PARTICIPATION OF FRAGILE COLLECTIVES IN COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM

DEVELOPMENT IN UGANDA

PROVIA KESANDE

PhD

The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

2023

The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

School of Hotel & Tourism Management

Participation of Fragile Collectives in Community-Based Tourism

Development in Uganda

Provia Kesande

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

July 2022

CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief,

it reproduces no material previously published or written, nor material that has been accepted for

the award of any other degree or diploma, except where acknowledgment has been made in the

text.

PROVIA KESANDE

_____

ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on participation of fragile collectives in community-based tourism, taking Bwindi Impenetrable National Park (BINP) in Uganda as the context of the study. Using ethnography approaches, 55 fragile collectives living around BINP were purposively selected. These were interviewed to investigate their forms of participation in CBT, the benefits derived from participation, enablers, and barriers to participation, and how the identified barriers to participation in CBT can be solved. The uniqueness of this study lies in its focus on those individuals labelled as 'fragile collectives' in the community. These are the members of the community that are marginalized, vulnerable and minority, and often neglected in community-based tourism research. This might be because these are members of the community that are hard to reach to collect data. The relentless efforts to reach 55 fragile collectives in Bwindi Impenetrable National Park in Uganda to make the voices heard to the tourism academia and beyond makes this study valuable and important.

This study identified three forms of participation, namely direct, indirect and no participation. The benefits derived from the three forms were highlighted. The needs and aspirations of fragile collectives along with enablers of participation to community-based tourism were discussed, barriers to participation and solutions to those barriers elaborated. Vivid explanations in the form of direct quotations from the participants along with the discussions in context helps the reader to hear the voices of those fragile collectives.

It is found in this study that, unfortunately, fragile collectives in community-based tourism context are not involved in decision-making in most instances. Although the literature emphasizes the importance of community involvement in decision-making process, the fragile collectives are not involved in this process. This study's important contribution is to identify this problem through the interactions and talks with 55 fragile collectives. This work has both theoretical and practical contributions. This study develops framework to explain fragile

collectives' participation in community-based tourism is an important theoretical contribution of this thesis. Focusing on fragile collectives in the community-based tourism context is another valuable contribution of this study. Practically community decision makers and tourism authorities shouldn't neglect this part of the community and should put more effort to be more inclusive.

Key terms: Fragile collectives; ethnography, community participation; community-based tourism, Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, Uganda.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincere thanks go to the following people who have supported me from the start to completing this Ph.D. journey. First, I would like to express my sincere thanks to my Chief Supervisor, Prof. Basak Denizci Guillet for her continued support and guidance. Prof. Basak, showed passion, dedication, and patience while reading my work from the proposal stage up to the final stage. You taught me to how to multi-task, be patient, work hard, and being organized but above all, you always told me to believe in myself which I am grateful for. Your continued wise support, guidance and encouraging words have enabled me to complete this Ph.D. project. I will forever appreciate your time and effort in this thesis to see me through up to the end.

My appreciation also goes to my Supervisory and Confirmation Committee members in the School of Hotel and Tourism Management (SHTM) for the vital insights they put in this thesis. Thank you so much, Dr. Mimi Li and Dr. Deniz Kucukusta, for your invaluable advice during the committee meeting.

My special thanks go to Prof. Brian King my confirmation Chair; your input in this Ph.D. thesis is much appreciated. Your knowledge about community-based tourism and conceptualization of key concepts helped me improve my work. I consulted you on so many occasions whenever I had issues with conceptualization which made my work clear. Even when you left SHTM, you continued encouraging me and supporting me in all aspects. I am forever grateful.

I profoundly thank my examiners Professor Metin Kozak and Dr. Joy Huang for their passion and time they invested in my thesis. Your expert advice in improving my thesis is highly appreciated. To my Chair of the Board of Examiners Dr. Sabrina Huang, thank you so much for your valuable guidance and input to my PhD thesis. In this respect, thank you so much for handling all the arrangements.

of me and my career advancement, you inspire me. To Mummy, Mrs Jacinta Tinzaarwa, thank you so much for your constant prayers. To Mr. Rwaboona and family, thank you so much for believing in me and encouraging me in all ways. Sister Clare Migisha (Rev), Thank you so much for opening doors for me. God bless all.

To all my friends especially Dr. Joy Goopio, Dr. Miriam Kiconco, Dr. Noe Chambara, Dr. Jonathan Bayuo , Ms Damalie Nakirya Moreen Kekimuri and Mr. Twesigye Moses, thank you for checking on me continuously. You all cared about my health, your constant reminders to take some rest, have meals on time and enjoy the Ph.D. journey showed the love you have for me. Dr. Bayuo, even from a medical background, the efforts you put in reading through my work regardless of the many pages, I don't take it for granted. Dr. Chambara, the efforts you put in my work to make it better, I owe a lot. God bless you all.

To my seniors, Professor Eddy Tukamushaba and Dr. Dan Musinguzi, you made my entry to SHTM a smooth one. You have walked with me from day one up to the last day in SHTM. Your input in my Ph.D journey is remarkable. God bless you.

To the Hoffert's family, I feel extremely grateful to this family especially Jess Hoffert. It is all your support, love and care that pushed me to sail through my career.

To my late Dad Mr.Celestine Rwegyira (RIP), you left me at a tender age with no education and no one to attend to me. I vividly remember how you wanted me to be in school. Attaining the highest qualification in the academic ladder is your dream come true. Continue Resting in Peace Dad.

Lastly, I thank God who has protected me throughout this journey. I started this journey in 2019 when Hong Kong was going through hard times, it is the grace of God that I have sailed through all the hardships and the pandemic that hit the World. While the World was still facing severe COVID 19 Pandemic, I went head on and collected data during the difficult times. I thank God for the protection.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to Jess Hoffert and the Fragile Collectives.

To Jess

You have always supported my decisions and believed in me. I met Jess in 2010 during an exchange program between Makerere University Business School (Uganda) and Drake University (USA) and from then, he has been such a blessing. My journey has not been easy, but he is the one person that has always believed in me with a belief too strong. Jess has seen me grow from grass to grace and he has always believed am a transformational strong single mother that can achieve whatever there is to achieve with no limits. I'm forever grateful for all the unmatched support. Once again, thank you so much Jess!

To the Fragile Collectives

In the context of this study 'Fragile Collectives' refer:

"To the marginalized, vulnerable and the minority groups because of their identity as women, widows, widowers, Orphans, Batwa, disabled, chronically ill, the elderly, victims of domestic violence, single parents, and abandoned". Despite their conditions, they warmly welcomed me into their community, and I stayed with them happily for a period of five months. Great appreciation goes to the families that hosted me. My only prayer and wish are that my research transforms your community into a better place to live. I hope it brings solutions to the so many problems the community has experienced for a long period of time. Once again thank you to all those that happily participated in my research willingly.

Research output from this thesis.

1. *Participation of women fragile collectives in community-based tourism* at the 5th Global Tourism and Hospitality Conference organized by School of Hotel and Tourism Management, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

2. *Participation of fragile collectives in community-based tourism* organized by Asia Pacific Tourism Association (APTA) conference 2022

ACRONYMS

Acronym		Meaning
BCRC	-	Buhoma Community Rest Camp
BINP	-	Bwindi Impenetrable National Park
BMCA	-	Bwindi Mgahinga Conservation Area
BMCDA	-	Buhoma Mukono Community Development Association
BMCT	-	Bwindi Mgahinga Conservation Trust
CBT	-	Community-Based Tourism
DFCs		Disabled Fragile Collectives
FCs	-	Fragile Collectives
HUGO		Human Gorilla Conflict Resolution
IDI	-	In-Depth Interview
MOLG	-	Ministry of Local Government
ICT		Information Communication Technology
MOTWA	-	Ministry of Tourism Wildlife and Antiquities
PPT	-	Pro-Poor Tourism
SDGs	-	Sustainable Development Goals
UCOTA	-	Uganda Community Tourism Association
UPC	-	Under privileged Communities
WFCs		Women Fragile Collectives
UWA	-	Uganda Wildlife Authority

Thesis composition and organization

This thesis is comprised of 7 chapters. Chapter one presents the introduction and background of the study, problem statement, research questions and ends with purpose and objectives of the study.

Chapter two covers relevant literature in tandem with the objectives of the thesis. It presents an in-depth review of important aspects on community-based tourism, community participation and fragile collectives. It discusses the concept of community-based tourism and its implications, stakeholders in community-based tourism, challenges, and the significance of CBT in developing countries. An account of participation and levels of participation, limitations of community participation, inclusion, exclusion and factors that influence participation in community-based tourism is discussed. Theories and frameworks relevant to this study are discussed.

Chapter three describes the study context. It gives an overview of the profile of the study area, tourism livelihood pursuits and the dynamics of community-based tourism in the area.

Chapter four provides a detailed account of how the study was carried out. It discusses the research approach that was used, the paradigm that was adopted, the research process that was followed, the research design that guided the study, the sampling strategy that was used to select respondents, the methods that were employed to collect data analysis tools and ethical issue treatment techniques.

Chapter five presents the findings of the study according to themes derived from interview transcripts but also in line with the research questions. Chapter six: provides a detailed discussion of the findings in tandem with research objectives. It provides a discussion

of how the findings of the study agree with or contradicts with the previous studies identified in the literature review section.

Chapter seven provides conclusions and recommendations of the study. It gives a summary of the study findings, contributions of the study, limitations of the study, future directions and research opportunities and finally, personal reflections about the whole research process are given. Lastly, references and appendices are provided.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables

List of Figures

1.0 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an overview of key aspects such as community-based tourism, participation, and fragile collectives. It begins with background of the study followed by a problem statement, research questions, the purpose and objectives of the study and ends summary of the chapter. The aim of this chapter to provide an overview of community participation and community-based tourism in the context of fragile collectives.

1.1 Background of the study

Tourism has been recognized globally as one of the options for economic development and growth (Travel & Council, 2018; UNWTO, 2014). Tourism positively impacts local communities (Saarinen et al., 2011). It creates employment opportunities, generates income, increases foreign exchange earnings, and reduces poverty (Adongo et al., 2017; Rua, 2020). These impacts can be particularly beneficial in developing countries and regions or rural areas where there may be few other sustainable economic options (Briedenhann & Wickens, 2004).

Tourism can particularly transform and improve people's livelihoods, way of life, and perceptions of tourism development in host communities (Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011). It has been identified as an economic tool that can help rural areas that are poor in material wealth but rich in culture and heritage resources (Bole et al., 2013). These resources enable them to use their unique culture as a synergy to tap income from tourism. The important caveat is that tourism benefits go directly to the local community. However, if these resources are owned by foreign companies, the revenue generated may leak out of the community (Scheyvens & Hughes, 2019; Tosun, 2000). To minimize the leakage of profits from the host community, community-based -tourism has been identified as one of the models of ensuring that tourism profits remain in the host community (Mensah, 2016).

In relation to the leakage of revenues from the community, tourism has also been associated with other negative effects such as unhappy hosts due to more costs than benefits; inflation in the host community, seasonality and unemployment, low wages, disparity in earnings and competition for local resources (Ashley & Roe, 1998; Mbaiwa, 2003; Sebele, 2010; Trejos & Chiang, 2009; Zapata et al., 2011); overconsumption of resources, pollution, soil erosion and loss of biodiversity (Piggott-McKellar & McNamara, 2017; Thomas et al., 2004; Zhang et al., 2004). There are other concerns such as tourist misconduct, cultural erosion, overcrowding, poor waste management, high crime, prostitution, the adoption of the Western safari style, vulgar language, family breaks, displacement and eviction of communities from their original lands (Chong, 2020; Holmes & Cavanagh, 2016; Mbaiwa, 2003; Wild & Mutebi, 1996).

Despite of the costs associated with tourism, 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.

In the context of this study, such people are referred to as *fragile collectives* because of their identities as women, widows, widowers, disabled, chronically ill, abandoned, single parents, elderly, victims of domestic violence and Batwa (Aboriginals). The socio-economic status of fragile collectives which is regretful and the interest of cultural tourists who want to experience the traditional way of life and heritage of fragile collectives have led to the development and promotion of CBT (Lo & Janta, 2020).

Principally, for fragile collectives to benefit from community-based tourism, they must actively participate in implementing strategies and operate tourism infrastructures, services, and facilities to ensure effective management of local resources and better distribution of the benefits of tourism development (Kim et al., 2014). This is because community-based tourism is generally small and can be owned and operated by local people based on their cultural, natural, or human-made assets (Ashley & Garland, 1994; Ashley & Roe, 1998; Murphy, 1983; Suansri, 2003). These scholars argue that CBT usually involves close interactions between visitors and the host community. Because of the tourist-host interactions, the host communities are supposed to have powers to manage their affairs to make decisions so that benefits are shared by all the locals (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009).

The locals or host community include all the groups of people or all individuals in a community that are affected by tourism development activities directly or indirectly (Singh, 2003). According to Singh (2003), the terms locals or hosts are used interchangeably to mean local communities, although the term "host" is emphasized in CBT literature. Based on this assertion, this study argues that the term host community is homogenous and does not account for the fragile collectives who are under-represented in tourism and are often excluded from tourism development programs (Blackstock, 2005).

This study emphasizes the representation and participation of fragile collectives in CBT development activities since they also form part of the host community and could also serve as hosts (Akbar et al., 2020). Additionally, they are usually the custodians of local knowledge, and they may play a critical role in protecting and conserving tourism resources since they partly depend on them (Ashley et al., 2000; Ashley & Roe, 1998; Blackstock, 2005; Sebele, 2010). Tourism resources include tourist attractions in natural environments like national parks, game reserves, and heritage sites. These attraction sites have peripheral communities that should be immediate beneficiaries of these resources (World Tourism Organization, 2002).

Based on the characteristics of fragile collectives and their importance to tourism; the current study contends that tourism has the potential to create many opportunities for them and transform their lives through community-based tourism initiatives (Jaafar et al., 2015; Mbaiwa, 2003; Mowforth & Munt, 2015; Muganda et al., 2010; Saarinen & Rogerson, 2014). However, this can only be achieved when there is a favorable environment for the communities to participate in tourism activities. Besides, they may not even have any knowledge or technical know-how of tourism. This is typical in developing countries, especially in Africa, in rural communities where many people may not have attained even an elementary school education (Mensah, 2016) and may require empowerment for through capacity building (Dłużewska & Giampiccoli, 2020; Suansri, 2003).

According to Tosun (2006), participation in CBT development activities takes various forms: spontaneous, induced, and coercive. Spontaneous participation according to Tosun (2006) is the ideal mode of community participation because it provides full managerial responsibility and authority to the host community. Induced participation allows the host community to hear and to be heard. In other words, their voices are heard in the tourism development process, but their views are never considered by the by powerful stakeholders while coercive participation is a manipulative type of participation which enables the powerholders to educate the host community to conserve tourism for the future. Tosun (2006) points out that in this type of participation, some decisions are taken to meet basic needs of the host community through consultative meetings with the local leaders with the purpose of reducing socio-political risks for tourists and tourism development.

On the other hand, participation in CBT can take other for forms. According to Ashley and Roe (1998), host communities can operate private businesses as local entrepreneurs, private enterprises can be run by outsiders and stimulate local occupations, community enterprises or and joint ventures between community and private sector can be forms of

4

participation. In other words, tourism creates jobs for the host communities from facilities, attractions, operations, and service providers that support the tourism sector (Ashley & Roe, 1998).

Besides, tourism requires both an unskilled and skilled workforce, thus creating opportunities for fragile collectives who may have difficulties entering the tourism workforce (Grandcourt, 2020). Community-based tourism also allows for easy entry into the sector. Tourism products can be small-scale, so it is relatively easy for fragile collectives to enter the industry. An example would be a homestay run by a local family where the outlay of starting up a business is minimal, and the economic benefits go directly to the family (Ashley & Roe, 1998). Comparatively, communities that live around tourist attractions can provide various services and facilities in the form of homestays, local food experiences, local farm or garden demonstrations, village walks, tour guiding services, and production or and sale of arts and crafts among others (Ashley & Roe, 1998; Echtner, 1995). All these activities could be avenues for fragile collectives to tap into the benefits of tourism development.

Despite the benefits associated with community-based tourism initiatives, there is a general outcry that CBT has failed to deliver the expected benefits (Coria & Calfucura, 2012; Stone & Stone, 2011; Zielinski, Jeong, et al., 2020). Various studies mention that CBT has failed to deliver its promises due to the following factors: All tourism development planning is done by development authorities without involving the residents, dominating role of local elites, and exclusion of non-elites who constitute the majority (Liu et al., 2020; Tosun, 2000). Additionally, previous studies indicate that fragile collectives rarely participate in tourism income-generating activities and often experience limited participation in CBT or complete exclusion from the decision-making process (Mai & Doo-Chul, 2021; Wang et al., 2010).

Against this background, this study seeks to investigate fragile collectives' forms of participation in CBT, the benefits derived from participation in CBT, factors that enable them

to participate, barriers that hinder their participation as well solutions to the identified barriers to participation with a goal of developing a comprehensive and practical participation framework for fragile collectives.

1.2 Problem statement

Community-based tourism is considered an alternative approach to tourism development, especially in rural communities in developing countries (Dodds et al., 2018). Over the years, CBT contributions to community development have been questionable (Blackstock, 2005). This has been occasioned by the failure of the conventional forms of tourism to bring about the much-anticipated socio-economic development in these rural communities (Strydom et al., 2020; Tolkach et al., 2013; Zielinski, Jeong, et al., 2020). It is argued that CBT is unrealistic, focuses only on tourism development rather than empowering people, and ignores community dynamics and inequalities between primary and critical stakeholders (Kunjuraman & Hussin, 2017). It is pointed out that CBT is affected by centralization issues, community definitional problems, multi-stakeholder participation, diversity and heterogeneity, elite control and domination, and human-wildlife conflicts, typical in developing countries (Stone & Nyaupane, 2020). Stone and Nyaupane (2020) argue that residents are often treated as mere hosts, which has led to the under-representation and exclusion of residents from tourism.

Previous scholars suggest that some measures must be strengthened for the community-based tourism initiatives to become successful. Such measures must be developed according to the strength of the community members, community ownership, community empowerment, collaboration between key and primary stakeholders, equitable distribution of benefits, environmental conservation and cross-cultural learning (Dodds et al., 2018; Wondirad et al., 2020). Community-based tourism should be a bottom-up approach from policy and planning to evaluation of tourism projects and development. Principally, residents need to participate

actively in the implementation of strategies as well as operating tourism infrastructures, services, and facilities (Giampiccoli et al., 2015a). This ensures effective management of local resources and fair distribution of benefits from tourism development.

Despite the above strategies, fragile collectives' forms of participation in CBT, the benefits derived from community-based tourism, enablers and barriers to participation and strategies to increase participation remain unclear. Besides, other than what is identified in the literature about taking part in decision making, it is not clear whether there exists an enabling environment for fragile collectives to participate in decision making. This is because, various studies indicate that the bottom-up approach is rarely put into practice, resulting in the low participation of communities in tourism (Mensah, 2016). Moreover, the fragile collectives, especially the marginalized within the periphery, are even pushed further because of their minority status (Lo & Janta, 2020). The idea of community-based tourism postulates that residents must get involved in controlling tourism resources and taking part in decision-making (Mensah, 2017).

Besides, fragile collectives are dynamic and heterogeneous, with different people of different aspirations. Therefore, the nature and extent of fragile collectives participation in CBT needs an in-depth understanding, which this study investigated. Based on such assertions, the problem statement for this study is three-fold. First, the development and operationalization of participation framework for fragile collectives is discussed. Second, critical issues in CBT spaces are highlighted, and third inclusive tourism practices that can address exclusionary and exploitation tendencies created by elite domination are highlighted.

1.3 Research questions

This study employed the qualitative approach of ethnography to explore the participation of fragile collectives in CBT development in South-Western Uganda. I conducted an empirical study with fifty-five fragile collectives surrounding Bwindi Impenetrable National

Park to understand the different forms of participation they engage in, the benefits they derive from participation, what enables them to participate, the barriers that hinder their participation as well the solutions and mechanisms to the identified barriers to participation in CBT. Against this background, this study sought answers for five questions.

First question: What are the fragile collectives' forms of participation? From the fragile collective perspective, the answers to this question were covered under three forms of participation (direct, indirect and marginal or no forms of participation). The findings reveal three important pathways in which CBT benefits trickle down to fragile collectives (refer to section 5.4) of chapter five. Apart from the three different forms of participation that were established, fragile collectives also revealed how they understand participation from their perspective (see section 5.5). Besides, different aspirations for livelihood pursuits were also revealed as presented in section 5.6.

Second question: What are the benefits derived from the forms of participation? This question concerns the benefits obtained from the three forms of participation that this study established. These benefits include positive benefits in form of economic and non-economic benefits but also negative benefits in form of costs associated with CBT were also identified (see section 5.7).

Third question: What are the key enablers to fragile collectives' participation in CBT? This question is important in revealing the factors that enable fragile collectives' participation in CBT. Six livelihood capitals (human, financial, social, natural, cultural, and physical) were identified as important key enablers to participation in CBT (refer to section 5.8).

