence, elderly, and the aboriginals (Batwa). Broadly, social entrepreneurship is market-based development strategy which can be applied to avert social problems such as unemployment, lack of livelihood and educational opportunities (Alvord et al., 2004).

In the context of tourism, community-based tourism as alternative form of tourism has the potential to positively affect social change (Buzinde et al., 2016). Kokkranikal and Morrison (2011) add that community-based tourism may positively influence social welfare for various communities in a deliberate way. In this way community-based tourism has been identified as a worthwhile vehicle for development in rural and remote areas (Tolkach & King, 2015; Zielinski, Jeong, et al., 2020). Remote areas are well known for people who live in extreme poverty, face social exclusion and indigeneity, and are usually marginalized and disadvantaged (Giampiccoli et al., 2015b; Lo & Janta, 2020). According to Schyvens and Biddulp (2019), such people are usually the uneducated women, youths, disabled people and hard to reach communities such as poor famers in remote areas. A study by Ahebwa and van der Duim (2013) indicate that CBT has positively shaped people's livelihoods in terms of jobs, income, and well-being. Proponents of community-based tourism argue that when tourists visit host communities, consume tourism products in those communities, they increase economic effects which improves the livelihoods of the people (Ashley & Garland, 1994; Goodwin & Santilli, 2009; Snyder & Sulle, 2011). The UNWTO advocates for social change directed towards accomplishing the Sustainable Development Goals which focus on social issues such as basic quality education; reduced inequalities; poverty reduction; sustainable cities and communities; and responsible consumption and production (see Buzinde et al., 2013; Maarten et al., 2015). This paper argues that fragile collectives are faced with such issues.

Despite the concerted efforts to spearhead tourism social entrepreneurship as a social transformation approach, little has been written in the scholarly literature about tourism as a vehicle for social entrepreneurship (Boluk, 2011; Hall, Matos, Sheehan, & Silvestre, 2012; Kline, Shah, & Rubright, 2014; Lamari & Me´nard, 2012; Mody & Day, 2014). Particularly, in the context of community-based tourism, little is known about how tourism-based social enterprises (TSEs) engage with fragile collectives. Based on this discrepancy, this paper fills this gap by answering the following questions:

1. What are the forms of fragile collectives’ participation in tourism social entrepreneurship that are being encouraged by community-based tourism?
2. What are the benefits derived from tourism social enterprises?

In addressing the above questions, this article makes two contributions to the current body of knowledge. First, this study responds to the call of Sheldon and Daniele’s (2017, p. 27) for critical analysis of ways in which tourism social enterprises (TSEs) engage with grassroot communities to provide a clear understanding of the social value created by such ventures. Thus, this paper contributes to the emerging body of knowledge on social entrepreneurship in community-based tourism context. Second, in exploring emerging forms of tourism social entrepreneurship in Ugandan tourism, a typology is developed with distinct manifestations of TSEs with different forms of fragile collectives’ participation in community-based tourism and the benefits derived from them.

Theoretical review

The understanding of how tourism benefits trickle down to the local people especially the poor can be explained by the conceptual model developed by (Mitchell, 2010). Mitchel and Ashley (2010) expound on how tourism benefits to the poor can be determined through a framework comprised of three pathways, as indicated in Figure 1. The three critical pathways in which the benefits or costs of tourism activities can be transmitted to the poor include direct, secondary, and dynamic effects. Fragile collectives may not be necessarily poor but using Mitchel and Ashley’s three pathways can help us to get a deeper understanding of how CBT benefits trickle down to fragile collectives.

Pathway 1: Direct effects of tourism on the poor

Direct earnings occur when poor people receive financial benefits from engagement in the tourism sector. Direct incomes can be labor income or non-labor income. While labor income is earned by individuals employed in formal or informal sectors and micro-enterprise activities, non-labor income is earned through community incomes such as leases, equity, and benefits from the tourism sector. Mitchel and Ashley (2010) emphasize that earnings can be direct if they come from participation in the tourism sector, whether the poor engage face to face with the tourists.

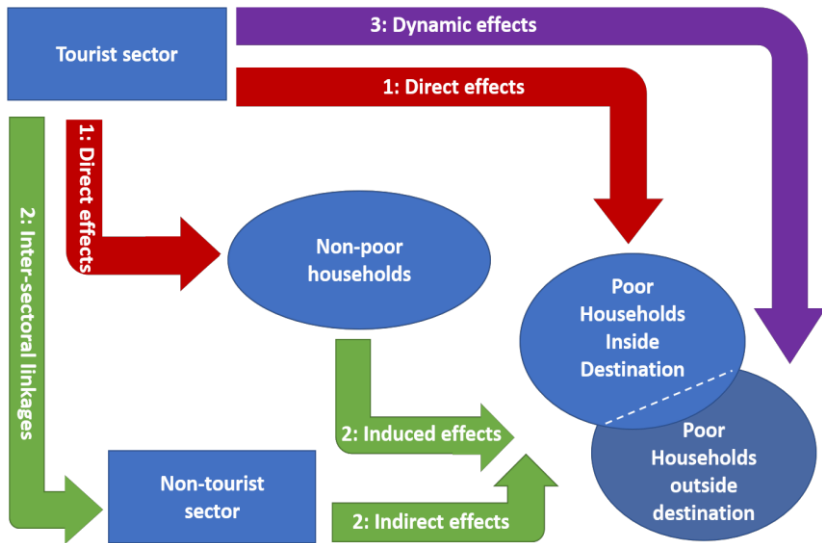


Figure 1: Three pathways perspective Source: Mitchell & Ashley (2010)