Forth question: What are the barriers to fragile collectives' participation in CBT? This question considered the factors that constrain or hinder fragile collectives' participation in CBT. Different barriers to participation ranging from individual to external barriers were identified

as presented in section 5.9 of chapter five. It was found that external barriers outweigh internal barriers to participation.

 Fifth question: What are the solutions and mechanisms to the identified barriers to participation in CBT? Answers to this question reveal how fragile collectives want the identified barriers to participation be solved but also how they navigate through the barriers to participation in CBT. They proposed different solutions to the identified barriers to participation and mechanisms and strategies that can put in place to overcome the barriers to participation in CBT (refer to section 5.10).

1.4 Purpose and objectives of the study

The purpose of this study is to develop a participation framework for fragile collectives to participate in CBT. It attempts to understand and integrate different perspectives of the fragile collectives' participation in CBT. This is because previous studies have concentrated on participation of a community as whole while participation of the sub-groups within the community also known as the fragile collectives remain under explored. Besides, community participation typologies are generic. For instance, Tosun (2006) proposed community participation typology but did not explicitly expound on the nature of fragile collectives' participation, the factors that enable participation and the challenges that hinder participation especially for the fragile collectives.

To meet the purpose of this study, the following objectives were formulated: 1) To investigate fragile collectives' forms of participation in CBT; 2) To investigate the benefits derived from the forms of participation in CBT; 3) To investigate the key enablers to participation in CBT; 4) To investigate the barriers that hinder fragile collectives' participation in CBT; 5) To identify the solutions to the noted barriers to participation and how fragile collectives navigate through those barriers. Based on these objectives, a participation framework from fragile collectives is developed.

The most important contribution of this study is that: It is the first study that has developed a participation framework for fragile collectives yet to be tested. This study is a cornerstone for other studies to test the framework and improve it further. The participation framework developed form this study brings fresh empirical insights and perspectives that contribute to literature in community-based tourism.

1.5 Why this Study Focused on Fragile Collectives in Uganda

Despite fragile collectives' unique and peculiar characteristics, they could be resourceful persons if empowered (Scheyvens, 2000). For instance, women are believed to possess problem-solving skills that can significantly help tackle community problems and family issues (Nutsugbodo et al., 2020). Women are essential in this study because they interact more with the environment than men. It is well documented that 60-80% of food production depends on women and the natural environment is the source of livelihood (Scheyvens, 2000). Scheyvens (2000) emphasize that women in host communities engage in income-generating activities such as handcrafts that require raw materials from protected areas.

Indigenous people are credited for their cultural expressions regardless of their status. They are among the most distinguished in tourism destinations, making them key players within the sector (UNWTO, 2020). Being citizens, they could possess local knowledge regarding tourism resources. For instance, the elderly could be a source of valuable information regarding the historical background of the study site, culture and heritage, development of tourism, and impacts on communities. Relatedly, poverty within fragile communities is one of the contestable issues (Jo, 2013; Spicker, 2020). Yunus (2007) opine that the poor can eradicate poverty themselves. According to Yunus (2007), the poor are naturally-born-entrepreneurs; they need just a conducive environment by giving them an enabling environment such as access to microcredit. The poor are likely to find unique opportunities that

are ignored by others. Duflo and Banerjee (2011) emphasize that underprivileged groups possess different views; what matters most is their representation in community affairs.

The youths, especially the millennials, are regarded as future leaders and the backbone of development. The tourism sector is labor-intensive, and young people are a dominant part of the workforce. Wu and Pearce (2014) suggest that focusing on the young generation's perceptions and aspirations creates a pathway for progressive work. The expected role of youths in the community, especially in remote rural areas, and some of their positive features, such as creativity, make them a key group in shaping the future (Jentsch & Shucksmith, 2003; Ono, 2003). Thus, such segments in community-based tourism activities may improve their livelihood and promote tourism development (Schafft & Greenwood, 2003). Regarding the disabled, Jammaers and Williams (2021) point out that some disabled people take matters into their own hands by creating their own jobs and converting their bodily differences into bodily capital. Mota et al., (2020) established that disabled entrepreneurship reinforces the idea that disabilities do not prevent individuals from being able to discern opportunities and to have the power to make decisions about their life.

It's against the above background the this sought to understand participation of fragile collectives in CBT. This study recognizes the significance of research that supports, empowers, and encourages the unheard voices to share their perspectives about the phenomenon concerning participation in CBT. The need for inclusive research that is transformative in nature is important for informing policy. Moreover, to the best of my knowledge, this is first study to explore the participation of fragile collectives in CBT in the Ugandan context.

1.6 Summary of the chapter

This chapter has given a highlight of what the current study is all about. It has presented the background of the study, problem statement, research questions and purpose and objectives

11

of the study and why the study focused on fragile collectives in Uganda. The next chapter presents literature review and theoretical underpinning of this study.

2.0 CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the related literature relevant to the present study. It has four sections. The first section provides a detailed account of community, highlights the term fragile collectives, linkage of fragile collectives and poverty, tourism and poverty alleviation, and reasons for focusing on fragile collectives in this study. The second part discusses the community-based tourism concept, its evolution, and its definition. It also highlights stakeholders and their responsibilities, the significance of CBT, the challenges it faces and CBT models in Africa, and the situation of CBT in Uganda. The third section presents community participation, forms of participation, limitations of community participation, factors that influence community participation, and perceptions. The last part of this chapter discusses the theoretical underpinning of the study.

2.2 Community

Traditionally, a community has been defined from three main perspectives. First, from a geographical perspective, a community is defined as people who occupy the same geographical space with all its physical endowments (Aas et al., 2005; Savage & Warde, 1993). The people who live in that space constitute a community. Second, a community has been defined in terms of social organization. Here, the emphasis is on the social systems that make up the groups and the institutions that ensure people live together in harmony (Phillips & Pittman, 2009). Third, a community is defined as people's social interactions with a shared set of beliefs, values, and practices (Aas et al., 2005). Singh (2003) states that people can relate to their physical environment in several ways, such as their lifestyles and economic activities. However, it is pointed out that living in the same area does not guarantee it to be a community unless they relate to it (Boyd & Singh, 2003; Singh et al., 2003).

From the socio-anthropological perspective, a community is referred to as interactions within and between people and habitats. Here, society, community, and systems are essential requisites of a community structure (Mogey, 1975; Savage & Warde, 1993; Stokowski, 1994). The social system may be comprised of groups and institutions (social organizations) or people with a common identity and shared beliefs and practices (Phillips & Pittman, 2009). A further definition is given by Weaver (2010), who describes a community as a group of persons, families, and clans living together and consistently competing for authority and resource control.

From a tourism perspective, a community refers to locals, residents, natives, and indigenous people that host visitors directly or indirectly and are affected by the effects of tourism development (Singh et al., 2003). However, Bosselman et al., (1999) adopt a non-controversial meaning of the term community refer to all people in a destination who suffer the consequences of tourism development. However, Singh et al., (2003) contest this assertion as to whether the community regards itself as a host or whether it applies to all the segments of a community.

Although the definitions above have some similarities, there seem to be some controversies in the descriptions. The geographical perspective emphasizes space, and socio-anthropology that focuses on interactions while the tourism perspective underlines hosts. Based on this assertion, it can be deduced that a community is not homogeneous, but an entity comprised of different groups of people with diverse interests. Considering that the present study intends to focus on the peripheral communities of protected areas, a definition suggested by (Bosselman et al.,1999) will be adopted and adjusted accordingly to fit the study. Therefore, in this study, the terms locals, residents, hosts, and indigenous are used interchangeably to mean host communities. The host communities also have sub-groups such as the minority, the

marginalized, and the vulnerable, which are the focus of this study and may also be affected by tourism development activities.

According to United Nations World Tourism Organization, the sub-groups may not imply to men and women who make up the community, but the various community segments associated with unemployment, vulnerability, marginalization, minority, and disabilities, such as the fragile collectives (UNWTO, 2020). Since fragile collectives are part of the host community and the focus of this study, the following section provides an overview of fragile collectives.

2.3 Fragile collectives

The term "fragile collectives" has not been used in tourism literature. The term "Fragile collectives" does not have a specific discipline but in sociology one study used it to refer to people who are socially excluded from productive activities (Olesen & Fragoso, 2017). In humanities and social sciences, another study used it to refer to health publics with a history of exclusion from health and well-being matters while in Anthropology, a study used it to refer to inability to claim absolute knowledge, power, or authority (See Table 2.1). 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).

Out of curiosity, I searched for the term in tourism literature but couldn't come up with any other studies that have used the term fragile collectives. This necessitated me to navigate through other disciplines as summarized Table 2.1. Having read related literature from other disciplines on fragile collectives I found it suitable for this study. Since I was targeting the sub-groups of the community comprised of vulnerable, marginalized and minority that have similar characteristics as those of fragile collectives. Therefore, this study brings fragile collective concept into tourism studies especially in the CBT context.

Table 2.1: Studies that have used the term fragile collectives from other disciplines

Field	Definition	Source
Sociology	People who are socially excluded from productive activities	(Olesen & Fragoso, 2017)
Humanities and social sciences	Health publics with lived experience of, expertise in or a history of exclusion from health and well-being matters	(Hinchliffe et al., 2018)
Tourism	Feeble collectives as young people and women who lack employment opportunities and necessities of life	(Artal-Tur et al., 2019)
Anthropology	Inability to claim absolute knowledge, power, or authority	(Van Dooren, 2016)

Source: Literature

2.3.1 Characteristics of fragile collectives

The Centre for Advancing Opportunities (CAO) defines a fragile community as a rural or urban community where residents face significant barriers to opportunity regardless of race, religion, or ethnicity. The CAO affirms that fragile communities are comprised of residents who struggle financially in their daily lives and have limited social mobility options. They have been identified as marginalized, vulnerable, and minority (Artal-Tur et al., 2019; Burke, 2014; Peroni & Timmer, 2013; Sallu et al., 2010; Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018) because of the barriers to participation in tourism development activities that surround them.

It is argued that fragile collectives are under-represented in CBT development activities (Jamal & Camargo, 2014; Mensah, 2016; Scheyvens & Hughes, 2019). Based on this argument, it is necessary to examine the characteristics that engulf the fragile collectives to understand their experiences and conditions. Table 2.2 portrays various elements of fragile collectives.

Table 2.2: Characteristics of fragile collectives

Marginalization	Vulnerability	Minority
Position of individuals, groups, or population outside of "main-stream society.	The vulnerable are groups of high risks of poverty, diseases, violence and socially discriminated (Peroni & Timmer, 2013)	Disempowered groups (Baker, 2001) Carry with them the exclusion from full participation (Zander, 2014)
Living at the margins of those in the center of power, cultural dominance, and economic social welfare (Schiffer & Schatz, 2008)	Those who are politically: marginalized disenfranchised and denied human rights (Vanstone et al., 2013)	A group of people who differ in physical or cultural characteristics from the dominant group in sociology (Cuong, 2020)
The poor in the community Characterized by disempowerments Faced with gender inequalities Not educated Face difficulty family situations Socially disadvantaged Poor majority (Kilian, 2020; Scheyvens & Biddulph; 2018)	Risks of poverty Risks of diseases Violence Social discrimination Unemployment Illiteracy Lack of necessities of life (Montesanti et al., 2017; Peroni & Timmer, 2013; Sanders & Munford, 2017)	Singled out from the others Faced with differential & unequal treatment Collectively discriminated. Characterized by ethnicity, gender, sexuality, indigeneity (Louis Wirth, 1945)

Source: Literature

2.3.2 Who are the fragile collectives in the context of this study?

Having navigated through literature review and previous studies, the following aspects were found to cut across fragile collectives.

The Marginalized

Scheyvens and Biddulph (2018) refer to the marginalized as the very poor in the community. For Kilian (2020), the marginalized are characterized by disempowerments, gender inequalities, lack of access to education, difficult family situations, and socially disadvantaged and poor majority. Artal-Tur et al., (2019) refer to women as a segment of the community who are often impoverished and lack necessities of life such as health and sanitary facilities at a community level. They are still considered and taken as beasts of burden and,

therefore, responsible for producing food and other household requirements for the family (Duffy et al., 2015). Arzjani and Rahiminezhad (2011) indicate that rural women in Iran still live a life of dependency that cannot achieve positive economic and social status. These assertions further reinforce that some women's limited access to education, land resources, and lack of power in the community makes them more fragile, ultimately putting them in a socially and economically disadvantaged position in community development projects. Furthermore, women in some societies are the custodians of livestock production and agricultural produce. They take care of the new-born and sick animals, manage small animals, and keep backyard poultry while men care for bigger animals (Rangnekar, 2006). Other scholars have identified marginalized groups of people who often lack access to essential resources, limited education, and inadequate support and benefit from tourism; (Latip et al., 2018; Nutsugbodo et al., 2020; Tu & Zhang, 2020; Wang et al., 2010).

The Vulnerable

The vulnerable are groups with high risks of poverty, diseases, violence, and social discrimination (Peroni & Timmer, 2013). They include women, children, the elderly, and the chronically ill people (Montesanti et al., 2017; Sanders & Munford, 2017). Similarly, Arora et al.,(2015) note that the adolescents and youths, addressed as "young people", are vulnerable. They are referred to as vulnerable because of various factors, including but not limited to health-related problems, social characteristics, and family problems. Arora et al., (2015) identified factors such as unemployment, poverty, illiteracy, sexual abuse, lack of support from peer groups, risk environments, lack of self-esteem, lack of necessities of life, chronic diseases, single parents and single-raised youths, domestic violence, and drug abuse as among the significant issues.

As the backbone of future developments and probably the most creative millennials, Wu and Pearce (2017) argue that local youths are the least examined in the literature. Moreover,

alongside young people living in rural areas and developing economically reliant regions on tourism, the youths are among the most affected by the global tourism crises (UNWTO, 2020).

The disabled and the aging

Traditionally, disability refers to people who have long term physical sensory, cognitive and/or mental impairments which in interaction with various barriers may hinder their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others (Smith et al., 2021; WHO, 2019). Reindrawati et al., (2022) defines persons with disabilities as those people with intellectual, physical, sensory and /or mental impairments that can hinder overall participation in society on an equal basis with other members of the population. Disability has been explained using both medical and social models. The medical model views a person's impairment-their embodiment- as their disability or personal problem, which directly causes their deficit through disease, trauma, or health conditions (Oliver, 1996).

Although disability is an understudied segment of the host community, terms such as disabled, weak, poor, disinterested, isolated, less powerful, voiceless, marginalized or fringe stakeholders are used to refer to people with disabilities (Gillovic & McIntosh, 2020; Hart & Sharma, 2004; Nyanjom et al., 2018). Disabled people are excluded from participation and therefore are an oppressed group in society (Shakespeare, 2006). Lindstrom et al., (2012) adds that communities tend to create cultural exclusion spaces for people with disabilities, especially youth disabilities

The indigenous and other minority groups

The term "Indigenous" describes the difference between the natives and the non-natives of a landscape. Despite their global relevance, indigenous peoples have historically been among the most marginalized groups (UNWTO, 2020). In line with this statement, Wu and Chen (2018) point out that the indigenous people are savage, uncivilized, and undeveloped in their study in Taiwan. Additionally, despite the richness in biodiversity that the indigenous

Australian possess, they are regarded as impoverished citizens, economically marginalized, and suffer from human poverty (Zander et al., 2014). Based on the characteristics of the marginalized, vulnerable, and the minority, it can be deduced that each category faces a unique but challenging situation.

Based on the descriptions above, an amalgamation of the marginalized, vulnerable, disabled and the aged, indigenous, and other minority groups make up the term fragile collectives. In the context of this study 'fragile collectives' refer:

"to the marginalized, vulnerable and the minority groups because of their identity as women, widows, widowers, Batwa, disabled, chronically ill, the elderly, victims of domestic violence, single parents, and abandoned".

According to Liu (2006), tourism has been identified as a potential sector that can uplift and transform fragile collectives' lives.

2.4 The concept of Community-Based Tourism

For a long time, scholars have discussed and researched community-based tourism, also called community tourism, community industry (Murphy, 1983), or tourism in rural areas (Mtapuri & Giampiccoli, 2019). The concept has been applied in various disciplines such as community development, environmental conservation, urban and rural development planning, medical fields, geography, and tourism (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999; Blackstock, 2005; Healey, 2000; Murphy, 2013; Tosun, 2000; Zakus & Lysack, 1998). CBT is considered beneficial in terms of social and economic development as opposed to mass tourism.

Mass tourism means traveling in large groups and consuming tourism services in large quantities at places visited (Poon, 1993). The implication is that mass tourism does not allow community residents to take charge of tourism operations in their area. Thus, CBT which is considered the best alternative tool to help host communities take control of tourism operations, and allow them to improve their livelihoods in the long run, is preferred (Ashley & Garland,

1994). To realize community-based tourism's potential contribution, the intended beneficiaries must fully engage in direct or indirect tourism-related activities. This approach may be described as participatory development that benefits local economies in employment and other self-sustaining opportunities (Ashley & Garland, 1994; Goodwin & Santilli, 2009; Scheyvens, 2002).

Tourism that paves the way for the community to develop can benefit the residents in many ways. Ashley and Roe (1998) propose that individuals can engage in independent projects without necessarily being under the community's control. Thus, the authors view CBT as a supplementary occupation that can help community members generate income and improve wellbeing. The residents can benefit in many ways ranging from performing arts and local demonstrations, food and beverage services, local products as souvenirs, accommodation, transport services, and as local entrepreneurs.

Community-based tourism's conceptual origin appears to be an antecedent of the 1990s (Saayman & Giampiccoli, 2016). However, as a concept borrowed from rural and local economic development studies, its applicability considers the community members to be active participants in tourism and community activities in their areas (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009). A seminal study by Murphy (1985) set the pace for research into community tourism, pointing out that CBT is the community approach to get the community involved in tourism development because its survival depends on the support and good relationship with the local people. The community approach that helps community-based tourism succeed involves ownership and control of tourism by the community and direct individual participation (Armstrong, 2012).

Blackstock (2005) acknowledges that tourism alone cannot thrive without community involvement in tourism planning and entrepreneurial activities. Similarly, Ashley and Roe (2002) affirm that tourism activities help alleviate poverty at a community level. On the other

hand, Goodwin and Santilli (2009) suggest that it is in the hands of the people to replace "top-down" approaches with a participatory process that integrates conservation and development schemes. Additionally, Otto et al. (2013) view the community-based concept as a top-down approach that assists in conserving tourism resources and bringing benefits to the residents. Agrawal and Gibson (1999) affirm that the locals are the best managers of natural resources since they have more local knowledge than any other external actor. The authors argue that failure to involve them in managing these resources may result in harm.

From a community development perspective, a community-based concept involves the active participation of the community, especially the disadvantaged populations and marginalized areas, in self-supporting projects. This ultimately results in job creation and improved social circumstances (Joppe, 1996). Nevertheless, Scheyvens (1999) suggests that, for communities to get involved in any form of tourism or any community development activity, they must be empowered socially, economically, politically, and psychologically to decide on what form of tourism to engage in. Correspondingly, Suansri (2003) proposes that to achieve community-based tourism's stated goals and objectives, it must follow certain principles that represent the community's needs and interests.

2.4.1 Delimitations of CBT definition

There exist a general debate and a dearth understanding of CBT amongst the tourism scholars on its definition, typologies, and development scales (Mtapuri & Giampiccoli, 2019). Frequently, the terminology has been used interchangeably to describe an alternative form of tourism development (Giampiccoli & Saayman, 2014). It is described as any form of tourism that encourages people to participate in tourism development activities irrespective of their mode (Tosun, 2006). Despite the existing knowledge between community-based tourism and the host communities, CBT's conceptual definition has not yet reached a consensus (Burgos & Mertens, 2017). Nevertheless, the scholarly debate emphasizes that CBT is a heterogeneous

22

phenomenon that involves various stakeholders, namely, the host communities, the tourists, NGOs, international agencies, the suppliers, and the managers (Ross & Wall, 1999).

2.4.2 Definition of CBT

Conceptually, several attempts have been made in the literature to define the concept of CBT (Asker et al., 2010). The most cited definition is that of Responsible Ecological Social Tour (REST) mentioned in Suansri (2003 p, 14). The authors define CBT as;

"Tourism that considers the environment, social and cultural sustainability."

This definition supports the idea of CBT's role in enhancing the people and the environment. World-Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) defines CBT as;

model that recognizes the individual efforts in the community and gives the community a degree of autonomy to control their resources while maximizing benefits and minimizing leakages (See: Goodwin & Santilli, 2009).

Besides, Ashley and Garland (1994) denote CBT as an approach that can enhance people's capacity, most notably the poor and marginalized in the community, to participate in tourism activities as entrepreneurs, employees, managers, and conservationists. Furthermore, Murphy (1983) describes CBT as a community industry that attracts visitors and brings long-term benefits to the community. Dernoi (1981) attests that CBT is an alternative approach that requires less start-up capital, brings direct benefits to the community, and is an economical option for most families. Dernoi (1983) and Frater (1983) further view community-based tourism as farm tourism, where the family members actively involved in agriculture should benefit from tourism.

CBT has been considered an approach that can solve community problems, with most scholars expanding the definitions to include sustainability elements. With the arising

differences in the earlier definitions failing to capture some essential aspects that affect the community, Asker et al. (2010) suggest that CBT must adhere to sustainability principles. As a result, Armstrong (2012) states that for the host communities to benefit from CBT, they must have favorable conditions to own, manage and control their resources. Also, for community members to benefit from CBT, they must participate in the tourism development processes to get reasonable and sustainable opportunities (Ashley & Garland, 1994; Dodds et al., 2018; Hamzah & Khalifah, 2012; Tolkach & King, 2015).

Based on the above definitions, it can be inferred that community-based tourism is a complex issue with many aspects that may not be captured in one term. The literature has identified that CBT is used interchangeably with other tourism forms, including rural tourism, eco-tourism, pro-poor tourism, community tourism, and sustainable tourism which this study adheres to.

2.4.3 Implication of CBT definition

It is essential to note that from its inception in the 1980s up to now, CBT has been defined in various ways as farm tourism, ecotourism, rural tourism, pro-poor, and sustainable tourism. From the existing knowledge of community-based tourism and the host communities, the above definitions show that CBT is a heterogeneous phenomenon involving many aspects, including social, economic, and environmental issues. It also includes various stakeholders: host communities, tourists, NGOs, international agencies, suppliers, and managers (Ross & Wall, 1999). Despite the existing knowledge about CBT, none of the definitions captures the sub-groups in the community. Weaver (2010) states that a community comprises social groups and divisions. According to (Zapata et al., 2011), there is still a lack of consensus between the community and the individual interests. Goodwin and Santilli (2009) highlight inconsistencies between individual initiatives and community benefits. This implies that it is not clear about

the criteria of who benefits and who does not know because of such diversities. As much as community-based tourism intends to help the whole community in terms of community projects and enterprises, the community members who are not part of the projects are not factored in the definition, particularly the fragile collectives. Therefore, this study focuses on fragile collectives in the context of CBT.

2.4.4 Stakeholders in CBT

Tourism development, especially in destination communities, is a debatable issue. Various scholars argue that the success of tourism development depends on a range of stakeholders (Amoah-Mensah, 2013; Byrd, 2007; Zhao & Ritchie, 2007). Byrd (2007) opine that the identification and support of stakeholders is essential. Generally, stakeholders are described as people who can affect or are affected by any development activity in their area or place of work (Freeman & Medoff, 1984). In the context of tourism, a stakeholder is identified as "any group or individual who can affect or is affected by" tourism development in an area (Freeman, 1984, p 46). This holds for CBT because it engages with a diversity of stakeholders. Sautter and Leisen 1(999) add that stakeholders are viewed as all parties interested in or affected by tourism business within a particular market or community and how they manage the tourism system.

Stakeholders can be classified into different categories such the public sector, private sector, civil society, key stakeholders, primary stakeholders, and secondary stakeholders (Wondirad et al., 2020; Zhao & Ritchie, 2007). Gunn (1994) identifies stakeholders as citizens, entrepreneurs, and community leaders. They are categorized into four groups: the present visitors, future visitors, present host community, and future host community (Byrd, 2007). According to Byrd (2007), the host community can be divided into residents, business owners, and government officials. They include tourism planners such as local businesses, national business chains, competitors, residents, activist groups, tourists, employees, and governments.

According to Asker et al. (2010), stakeholders include those in government, communities, the transportation industry, tourism organizations and operators, small and medium scale enterprises, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), locals and foreign tourists, education institutions, suppliers, employees, utility workers, and infrastructure employees who must work together as partners to shape the community's vision, needs, and priorities.

At a community level, stakeholders comprise community organizations, including but not limited to donors and NGOs, government agencies, tourism organizations, local small-scale businesses (SMEs), landowners, and cultural and natural resources (Boyd & Singh, 2003). Zhao and Ritchie (2007) classify stakeholders into six categories: the poor, government, private sector, tourists, civil society, and aid donors. Among the six stakeholders, the poor, the private sector, and the government are considered "primary" stakeholders because they are directly connected to the community. At the same time, tourists, civil society, and aid donors are "secondary" stakeholders because they are not directly related to the community (Ashley & Roe, 2001).

All the identified stakeholders have vital roles they play. Acknowledging that tourism exists as a powerful economic development force in community-based and global markets, Sautter and Leisen (1999) postulate that it is imperative to involve stakeholders at all levels. This is because stakeholders have key roles, they play to foster participation in tourism. For community-based tourism to succeed, there is need to actively collaborate with key stakeholders (Sautter & Leisen, 1999). Besides, when tourism takes place in an area, several stakeholders are required for various purposes ranging from consultation and interpretation services, planning and decision-making to accommodation and meal services and other related services (Hwang & Stewart, 2017).

As reflected by Donaldson and Preston (1995), each stakeholder must participate in decision-making and incorporating the interests of underrepresented groups in tourism

planning is essential. For instance, the poor are the direct beneficiaries of tourism; therefore, their needs and interests should be accorded maximum consideration in tourism planning and development (Jamieson et al., 2004). Also, for the poor people to benefit from the mainstream tourism, they must participate in tourism decisions, and their livelihood priorities must be reflected in the tourism agenda (Ashley et al., 2000). Byrd (2007) asserts that the identification and support of stakeholders is the primary key to the success and implementation of sustainable tourism development.

Without the support and involvement of the private sector, the impoverished communities might not realize the tourism potential (Hall, 2007). The private sector comprises of international, national, and local tourism enterprises (Jamieson et al., 2004) who may play a significant role in terms of development. This is because private businesses can develop the area and start various business ventures, ultimately providing opportunities for the local communities. For instance, since most of the communities are custodians of the land, the private sector can secure mutual agreements to use them for various investments, which ultimately contributes to the development of the community. Based on this assertion, the private sector can motivate the development of tourism in impoverished destination areas in terms of investment, product development, and marketing of the destination (Ashley & Roe, 2003).

Regarding international aid agencies and development organizations, the primary focus of is to support the country's development process through capacity-building initiatives, infrastructure development, and the creation of small and medium local enterprises (Jamieson et al., 2004). Non-governmental organizations can act as government development partners and as change agents of community-based organizations at the grass-root level by organizing community members and coordinating various activities. They are also referred to as non -

profit-making organizations (Arellano-López & Petras, 1994). From a pro-poor perspective, NGOs play an essential role in supporting the poor to move from the informal sector to the formal sector (Mac Abbey, 2008). Mac Abbey (2008) points out that the poorest people lack human and social capital; thus, NGOs address poverty by strengthening the capacity of the poor to express their demand for quality services and by strengthening institutions to respond to the diverse needs of the poor.

According to Jamieson et al. (2004), there is an unprecedented growth of tourists who seek to participate in activities geared toward improving the well-being of people in destination communities. The tourists should be made aware of the direct impact of their spending on society especially participating in charitable activities. Similarly, traveller's philanthropy is a newly promoted campaign based on the assumption that a considerable number of altruistic tourists would love to visit impoverished destinations and participate in volunteering activities (Zhao & Ritchie, 2007).

Due to the diverse nature of tourism, the government has a fundamental role to play in terms of implementing poverty reduction policies, coordinating, educating the masses, regulating, promoting local tourism products, and disseminating information concerning tourism planning and development (Mowforth & Munt, 2015; Wasudawan & Ab-Rahim, 2018).

Despite the important roles played by various stakeholders, Beierle and Konisky (2000) argue that top-down tourism development decisions are made where "experts" make decisions. Also, the decision-making systems are perceived to have competing interests within themselves. In such circumstances, there is a possibility of community interests and opinions being left out. Nevertheless, it is not necessary for all stakeholders to be equally involved in the decision-making process, so if community interests are identified and factored in the decision-making systems (Donaldson & Preston, 1995).

Therefore, based on the above discourse, this study positions fragile collectives under host communities who may need support from other stakeholders in the form of education and training, infrastructural development, and financial support to build their capacity. As Donaldson and Preston (1995) reflected, not each stakeholder must take part in decision-making thus incorporating the fragile collectives' interest in the tourism planning process is essential. Since there is a broad range of stakeholders and issues to consider regarding representation, Bramwell and Sharman (2002), propose stakeholder theory (Freeman, 1984) as a managerial solution to delimit the broad stakeholder inclusions.

2.4.5 Challenges faced by CBT

Although CBT is credited for its benefits, Mtapuri and Giampiccoli (2016) argue that it may have costs associated with the development as well. Salazar (2012) observes that one of the main reasons for community-based tourism programs hindering their success is the failure to recognize the problems at hand at the grass-root level. Salazar (2012) argues that CBT faces a challenge of representations in all spheres. Unfortunately, the CBT efforts that would be geared to solve community issues are used indirectly by government institutions to satisfy the private sector needs (Bowles & Gintis, 2002; Mayaka et al., 2018). As a result, such misrepresentations may culminate in the unfair distribution of benefits, unsustainable projects, poor governance, conflicts, and excessive donor dependence.

It is documented that a few individuals with power tend to fulfil their interests at the expense of the majority (Hoggett, 1997; Silk, 1999). Simmons (1994) argues that most CBT planning models assume that power is distributed equally and that communities can reach a consensus quickly. Yet, those with power dominate the decision-making process and influence the distribution of benefits in their favor (Akama, 1996). Such governance and leadership systems jeopardize the sustainability of community projects (Blackstock, 2005). Further, Blackstock (2005) points out agreement is hard to attain in heterogeneous societies.

Furthermore, CBT ventures established in rural communities are often not commercially viable due to the costs incurred in the initiation processes (Goodwin, 1996). CBT interventions result from government initiatives or non-profit organizations due to a lack of community capacity to handle CBT projects (Godwin & Santilli, 2009). Moreover, some NGOs withdraw their support once the projects kick start, and most of the time, the communities cannot run the projects. As a result, the unaffordable projects make the communities overly reliant on external funding (Godwin & Santilli, 2009). For instance, a study in Khama Rhino Sanctuary Trust, central district, Botswana, indicates that CBT has not delivered many benefits (Sebele, 2010).

Based on the challenges highlighted, it is noted that all the issues raised are a result of a misconception of community participation. Community participation is a cornerstone for CBT and an approach through which tourism development can achieve its intended goals and objectives (Bulatović & Rajović, 2016). Thus, CBT cannot be entirely blamed, the next section presents some registered successes.

2.4.6 Benefits of Community -based Tourism

Tourism can potentially create benefits for host communities in both developed and developing countries. Community-based tourism has been identified and promoted as one of the models that can address some community challenges (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009; Mensah, 2016). An extensive body of literature shows that community-based tourism has positive and negative impacts (Artal-Tur et al., 2019; Ashley et al., 2000; Ashley & Garland, 1994; Dangi & Jamal, 2016). On the positive side, CBT has generally contributed to conserving tourism and cultural resources (Ahebwa, 2013; Mensah, 2016). Community-based tourism supports environmental protection, creation of employment opportunities, generation of income, preservation of culture, diversification in the community and improvement of infrastructural facilities, and empowerment of communities (Artal-Tur et al., 2019; Sebele, 2010).

30

Generally, CBT is recognized for its contribution to economic benefits to the host communities (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009). CBT is perceived as a type of tourism and is assessed by the local community in a very positive way because of its potential to generate economic benefits (López-Guzmán et al., 2011). Besides, Mayaka et al. (2018) argue that CBT can create employment opportunities for community members who were not previously employed. Dodds et al. (2018) acknowledge that CBT can be a pathway for alleviating poverty and improving people's livelihoods both at the community and individual levels. Moreover, Choi and Sirakaya (2006) note that the economic benefits from tourism should be reasonably well distributed throughout the community. Nevertheless, Trejos and Chiang (2009) note that CBT can potentially contribute to the development of economic linkages and the well-being of rural communities in developing countries. Potential economic benefits such as employment opportunities and income generating activities, minimizing economic leakages, and maximizing economic linkages, encouraging local entrepreneurial businesses, economic empowerment, revenue sharing, distribution of economic benefits and diversification of local economies are highlighted (Ashley & Garland, 1994; Asker et al., 2010).

On one hand, if not handled well, community-based tourism leads to cultural erosion, environmental degradation, conflicts in the community, and profit repatriation. On the other hand, most community members still languish in poverty despite the benefits associated with CBT (Ashley & Roe, 2002; Zapata et al., 2011). Table 2.3 summarizes the findings of a few selected studies relating to both positive and negative impacts of community-based tourism. Having examined the benefits of CBT, the following section presents literature on community participation. This is because community participation is the foundation of this study.

Table.2.3: Impacts of community- based tourism

Type of impact	Forms of impacts	Source
Employment opportunities	Opportunity to sell their goods and services; diversification of the local economies of the poor and the marginalized; labor-intensive which offers small scale opportunities; employs a large proportion of women; direct donation and selling food stuffs, precious stones, local artefacts, and jewellery; the provision of eco-lodges	(Ashley et al., 2000; George & Susan, 1996; Novelli & Gebhardt, 2007; West, 2006),
Sustainability livelihoods	Contributes to poverty alleviation; community wellbeing and capabilities; livelihood adaption and vulnerability	(Ashley & Roe, 2001; Mitchell & Hall, 2005), (Ashley & Roe, 2001; Tao & Wall, 2009a),
Associated costs	Unhappy hosts due to more costs than benefits; local economic linkages; inflation in the host community, leakages, seasonality and unemployment, low wages, and competition for local resources; disparity in wage earnings	(Ashley & Roe, 1998; Mbaiwa, 2003; Sebele, 2010; Trejos & Chiang, 2009; Zapata et al., 2011)
Redistribution of benefits	income earned from tourism is redistributed locally	(Yergeau, 2020)
Community development	Health and education, local services, and facilities	(Ahebwa, 2013; Kontogeorgopoulos, 2005)
Foreign domination	few local elites benefit at the expense of the majority	(Kim et al., 2019; Sandbrook & Adams, 2012; Zapata et al., 2011).
Environmental impacts	environmental quality and optimum use of environmental assets over consumption of resources, pollution, soil erosion and loss of biodiversity	
Negative environmental impacts	overconsumption of resources, pollution, soil erosion and loss of biodiversity	(Piggott-McKellar & McNamara, 2017; Thomas et al., 2004; Zhang et al., 2004).
Positive socio-cultural impacts	improvement in the standard of living, the preservation and revival of cultural practices and community capacity building; improved quality of life	(Zamani-Farahani & Musa, 2012)
Negative socio-cultural impacts	tourist misconduct, cultural erosion, overcrowding and poor waste management are major concerns, high crime, prostitution, the adoption of the Western safari style, vulgar language, family breaks, displacement, and eviction of communities from their original lands	(Chong, 2020; Holmes & Cavanagh, 2016; Mbaiwa, 2003; Wild & Mutebi, 1996)

2.5 Community participation

Understanding the concepts of community participation helps this study identify what forms of participation and how fragile collectives participate in tourism development activities. Foremost, community and participation are two different concepts. Since these are two various aspects, it is essential to distinguish the two concepts. Participation is used in this study to refer to individual initiatives concerning tourism development activities, while community participation refers to projects a community engages in. However, both concepts are essential for this study although it focuses on individual initiatives, it does not matter whether an individual is involved in a community or self-help project. To understand the concept of community participation, it is important to examine the levels of community participation as presented in the next sub-section.

2.5.1 Levels of community participation

To understand the notion of community participation, several models or typologies of community participation have been developed and incorporated into a model by Tosun (2006). As illustrated in Figure 2.1 Tosun (2006) combines Pretty (1995), Arnstein (1971), and Tosun (1999) into an integrated model.

Figure.2.1: An integrated model of community participation

Pretty's Typologies of community participation	Arnstein's typologies of community participation		Tosun's Typologies of community participation	
7. Self-mobilization	8.Citizen control	Degrees of citizen power	**SPONTANEOUS PARTICIPATION** -Bottom-up -Active participation -Direct participation in decision making & implementation -Sharing of benefit and evaluating -Authentic participation -Coproduction -Self-planning -Wide participation and social participation	Ideal form of participation
6. Interactive Participation	7.Delegated power 6.Partnership			
5.Functional participation	5.Placation	Degrees of citizen tokenism	**INDUCED PARTICIPATION** -Top-down -Passive participation -Formal mostly indirect -Degree of tokenism -Manipulation and Pseudo-participation -Participation in implementation and sharing of benefits -Choice between proposed alternatives and feedback	
4. Participation for material incentives	4.Consulting			
3.Participation by consultation	3.Informing			
2. Passive participation	2.Therapy	Non participation	**COERCIVE PARTICIPATION** -Top-down -Passive mostly indirectly -Formal participation in implementation but not necessarily sharing benefits -Choice between proposed limited alternatives or no choice Paternalism -Non-participation -High degree of tokenism and manipulation	Worst form of participation
1. Manipulative participation	1.Manipulation			

Source: Adapted from Tosun (2006)

With specific reference to tourism in developing countries, Tosun's typologies have long been used in tourism studies because of their flexibility in addressing different participation levels that may vary in other contexts. Tosun (1999) developed a model which identifies three levels of participation in tourism, namely (1) spontaneous, (2) induced, and (3) coercive. The first level of Tosun's model is spontaneous participation. It is a bottom-up level that gives the community active and broader participation in tourism activities. Community members are given complete control over the tourism resources in their area. Spontaneous participation is depicted an ideal situation required as it puts members of the host community to manage their affairs (Stone & Stone, 2011).

Spontaneous participation tallies with degrees of citizen power which according to Arnstein (1971) gives power to the citizens to be in charge of their own affairs. This participation level implies that other segments not directly involved in decision-making can still participate in tourism development initiatives (Laws, 2011). Besides, not every member of the community must take part in decision-making. What is paramount at this stage is empowering and creating awareness about the benefits of associated tourism as a means of fostering participation (Marzuki et al., 2012). The second level of community participation is induced participation or degrees of tokenism. This type enables the community to make known their views on tourism development in their community but does not give them the power to ensure that their opinions are implemented (Nutsugbodo et al., 2020). It is depicted as an implicit degree of tokenism used to satisfy the interests of policymakers, private enterprises, and other external players in tourism to meet the tourism market demands (Mayaka et al., 2018).

The third and lowest level is coercive participation. This level gives community members some degree of engagement in tourism development activities. Tosun (2006) asserts that this kind of participation aims to get hold of some members in the community who have power and influence in the community so that they can be used to lessen conflicts in case they arise due to tourism development in the area. Therefore, a few members in the community, like a few elites and those who hold positions in the community, are used to teach the community about the possible threats of tourism in their area (Nutsugbodo et al., 2020). This kind of participation does not allow participation by the host community. The host community is perceived as having problems and the power holder as having the cure to those problems. Implicitly, this form of participation is used to fulfil the interests of policymakers and other influential people in tourism.

Tosun's (1999) model is a widely used framework that assesses the level of people participating in tourism-related projects. However, like other models with criticisms, Tosun's

framework also has some weaknesses. Even Tosun (2006) contends that not all levels of participation can support local communities to realize their anticipated benefits from tourism development. Due to the heterogeneous nature of communities and formidable ideologies of active participation, Marzuki et al. (2012) observe that different perceptions of tourism impacts may arise, ultimately creating conflicts. Moreover, Nault and Stapleton (2011) affirm that different communities have other conditions; thus, the degrees of participation are not conclusive enough to confirm their suitability for a particular situation. As noted by Tosun (2006), it may not be possible to cater to all the needs of the people due to the scarcity of resources within the community.

Lastly, Tosun's model does not specify who can be included in decision-making or how many people in the community can be included. Practically, not every member can take part in making decisions. Despite the challenges associated with Tosun's typology of community participation, various studies still acknowledge and use it as a framework to assess the residents' involvement in CBT projects and small-scale tourism enterprises both in the global North and South. Therefore, Tosun's model is used in this study to assess the extent of fragile collectives and their level of participation in CBT tourism development activities.

2.6 Participation

Participation has different definitions. Duraiappah et al., (2005) indicate that participation is when people can mobilize resources independently and make decisions that affect their lives without any external actor. The authors assert that participation is when local stakeholders, especially the poor, take issues into their own hands, make consultations and get quick responses to their issues. The emphasis from the statement is placed on the poor and their voices being heard in development programs. To ensure that participation meets its goals and objectives, certain principles must be taken into consideration. Egger and Majeres (1998) identify vital principles such as representing all groups respecting people's abilities despite the

36

differences, providing a conducive environment for all, even distribution of power, clear and specific roles, capacity building, and working together as a team. Considering that a community is comprised of different people with different interests, Schafft and Greenwood (2003) emphasize involving them all in any viable community project.

From a community-based tourism perspective, Sirivongs and Tsuchiya (2012) view participation in residents' abilities and behaviors towards tourism activities. Allowing people to engage in various tourism development activities contributes to tourism projects' success (Ryu et al., 2020). Tourism development activities can range from the supply of local products to tourism establishments, production and sale of crafts, provision of homestays, local guiding services, and entertainment. Having defined and identified the fundamental principles that govern participation, the following section discusses the various forms of involvement in tourism development that residents can engage in.

2.6.1 Forms of participation

Ashley and Roe (1998) were the earliest scholars who advocated for tourism at an individual level. They assert that starting a small-scale tourism business does not require a lot of initial outlay. Furthermore, Ashley and Roe (1998) suggest that participation in tourism development activities involves a range of avenues such as self-employment, joint ownership of a business, the supply of raw materials to tourism establishments, and other tourism-related employment opportunities, as shown in Table 2.4. Ashley and Roe (2002) assert that tourism benefits are realized when there is direct engagement by the community in small-scale businesses or self-employment.