Pathway 2: Secondary effects of tourism on the poor

Secondary effects occur where a tourism expenditure change creates an impact on the non- tourism economy. According to Mitchel and Ashley (2010), secondary effects comprise indirect and induced effects: Indirect benefits are conceptualized as supply chain linkages such as food sales to restaurants; the authors argue that since suppliers come from a non-tourism economy, retail outlets and street vendors should also be considered indirect earners and induced effects arise from workers in the tourism sector spending their earnings locally, generating additional income for the poor households. Mitchel and Ashley (2010) do not state what type of non- tourism activities the poor households can engage in to tap into workers' incomes.

Pathway 3: Dynamic effects on the economy and growth trajectories

Dynamic effects are identified as channels through which the tourism sector can affect the rest of the economy in the longer term (Mitchel & Ashley, 2010). They include the following: infrastructure, public and social goods; human resource development (e.g., training of workforce), private sector development (especially small and medium enterprise [SME] development and entrepreneurship); changes to the production structure of the economy; trajectories of long-term effects and linkages between sectors. However, Mitchel and Ashley (2010) assert that such effects can also have detrimental impacts on the poor. Tourism can affect the poor, for instance, if it restricts them from accessing their primary source of livelihood, suffer the consequences of animals escaping from the protected area, causing crop damage and destruction (Hatfield

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2005; O'Connell, 1995), and creating overdependence on tourism which is volatile.

Conceptual literature

Tourism social entrepreneurship and sustainable livelihood

Tourism social entrepreneurship (TSE) can be understood as a process that uses tourism to create innovative solutions to immediate social, environmental, and economic problems in destinations by mobilizing the ideas, capacities, resources, and social agreements, from within or outside the destination, required for its sustainable social transformation (Sheldon & Daniele, 2017). As an enabler of social transformation, social entrepreneurship is aimed at creating value equitable to those involved in its processes (Newbert & Hill, 2014). Clausen (2017) opine that social entrepreneurship projects create sustainable livelihood opportunities for vulnerable and marginalized sections of the community.

According to Altinay et al., (2016), tourism has been identified as a worthwhile pathway for attaining social missions through social entrepreneurship. To this end, Kokkranikal and Morrison, (2011) point out that community-based tourism can positively influence social welfare for various communities in a deliberate way. Through application of such equitable practices, tourism social entrepreneurship can offset the negative externalities of capitalist tourism development models on host communities (e.g., Aquino et al., 2018). It is well documented that TSE bridges the gap between altruism and capitalism stirring social interventions away from dependency by endeavouring to harness market forces for social aims" (von der Weppen & Cochrane, 2012, p. 498). These idealised views of tourism social entrepreneurship emphasise its potential to transform the tourism industry into having more social, inclusive, and sustainable impacts. Tourism is diverse in nature. It requires social enterprises that offer a variety of products and services while also implementing social innovation strategies (Aquino et al., 2018). Fig. 2 shows how tourism value chain can foster tourism social entrepreneurship. According to Aquino et al., (2018), tourism can foster tourism social entrepreneurs through package delivery, capacity building and movement building as depicted in Fig.2.

Generally, extant studies show that tourism social entrepreneurial processes can create value for beneficiaries and localities (Aquino, 2022; Dahles et al., 2020; De Lange & Dodds, 2017; Laeis, & Lemke, 2016; Sloan et al., 2014). Nevertheless, most of these studies portray the transforming and value-creating processes of social entrepreneurship in the tourism context, from a community perspective. Such processes may indirectly effect community change but the way individuals also the direct beneficiaries of such initiatives engage in such ventures and benefits derived from TSEs are underexplored. This study seeks to address this gap by understanding how tourism social enterprises are embraced by fragile collectives through community-based tourism.

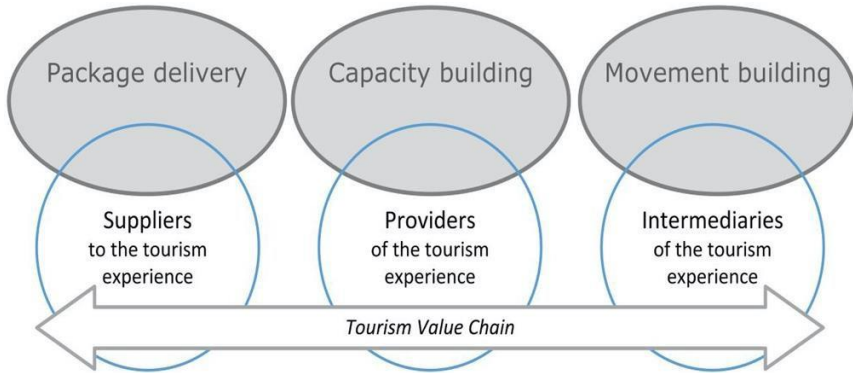


Figure 2. Tourism social entrepreneurship typology based on social innovation models (Alvord et al., 2004) and role in the tourism value chain (Day & Mody, 2017)