Correspondingly, Echtner (1995) highlights various types of entrepreneurial activities which require less capital and can be exploited by individuals. These include smaller-scale opportunities such as selling handicrafts either from the home or a small shop, guiding services, homestays, gastronomy, transportation services, village tours, rentals of sports equipment, and

local entertainment. Although some levels and forms of community participation seem attractive (Tosun, 2000), some limitations may hinder people from participating actively in such activities.

Table 2.4: Forms of participation

Type of enterprise/ institution	Nature of local involvement	Examples
Private business run by an outsider	Local occupations	Chefs
	Providing raw materials	Supply of local materials, food etc
Enterprise or informal sector operation run by local entrepreneur	Retail services	Craft shops, food vending
	Self-help projects	Accommodation services
		Guiding services,
		Linkage activities
Community enterprise	Community enterprises	Community campsites
	Community / individual management	Craft villages
	Providing local goods and services	Cultural villages
	Casual jobs	
Joint venture between community and private sector operator	Contracts	Revenue sharing
	Revenue sharing	Community leases
	Land leases	Concessions
	Taking part in decision making	Community having shares in a lodge
Tourism planning body	Consultations	Local consultation on tourism
	Representations	Community representative fora

Adapted from Ashley and Roe (1998)

2.6.2 Understanding participation pathways

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 2.2. 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.

Figure 2.2: Three pathways perspective
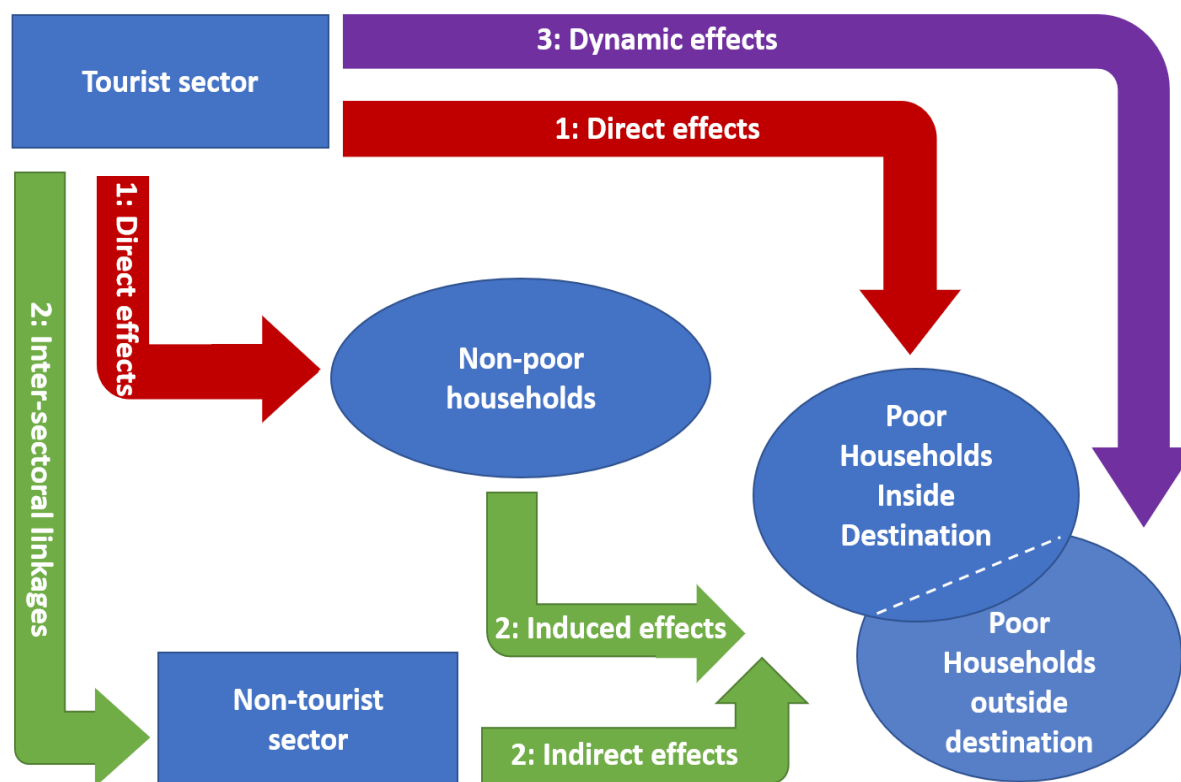
Source: Mitchell & Ashley (2010)

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.

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

2.6.3 The Multiplier Effect

Like the three pathways model is the multiplier effect. The multiplier effect is another way tourism's economic benefits can reach the host communities (See Mathieson & Wall, 1982; English, 1986; Pearce, 1989) as stated in Wyllie, (2000) p.51. It refers to the stimulating effects of tourism spending on other sectors of the economy (Wyllie, 2000). It involves a relationship between direct and indirect leakages and induced impacts. First, the direct effect involves tourists spending on goods and services; tourism-related investment (as long as both spending

and investment initially remain in the destination). Second, indirect effects involve the local expenditure on successive rounds of business transactions. Third, leakage occurs each round until there is little or no re-spending possible. Fourth, induced effects happen when further consumption spending is generated by additional personal income.

2.6.4 Limitations of community participation in tourism development

Tourism plays a significant role in host communities when the locals participating in its development activities (Yung & Chan, 2013. However, another school of thought has identified possible limitations that hinder residents' full participation in community-based tourism initiatives (Sood et al., 2017). Kim et al. (2014) argue that previous studies have only focused on factors that favor participation and have forgotten barriers to participation. An early contribution to this effect is made by (Tosun, 2000). Tosun identifies three significant limitations to participation, as indicated in Figure 2.4.

Besides, previous studies indicate that limitations proposed by Tosun (2000) are prevalent. For instance, a study in Malaysia suggests that the tourism development authority does all the tourism planning. Residents are not aware of any tourism projects, and the unwillingness of shareholders to share power (Mustapha & Azman, 2013). Generally, Tosun (2006) asserts that when planning for tourism development is only done by crucial stakeholders without involving the residents who suffer the consequences of tourism, their interests may fail to align with community interests which may hinder the local's participation.

Figure 2.3: Limitations to Community Participation

Barriers	Characteristics
Operational	• Bureaucratic tendencies • Centralization • Lack of coordination • Lack of appropriate information
Structural	• Attitude of professionals • Lack of expertise • Elite and foreign domination • Lack of appropriate legal systems • Lack of trained human resources • Relatively high cost of community participation • Lack of financial resources
Cultural	• Limited capacity of poor • Apathy and low levels of awareness in the local community

Therefore, understanding these barriers to participation from a fragile collective perspective before any project or tourism activity starts is crucial for CBT key stakeholders. Moreover, understandings such challenges beforehand may help the stakeholders discover their different capabilities and also reduce on biases which local may have on different stakeholders.

Source: (Tosun, 2000)

Another study indicates that communities are not consulted, and governance is one of the key problems with pro-poor tourism projects (Lo et al., 2019). This study shows that the government and local elites dominated the decision-making for pro-poor tourism. Contrastingly, some scholars observe problems of inadequate financial resources, inadequate capacity to manage projects, ownership disputes over the tourism resources, benefit distribution challenges, lack of knowledge of tourism development, and the absence of a policy framework guiding as barriers to participation (Cole, 2006; Manyara & Jones, 2007). Sood et al. (2017) observe that social beliefs, caste systems, daily workloads for women, fear of cultural commoditization, safety concerns, and tourism seasonality could also hinder residents from participating in tourism development.

According to Anderson (2015), the concept of tourism is not easily understood by most people in remote areas. This may discourage them from participating in tourism, assuming they

are illiterate and cannot engage in any tourism business. They may even know how to participate even if given an opportunity. Furthermore, Anderson (2015) points out that lack of linkages between the tourism sector and local people's economy discourages participation. This assertion implies that most tourism businesses are owned and dominated by foreigners, leading to more leakages instead of retaining generated income from tourism in the local economy. Moreover, Mustapha and Azman (2013) point out that although barriers to community participation exist elsewhere in the world, the situation in developing nations is a big challenge. Thus the identified barriers to participation should be considered when fostering CBT initiatives.

This section has defined, and analysed issues associated with community participation in tourism development. It has been argued that community and participation are two different concepts, and that community participation has different levels and forms of participation. The section has also discussed barriers to participation and has emphasized that before any tourism activity or project takes place in any host community, key stakeholders should first identify the obstacles that may prevent the primary stakeholders from participating in tourism development. Thus, apart from barriers to participation in tourism development activities, it is also essential to understand whether other factors hinder or facilitate participation. The following section discusses the factors that influence participation in tourism development activities.

2.7 Factors influencing community participation in CBT

To understand the factors that may influence the community to participate in tourism development activities, it is important to understand what has been so far discovered by various scholars. Identifying these factors may contribute to a deeper understanding of why some people participate in tourism development activities, and others do not (Rasoolimanesh et al., 2017). This could facilitate the development of appealing tourism programs and community-

based projects.   From the extensive review of literature, various factors that influence participation in tourism-related activities are discussed below.

Generally, socio-demographic characteristics such as age, gender, income, and education have been established as significant barriers to participation (Mensah, 2016; Mugizi et al., 2017). Studies indicate such barriers considerably influence people's involvement and perceptions of tourism (Olaniyi et al., 2020; Wei et al., 2012). Kapure et al. (2020), indicated that residents of different ages and gender had different attitudes toward ecotourism development in their area. For instance, Zander et al. (2014) established that age significantly influenced the interest and participation of wild-life enterprises in the Northern Territory, Australia. Zander et al. (2014) indicates that middle-aged people, especially young men, had more motivation to operate enterprises than other age categories. Mensah (2016) and Safari et al. (2015) confirm similar findings.

Regarding gender, Lu et al. (2017) confirm that male farmers were more willing to involve pro-poor tourism (PPT) initiatives than women. Safari et al. (2015) demonstrates that women's interest in business is low due to various barriers that limit their participation. Safari et al. (2015) highlights socialization practices, stereotypes, educational experiences, household chores, and lack of networks as prevalent barriers that prohibit women from participating. On the contrary, Dragouni and Fouseki (2018) established that women showed more willingness to participate in tourism than men.

Other studies indicate that perceived impacts and attitudes towards tourism determine people's involvement in tourism activities in their areas (Fabian et al., 2020; Jennewein & Jones, 2016; Li et al., 2020; Olaniyi et al., 2020; Zhang & Zhao, 2019). Wei et al. (2020) postulate that social, economic, and environmental eco-tourism impacts influence the participation level of local communities. Gursoy et al. (2002) argues that residents with a positive perception of tourism are more likely to participate in tourism activities than their counterparts. Li et al. (2020)

found that perceived impacts associated with rural tourism significantly influenced the willingness of farmers to participate. Nguyen et al. (2018) found that positive and negative effects of economic and socio-culture have contributed to local participation of the local community in agro-tourism development. Thus, the local peoples' positive attitudes toward agro-tourism impacts play a vital role in influencing local peoples' willingness to participate in developing agro-tourism in the community actively.

Zhang (2015) established that the resident's perception of nature reserves affects their participation behavior, attitude, and opportunities. Additionally, one's attitude toward tourism development affects participation (Lu et al., 2017). In their study on Tibetan farmers' and herders' willingness and behavior to participate in pro-poor tourism, the willingness of impoverished farmers and herders to participate in pro-poor tourism was positively correlated with their behavioural attitude and support from their significant others and individual competence. Although attitude has an influence on the willingness to participate in tourism, Hung et al. (2011) suggest that the extent to which community members participate in the tourism development process depends on the motivation of community members to participate, availability of opportunities that favor community members to participate as well their ability or competence to participate in tourism activities.

On the other hand, Yang et al. (2020) indicate that a lack of social, economic, and psychological empowerments affects people's willingness to participate in tourism which kills the enthusiasm to participate in tourism development. Yang et al. (2020) argues that participation in tourism requires empowerment. Indeed, in their study, social, economic, psychological, and political empowerments had a significant effect on participation behavior.

Lastly, the assumption that the community is always willing to participate in tourism development activities is a contentious issue (Hall & Jenkins, 1995). Willingness to participate in tourism depends on benefits and costs (Vargas-Sanchez et al., 2011; Yang et al., 2020).

There is a likelihood that people would be willing to participate if they anticipate getting more personal benefits than losses (Hung et al., 2011). Still, various scholars have tried to attach meaning to the willingness to participate differently, as indicated in Table 2.5, and what could influence a person to participate in an activity.

Table 2.5: Perspectives of willingness to participate in CBT activities

Perspectives	Sources
Reliant on the personal characteristics embodied by individual	Moghavvemi et al. (2017)
Under-expressed in marginalized groups	Darcy (2002)
Heightened if it ties in with an individual's goals	Wang and Pfister (2008)
Motivated by experience with such ventures	Woosnam and Aleshinloye (2018)
Influenced by the success of existing CBT initiatives	Nair et al. (2013)
Dependent on the opportunities afforded to residents through governmental and non-governmental initiatives	Jamal and Camargo (2014); Jamal and Getz (1999)
Can be induced by promotional activities, and incentives directed at residents	Binns and Nel (2002)
Supported by the resources made available to aid in the initial stages of engagement	Sebele (2010)
May be hindered by systemic issues present within a community	Chambers and Buzinde (2015)

Source: Literature

2.8 Inclusion and exclusion

This section presents a review on the inclusion and exclusion concepts which are relevant to this study. Inclusion covers different subjects and can be viewed from different angles (Toffin, 2014). The author describes inclusion as a multidimensional narrative that that aims at creating a more equitable society, poverty alleviation, and recognizing differences. Oxoby (2009) argues that inclusion lacks a clear definition which negatively affects research progress and policy making. Oxoby (2009) describe inclusion as a rubric that focuses on access to economic, social, and political institutions for all stakeholders to express their opinions in decision-making. It entails social justice, equality, and collectivism as responsorial

mechanisms for oppression and exclusion from societies (Allman, 2013). Felder (2018) notes that inclusion is a social reaction emphasizing attitude recognition. Felder (2018) articulates the value of inclusion in two spheres: recognition and freedom.

While inclusion focuses on access to rights and resources, Avramov (2002) describes exclusion as a condition characterized by deprivation, subjective dissatisfaction, social stigmatization, blame, isolation, and denial of access to opportunities. It is documented that stigmatism or acts of stigmatizing, prejudices and discrimination are familiar and recognizable forms of social exclusion (Allman, 2013). Allman (2013) describes stigma as a combination of experience, anticipation, blame and devaluation, fears and pain of rejection and exclusion. Stigmatized individuals constantly hope and desire to be accepted and included in community affairs. Stigma is associated with shame deviations (Scambler, 2009). Social problems such as poverty, unemployment, and low educational attainment are associated with exclusion (Oxoby, 2009). Disability is another example where communities tend to create cultural exclusion spaces. Lindstrom et al. (2012) argue that people with disabilities, especially youth disabilities, are likely to face rejection in labor. Lindstrom (2012) indicate that young women with disabilities face work mobility challenges due to stereotypes, discrimination, and prejudice. Connell et al. (2015) established that 71% of Australians feel that age discrimination in Australia is expected due to negative stereotypes. Table 2.6 presents a summary of social exclusion.

Table 2.6: Dimensions of social exclusion

Dimensions	Description
Economic exclusion	Associated with income inequality, lack of access to goods and services and unequal distribution of benefits, exclusion in labour markets, health and education
	They may be excluded from income and livelihood, from employment and the labor market and from the satisfaction of such basic needs as housing/shelter, health and education
	Inequalities in the distribution of resources and tourism benefits
	Lack of tourism related jobs
	Lack of training especially for women
Political	Lack of participation in decision making of certain social groups such as women and ethnic minority
	Concerns the denial of human and political rights
	Lack of feedback channels on the performance of tourism
	Informal operations
	Lack of opportunity for expression of interests
Relationship exclusion	Low individual identity
	Low power
	Deterioration of relationship with tourists and local residents
	Deterioration of neighbourhood relations in indigenous community
Cultural exclusion	Lack of cultural identity
	No community attachment
	Depreciation of traditional values

Adapted from (Bhalla & Lapeyre, 1997; Guo & Jordan, 2021)

2.8.1 Inclusion and exclusion in the context of this study

Inclusion and exclusion issues are contestable. Globally, the inclusiveness of tourism is one of the main agendas of the United Nations Sustainable Tourism Development Goals (SDGs). Scholars and policymakers have drawn attention to the scrutiny of inclusive tourism. According to United Nations Development Program (2016), development has the potential to reduce poverty and include all the people only if all groups of people are given a chance to create opportunities, share on the benefits of growth and take part in decision-making. Tourism can contribute to poverty alleviation only if an array of stakeholders works together to create

opportunities and share potential benefits (Rogerson, 2019). While tourism is praised for advantages for privileged middle and upper class to travel and participate in fun and leisure activities making profits for big companies and enclaves for the rich, it has been critiqued for its exclusive nature (Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018).

Nyanjom et al. (2018) propose a framework that includes the participation of all stakeholder groups, including people with disabilities, and mention that this framework can initiate further debate on a topic that has received a dearth of empirical research. Based on these assertions, an absence of studies requires further exploration. Therefore, this study brings rich ethnographic data from fragile collectives to understand the participation their participation in CBT in elite and foreign dominated CBT space.

.

2.9 Theoretical Underpinning

This study employs social exchange theory, sustainable livelihood framework, and inclusive tourism framework to understand issues related to participation in CBT. The contribution of this section is to enhance the understanding of the situation of fragile collectives in the context of CBT. In other words, this section reviews and analyses relevant theories and frameworks that inform and guide the current study.

2.9.1 Social Exchange Theory (SET)

Social exchange theory (SET) explains residents' perceptions and attitudes toward participation in tourism development (Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005; Nunkoo, 2016; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012; Rasoolimanesh et al., 2015; Ward & Berno, 2011). SET provides a theoretical framework that describes resource exchange relationships between individuals that anticipate mutual benefits from the exchange (Ap, 1992). SET posits that when people expect benefits from an activity, they will support it and engage in it voluntarily. According to Ap (1992), the primary goal of the resource exchange is to improve the well-being of the people who engage in small-scale tourism enterprises or local entrepreneurship. Thus, there is a likelihood for residents who anticipate personal and higher rewards from tourism to participate in tourism than those who expect costs to outweigh benefits (Vargas-Sánchez et al., 2015; Vargas-Sanchez et al., 2011).

Choi and Murray (2010) point out that individuals who engage in exchange interactions mainly look out for mutual benefits, i.e., reward maximization and cost minimization. This assertion implies that people will engage in positive relationships where they expect benefits to be higher than the costs. Generally, the term perceptions refer to the meaning given to an object, whereas attitude refers to an individual's enduring predisposition or action towards an object (Ap, 1992). Literary, attaching meaning requires one to have the necessary knowledge about that object. From a resident's perspective, those who are fully aware of the tourism

50

benefits may attribute a more positive meaning to the impacts of tourism than their counterparts. Therefore, it cannot be assumed that all residents in an area have the knowledge and beliefs about tourism's effects. Thus, SET suggests that in terms of expected benefits or costs experienced in return for their services (Ap, 1992, p. 669), residents express their attitudes toward tourism development positively or negatively depending on how much the personal benefits are anticipated. Consequently, residents benefiting or expecting to benefit from tourism are likely to view it positively, whereas those not benefiting may view it negatively (Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011; Andereck et al., 2005).

Power

Nunkoo (2016) suggests and extends social exchange theory with notions of power and trust. Ap (1992) affirms that the inclusion of power in social exchanges is an essential element because of its ability to take advantage of that exchange's outcomes. According to Wrong (1979), power has an influence on the outcome of an exchange relationship. The notion of power explains power-dependence relations that exist in social exchanges (Emerson, 1962). Nunko (2016) states that power is a means to an end, while Wrong (1979) conceptualizes power in terms of resources that enable the actor to exercise it on others.

March (1966) proposes that power is a combination of economic, social, cultural, environmental, and political resources and skills. Based on these assertions, Nunko (2016) concludes that resources are used very broadly to include both materialistic and non-materialistic elements compared to economic exchanges that focus on wealth as a resource for the actors involved in an exchange. Nunko (2016) points out that an individual with power can control different resources.

The author underlines that an individual with power is one in possession of valued resources available for exchange with other people. This is supported by Ap (1992), who asserts that it is a result of having control over resources that another person needs and

51

considers valuable. Thompson (2017) acknowledges that power is a ubiquitous phenomenon in social life that people use to exploit and oppress others. Power is not applied to an individual but also to community groups (Emerson, 1962). It is noted that resources owned by the community are essential sources of power as they determine an individual's capacity to benefit from tourism development in their community.

From a tourism perspective, power is manifested in the residents' capacity to control community resources (Kayat, 2002). Nunko (2016) opines that community resources determine people's willingness to participate in tourism. For instance, Bahaire and Elliott-White (1999) argue that some individuals/ groups, particularly the elites in a community, have more power than others and inform other community members about tourism development. It is noted that some community members lack the power to be active participants in tourism development. (Aref & Ma'rof, 2008). Aref and Redzuan (2009) argue that Western scholars agree that active participation in the decision-making process benefits local communities, which is not the case in developing countries where limitations to participation are chronic.

To this effect, March and Easton (1966) assert that power is crucial in exchanging resources, especially in community decision-making. The level of control actors can determine power in an exchange situation over resources that another actor values and needs (Wolfe, 1959; Wolfe & McGinn, 2005). There is a dearth of research using the concept of power in tourism studies (Nunko, 2016). The existing ones are quantitative, which may not give a clear picture of how power determines participation in tourism development.   Thus, this study is timely.

Trust

Trust is another key concept underlying SET (Nunkoo, 2016). Trust in social exchanges can be defined as what is expected of an exchange partner, for example, human behavior which is based on positive dispositions and intentions (Molm et al., 2000). Trust builds relationships between the community and tourism developers (Blau, 1964; Nunkoo, 2016). For instance, in

a situation where there is a lack of trust from the intended beneficiaries, society or economic development may be hard to achieve (Gilson et al., 2005). Based on such assertions, it can be inferred that for meaningful participation to take place; people must be fully aware of what is expected from that exchange; they need the power to access resources and trust.

Tourism is a people industry that requires trust and smooth interactions between the hosts and tourists; thus, for valuable resource exchanges to take place, the benefits must be mutually exclusive (Bimonte & Punzo, 2016). The authors allude that exchanging resources should create value for both parties. For instance, when people travel, they may need facilities and services owned by the host community; therefore, to use such facilities, they have to pay for them. Previous studies indicate that host communities' acceptance of tourism and participation in its development activities depend on such exchanges (Rasoolimanesh et al., 2017; Tosun, 2002, 2006). Those who support the development of tourism in their area are more likely to interact freely with tourists to create value which may influence their participation in tourism. Lee (2013) affirms that positive perceptions of tourism benefits are highly correlated with residents' support of tourism development.

Several studies have applied SET (Cañizares et al., 2014; Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005; Jaafar et al., 2017; Nunkoo, 2016; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012; Özel & Kozak, 2017; Rasoolimanesh et al., 2015; Ward & Berno, 2011). For instance, Cañizares et al. (2014) applied social exchange theory to explain residents' attitudes toward the impact of tourism. Their findings indicate that the locals' perception of tourism is positively related to economic opportunities, especially for minority groups. The results further show that tourism has other positive impacts, including; increased investment in infrastructure, higher quality hospitality, and retail establishments. Özel and Kozak (2017) applied the same theory to examine Cappadocia residents' tourism attitudes. The qualitative results show that the positive effects of tourism, particularly economic ones, were more distinguishable and therefore in the

53

forefront. This study concludes that residents positively view tourism because of the various financial benefits.

The above literature and prior studies have identified several factors that provide a comprehensive framework for understanding resident attitudes and perceptions of tourism development. This study employs SET in community-based tourism to explain the uniqueness of fragile collectives and how they perceive tourism development in their area. However, like any other theory, SET also has some limitations. Fundamentally SET is based on exchange interaction between residents and tourists; thus, it does not consider people who may not be directly involved in the exchange. Choi and Murray (2010) argue that some community members may not be interested in an exchange. Take an example of a beekeeper who sells honey to a tour guide, and this tour guide offers the honey to a tourist as a token of appreciation; thus, the exchange may be there but indirect and involuntary, which SET did not consider (Rasoolimanesh, Jaafar & Barghi, 2017). In summary, social exchange Social exchange theory forms the theoretical underpinning of this study partly because it enables an understanding of fragile collectives' perceptions of tourism impacts in their area.

2.9.2 Stakeholder theory

Stakeholder theory is a canopy term concerned with who has a stake in an entity's decision-making and who benefits from the outcomes of such decisions (Phillips et al., 2003). The origins of stakeholder theory are traced in various academic fields such as sociology, economics, politics, and ethics, especially concerning literature on corporate planning, systems theory, corporate social responsibility, and organizational theory (Mainardes et al., 2011). Freeman et al. (2010) refer to stakeholders as all groups of people to whom an entity would cease to exist without their support. Freeman (1984) defines stakeholders as *"any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization's objectives"* (p 46). In his work entitled strategic management: a stakeholder approach, Freeman explains how

54

like-minded persons can form stakeholder groups. Freeman (1984) concepts gave birth to stakeholder theory developed from an organizational context that looked at a company as not a stand-alone entity but also dependent on the external environment. Salancik and Pfeffer (1978) emphasize the importance of the external environment to an organization in terms of information and financial resources that an organization itself may not sufficiently provide.

To examine the concept of stakeholder support, stakeholder theory is applied, contributing to this study's theoretical foundation. Stakeholder theory posits that collaboration among various stakeholders is a key ingredient in the success and sustainability of community projects. (Svendsen & Laberge, 2005). However, Freeman et al (2014) point out that stakeholders do not solely exert an influence on an organization or enterprise, but an enterprise can shape its environment. Further, Stakeholder theory proposes a partnership between key stakeholder groups in sustainable entrepreneurial ecosystems (Freeman 1984, Freeman et al., 2014; Uddin et al., 2015).

Since there is a broad scope of stakeholders and issues to consider regarding representation (Bramwell & Sharman, 2002), the proposed stakeholder theory (Freeman, 1984) is a managerial solution to delimit the broad stakeholder inclusions. Putting Freeman's stakeholder's theory at a glance, Sautter and Leisen (1999) suggest that tourism planners should proactively seek to include all relevant stakeholders so that they may collaborate to develop a strategic and shared vision for tourism. This is evidenced in a case study by Saito and Ruhanen (2017) that indicates four different forms of power (coercive, legitimate, induced, and competent) across stakeholder collaborations. Saito and Ruhanen (2017) established that government and public sector agencies exercise coercive power while DMOs and large private enterprises use federal power. State and local governments exercise legitimate and induced power, while educational institutions and consulting firms tend to possess the competent ability.

In addition, most community tourism development decisions are still made from an autocratic perspective. However, the literature suggests a bottom-up approach could be the best strategy for handling community issues (Altieri & Masera, 1993). This approach is ideal because it includes a broader range of stakeholders and fosters the grass-root level initiatives in tourism planning. Although stakeholders support grass-root level initiatives, little is known about whether such consent can be applied or extended to fragile collectives. Due to the complexity of stakeholder collaborations and networks, it is vital to examine the relationship between fragile collectives and stakeholders, their commitment to engage, willingness to be involved, and nature of participation.

Hall (2007) describes how primary stakeholders may vary significantly across specific contexts, interests, and relations. Although the private sector and government support is essential at the grass-root level, it is still not clear how much benefits transfer to the underrepresented groups. Furthermore, Hall (2007) argues that individuals are not homogenous regarding assets, networks, confidence, skills, and knowledge which might limit their direct involvement in tourism activities. Nevertheless, some segments in the community are overlooked and least investigated. Therefore, destinations should know who the key stakeholders are while planning for community-based tourism development.

Stakeholder support

Shabbir et al. (2016) concede that the stakeholder support system measures the perceived social and environmental pressure and support. According to Shabbir and colleagues, the stakeholder support system can be categorized into informal and structural support. They refer to informal support as some perceptions that people attach to reference groups for approval of their decisions to become entrepreneurs. This kind of support and pressure can come from family, friends, and other significant people in their network. Besides, structural support could be from responsible institutions and the government. According to Reynolds et

56

al. (2005) and Fehr and Hishigsuren (2006), stakeholder support is comprised of three major components: the government's role, financial institutions, and informal support from family and friends. These key parties play a significant role in fostering entrepreneur growth in society. For instance, the government can help entrepreneurs establish their businesses through supportive and favorable investment policies, structural support, and financial initiatives to support entrepreneurial activities (Rante & Warokka, 2013). A supportive external environment can foster regional entrepreneurial activities (Pinkse & Groot, 2015).

The management view of stakeholder theory indicates that some stakeholders, such as host communities, need to be empowered to make informed decisions through the development process and appreciate that their participation significantly influences their choices (Bryd, 2007). The author upholds that the only way to achieve this, is by educating all the stakeholders about the issues and interests involved in tourism development. Thus, collaboration and partnerships, in this case, are paramount. Crosby and Bryson (2005) add that it is necessary to include all relevant community stakeholders and specific groups such as owners of tourism businesses, retired residents, and ethnic groups because, at times, these people have the appropriate knowledge to be used in tourism development.

Bramwell and Sharman (2002) note that, for sustainable tourism to be politically acceptable in a community destination, it must consider people's views and choices on their present and future needs. There should also be a balance of power between those with power and the powerless, those who live in the destination and outsider stakeholders, and those who are less directly affected (Yuksel et al., 1999). This study argues that, while it may not be easy for fragile collectives to participate in decision-making, they can engage in entrepreneurial activities. In this case, entrepreneurial support is needed (Bischoff, 2019). Even though most community-based tourism studies focus on community context as a whole, this study gives a highlight on various CBT stakeholders and sets a foundation for understanding the

characteristics of actors that may play a role in this study, particularly their relationship with and support to fragile collectives.

2.9.3 Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF)

First, livelihoods offer a complete picture and the complexities of how people survive, especially in developing nations (Ellis, 2000). Scoones (1998) describes the concept of livelihood as how people overcome stresses and shocks without harming their natural and cultural resources. In other words, Scoones adds a notion of using resources sustainably while navigating through survival options. Additionally, Chambers and Conway (1992) emphasize that for a livelihood to be sustainable, it should have the ability to bounce back from shocks and enhance capabilities and assets without any adverse harm to the community's natural resources. The authors, therefore, define livelihoods as capacities, assets, and activities obligatory for making a meaningful living in a community.

Other scholars bring in a notion of capabilities to livelihoods. They refer to livelihoods as capabilities comprised of livelihood assets or resources that people have in their possession, such as natural capital (land, water, and wildlife), economic or financial capital (savings, credit, or cash), human capital (ability to work, skills, knowledge, and good health), physical capital (transport, shelter, production equipment and technologies) and social capital (networks, social relations, affiliations, groups, and trust) (Obrist et al., 2010; Sen, 1988; Zakour & Swager, 2018). Besides, capabilities can be tangible or intangible assets or resources necessary for survival in rural areas (Avila-Foucat & Rodríguez-Robayo, 2018; Bebbington, 1999; Chambers & Conway, 1992; Ellis, 1998).

Sen (1988) views capabilities as "freedoms" or "what people can do or be with their entitlement." On the other hand, Zakour and Swager (2018) acknowledge capabilities as adaptive community resources (economic development, social capital, information and communication, and collective action) or resilience resources (robustness, redundancy, and

rapidity) that the community can use to promote vulnerability. In every society, people face various adversities, and capability enables them to mobilize resources and reduce their susceptibility to these adversities (Wisner et al., 2012). From a sustainable livelihood perspective, capabilities refer to the reactive capacity to emergencies such as floods, droughts, and food insecurity and their consequences (Lienert & Burger, 2015).

A sustainable livelihood framework shows how sustainable livelihoods are realized in different contexts using various livelihood resources such as natural, economic, human, and social capitals and livelihood strategies (Scoones, 1998). The central tenet of the sustainable livelihood framework is the formal and informal organizational and institutional factors that influence sustainable livelihood outcomes. In line with the above, research demonstrates that people's capital assets positively influence livelihood outcomes (Ahebwa, 2013). Lienert and Burger (2015)'s case study in Nepal shows that the creation of people's capabilities strongly depends on the set of capital assets available, incredibly natural capital. The authors point out that developing livelihood strategies based on capital assets is fundamental for people living in fragile conditions to cope with shocks and vulnerabilities.

Bebbington (1999) asserts that people's endowments of social capital are essential to their well-being and access to resources and other actors are critical assets that rural people need to build sustainable livelihoods. Fundamentally livelihood frameworks can act as benchmarks for development interventions because of their emphasis on people and resources and how they try to make optimal use of these resources for positive livelihoods (Morse & McNamara, 2013). According to Ashley and Carney (1999), livelihood frameworks are flexible and can be applied in different contexts; thus, adapting the livelihood frame to assess the fragile collective forms of participation in CBT is paramount. A sustainable livelihood framework is a comprehensive approach (See Figure 2.4) that can provide a holistic view of community livelihoods and tourism. Although investigating all the tenets of the framework has its

limitations, Scoones (1998) recommends that a few aspects can be investigated depending on the context.

Figure 2.4: Sustainable Livelihood Framework

| CONTEXT, CONDITIONS AND TRENDS | LIVELIHOOD RESOURCES | INSTITUTIONAL PROCESSES & ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES | LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES | SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD OUTCOMES |

Policy

History

Politics

Macro-economic conditions

Terms of trade

Climate

Agro-ecology

Demography

Social differentiation

Natural capital

Economic/financial capital

Human capital

Social capital

and others…

Institutions

and

organizations

Agricultural intensification/ extensification

Livelihood diversification

Migration

Livelihoods

1. Increased number of working days
2. Poverty reduced
3. Wellbeing and capabilities improved

Sustainability

4. livelihood adaptation, vulnerability and resilience enhanced

5. Natural resource base sustainability ensured.

Contextual analysis of conditions and trends and assessment of policy setting

Analysis of livelihood resources: trade-offs, combinations, sequences, trends

Analysis of institutional/organisational influences on access to livelihood resources and composition of livelihood strategy portfolio

Analysis of livelihood strategy portfolio and pathways

Analysis of outcomes and trade-offs

Sustainable livelihood outcome is adopted from Scoone's (1998) framework

2.9.4 Inclusive Tourism Framework

To counteract the issues surrounding exclusion and inclusion Scheyvens and Biddulph propose a a frame work that can provide a wide range of benefits that can lead to a more equitable and sustainable outcomes as shown in Figure 2.5. In the context of this study, all the elements of inclusive tourism are examined to understand the extent to which fragile collectives participate in CBT. The authors propose that inclusiveness of tourism development may be assessed on the following:

Figure 2.5: Elements of inclusive tourism
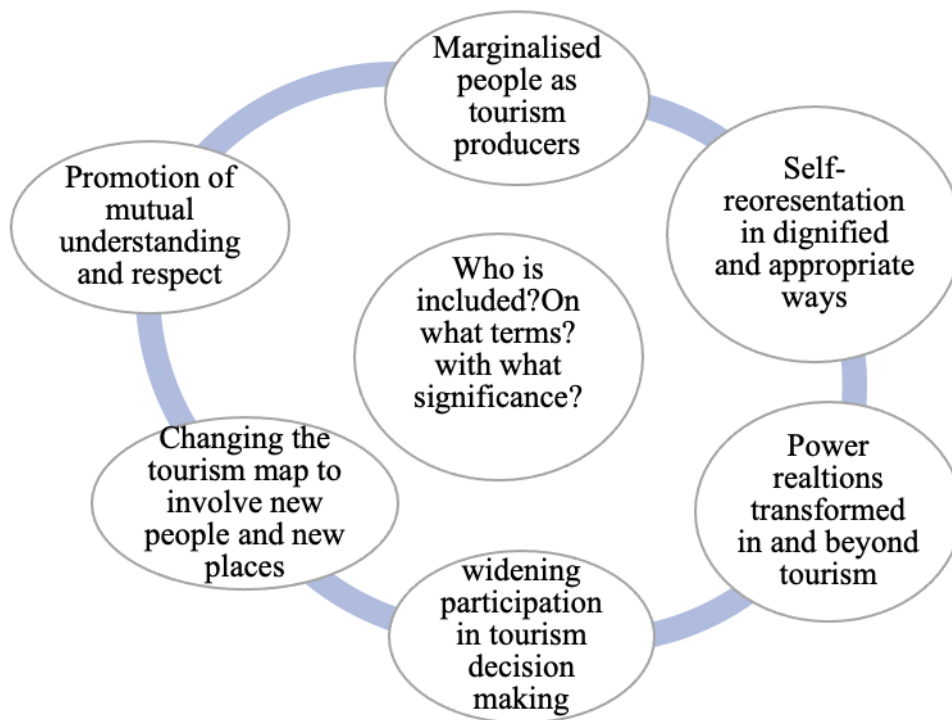
Adapted from (Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018)

2.10 Research gaps

Participation of fragile collectives in CBT is marginalized and remains elusive. With a lack of studies on the participation of fragile collectives in CBT and scanty of indigenous knowledge in tourism studies (Tribe & Liburd, 2016), this study fills this the gap by exploring the participation of fragile collectives in CBT. First, this study explores the fragile collectives'

forms of participation in CBT. This is because participation of fragile collectives in CBT is low, and they are being pushed further to the margins (Lo & Janta, 2020; Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018; Strydom et al., 2019).

Despite the concerted efforts geared by sustainable tourism development goals and 2030 Agenda to increase the participation of underrepresented groups, their forms of participation in CBT are not clear. Without understanding how the fragile collectives would want to participate in CBT presents a challenge to the promoters of inclusive tourism. Getting new insights from the fragile collective perspective is relevant to bridging this research gap. Moreover, there is a scanty of literature on participation of fragile collectives in CBT. Therefore, the development of participation framework based on fragile collectives' insights contributes to the yet to emerging studies on fragile collectives.

Based on the above gaps, this study explains the forms of participation of fragile collectives in CBT and how it can be increased, the benefits they derive from participation, what enables them to participate, the barriers they face, and how they solve them as well as the strategies to improve their participation environment in a CBT context. Therefore, this study is conducted to fill the research gaps presented in this section and summarized in Table 2.7.

Table 2.7: Summary of the Research gaps and objectives of the study

Research gaps	Research objectives
Community participation in CBT has been identified as one of the approaches that can trickle down the benefits to the poorest or disadvantaged groups in the community. Moreover, participation emphasizes taking part in decision making as a prerequisite of getting benefits. However, it is not known to what extent their levels of involvement are, in taking part in decision making. Besides, their forms of participations are not well articulated in literature.	To investigate the fragile collectives' forms of participation in CBT
As of to date, there are no studies that extrapolate the net benefits that fragile collectives derive from participation in CBT. Participation in CBT emphasizes community benefits as a whole and yet a community is heterogenous	To investigate the benefits derived from CBT participation from a fragile collective perspective

Factors that enable participation in CBT have been identified. However, what enables participation in CBT in the context of fragile collectives needs more exploration	To investigate the enablers participation in CBT
Similarly, factors that hinder community participation are well researched but not in the context of fragile collectives	To investigate barriers to participation in CBT
The strategies or how fragile collectives respond to barriers to participation is under researched	To investigate the solutions to the identified barriers to participation in CBT.
Generally, there is no participation framework that clearly stipulates how fragile collectives participate in CBT. The themes derived from data helps in understanding the participation concept in the context of fragile collectives and specifically in building a theoretical framework, "*Fragile Collectives' Participation Framework'* based on fragile collectives' insights.	The overall aim is to develop a practical and comprehensive framework that is inclusive and sustainable in nature. A framework that widens the direct participation of fragile collectives in decision making and as tourism producers of CBT

Source: Authors compilation

2.11 Chapter Summary

In conclusion, the review of the literature suggests the following. First, from CBT literature, there is no theoretical framework for fragile collectives, yet their participation in CBT is essential to improve and sustain their livelihoods. Second, community-based tourism benefits have been extensively researched. However, the benefits reported are skewed to a community. Benefits at an individual level, particularly the fragile collectives, are under-researched. Besides, it is not conclusive enough to state that the benefits experienced by fragile collectives in one community are the same as in another. It should be noted that communities are heterogeneous, and those on the margins of the society are affected differently by community-based tourism. Therefore, unless a particular study on the benefits of CBT on the lives of the fragile collectives is conducted, it might not be accurate to conclude that the benefits reported somewhere apply the same way to fragile collectives in another community, especially in a developing country context.

Third, community participation typologies developed by (Tosun, 1999, 2006) for understanding community participation appear not to be practical and comprehensive enough

to capture the needs of the fragile collectives due to the weaknesses they hold. The inadequacies of community participation typologies necessitated this study to explore insights from fragile collectives to understand how they would like to participate in CBT. This is because participation of fragile collectives might mean more than taking part in decision-making. With the advent of efforts of inclusiveness in tourism, fragile collectives may not benefit from Tosun's typologies due to its applicability challenges. The community participation typologies assume a homogenous community without influential players. It is against this background that this study was undertaken to understand the participation of fragile collectives and how they would want to participate in CBT with a goal of developing a comprehensive framework that incorporates the needs of the fragile collectives in the community-based tourism context in the local villages of Buhoma sector, Mukono parish, Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, Uganda.

3.0 CHAPTER THREE: THE STUDY CONTEXT

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the context of the study. It has three sections. The first section begins with the profile of the study area, followed by dynamics within CBT and ends with tourism activities around BINP. Under the profile of the study area; location, physical and demographic features and historic background of Bwindi Forest before it acquired a national park status and after the national park status are elaborated. The second section gives a highlight of dynamics of CBT section and how tourism started in the area through non-governmental organizations and community-based organizations. The third section presents major tourism attractions and activities that take place around BINP. This chapter is important in this study because it gives a clear picture and vibrancy of CBT in the study area.