Methods

This study employed social constructivism and ethnography approaches in the villages surrounding Bwindi Impenetrable National Park. Underpinned by social constructivism, this study acknowledges that multiple realities exist within individuals, and they are shaped by lived experiences and the environment they interact with (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Social constructivism paradigm is often described as an interpretive stance that aims at understanding of subjective meanings and shared knowledge (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Ethnography approaches through participant observation, interviews, and field notes were employed. This is because in situations where information about a phenomenon is not available, exploratory research approaches are preferred (Creswell & Poth, 2016).

Participants

According to Moser and Korstjens (2018), 25–50 interviews plus observations are good enough for ethnographers to get rich data. This study purposively selected a sample of 55 respondents comprising women, people with disabilities and chronic diseases, the elderly, young people, victims of domestic violence, abandoned spouses, single parents and the Aboriginal (Batwa). Victims of domestic violence were identified during interviews. The study focused on fragile collectives of Buhoma tourism sector on the fringes of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park (BINP) in South-western Uganda. It is essential to note fragile collectives around this park depend on agriculture as their primary source of livelihood and tourism is a supplementary activity. Buhoma tourism sector was selected because; it hosts BINP headquarters, it the most visited gorilla destination located in the northern part of Bwindi impenetrable national park; it hosts a wide range of upmarket, mid-range, and budget facilities; it has a concentration of registered and non-registered community-based tourism associations, groups, and NGOs. It hosts Uganda's poorest people who include

hundreds of thousands of smallholder farmers living in remote areas which makes it suitable for this study.

From data analysis, three forms of participation emerged. These are direct, indirect, and no participations as indicated in Table 1. All fifty-five fragile collectives reported that they had never participated in tourism planning and decision-making but were involved in different tourism and non-tourism-related activities. They mentioned that before Bataka, a community enterprise collapsed, they used to earn from it through the sale of crafts, entertaining visitors, and employment and sponsorship opportunities for their children.

Presentation and discussion of findings

Table 1. Forms of participation in community-based tourism

Themes	Categories	Sub-themes
Direct participation (N=28)	Craft Industry (CI)	Wood carving, Basket weaving & Craft enterprising
Male= 17	Service providers (SP)	Accommodation, food, and beverage services
Female=11	Village Walk (VW)	Storytelling and cultural demonstrations, coffee, and banana brewing, guiding and interpreting services
	Formal Employment (FE)	Basket weaving, craft tailoring and compound cleaning
	Batwa participation activities (BP)	Dancing & guiding, craft selling, porter services
Indirect participation (N=17)	Service Providers (SP)	Bar and restaurant services, retail services,
Female=11	Linkage Activities (LA)	Supply of fresh produce and raw materials, car washing stone crushing
Male=06	Auxiliary Services (AS)	Bicycle repairing, mobile money services and shoe repairing services
No participation (N=10)	Marginal Participation (MP)	Subsistence farming, occasional labor
Female=07		
Male 03		

Source: Responses from interviews and observations

The findings of this study indicate that fragile collectives take different forms of participation (direct, indirect, and no participation). These findings are supported by extant literature, which suggests that participation may take two forms: participation in decision-making or direct involvement in tourism-related economic activities in the form of self-employment, wage or paid work, and providing local human resources (Zhao & Ritchie, 2007). This finding depicts fragile collectives as suppliers of tourism experiences, providers of tourism experience and intermediaries of tourism experience. This finding conforms with the concept of tourism social entrepreneurship developed by (Aquino et al., 2018).

Benefits derived from tourism social enterprises

Participation benefits derived from community -based tourism enterprises are two forms: economic benefits (EB) and positive non-economic benefits (NEB) as shown in Table 2. Apart from fragile collectives who were not participating in any income generating activities, most fragile collectives reported benefits directly or indirectly associated with community-based tourism

Table 2. Benefits of tourism social enterprises

Economic Benefits (EB)	Non-economic Benefits (NEB)
Family sustenance and survival	Empowerment
Education	Financial independence and burden relief
Acquisition of assets and home improvements	Self-esteem, confidence, and contentment
Improvement in earnings	Social and individual transformation
Creation of employment opportunities	Social status uplift
Savings culture	Exposure
Fulfilment of cultural norms and practices	Friendship
Financial independence	Reconciliation, prayer, and sense of belonging
Poverty reduction	Preservation of culture and conservation of the environment

Source: Themes from data analysis

A. Economic Benefits (EB)

This was the most reported benefit by most fragile collectives especially women. They revealed that although the benefits from CBT are marginal, they have been able to provide for their families in terms of basic requirements such as food, clothing, and other home necessities. Men also emphasized such benefits. A case in point is CI6 a wood carver whose father abandoned him and his nine siblings with their mother when he was a little kid. CI6 expressed his gratitude to tourism because it enabled him to sustain his family even when he is not educated. He had this to say:

Tourism has helped me; I don't know if tourism was not there where I could be without education. Had it not been for the COVID 19, I had reached a point of not lacking salt, soap, and other necessities of life in my house. Our garden here is tourism because the land is no longer fertile.