3.2 Profile of the study area

This study was conducted in Buhoma tourism sector of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park (PINP) with the communities surrounding the Park. BINP has four tourism sectors, namely: Buhoma, Ruhija, Nkuringo, and Rushaga, as shown in Figure 3.1. These sectors have positive impacts on the communities adjacent to the park. The four sectors have habituated gorilla families, and it is assumed that these sectors have potentially benefited the surrounding communities.

Figure 3.1: Tourism sectors of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park

3.2.1 Location, physical features, and demographic characteristics

Bwindi Impenetrable National Park is in South-Western Uganda and covers 330.8 km2 (Twinamatsiko et al., 2019). The park lies along the border of the Democratic Republic of Congo and home of mountain gorillas as shown in Figure 3.2. BINP's altitude is between 1,160m - 2,607m above sea level. Bwindi's temperature ranges from 7ºC - 20ºC (Uganda Wildlife Authority). June and July are cold months, while March, May, September, and November are wet seasons with a total annual rainfall of 2390 mm (Kamugisha et al. 1997).

Figure 3.2: Location of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park in Southwestern Uganda
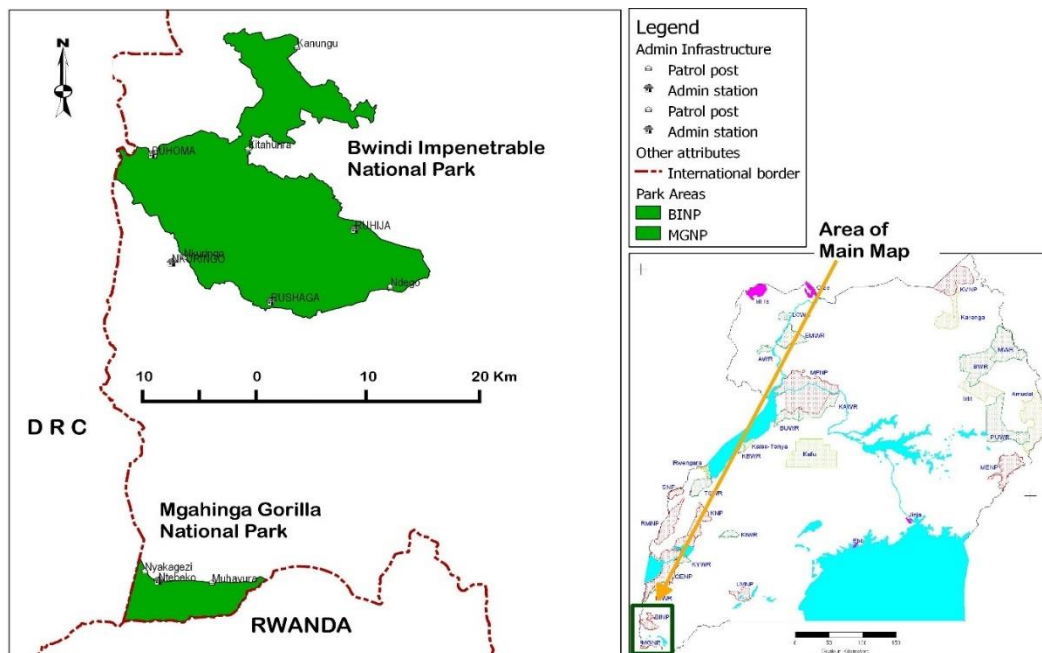
Source: *www.ugandawildlife.org*

BINP is covered by mist in the mornings and on hillsides. Its famous name, the "Impenetrable Forest," is surrounded by rainforests with almost 400 species of plants. It is renowned for the protection of an estimation of 400 Mountain Gorillas, half of the world's population. BINP boosts the biodiversity of several mammals and primates such as baboons, chimpanzees, elephants, and antelopes. It has several birds, butterflies, sacred places, and waterfalls. According to the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS), Bwindi is the most densely populated area, with over 300 persons per km^2 with an annual population growth of 3.5% (UBOS, 2008). BINP has fringe communities as depicted in Figure 3.3. 90% of these communities are comprised of Bakiga, Bafumbira, and the rest by the Batwa and other tribes (Laudati, 2010). The Bakiga and Bafumbira are agriculturalists, while the Batwa, who constitute the minority are, claimed to be the forest's indigenous inhabitants (Ahebwa et al., 2018a; Ampumuza & Driessen, 2020).

The Batwa are the poorest, with poor health care, limited income-generating activities, live in small communities, and are detached from the general community (Balikoowa, 2008).

Figure 3.3: Outlook of Buhoma Municipal and Bwindi Impenetrable National Park

Figure 3.3 depicts Buhoma Municipal and the surrounding communities of Bwindi

Impenetrable Park (Source: Field photos-2021)

Although 90% of the land use activity surrounding the park favors smallholder agriculture, most people live in extreme poverty (Laudati, 2010). The primary food crops grown in the area include bananas, sorghum, millet, sweet potatoes, and beans, supplemented by tea, the main cash crop (Balikoowa, 2008). Although tea growing is one of the cash crops grown in the area, tourism is the only vibrant economic activity, with Gorilla tourism as the leading tourism product of BINP. The implication is that, whereas tea growing in the area may bring economic benefits to the communities, these benefits may not reach those who don't own tea plantations or work in those plantations. Therefore, compared to tea-growing requirements, tourism may provide wider opportunities for small-scale tourism enterprises or linkages to agricultural produce.

3.2.2 Bwindi Forest Before National Park Status

Before Bwindi Forest became a national park, the communities in and around the Bwindi Forest were the forest owners (Ampumuza & Driessen, 2020). It was a source of

livelihood for the local tribes of Bakiga, Bafumbira, and Batwa (Wild & Mutebi, 1996). It was a home of the indigenous Batwa, whose livelihood depended entirely on the forest for food. (Ampumuza & Driessen, 2020). Wild and Mutebi (1996) assert that, although the Batwa had settlements inside the forest, access to the forest had no boundaries for the Bakiga and the Bafumbira. They were using the park edges for subsistence farming. These two groups also used the park for subsistence resources; they extracted forest resources like timber products, minerals, firewood, medicinal plants, construction materials, weaving materials, fruits, palatable plants, and game meat to supplement their diets (Twinamatsiko et al., 2019).

According to Namara (2006), the forest was also used for cultural and religious rituals. The forest has been managed as a protected area since 1932, as a central forest reserve since 1942, and as a game sanctuary from 1961 to 1991, when it was declared a national park. And subsequently, the park was declared a World Heritage Site in 1994 because of its ecological and international importance of unique species. The uncontrolled use of the forest resources and widespread human activities were threatening the endangered species and other endemic species resulting in the forest gazettement (Twinamatsiko et al., 2019). Ultimately, this was followed by evictions of indigenous Batwa, forest dwellers, and restrictions on Bakiga and Bafumbira from accessing the park (Sandbrook & Adams, 2012).

3.2.3 Bwindi Forest as National Park

As aforementioned, the Bwindi Forest acquired the National Park status in 1991, which meant the indigenous people's access to the park was outlawed (Twinamatsiko et al., 2019). The indigenous people who entirely or partially depended on this forest were affected by the park's status in many ways. The most painful one was the Batwa's eviction from the forest without compensation and any other source of sustainable livelihood option (Mukasa, 2017). The Bakiga and Bafumbira neighbors who had opened farming grounds in the forest were denied access. This culminated in conflicts between the Bakiga, Bafumbira, the Batwa and the

park authorities. This was manifested through violent attacks on park rangers and deadly fires set within the park. The indigenous people did that to show how unhappy they were for losing their source of livelihood (Blomley, 2010). And, they were reacting to the loss of income they formerly earned from economic activities that took place inside the forest, like pit-sawing and mining, which were a source of employment for the indigenous people (Baker et al., 2011).

Several mechanisms were sought to reduce the tensions and conflicts between the indigenous people and the park officials. The first one was permitting the indigenous people to extract free non-timber products from the forest department's forest. This was followed by Integrated Conservation Development (ICD) approach that emphasized community participation in conservation initiatives (Twinamatsiko et al., 2014). This approach introduced a Multiple Use Programme (MUP) which relaxed the restrictions and permitted the indigenous people free access to the park to harvest a few resources, extract herbal medicines, and beekeeping activities. All of these were done to make the local people feel a sense of forest ownership and improve park-community relationships. These mechanisms were introduced to uplift the rural poor while conserving the forest and the endangered species of mountain gorillas and ensure that the local communities benefit from Gorilla tourism through community-based tourism (Twinamatsiko et al., 2014b; Twinamatsiko et al., 2019).

Although outreach programs for fringe communities have been devised to extend benefits to the most affected groups (UWA, 2004), the local community's concerns regarding both size and allocation of benefits continue (Tumusiime & Vedeld, 2012). In an assessment of the ICDPs around Bwindi in 2002, conservation project initiatives hardly reached the poor. Sandbrook (2010) shows how the allocation of park-associated jobs is corrupted in favor of families with relatively higher levels of education. Nevertheless, there seems to have been a slow but considerable improvement in local attitudes towards the park since its creation (Blomley, 2010).

71

3.3 Dynamics of Community-Based Tourism

This section presents the dynamics within community-based tourism spaces and what shapes participation in CBT around Bwindi Impenetrable National Park. First, the existence of Mountain Gorillas and Bwindi impenetrable National Park is a significant tourist attraction. Second, the existence of private campsites and lodges, community projects, e.g., Buhoma Rest Camp and Havens under the Management of Buhoma Mukono Community Development Association (BMCDA) in Bwindi facilitate participation. The presence of Non-Governmental Organizations, Community-Based Organizations, and village women's associations promote participation. It emerged that the most fragile were participating in various activities. These include craft making and selling, small-scale tourism-related enterprises such as food and beverage operations, accommodation, village walk activities, guiding, food and beverage and retail services, craft production and selling, and linkage activities.

In contrast, a few fragile collectives were formally employed in tourism-related establishments. The existence of different avenues in Bwindi emphasizes the principle that community-based tourism reinforces the distribution of benefits fairly among community members and the contribution of a fixed percentage of income to community projects (Suansri, 2003) and livelihood strategies (Tao & Wall, 2009b). Below is a snapshot of activities that facilitate participation.

3.3.1 Existence of Key Stakeholders

The main stakeholder of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park includes Uganda Wildlife Authority which is the public entity. It is responsible for the management of the park, conservation of the park and wildlife, gorilla tracking, safety of visitors and the local community. It collaborates with private entities such campsites, community organizations, tour operators, conservation agencies, porters, and birders associations in providing the visitor experience. Figure 3.4 shows the main stakeholders of CBT in Bwindi.

72

Figure 3.4: Main stakeholders of CBT in Bwindi
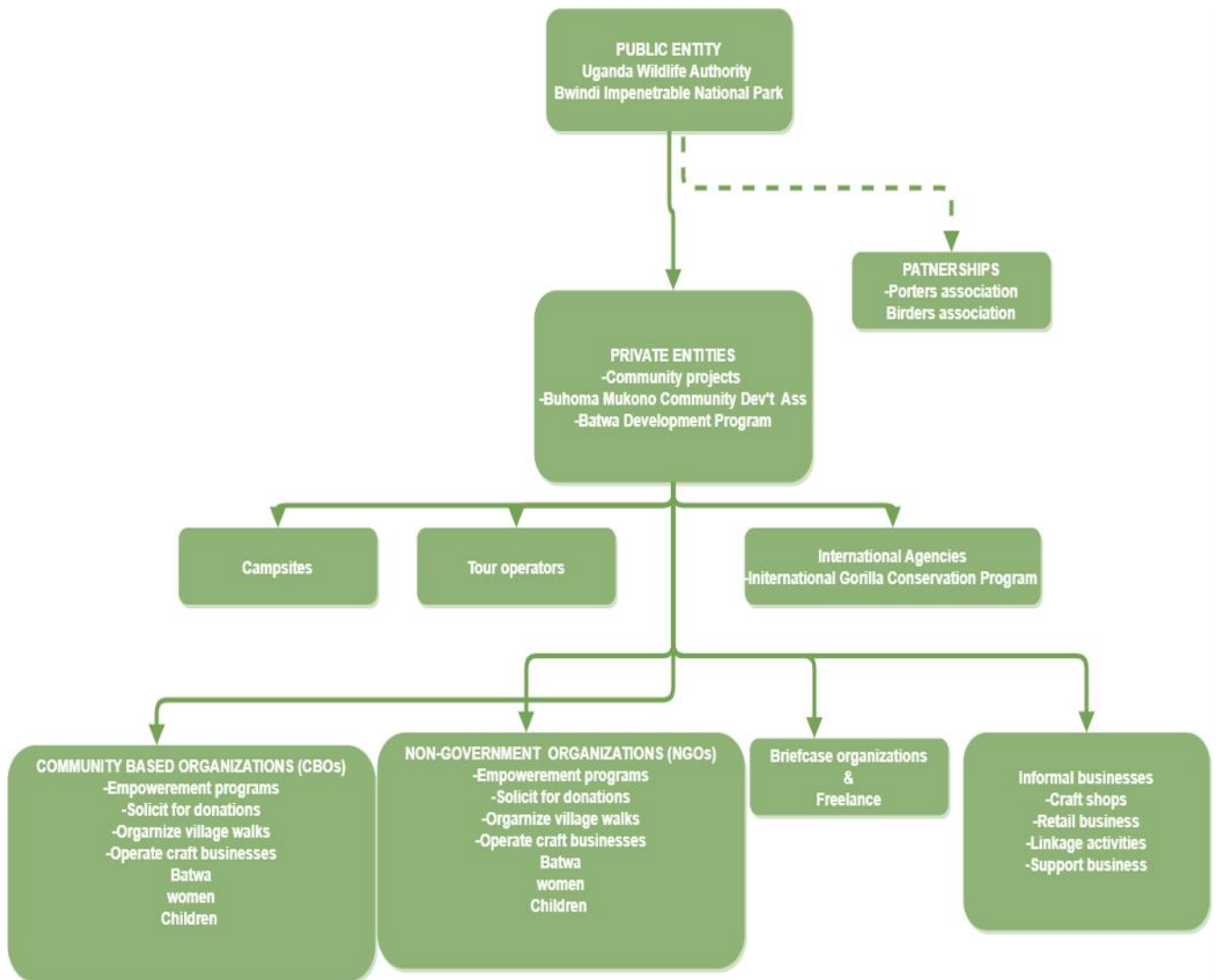
Source: Authors compilation-2021

3.3.2 Presence of Non-Governmental Organizations and Community -Based Organizations

Two types of private organizations were found in Bwindi: Non-Governmental Organizations and Community Based Organizations. Eighteen (18) NGOs and twenty-four CBOs were found (See Appendix 5 & 6). In the context of this study, NGOs are organizations that are registered and recognized nationally and internationally, while CBOs are locally registered organizations recognized locally and regionally. These organizations' primary goals

are to empower the powerless, create employment for the locals, and provide a visitor experience. The following are some of the examples of activities offered by NGOs and CBOs: Offer guided village walks to Batwa settlements and other village walk sites; create employment for women; fragile collectives through weaving skills enhancement; offer dancing displays packages of children portrayed as orphans, women as disadvantaged, Batwa as the marginalized and solicit donor funding to empower the mentioned groups above and offer sponsorship to children.

Figure 3.5: A snapshot of what facilitates participation in CBT in Bwindi
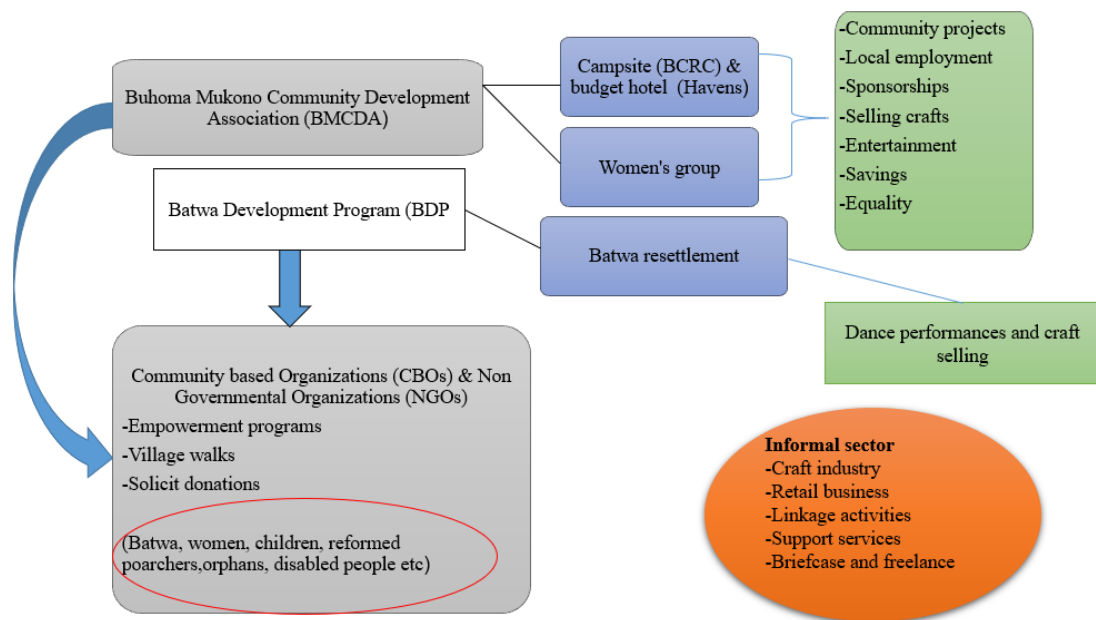
Source: Authors complilation-2021

3.3.3 Tourism activities and attractions of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park

Gorilla tourism

Gorilla tourism is the major tourism activity that attracts visitors to Bwindi Impenetrable National Park. Other than gorilla tourism, there are other tourist activities such as bird and butterfly watching, caving, waterfall activities and community walk activities. Gorilla tourism facilitates fragile collective participation in CBT because almost 99 % of

74

livelihood pursuits in Bwindi directly or indirectly depend on Gorilla tourism. Although UWA employs local people around Bwindi, it has a working arrangement with the Bwindi Porters and Birders Associations (Uganda Wildlife Authority, 2014). To help visitors realize their lifetime tracking experience, porters have been organized to support tourists in carrying their bags and physical support while in rugged terrain. This study established that 98 porters are locals from Bwindi; three are part of this study, while two worked as porters and left. Although the benefits from the park are not substantial, there is an indirect multiplier effect that when porters get money from visitors, this money is spent locally.

Figure 3.6: Other attraction of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park

The picture above shows Munyaga waterfall and a bird species inside BINP (Source: Author's field work pictures-2021)

Accommodation establishments

This study found that accommodation facilities, especially campsites, were majority-owned by foreigners and a few owned by locals. It was established that tourists in Bwindi stay in high-end Campsites and lodges owned by foreigners, while small guest houses accommodate tour drivers and a few budget visitors. The study found that the community-owned two accommodation facilities, local individuals owned five, and non-locals privately owned twelve

(see Appendix 7). This finding implies that there is foreign domination and profit repatriation is possible.

Village walk and guiding activities

Village walk and guiding activities were activities were other common activities that were found in Bwindi. There are over ten village sites where visitors go for the cultural experience. Of the ten village walks, the major community walk is managed by Buhoma Rest Camp, a community project, while the village walks are owned individually. What is surprising is that, apart from coffee and brewing sites and the herbalist, all village sites package the Batwa as the main tourist attraction. The owners of these village sites who package Batwa are non-Batwa and claim their primary aim is to empower them. All these village walks use local people as guides.

It was also found that there are "briefcase" or freelancer guides who target visitors who are not attached to any tour company or organization. Other than packaging the Batwa, who mainly entertain visitors and showcase how they used to live in the forest, coffee and banana brewing is another activity demonstrated in village walks. This means there is a potential for coffee tourism in Bwindi if efforts to promote the product are implemented. These individual initiatives that UWA has shunned to promote are essential sources of livelihood to fragile collectives. Coffee tourism is a travel experience in coffee-growing areas to gain familiarity with the history, tradition, and culture of coffee growers and the culture of a destination (Jolliffe, 2010; Smith et al., 2019).

It is established that coffee tourism can benefit local farmers, vulnerable and low-power stakeholders within the coffee supply chain, and present potential coffee tourists (Candelo et al., 2019). However, a study by (Woyesa & Kumar, 2021) found that farmers had not benefited from the forest and semi-forest coffee production; it was confirmed by Anderson, (2015) that cultural tourism contributes to the improvement of people's livelihood through coffee tourism.

These findings are consistent with Peroff et al. (2021), who established that tourism is a source of tourism micro-entrepreneurship for coffee farmers in Guatemala. Therefore, based on the findings of this study and previous studies, this study suggests that when local coffee farmers are supported through capacity building and cooperatives, coffee can be another important source of livelihood for fragile collectives in Bwindi. The figure below shows the fragile collectives demonstrating how coffee is planted up to the consumption stage.