(CI6: a 26-year-old wood carver)

Other fragile collectives especially the Batwa said that participating in various activities had helped them provide for their families with food and animals to rear and eat in case they missed meat. For example, BP3, a father of 7 children, a dancer, and a guide in the Batwa community cultural site reported that he gets small tokens and gifts given by the visitors and non-governmental organizations. He stated that:

Each time I perform, I know that my children will get food and money to buy alcohol. Another organization called Wendy foundation is building our houses and renovating the old houses that Bwindi Mgahinga Conservation Trust (BMCT) made for us. Wendy's foundation also gave us goats and rabbits to eat meat in case we needed meat.

(BP1: a 50-year-old dancer and guide)

Similarly, SP7 a bar and grocery owner and operator and a mother of five, was abandoned by her husband because she gave birth to a disabled child narrated:

I have this small shop, and I buy coffee and resell it. But as you see, it's small. I am just doing it to survive, to ensure my children get what to eat and go to school. Even if my business is small, it has sustained us, and it is from this business I get food and school fees for my children.

(SP7: a 36-year-old bar and grocery owner)

For fragile collectives who were not participating or participating marginally reported survival benefits. For example, MN2, a widower, blind and elderly, recited:

As you see my condition, I survive through friends and well-wishers/visitors. When visitors are in village walks, sometimes they visit me and bring food items. Some campsites and NGOs also bring me food.

(MN2: a 74-year-old smallholder farmer)

Education was the second praised benefit fragile collectives had acquired from tourism.

On the other hand, other fragile collectives testified that with tourism in place, they have managed to educate their children using the money they get from different activities as cited below:

Had it not been for coronavirus, I did not have any complaint about tourism because it has benefited me in various ways. Most importantly, I have educated my grandchildren moreover from good schools. I have over ten orphans I take care of. I have one granddaughter who just completed a diploma in teaching. All these are benefits of tourism and from my basket weaving.

(CI 8: a 70-year-old female basket weaver)

Most fragile collectives reported acquisition of assets as tangible benefits, they had derived from participation. These were mostly male fragile collectives who were dealing in handcrafts and village walk activities. Majority fragile collectives mentioned that participation had benefited them in terms of land acquisition, home improvements, and acquisition of household items, businesses among others which they did not have before. They said that before tourism started in Bwindi, they were living in poor and bad shaped houses. For example, in VW4, Banana Brewer, who was once a porter stated that:

Even though I lost my job as a porter, I don't regret it. My brewing job has rewarded me more. Although I inherited land from my parents, I have expanded on that land. I have bought and acquired many plots of land. My house was grass and banana thatched, but now I have a permanent house. I have water in my compound, and my life has generally improved compared to the previous days. I also have pigs which I sell to the camps and in the market.

(VW4: 50-year-old, Banana Brewer)

Others mentioned that tourism had helped them to acquire more land for business. VW3, a 58- year-old male, coffee, and banana brewer and a reformed poacher who demonstrates cultural activities to visitors, added that although he misses bush meat from Dykas, bush pigs, and other animals he used to hunt, he does not regret being a reformed poacher and serving tourists. He stated that apart from improving his home, he started up a business for his wife and he had put rental houses which were earning him extra money. VW3 added that that he has a pig and goat projects and emphasized that all these were acquired when tourism started.

Fragile collectives affirmed that CBT offers so many opportunities and improves earnings. Majority fragile collectives testified that before tourism, they had no economic options for generating income. Although coffee and tea growing are major cash crops in the area, fragile collectives said that these crops are not grown by all people, and they do not bring quick earnings for them compared to tourism. Interviews clearly revealed that tourism has created employment opportunities for fragile collectives. As noted in the previous section that fragile collectives deal in various activities, participants commented in detail the extent to which tourism is a source of income to almost every household in Bwindi directly or indirectly. FE1, a campsite compound cleaner and disabled, expressed how happy he was with his career and having monthly payments compared to previously casual labor jobs when he was trimming people's compounds on an informal basis. FE1 stated that although his salary is low, it has helped him secure small loans from wealthy people who give him micro-credit loans to develop himself and save in village saving groups. He commented that:

I thank God that I have this job. I have no education but having a monthly job is what I am grateful for. Had it not been the establishment of campsites which also require manual labour, life would be more difficult with my condition.