Figure 3.7: An experience of coffee tourism

The figure above shows coffee and banana brewer. On the left is a signpost directing to his site, in the middle is him demonstrating to the visitors how coffee is grown and on right, he is serving visitors the coffee made by him (Source: Researcher, 2021)

Craft tourism

Craft making and selling is the biggest benefactor to fragile collectives in Bwindi. This is because it does not require so many skills and capital to start. This study established that at least each household has a member who can do basket weaving, wood carving, and painting, among others. There is a famous craft center in Kwenda trading center next to the park entrance where fragile collectives sell their crafts directly to visitors in craft shops. Other fragile collectives target visitors along village and gorilla trails and make a few sales with campsites and village sites. In one way or another, the craft industry has improved fragile collectives'

livelihoods and created employment opportunities and income generation. This finding is supported by (Wondirad et al., 2021).

Figure 3.8: Craft activities

The figure above depicts craft activities in Bwindi. On the top left is the entrance of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park. Top middle is Nkwenda craft trading centre which is located in front of the Park entrance, top right is craft activities, lower left crafts displayed along village and gorilla trail, in the lower middle is a young boy painting on the craft street of Nkwenda while on the lower right is an old lady weaving a basket from her home (Source: Field work compilations by the researcher-2021)

Small scale retail businesses related and non-related to tourism

Small food and beverage establishments targeting driver guides, non-locals, and locals were found in Bwindi. Small bars are a lucrative business in Bwindi. It was established that these small bars work the whole night in both peak and off-peak seasons. Most local gins called "Waragi" is a popular drink sold in small bars alongside beers and other alcoholic drinks. There is a popular place called "Kacwampale" or "torn trouser due to overseating" where the locals drink the whole night. Other places like Buhoma, and Nkwenda Kalehe trading centers have small drinking joints, but Kacwampale is the leading with lots of snacks called "muchomo" or

roasted pig meat. Small retail shops and other businesses like saloons, mobile money kiosks, washing bays, and a Saturday market in Buhoma were noticed. All these small facilities target locals due to the multiplier effect of tourism. Bwindi is referred to as the "Dollar City."

Entertainment services

Entertaining visitors is also one of the activities where the locals derive their livelihoods. These activities occur from the campsites, Nkwenda Craft center, in village walks, and inside the park at the visitors' centre. These activities are performed by women, children, and the Batwa.

Figure 3.9: Entertainment groups

The figure on the left show entertainment groups. On the left and right are the Batwa (Aboriginal) groups performing in the village walk site while in the centre is a women group performing alongside the road (Source: Author's compilation-2021).

4.0 CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research methodology that was employed in this study to answer the research questions. Principally, this chapter begins with the discussion of the research approach and design that were applied in this study, the paradigm that guided the study, the research process that was followed, sampling strategy and methods that were used to collect data. This is followed by an account of how the researcher navigated through ethnographic journey highlighting reflexivity and positionality experiences, entry into the community, gaining access in the community, establishing rapport and trust building and data collection. Data processing and management and methodological rigor are also presented. This chapter ends with ethical issues and discusses how they were handled.

4.2 The research approach and design

For a deeper understanding of individuals in their social setting, qualitative research approaches are generally applied (Creswell & Creswell, 2017; Creswell & Poth, 2016). This study adopted a qualitative research approach due to the scarcity of information about the participation of fragile collectives in CBT in the context of Uganda. According to Holloway (1997), qualitative approaches are employed to explore the behaviour, perspectives, and experiences of persons. A qualitative research approach guided this study because of the following reasons:

1) Whereas participation in community-based tourism is a well-studied area, there is no well-established participation framework for fragile collectives in a developing world context, particularly Uganda; 2) There is a shortage of essential variables on participation of fragile collectives in CBT that may be examined from a positivistic worldview, especially for developing nations; 3) It is assumed that there may be prevalent community dynamics, different realities with different interpretations which may be hard to capture or measure quantitatively

80

(Creswell & Poth, 2016); 4) The target population of this study are sub-groups within the community that has been identified as a disadvantaged sector of the society (Dłużewska & Giampiccoli, 2020); thus, a qualitative approach is appropriate for such silent voices to get a holistic view of the phenomena (Creswell & Poth ,2016); 5) Lastly, fragile collective participation in CBT in the study area (South-Western Uganda) is under-researched, which deserves a qualitative inquiry to explore and understand the multiple realities that exist out there.

Based on the above account, an ethnographic research approach was adopted for this study. This is because in situations where information about a phenomenon is not available, exploratory research approaches are preferred (Creswell & Poth, 2016). Qualitative designs seek to capture the subjective experiences as lived by the social actors. It helps researchers to understand the social and multiple realities of individuals and groups and the world they live in. Ethnography was chosen for this study due to lack of previous studies on the participation of fragile collectives. Early western anthropologists used ethnography to explore, understand, and tell marginalized people's stories (Vidich & Lyman, 2000). According to Savin-Baden and Major (2013), ethnography is the study of people, culture, and values adopted in more local settings to understand the marginalized and underrepresented groups within the community, such as the homeless and people with disabilities.

Ethnography has been identified as a suitable approach for researchers who want to understand the phenomena in their context (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). One way of in-depth knowledge of people, their way of life, and distinctive social or cultural features of a particular society is through ethnography (Hammersley, 2007). Extended stay with the people being investigated, participant observation, active participation in day-to-day activities and in-depth interviews are essential aspects of ethnography that the researcher used (Creswell & Poth, 2016). Through participant observation in the community, it is possible to get the true meaning

and actions of those observed. In relation to the research approach, Figure 4.1, depicts a research design employed in this study.

Figure 4.1: Research design
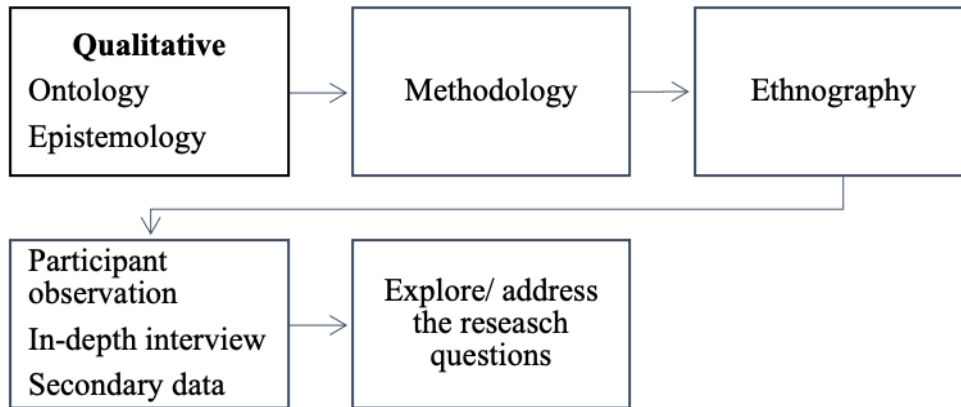
Source: Researcher construction-2021

4.3 The paradigm

Guba and Lincoln (1994) assert that a paradigm defines the ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions representing the world views and the range of possible relationships in them. Creswell and Poth (2016) identify four research paradigms commonly applied in qualitative research: post-positivism, constructivism, transformative, and pragmatism while Savin-Baden and Major (2013) identify critical social theory, pragmatism, phenomenology, postmodernism, social constructionism, and constructivism as popular philosophies. After a thorough examination of all the paradigms, the present study adopts social constructivism.

Social constructivism paradigm is often described as an interpretive stance that aims at understanding of subjective meanings and shared knowledge (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Qualitative research driven by interpretivism is considered a method for exploring and understanding individuals or groups' meanings ascribed to a social or human problem (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). It seeks to comprehend the world in which individuals live and work (Creswell & Poth, 2016). The sole purpose is to get a deeper understanding of the views of the

people being studied. Savin-Baden and Major (2013) opine that reality and knowledge exist in individual minds. Therefore, it is the onus of the researcher to search for how individuals construct such knowledge.

Social constructivism assumes that people create knowledge with the world around them. Second, SC posits that people interact with the world around them and make sense of it based on their perspectives. Third, SC assumes that knowledge creation results from human interactions (Crotty, 1998). It seeks to know and understand the participants' context by immersing themselves within the specified context and gathering information personally. Although researchers use open-ended questions to share their views, they also interpret what they find based on their own experiences and background (Creswell & Poth, 2016). Furthermore, social constructivism emphasizes the importance of individual perspectives and shared realities as a group. Although multiple and shared realities exist, people's perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes differ (Hollinshead, 2006).

In the context of this study, fragile collectives as social beings under study are a unique group with potentially some shared facts and individual ones bound by their culture and way of life. It is therefore possible to capture the collaborative culture in existence and the shared experiences and meanings, which makes the social constructivist paradigm an appropriate stance for this study.

4.4 Research process

This study followed a sequence as conceptualized by the researcher and the study's outcome. Figure 4.20 illustrates the research route of this study. Specifically, it has a broader research interest: community-based tourism followed by a review of the literature concerning CBT. The literature review identified gaps, which is the under-representation of fragile collectives in tourism. Research questions and objectives were formulated to understand their participation in CBT development. This led to the research design, which is exploratory and

qualitative. Ethnography approaches through participant observation, interviews, and field notes were employed. Data analysis was done through coding and content analysis and then discussion and conclusion with a goal of theory development.

Figure 4.2: Research process

Research interest identification • Community-based tourism

Literature review • Fragile Collectives understudied

Reseach objectives • Explore and identify what the issue

Research design- Qualitative

Etnnography- participant observation & Interviews

Data analysis- Coding and thematic analysis

Discussion- presentation of results

Conclusion- Theory development

Source: Constructed by the Author-2021

4.5 Pretest and piloting

Conducting a pilot study helps ethnographers to get familiar with fieldwork (Janghorban et al 2014). Before the actual field work, the research instruments were pretested in the Nkuringo sector, a southern sector of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park in March 2021. This section of gorilla tracking in Bwindi was the second to be established in 2004, a decade after opening the Buhoma sector north of the park. It is also the most popular among the tourists implying that it has similar characteristics to the Buhoma sector. Nkuringo sector hosts one of

the most popular dominant silver backs in Bwindi. It has a receptive center at Uganda Wildlife Authority, accommodation facilities including a community lodge facility, and souvenir kiosks serving tourists. The purpose of this pre-test was to gain insights into the viability of the research instruments, clarity of questions, and translation of words, concepts, and phrases from English to Rukiga.

After pre-testing, necessary changes were made before the actual field work commenced. The pilot study helped me to adjust to some questions, for example. The first question of this study *(what are fragile collectives' forms of participation in community-based tourism?)* was not easy for fragile collectives to answer. I adjusted and applied local dialects to make it simple for them to understand. If I could mention the word participation in community-based tourism, I could get mixed views and answers until I changed it to*: what do you do to earn a living? What activity do you do to get money? If you need necessities of life, what means do you use to get them?* Overall, ten (12) participants took part in the pre-test study. Six (5) of the participants were engaged in tourism-related income-generating activities, four (4) were not involved in any income-generating activity, and three (3) were institutional representatives. The interviews were all audio-recorded. The observation checklist was also revised accordingly. It was chosen as a study site because it has some similarities with the Buhoma sector, and it is the closest sector to Buhoma by about 21Kilometres. I could easily connect from Buhoma to Nkuringo through the Park on foot. In any case, there were no vehicles due to the lockdown of the COVID 19 pandemic. In Nkuringo, I had to introduce myself to the village chairpersons for me to access the people. The picture below shows the community members where the village Chairperson took me to introduce me to the community members.

Figure 4.3: Accessing the Nkuringo community

In the picture above, I was introducing myself to the community members. Piloting gave me a complete picture of what to expect in actual data collection—interacting with villagers is a key factor. You cannot act in isolation. Otherwise, you are taken as a stranger (Source: Field photos -2012)

4.6 Selection of the study area

Due to time and resource constraints, the Buhoma sector was selected as a study site. Buhoma village is among the villages that make up Mukono Parish. It has a population of over 50000 people. This parish comprises 12 villages managed under the leadership of Local Council Institutions (LCIs). The villages within Mukono Parish include: Iraaro, Kashebeya, Rubona, Mukono Central, Kyumbugushu, Buhoma central, Nyakaina, Kanyashande, Kanyamisinga, Nkwenda, and Mukongoro. These villages are governed by a villager leader (Chairman LC1) who reports to the parish leader (LC2). Although the villages mentioned are the beneficiaries of Bataka, the community project enterprise, I did not cover the villages of Iraaro, Kashebeya, and Nyakaina due to time constraints and difficulties in accessing these villages. Future studies can consider these villages.

In all villages, it is essential to note that they depend on agriculture as their primary livelihood source, and tourism is a supplementary activity. Therefore, the Buhoma sector, which captures the parish of Mukono, was selected due to the following reasons: Hosts the park's headquarters; Buhoma pioneered Mountain gorilla habituation with the Mubare family in 1992 and the resultant mountain gorilla trekking expeditions (van der Duim et al., 2014); Buhoma sector is 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 is easily accessed compared to other sectors both by air and road and has favorable terrain compared to other sectors; 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 make suitable for this study.

4.7 Sampling strategy

Sampling is a process of choosing the right participants who can provide the researcher with rich data about the phenomenon under study. Moser and Korstjens (2018) underpin that purposive sampling as a suitable strategy for ethnographers to help them get key informants. 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). The identification of informants was selected non-randomly among fragile collectives by the researcher alongside participant observation. Purposive sampling was appropriate because I wanted a particular subset of the community.

Heterogeneity of the informants was vital in selecting the sample. The selection criteria were based on several factors, such as age. One had to be 18 years and above, a native of

Bwindi, a widow, widower, disabled, people with chronic diseases, elderly, and single parents. Some groups, such as women and the Batwa, were accorded an equal chance of being selected because they are a particular category with unique identities. Traditionally, women face cultural marginalization and gender stereotypes (Hutchings et al., 2020), so it was essential to give them priority to capture their insights. The Batwa are the indigenous minority who have faced discrimination for so long in every community they live in (Ampumuza et al., 2020).

I identified the informants through various interactions, active participation in community activities, and observation. Issues of intersectionality emerged, and some respondents were identified as belonging to more than one group feature. Other issues such as abandonment, domestic violence, and landlessness arose while in the field, which I also considered as the selection criterion. Such diversities and overlaps amongst fragile collectives were appreciated as a contributing factor because they enriched the perspective of the study.

Similarly, a purposeful sample of ten key stakeholders were selected to get opinions about CBT in the area. These key stakeholders include Uganda Wildlife Authority officials, NGOs' founders, CBOS, local leaders, and Elders in the community. To avoid biases, this was done at the end of the data collection to prevent biases during data collection. I also tried as much as possible to avoid these key informants in the initial stages in order not to be mistaken by my respondents. Informants are selected because they know the subject under investigation (McKenna & Main, 2013; Wagner, Rau & Lindemann, 2010). Moreover, key informants play a key role in validating the ideas and opinions of research participants (Moser & Korstjens, 2018).

Using different sources helps ethnographers get rich data and a holistic view for data validation purposes (Carter, Bryant-Lukosius, DiCenso, Blythe & Neville, 2014). The informants used in this study include the key stakeholders who know the history of Bwindi, when, how, and why community-based tourism initiatives were established. Meeting the key

informants was made through appointments or paying a courtesy visit to their organizations. For instance, I paid a courtesy visit to community-based organizations or participated in their village walk activities since most the NGOs and CBOs have an element of village walk activities. For the elders, during my free days on weekends, I could also pay a courtesy visit to their homes, while for the Chairpersons or village heads, I could interact with them when I go to seek permission to be in their area.

Each time I could go to a new village, the first thing to do was seek permission from the Chairperson of the village before any interactions with the community members. I had a field assistant whom I worked with only for direction and introduction purposes to the village chairpersons. Once he could finish introducing me, I could do the rest for myself because he could not spend all the days with me in people's homes or villages. In some instances where I conducted interviews in his presence, I could notice that my respondents were not free to interact. All the key informants willingly and voluntarily gave me helpful information for this study.

4.8 Methods

This section describes the data collection tools that were used in this study. Based on the paradigm mentioned earlier and research design, ethnographers use participant observation, in-depth interviews, and extensive field notes (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). First-hand information from people and their mundane lives can be obtained through interactions, holding conversations with them, and engaging in activities they do every day (Neville et al., 2016). Besides, this study uses ethnographic fieldwork as an insider (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). This approach allows the researcher to get familiar with and immerse in the community to obtain appropriate information (Gibbs et al., 2007). Ethnographic researchers are expected to have more time in the field; therefore, I immersed myself in the community for five months.

As discussed in the subsequent sections, participant observation, in-depth interviews, and informal conversations were employed as secondary data.

4.8.1 Participant observation

Participant observation is key in ethnography research and complements other methods of data collection (Robson, 2002). It helps the researcher to understand and interpret the meanings in a social setting (Burgess, 2002). I immersed myself in the community and participated in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events while observing people's everyday lives and culture from the first day up to the last day. Observation was part of the entire data collection process from the first day of the field work to the last day. Through observation, I was able to see the activities that fragile collectives participated in and the dynamics of community-based tourism. Besides, through observation, I was able to identify the key stakeholders in CBT and identified the forms of participation that fragile collectives participate. Principally, participant observation helped me to capture data on all the five questions that I was seeking answers for.

These kinds of activities are supported by Musante and DeWalt (2010). Relatedly, Kawulich (2005) avows that participant observation is one-way researchers can collect data about people, processes, and cultures. It involves describing the study context's events, behaviors, and artifacts (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). I complimented participant observation with notetaking and pictures of artifacts, activities that people engaged in, community events and various attractions. In practice, this approach helped me discover the patterns of behavior in interactions when no predetermined procedures were not involved. Moreover, note-taking and pictures have helped me during the analysis and interpretation of findings. I have constantly referred to images and notes I took throughout the writing, which are my point of reference. Pictures bring vivid memories.

Patton (2002) asserts that participant observation is advantageous to the researcher as it makes them get close to the people being studied. It puts the researcher in a position to understand, gain first-hand experience, and capture the context within which people interact, which gives the researcher a holistic view. Second, a researcher can obtain first-hand experience within the context of the study, which allows the researcher to be open-minded to new insights. Third, participant observation allows the researcher to see things that the people in the study setting ignore. Fourth, participant observation gives a chance for the researcher to learn some things that respondents would be uncomfortable revealing during the interview especially talking about sensitive issues to strangers. Fifth, fieldwork allows the inquirer to go beyond other people's perceptions. Lastly, participant-observers can get involved both with people and in the activities, they observe (Spradley, 2016).

Participation helped me to understand so many aspects. For instance, I saw how people scramble for visitors, the interactions between locals and visitors, and the dynamics in CBT spaces. I watched that men are dominant in all aspects of tourism activities and they have a unique dress code that depicts the solidarity and conservation of tourism, for example, green T-shirts, Khaki trousers, tourist shoes, wearing Kaki huts, among others.

Spradley (2016) identifies five types of participation that range from complete, actively moderate, passive, and non-participation, as shown in Table 4.1. In the context of this study, I adopted dual roles of engaging in activities while observing what was taking place, as highlighted in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Observation stages

Type of participation	Degree of involvement	Observation stage
High involvement	Complete	I immersed myself in the community for five months, and observation was part of the entire process from the beginning till the end.
The researcher does what other people do	Active	I actively participated in community activities, attended burial and church ceremonies, and

Type of participation	Degree of involvement	Observation stage
		community meetings with permission, helped the needy and the elderly in their gardens, and cooked for them. These activities allowed me to create rapport and build trust. I continued engaging in these activities throughout the entire process because it was through these activities that I identified the respondents. And being part of their activities was a gesture.
		Diary and photo-taking were used to record key observations, although in some cases, I could fail to capture some events while at the same time I am part of the activities, and yet I did not want to make it a show. Also, using my phone to take pictures while in the garden or attending sensitive activities like burial ceremonies or in the church is something I did with caution and permission.
Ethnographer seeks to maintain a balance between participation and observation	Moderate	I started familiarizing myself with some village walks, drinking, pork joints, marketplaces, attending church services and regular visits to the neighboring villages, and seeing the community hospital in Buhoma and sick people. I continued taking careful field notes, recording them after returning from a field trip.
Ethnographer is present at scene No participation in activities No interaction with other people Detachment and spectator	Passive	As soon as I arrived, I was a covert observer and visited my former student who works in one of the community Lodges. He gave me all the information about famous places and security measures in case I decided to move at night. I took a walking nearby trading centers of Kacwampale, Nkwenda, Buhoma, and other nearby villages, observing what was taking place before I declared my intentions. People were preparing for a peak season and were excited. They had been in lockdown for an extended period due to COVID-19. As I observed covertly, I was taking notes and some pictures.
No involvement with people or activities studied	Non-participation	Not applicable to this study.

Adapted from (Spradley, 2016)

Participating in the activities highlighted in Table 4.1 gave me an opportunity to position myself in the community and understand the researched from different perspectives. Given that I am a native and could relate well with local people, which was an added advantage. The intention of on-site observation was undertaken in this study to observe and take notes on various activities that fragile collectives participate in and the community's behaviors and interactions. For example, through observation, I was able to identify different aspects such as: Who was popular in the designated spaces of CBT activities? what were everyday activities that take place in such places, who was involved and what souvenir products were on display etc.