(FE1: a 55-year-old, compound cleaner)

Several fragile collectives indicated that they learnt how to save because of tourism. They reported that when tourism started in Bwindi, many village saving groups and associations came up. They narrated that such saving groups had helped them to accumulate profits which they use to start-up businesses, improve their homes, educate their children, or purchase more land. The following are some of the extracts about saving:

I have worked at the campsite for eight years. Although I have not benefited much from the campsite, it has helped me to save some little money in village saving groups. I used my accumulated savings to build a semi-permanent house. I have managed to pay school fees for the children and provide them with school requirements, although sometimes it is hard for me with the small salary.

(FE1: a 55-year-old, campsite compound cleaner)

Additionally, FE2 a victim of domestic violence and also living with HIV who has been employed for two years in an organization that empowers women as a basket weaver, reported that:

The little money they pay me here helps me save in village saving group. Although my salary is low, I have managed to save and purchased a piglet which I expect to benefit significantly from when it produces. It's now pregnant. I hope to build a permanent house when my savings accumulate.

(FE2, a 42-year-old basket weaver)

LA3 is a 27-year-old car washer raised by a single mother added that because her mother did get married and gave birth to him from her parents' home, she did not get an inheritance from the family's property. It should be noted that women in Uganda are disadvantaged regarding property inheritance due to traditional customary practices. Because of such circumstances, LA3's survival with his three brothers was hard. He narrated that his mother's poor condition could not enable her to educate them, nor could she afford to meet some of the necessities at home. LA3 recounted that, for a long time, they survived through tokens from well-wishers. To cite his words:

I have grown up here and know what this village looked like. We used to sleep badly. The houses were poor. We used to sleep on mats, and we could urinate, and the mats could get rotten, and ebicuma (bed bugs and maggots)

could attack us. When I got this job, I started getting money and started saving, the first thing to do was buy a mattress and good bed sheets plus a good bed. I have achieved many things, but a mattress is an outstanding achievement for me.

(LA3: 27-year-old car washer)

Payment of dowry or bride price is one of the fundamental cultural practices in Africa in which men are held accountable if they marry someone's daughter. Bride price is a form of marriage rite involving taking animals, money, and other tokens to the girl's family as a form of appreciation or dowry. Not until this norm is performed a man is considered someone who eloped with someone's daughter, and it's culturally unlawful. Some fragile male collectives testified how tourism had helped them get money to pay the bride price. Others were happy to have wed their wives due to tourism, while others were hopeful that tourism would help them get money to meet such cultural obligations. The following citation reveals how CBT has helped the fulfilment of bride price:

CI6, a woodcarver, expressed himself as happy to have paid dowry to his father-in-law as stated below:

I have benefited is reporting myself to my wife's family. You know, in Bakiga culture, when you elope with someone's daughter, you must go and report yourself to her parents, so they don't look for her. Going to your father's in-law, you cannot go empty-handed, so I bought a goat, and the money I used to buy a goat and other things were from this carving.

(CI6: a 26-year-old woodcarver)

Separately, VW2 a storyteller and herbalist, had this to say:

In this village, I am among the few people with modern things. For example, I have got a good pit latrine. Before, the pit latrines were undesirable to visit. But now I have an improved pit latrine, and even my visitors use it. Its cemented. There are few people with cemented toilets in this village. I have water in my compound. I have a solar panel, and I have managed to buy a television set. I can also watch the news other than listening to the radio.

(VW2: an 83-year-old storyteller and herbalist)

B. Non-Economic Benefits (NEB)

The findings on non-economic benefits are the outcomes of the positive economic benefits. They include intangible benefits in form psychological, social, and environmental as presented such as empowerment, financial independence and freedom, friendship, knowledge and skills, self-esteem, respect, contentment, happiness, transformation, and conservation as presented below:

Empowerment was mentioned by most women fragile collectives especially those who were engaged in direct and indirect activities. They narrated that before tourism, a woman in Bwindi had no say and was stepped on in a home, in public or anywhere in important community affairs. They narrated that because of lack of economic power in a home and society, they remained behind community affairs. Economic empowerment was mostly emphasized:

As they say that President Museveni has empowered women, to me tourism has empowered me more than any other thing. I had reached on a stage of not asking my husband to buy clothes. Ever since tourism started, I don't remember any day when I have asked him to buy me a dress. Unlike before when I could ask for money to buy a dress and he abuses me or even ignores me. I don't think my husband has bought for me any dress. If you don't have anything you earn for yourself, a man will despise you.

(CI8, a 70-year-old, Basket weaver)

CI7 a basket weaver who separated from her husband added that:

When I compare myself with married women, I am much better than them. I dress well and sometimes I feel like am like a wife of a minister. I was laughed at in the first years I had separated from husband by both family members and the community at large. This made me and my daughter more vulnerable. But when I started making money from weaving baskets, my family started respecting me because I started providing for them and the community respects me too. Had it not been tourism, I don't know where I would be.

(CI7 a 36-year-old female basket weaver)

Financial independence and burden relief were reported as a significant personal benefit gained from participation. This was mainly reported by women fragile collectives who were engaged in handicraft making and service provision. They said that before tourism women in Bwindi suffered alone with garden and home chores in addition to producing children without help from their husbands. They narrated that a woman's work was to make sure that there was food in the home throughout the year, gardens were tilled, and the man was well looked after besides taking care of children. They appreciated tourism as a savior from such embarrassments from their husbands since they started earning money and having control over it. The extract below explains

Before tourism, I could depend on my husband for everything, and it was not easy for a man to give you, his money. Tourism has been saving us from all these embarrassments. But now with Corona, we are back to square one, you ask money for salt, the man will first abuse

you or not even give you, but no choice left but to admit all the abuses but at least children get what to eat. With tourism, the situation has been changing slowly where we have been able to get money to hire labour to help us in the gardens and to meet our needs without depending on a man.

(CI8, a 70-year-old female Basket weaver)

Like empowerment and economic independence, some fragile collectives, particularly those affected by domestic abuses, handicap, or minority identities, felt that their self-esteem had increased due to what they were doing. For example: CI11, a victim of domestic violence from his wife and children and a basket weaver, elaborated:

People in Bwindi laugh at me for doing this job, because they think it's women's work but it makes me more unique, confident and proud. Tourists admire me when they see a man seated and weaving baskets, baby toys, bags, etc. They are always impressed, and when passing in vehicles, I see them peeping and sometimes they make a stopover to see how I weave. This has uplifted my ego and self-esteem.

(CI11 a 56-year-old male basket weaver)

Some fragile collectives stated that participating in various activities had improved their knowledge and skills in various ways. For example, CI8 said that:

I knew how to weave, but I did not know the designs. Bwindi Mgahinga Conservation Trust (BMCT) taught me different designs. And finally, I got a first grade and a certificate. I attended a party in Kabale, being among the best students. They taught us how to mix colours using different herbs. My baskets are liked by visitors because of unique designs.

(CI8: a 70-year-old basket weaver)

SP1 a campsite owner who is a primary seven drop-out also shared this story;

I received training from workshops by professors who were doing research in the park. They taught me how to bake, cook various dishes and some menu presentations. Regarding handling clients, English is still a problem, it's the biggest challenge up to date. Sometimes, I receive tourists who speak hard English, and I feel embarrassed. But I am coping from my workers. Sometimes I am forced to speak English and I make a deal. I can negotiate the price for the room and sell it in English. I have also learnt customer care skills from my last-born daughter who is also training in tourism.

(SP1: a 56-year-old campsite owner)

For VW1, a 39-year-old cultural site owner and storyteller and a grade three teacher by profession narrated how she acquired tourism and cultural skills from various training workshops. She said that being among the first women to work as a community guide in Bwindi, she got training opportunities in many fields, enriching her knowledge that she is using today.

CI1 an orphan and artist added:

'Before the COVID 19 pandemic, I used to think that Facebook is only used to search for beautiful ladies, connect with them and even have as many girlfriends as you can'. I did not know that I can make money while I am even in bed. Before you get challenges, you cannot think creatively, I learnt how to use my phone to market my art pieces and it worked and it is still working. I did not know that I can sell on online. I got orders and I shipped the items using DHL. I had never known what DHL is or what it does. But I have learned all these during the pandemic and because of tourism. Thanks to Covid 19 and tourism on a seriously note. Because now, I feel I am ahead of most of the boys around.

(CI1: a 25-year-old, artist)

Transformation of the self and of the others was pointed out by some fragile collectives. They described how tourism had transformed their lives compared to the previous life. For instance, LA2 believes that tourism has contributed to the happiness of the people of Bwindi and transformed them. He remarked:

Before tourism started here, we lived like animals. In 1992 when tourism was introduced, we started getting happy seeing visitors coming in our community, we got money, we ate well, clothed well and life started getting better and we became like human beings compared to the previous life where we used to spend most of our lives in the forest hunting, pit sawing and mining. We could spend many weeks in the forest carrying out such activities and we had become like wild animals. But when tourism started, our lives changed tremendously. Other than missing out meat varieties, life before tourism was not admirable.

(LA2: a 65-year-old male fresh produce supplier)

Other fragile collectives narrated how tourism had transformed them and they would also want to transform others. From my personal observations, and interactions with the locals, they are over 40 community based and non-government organizations in Bwindi whose objectives are to empower women, children, vulnerable people, and the Aborigines. CI7 a basket weaver and a founder of Mothers in Motion, explained how basket weaving had transformed

her life and had a dream of transforming other women. By the time of data collection, she was training over 20 women in basket weaving and was working on logistics to register her organization. In my follow-up interviews, she had already registered the organization and indeed, women are in motion. In her own words, she had this to say:

There are so many poor and marginalized women in this community. Due to limited capacity, I trained 20 women, in dancing and weaving skills, because I feel like the way how tourism has transformed me, I should also transform others. I want to register it as an organization so that we can also entertain visitors. I already bought a drum and women can dance and they organized. Although I am not married, I have passion of helping married women because of their suffering, torture, and manipulation by their spouses.

(CI37: a 36-year-old basket weaver)

Equally, CI1an artist and a single orphan emphasized:

There are so many vulnerable children in this village. These children have talent of art. I would like to start an art school to nurture the talent of the vulnerable children and empower them. Tourism is here for us to stay, and the onus is on us to organize ourselves and tap the potential.

(CI1, a 25-year-old male artist)

One of the indicators of social uplift that fragile collectives reported was high status in the community. This was mainly reported by some women collectives and the youth. They expressed how they felt satisfied and proud of themselves because of the benefits they had derived from tourism. For instance, CI1, CI3, CI7, and LA3 reported looking at their occupations as empowering and improving their self-esteem because of what they had acquired. CI1 reported how using a smartphone has uplifted his status on the craft street of Nkwenda and he feels so proud of his worth because of a smartphone. Below is his expression:

On this street, most people don't have smartphones, and even those who have don't know how to use them, some people don't even know how to write an email. People approach me to help them teach them how to use WhatsApp. This makes me feel proud. Tourism should stay forever.

(CI1: a 25-year-old artist)

(CI3, 25-year-old wood carver and porter)

Tourism is described as a peace maker by some of the fragile collectives predominantly female fragile collectives who had had issues with their parents

and husbands. According to CI7, a 36-year-old basket weaver who separated from her husband due to pressure from her parents because her husband had not paid her dowry narrated how tourism had reconciled her with her parents. She stated that after the separation from her husband, she came back home to her parent who did not only mistreat her but they made her feel like a failure in life. With tears rolling from her eyes, CI7 narrated how her biological mother treated her as if they were cowives. She was verbally abused and reminded of how she failed in marriage and was a burden with her child at home. She said when she started earning from her baskets and taking care of her parents, they started recognizing her as part of the family.

Other married fragile collectives also confessed how their husbands beat them, but once they started earning, their husbands stopped fighting them. CI10 a 45-year-old basket weaver who faced brutality and physical fights from husbands narrated how her marriage almost broke up for reasons she did not know. She said that even greeting her husband was like a crime, talking to each other was never heard of in their home until she started earning from her baskets and providing basic needs for herself and her children. Her husband started coming around and sometimes even asking for financial assistance when making major purchases like land.

Two women fragile collectives who are both employed as basket weavers at an empowerment group narrated how they have been taught not fight with their husbands, to pray and seek Gods guidance in case they face challenges in their marriages. FE3 a craft tailor narrated that at the workplace, they teach them how to cook, clean their homes and have balanced diet meals. Above all they have been counselled to respect their cowives and live in harmony with them. FE2 a basket weaver and HIV positive as well a victim of domestic violence narrated:

My husband is a daily drinker and a womanizer, he has so many mistresses around. Before I got this job, I used to attack my husband's mistresses and fight them. Our boss has counselled us never to fight with our cowives and I work with two of them here. We talk together and even eat together something that never happened before. Most of all, when our husbands fight us, our boss has provided shelter for us and we relax our minds from stress.

(FE2, a 42-year-old basket weaver)

Results show that tourism social enterprises (TSE) have become an essential source of employment and has created entrepreneurial opportunities for fragile collectives, which has resulted in the improvement their livelihoods. It was established that TSE are sources of income generation, and the money earned is used to: sustain their families, improve their homes, pay school fees for their children, fulfil cultural obligations (payment of dowry), and acquisition of assets.

Existing literature points out that TSE have the potential for creating job opportunities and generating income, increasing the standard of living for local

communities (Kala & Bagri, 2018; Nordin et al., 2014; Tosun, 2006). Various studies have professed that engaging TSE is an essential avenue for residents to overcome poverty and improve their livelihoods (Artal-Tur et al., 2019; Ayorekire et al., 2022; Dangi & Jamal, 2016; Mensah, 2017). Besides, the results of the current study underpin the direct pathway in which the benefits of TSE are transmitted to the fragile collectives (Mitchell, 2010). Mitchell pointed out that financial benefits occur when poor people receive direct earnings because of engagement in tourism.

Additionally, this study found that fragile collectives who engaged in indirect and auxiliary services had gained substantially from TSE, especially those in in direct and linkage activities. Although fragile collectives who were not engaged in any activity indicated marginal benefits from casual labor, it implies that TSE has also got a multiplier effect on their lives. This finding is consistence with Mitchell (2010) and other scholars who affirm that tourism has indirect, induced, and dynamic effects on the poor (Chidakel et al., 2021; Juma & Khademi- Vidra, 2019). This implies that benefits derived from direct participation in TSE are not only limited to community-based tourism spaces or direct interaction with the visitors but also to linkage activities that bring meaningful and sustainable benefits to fragile collectives.

The general impression that emerges from this study is consistent with previous studies that have established the same results on self-employment as a source of empowerment for rural women (Hemalatha, 2020; Irandu & Shah, 2014; Moswete & Lacey, 2015; Mrema, 2015; Vukovic et al., 2021). Given the nature of fragile collectives who are less privileged, or outliers of the society or people of less value are associated with poverty, misery, and backwardness (Guo & Jordan, 2021). Surprisingly most fragile collectives expressed feelings of contentment, happiness, and self-esteem uplift regardless of their identities in the community. Such recognition shows that fragile collectives have the potential to do much better if their inner strength and confidence is enhanced.

It was established that most fragile collectives engaged in self-help initiatives are more economically empowered than fragile collectives under empowerment programs by NGOs and CBOs. Although NGOs and CBOs have done a good job of skilling the fragile collectives, they still operate under these organizations because they cannot start something on their own. This study suggests that in skilling the fragile collectives, they should also consider what happens after training them. This suggestion is in tandem with Pratt (2022) who found that women in Fiji are key decision-makers, exercising creativity and acting on their plans with greater autonomy and control over their affairs.

Previous studies attest that tourism is a global peacemaker (Melotti et al., 2018; Nana, 2014; Pratt & Liu, 2016). Although these studies established that tourism can be a peace maker among locals, between locals and visitors, nationals and between countries, in this study, findings reveal that community-based tourism has reinforced peace and reconciliation at family level. Fragile collectives, especially those from domestic violent families and divorced women

professed that tourism has helped them to reconcile with their families and have peace in their homes because of their financial contribution in a home. This finding is highlighted by Ibrahim and Razzaq (2010), who established that peace and harmony in the family, the local community and the village leadership are key components of operating a homestay.

It was revealed that some fragile collectives who were taken as failures in life previously have been transformed by tourism and their families have accepted them because of their financial contributions in a home. These finding compliments previous research (De Lange & Dodds, 2017; Kimbu & Ngoasong, 2016) by unpacking how CBT is transforming oneself and others

Skill enhancement was a significant non-economic benefit that some fragile collectives had derived from TSE. Some had acquired different weaving skills while others had learned to speak basic English and how to use smartphones for marketing their products. This finding is in line with Zapata et al., (2011), who established that strengthening local skills, knowledge, and information was one of the main effects of TSE.

Implications

This study has three contributions: Theoretically, this study contributes to the emerging knowledge by providing a clear understanding of how community-based tourism fosters tourism social entrepreneurship initiatives can improve the livelihoods of the fragile collectives. Besides there is a dearth of studies on TSE in tourism disciplines. This study appears to be one of its kind to investigate the participation of fragile collectives, the under-researched in CBT literature. The study clears the vagueness of CBT involvement from the fragile collectives' perspective. It establishes that participation goes beyond participating in the decision-making to improving livelihoods by participating in direct and indirect forms of participation. Direct participation was central to livelihood improvements. The findings from this study enhance our understanding of fragile collective forms of involvement in CBT.

For policy, findings from this study calls for establishing the right institutional conditions for assisting fragile collectives as tourism social entrepreneurs to create value. Practically, the findings could also guide tourism social entrepreneurs in designing their community participation approaches. Besides, the findings prompt creating ways for influencing government support that will help tourism social enterprises better achieve development goals for grass root communities.

Conclusions and limitations

This paper has revealed how fragile collectives can be considered as tourism social entrepreneurs in in community-based tourism through participating in various business activities. In summary, this study has identified three forms of participation (direct and indirect participation forms) and economic and non-economic benefits as manifestations of TSEs among fragile collectives residing

on the fringes of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park in Southwestern Uganda. First, this study established that direct participation involves any tourism-related activities that generate direct incomes from visitors. It includes craft-making, accommodation, food and beverage, retail services, village walk activities, and Batwa dance performances.

Second, indirect form participation includes fragile collectives who engage in indirect activities supporting or supplying tourism establishments such as linkage activities, local restaurants, retail services, and auxiliary services. Third, economic benefits (EB) such as family sustenance, education, acquisition of assets and home improvements, improvements in earnings, employment opportunities, savings culture financial independence and poverty reduction were established as direct benefits from fragile collectives' engagement in TSEs. Forth, non-economic benefits (NEB) were identified as outcomes of economic benefits. They include intangible benefits in form psychological, social, and environmental as presented such as empowerment, financial independence and freedom, friendship, knowledge and skills, self-esteem, respect, contentment, happiness, and transformation.

This study established that there exists many local CBOs and NGOs in Bwindi all gearing at social transformations, the beneficiaries of such initiatives particularly the fragile collectives have benefited through self-help projects and small-scale tourism enterprises. Although some fragile collectives testified that they are used by community-based organizations and non- governmental organizations to solicit donations and they receive a small share out of such donations, it is not conclusive enough to state that NGOs and CBOs are bad actors. Therefore, this study suggests that CBOs and NGOs can still play a role in capacity building and should "teach fragile collectives on how to catch a fish but not how to eat a fish.

This study has some limitations. Although the concepts may apply to some contexts engaged in tourism social entrepreneurship; this study acknowledges that the findings are not generalisable. In other contexts, other factors could create change in communities. This study has only reported on community-based tourism social enterprises directly and indirectly induced by tourism social enterprise from an individual point of view, further investigations into collaborations and interactions of social enterprise and host communities in other contexts are paramount. Equally important, there is need for further research into other types of tourism sectors most conducive to social entrepreneurship. Furthermore, longitudinal studies are required to better monitor the development outcomes and sustainability of tourism social entrepreneurship.

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