I observed that men are dominant in CBT spaces while women are commonly seen in gardens. Men have some common patterns amongst themselves in terms of dressing style. Women were identified with basket weaving, while men were identified with wood carving. Small bars and retail shops are run by women, while men dominate in NGOs and CBOs. Community guides are young men and boys and while driver guides are non-locals. It was also observed that many signposts indicate empowerment programs of children and women and Batwa. All these were observed. Whatever was observed was jotted down in small notebooks and diaries, and I recorded other events through photo taking. The observation was important in this study because it complimented many aspects of the interviews. Through active participation and observation, I hoped to get a more profound and holistic understanding of how fragile collectives participate in tourism activities, how CBT activities/projects are conducted in Bwindi, how interactions with tourists take place, and how benefits are distributed. Table 4.1 highlights the proposed research activities during the observation period and their contribution to research objectives.

4.8.2 In-depth interviews

Stokes and Bergin (2006) describe individual depth interviews as "an unstructured personal interview that uses extensive probing respondents to talk freely and express detailed facts about a topic under study". Interviews are popular methods for collecting qualitative data and are therefore considered suitable for this study. Opdenakker (2006) asserts that face-to-face interview techniques have long been used to collect data in qualitative research. Further, in-depth interviews are an essential approach that can help a researcher get deeper insights into the phenomenon and a holistic view of peoples' personal experiences and perspectives (Legard et al., 2003). The idea is to provide a conducive environment for the respondents to express their thoughts, opinions, and experiences in their speech (Qu & Dumay, 2011).

After creating rapport and building trust with the community members, I started conducting interviews in May (the third month of my stay in the community). I employed semi-structured interviews but also making sure that all the questions were captured. I also complemented semi-structured interviews with informal interviews or casual dialogues where I interacted with fragile collectives informally without a structured protocol. I applied this method especially during gardening activities or in places where I least expected an organized interview could take place. This kind of dialogue is supported by (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013).

Informal interviews depended on my memory. In some instances, I used my phone to record the conversation with their permission. Sometimes I could record myself repeating the whole conversation. Alternatively, I could write down what I would have gathered informally in my notebook. It could look weird sometimes, that in an informal conversation, I started writing. For instance, in a few cases, carrying a book and recording tape was unnecessary. All the interviews were audio-recorded for later transcription and data analysis. I did not limit the discussion to the timing of the interview, but most extended interviews took two hours, and the

shortest took 40 minutes. Regarding sample size, I considered the concept of theoretical saturation as a yardstick. 55 semi-structured in-depth interviews (See Table 4.2) were conducted, and I adhered to the fulfilment of theoretical saturation.

Table 4.2: Distribution of sectors and total number of research participants

Number	Type of sector/Industry	Number of interviewees
1	Craft industry	12
2	Service provider and retail businesses	08
3	Village walk	05
4	Linkage activities	05
5	Auxiliary services	03
6	Formal employment	03
7	Batwa participation activities	09
8	Marginal or no participation	10
	TOTAL	*55*

Source: Researcher 2021

Before the interview, the justification of the study would be explained to every interviewee. The study's purpose would be presented to them, ranging from the fragile collective forms of participation and factors affecting their participation in CBT development activities to how fragile collective forms of participation has impacted their lives through CBT initiatives. Semi-structured interviews (See Appendix 3) were followed. All interviews were conducted one-to-one informally. For harmonization purposes, interviewees who were uncomfortable with the recording and the discussions were written manually in the field notebook. There was no time limit since this study aimed at getting as much information as possible. This allowed the participants to express their views without interruption or hurry.

All interviews were conducted in places convenient to the participants as long as the place was relatively quiet and private. But sometimes I could get interruptions by people wanting to know what was taking place. They mentioned that researchers with questionnaires used to contact them and ask them questions while ticking them. They affirmed that they had never seen anyone who spent time with them asking detailed questions like me. Some fragile

collectives testified that some researchers could ask a few questions and then see them ticking the questionnaire; this assured me that I was on the right track and fragile collectives were willing to share information with me. According to them, they have never been allowed to express their opinions.

In addition, the study area is an agrarian society, and most fragile collectives spend most of their time in the gardens/farms cultivating from Monday up to Saturday or Monday up to Friday. Saturdays are reserved for home chores, do you it yourself (DIYs), and market days. Sundays are reserved strictly for going to church and resting. Therefore, I was so flexible. As long as I could identify respondents, I scheduled days for interviews that were always comfortable for them. Whichever way was convenient for the participants, I was flexible. Therefore, as I could not wait for only weekends to conduct interviews, I respected their daily norm activities, whether in their gardens or their homes, as I helped in some of the home and farm activities was convenient for me. I participated in activities like digging, harvesting, going to the market, and attending church services. With their permission, I would request those who operate small-scale businesses to help in their shops. Thus, some interviews would be conducted as I help out. All discussions were audiotaped and then transcribed.

4.8.3 Secondary data sources

Secondary data sources provide information on the context of CBT, how it has evolved, how it has been planned, and the socio-cultural responses from time to time. Secondary data were reviewed from relevant documents and literature from scientific journals, national, regional, and local government archives, and non-governmental organizations databases. These data sources are considered helpful for this study because they contain information regarding socio-economic, environmental, and political aspects of CBT development. The purpose of reviewing these documents was to get general knowledge and insights about the participation of locals in CBT development activities and to identify the key issues affecting them. Another

important aspect of reviewing secondary data sources was to get information on Local Government policies and other stakeholders concerning CBT development in rural areas.

Based on the above assertions, I regularly visited Uganda Wildlife Authority offices, community-based organizations and non-governmental organizations to get the historical and clear background of community-based tourism in Bwindi. I visited these organizations towards the end of my stay in Bwindi in the 5th month of my stay in Bwindi. Table 4.3 gives a highlight of secondary sources their contribution to this study.

Table 4.3: Secondary data sources and their contribution to the study

Secondary sources	Contribution to the study
Review of relevant literature, newspapers articles, official documents from NGOs, donor agencies, master plans and statistics on CBT, state policies etc	-Source of information on the socioeconomic environment and political structure of CBT -Gain general knowledge about CBT and to identify key decision-makers and stakeholders in CBT tourism planning and the development process - The history, the current situation and magnitude of CBT, the role of government in directing CBT and the context in which it has evolved
Published and unpublished government and NGOs statistics	To understand the magnitude and development of CBT in BINP
Uganda Wildlife and community-based tourism department records	To gain information from 1991 to date the period of tourism initiation in BINP and growth
Uganda Tourism Policy and Tourism Development Master Plan 2014-2024	To understand the policies, planning and implementation processes and approaches geared to CBT development in Uganda
Government policies on fragile collectives and participation in community development are reviewed	To understand how policies, affect fragile collectives
The Uganda tourism development master plan 2014-2024	To understand strategic interventions for CBT
Secondary data sources	-Are also used in the design of the interview questions and to inform the interpretation of the content of interviews -The initial knowledge about CBT in BINP is largely based on secondary data, information shared by the local officials through social media platforms and based on my prior visits back in 2018 as tourist and on official duties

4.9 Negotiating realities in the field

Ethnographic fieldwork poses a wide range of obstacles to the researcher, such as changes in research focus and direction (Dolezal, 2019). Although much has been written in anthropological literature about the challenges faced by researchers, more attention is needed on researchers' reflexivity in a community-based tourism context. Besides the ethnographer's personal history, disciplinary and socio-cultural environments significantly impact the study

selection of topics and peoples (Davies, 2012). Below is an account of how I navigated through my ethnographic journey.

4.9.1 Reflexivity

Reflexivity helps qualitative researchers to construct and attach meanings to the research process (Buscatto, 2016; Leopold, 2011). Buscatto (2016) and Leopold (2011) acknowledge that reflexivity induces self-discovery and is critical in fieldwork. From an ethnographic perspective, reflexivity is an important aspect that helps the researcher understand their influence on the research process (Faisal, 2021). Faisal (2021) affirms that reflexivity cannot be detached from ethnography since it involves first-hand learning, self-awareness, and self-reflection. It consists in examining one's reactions to fieldwork encounters (Finlay, 2002). Finlay (2002) states that investigating people in their cultural settings can impact the whole process of research, from the choice of the methodology up to publication.

Ethnographic research is based on raw data gathered through relationships with people. Such interactions come with emotions that may affect the ethnographic output in the long run (Rahaman & Saha, 2020). Since the researcher is part of the social world that is studied, it requires a careful exploration and self-examination (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). Reflexivity is vital in all stages of research, from the start of the study to fruition (Bradbury-Jones, 2007; Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). Bott (2010) acknowledges that reflexivity involves actively constructing interpretations of fieldwork experiences and asking how these interpretations arise. According to Bott (2011), reflexivity is a continuous process that necessitates researchers to be positioned in their work and reposition themselves while keeping in dialogue with methodological practices and their participants. Hesse-Biber (2007) adds that reflexivity necessitates researchers to consider a variety of aspects such as the effect of one's biography, the questions asked, and the socio-economic and political contexts of the research process.

Reflexivity also shows that the researcher is fully aware of the social aspect and the primary role one has to play in instances where knowledge is co-created by the researcher and the researched. In other words, our socio-demographic elements, such as age, gender, race, sexual orientation, and personal and political beliefs, can potentially impact our research output if not handled well (Kacen & Chaitin, 2006). According to Berger (2013) and De Tona (2006), social positioning can affect the relationship between the researcher and the researched, which may result in information asymmetry. Thus, integrating reflexivity aspects in ethnography enables the researcher to handle any possible incidences that may distort the research process (Dodgson, 2019). According to Faisal (2020), appreciating the researcher's efforts on reflexivity practices is fundamental for ethnographic studies because of the mutual and close interactions between the researcher and the researched. Recognizing the researcher's actions not only yields the accuracy of the research process but also increases the degree of transparency, trustworthiness, and accountability.

Personal stance is another critical area that calls for reflexivity (Finefter-Rosenbluh, 2017). I undertook a position of an insider because I did not have prior knowledge and experience of sub-cultural groups. As much as I am a single woman, my study is inclusive, allowing me to get other perspectives from other sub-cultural groups. Besides, as much as I am native, I don't come from the same place and I have spent most of my adulthood in Kampala, the Capital City of Uganda. This is supported by Finefter-Rosenbluh (2017) who argues that it is advantageous not to have preliminary knowledge regarding the phenomenon under study. Although, this requires a conscious effort (Asselin, 2003).

Besides, I felt the importance of studying and bringing the value of underprivileged people in the society into research. Therefore, I approached this field work with an open mind to listen to the fragile collectives' stories. There was no way to reach out to the fragile collectives other than CBT as a pathway. This study articulates how these different forms of

reflexivity played a significant role in the whole research process. For instance, personal reflexivity helped me in the topic formulation and to the best of my knowledge, is the first study on fragile collectives in Uganda. As an aspiring ethnographer, I employed reflexivity to get a holistic view of myself and the researched. I put myself in the shoes of the researched and reflected on what it means to be a female researcher studying men and women, young and old, and most importantly, the rewards and shortcomings associated with this insider position. On several occasions, I could feel bad about explaining myself and not just explaining but telling the naked truth. And, of course, this was unfair of me because when it came to my turn to ask, I would want to know every detail.

I spent 18 weeks conducting fieldwork with fragile collectives in villages surrounding Bwindi Impenetrable National Park from mid-March 2021 to the end of July 2021, collecting data using participant observation techniques. The participatory observation started when I stepped into the field and ended on the last day I left the area. It lasted for 18 weeks (March 2021 to July 2021). I lived in the community for all this period, observing daily life directly. This enabled me to analyze how the locals of the community live with their community, what they engage in etc. My extended stay created an atmosphere of trust. This allowed me to interact with people freely, apart from some Batwa settlements, to which I was restricted from going.

4.9.2. Positionality

This study is anchored in a vast of experiences. Initially, my interest was vested in leisure and hospitality, but I shifted my interest to community-based tourism development. This shift came along when I enrolled for a Master's Degree in Hospitality and Tourism Management. After completing my first Degree in Leisure and Hospitality, I got a job in a restaurant where I worked as a waitress, customer care personnel, and Restaurant Manager. Being one of the best students with a First-Class Honours, I was called back by my University, and they offered me a sponsorship as a Graduate Assistant to do a Master's Degree in

Hospitality and Tourism Management after one year of industry experience. As a Graduate Assistant, I was assigned duties and responsibilities of teaching and supervising students who could be doing their internships in various places in the hospitality and tourism industry.

I was assigned course units related to Community-Based Tourism and field Work. With fieldwork, I organized student field tours to all the protected areas in Uganda, including recreational centers. During these field trips, visiting the communities around the protected areas was always on the itinerary and where students could organize themselves and get material donations to the communities, such as clothes, educational materials, and many more. For internship supervision, I was permanently assigned to students doing internships in protected areas, especially in the National Parks. During my fieldwork visits, I could interact with communities, especially during short tours by my students. Regarding Masters courses, I undertook several course units, including Sustainable Tourism Development and Case Studies of Successful Based Economies that shaped my Master's dissertation entitled: *Community Capacity Building, Community Involvement in Tourism Activities and Community Welfare in Uganda.*

The encounters with the communities around protected areas and my Master's degree courses shaped my research dissertation named above. Subsequently, my Master's dissertation and the meetings I had with communities during data collection and fieldwork experiences shaped this study. What is fascinating is that one of my study areas for my Master Degree was Bwindi Impenetrable National Park which is the current study area for this study. In both scenarios narrated above, my interaction with the local communities inspired me to embark on an exciting but challenging Ph.D. journey. With a strong desire to contribute something to the fragile collectives, I decided to undertake transformational research, which could allow me to explore the existing social, political, and other structures by researching the struggles of the fragile collectives in a community-based tourism context.

Despite the challenges associated with investigating the oppressed and powerless in social spheres of the community, my desire to contribute something to the fragile collectives in the community also contributes to my academic excellence. Therefore, responding to Scheyvens and Hughes (2019), concerns about the under-representation of the minority and marginalized groups in tourism, I position myself in this study to bring out the independent minds of the voiceless, powerless, or unheard groups in the community, particularly the fragile collectives' in the tourism development discourse. Besides, the role of critical realists is to extend scholarship boundaries by giving the voiceless a voice in advocacy and activism (Sailor, 2010; Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). In other words, critical social sciences focus on structures of power, a system of domination. It opens the doors of academia so that the voices of the oppressed people can be heard and honored for others to learn from.

This study explores whether there exists an enabling environment for fragile collectives to participate in community-based tourism development activities based on long-term success stories of CBT projects around Bwindi Impenetrable National Park. I immersed myself in the villages surrounding BINP as a participant and observer, which helped me understand the place's dynamics and the research in their socio-cultural natural setting. Even though I am a native, I positioned myself in both emic and etic perspectives to avoid missing out on any information. I undertook both views because the study setting is a typical village with different cultural orientations from the people who live in the capital cities, including myself. Therefore, I undertook both positions as a villager and a non-villager.

As a non-villager, my position as a researcher has different connotations in terms of the cultural norms, values, and practices of the people under study. So, to understand the cultural orientations in the village setting, I considered both perspectives. Moreover, ethnography is regarded as an appropriate approach that gives an opportunity to ethnographers to understand the cultures of the researched based on emic and etic views (Xia, 2011). Xia (2011) states that

insider-outsider is very relevant and practicable for ethnographers because of the extensive period spent observing their daily routines and thoughts in a group of people. So, in this case, I employed an emic perspective in order to understand the villager's social world, while etic philosophy was applied to get a more general overview of CBT and its dynamics around Bwindi Impenetrable National Park.

Although I and the researched share the same cultural background and ethnicity, I undertook various roles through the interactions with people I encountered, which sometimes made me feel confused and uncomfortable. When I had just arrived, people took me as a visitor who was there for a short time and to leave soon. Still, when I could tell them that I am staying for about four months, they started wondering and suspecting me whether I am a visitor, researcher, a spy, volunteer or doing an internship or working with the Uganda Wildlife Authority. Their perception of me worried me whether I could get the right data. As Asselin (2003) states, participants may not trust the researcher and believe that the researcher may have a hidden agenda for asking them to participate or using their unit as a setting. And some locals were honest with me and told me how they thought of me as a spy who had come to investigate the community-based organizations, especially those who solicit donations for vulnerable groups. One local had this to say:

The sharp men and boys in this community who receive money from visitors and deceive them that they have built houses for poor people, the Batwa and are paying school fees for vulnerable children, they think of you that you have come to investigate them. People think you may work with Uganda Wild Authority, or the visitors have sent you to investigate them. We are tired of people who take advantage of us and deceive visitors that they are helping us, and yet they are busy building mansions for themselves, driving good cars, yet for us we are suffering (Casual talk with the locals).

Principally, some locals saw me as an advocate for them. Since the study's goal was not to investigate local elites or community-based organizations, it gave me a signal of village elite dominance and not to associate with them. Furthermore, it reminded me to stay focused on my research problem and not stray. I also avoided traveling to UWA headquarters since the villagers had begun to associate me with UWA employees. And to gain people's trust, I emphasized my role as a researcher, not as a spy. I told my study participants that the information they supply is confidential through informed consent. I made it clear that I am a Ph.D. student at The Hong Kong Polytechnic University. I had to explain that Hong Kong is a Special Administrative Unit of China, and some people believed it when they heard me mention China. However, others associated me with the Covid-19 Virus. As time passed, they began referring to me as Professor, which gave me some comfort that they were starting to accept me as a researcher rather than a spy.

In some cases, I became a threat to married women who learned that I am a single woman and assumed that I could steal their husbands. One time my a lady confronted me about her husband, and she said it to me that it made her uncomfortable hearing that I was walking with her husband or talking to him. She said she would have beaten me if she didn't believe in God. She warned me that she had HIV and that if I had an encounter with him, I should go for a check-up. All these made me feel uncomfortable with some regrets. Dress code was another challenging aspect for me. I remember going to the local market in week two of my stay to buy new clothes that fit the village setting because the clothes I had with me appeared classy and exquisite in the eyes of the villagers. I had to cut my hair short and remove my nail polish, yet I was still referred to as a city dweller.

Furthermore, several people told me they had never met a person of their tribe who was single and was educated like me. Many villagers thought I was unusual. Some people felt sorry for me that I had missed out on reproductive days of childbirth and was wasting time studying.

Some people wondered why I was studying so much yet I was single woman and had only one child, a girl. This was one of the statements I heard from practically everyone I met: *"Hoonahi mukaziwe, oyine omwana omwe wobuhara, toyine musheija, orikwegyeraki? Oryasigara mubintu byawe inoha? Nangwa muhara waawe kuri aryomwojo. Hoona oyekuratire, shana bakakuroga mukaziwe? (You have one child, a girl, and I wish she was a boy; who will inherit your property when you die; and why are you studying? Maybe you're cursed? You are abnormal"*. I heard such words every day, and they hurt me because I felt unappreciated. These feelings sometimes made me afraid to share my story with these people but using reflexivity principles; I had to speak the truth to achieve my research goals.

Being the only new person in the community at the time, somehow, I regretted sharing my story. Rumors about me spread fast to the extent that I would walk into a place sometimes, and people say, "you're the person we have been hearing and talking about. These assertions demonstrate the participants' cultural embeddedness and adherence to conventional ways of living. To a greater extent, I was offended, embarrassed, and puzzled. However, this explains why most of my respondents are burdened with the severe duties of caring for many children with fewer financial sources. Most are uneducated, which significantly impacts their participation in CBT. As a result, conducting a study among your people as an insider, seeing and interviewing them as if they were your own, offers both advantages and downsides. The advantage of being an insider is that it allows closeness between the researcher and the researched, which is critical in observing and incorporating previously disregarded or unrecognized perspectives into existing theories. This may not be the case if you are an outsider (Bonner & Tolhurst, 2002). My final episode of ethnographic research, also known as the theoretical exploration phase, prompted me to reflect on various things, particularly the social interactions and processes I engaged in while in the field. This phase resulted in interpretive

themes that reflected the participants' world perspectives and placed them within previous studies and theories.

4.9.3 Entry into the community- the study area

I evaluated the study area from 2012 to 2015, when I completed my master's degree and supervised students doing an internship in Bwindi Impenetrable National Park as a university instructor. Following visits to the location because of my master's thesis provided me with the certainty of the presence of lively community-based tourism. Before visiting any villages in Mukono Parish, the gatekeepers (Chairpersons) were presented with an introductory letter from the School of Hotel and Hotel Management, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University. A chairperson is a community member elected to lead a village under the Local Council Institutions (LCIs). Before I contacted the locals in a new village, my field assistant would take me to the Chairperson of the community to obtain permission. The Chairpersons were briefed about the study's purpose and the questions that will be asked of the participants.

I tried hard not to associate with village chairpersons, but most of them would ask me to buy them alcohol. Sometimes I would offer them small tokens as a way of appreciating them to allow interact with their subjects. The chairpersons would want to walk around with me; something I was scared would jeopardize my participants. This is because it was overheard from the locals saying that most locals have had a bad experience with chairpersons on benefit sharing. The locals believe that the chairpersons are blocking them from getting benefits from tourism. I encountered such a scenario during my pilot study. During the fieldwork, I tried as much as possible to avoid the village's local leaders and influential persons. This helped me gain the trust of the locals, and I believe that I obtained factual data from the locals.

4.9.4 Gaining access in the community

On March 15th, at 8:00 a.m., I left the capital for Bwindi, the research location. The journey to the destination took 18:00 hours. Having arrived in Bwindi late at night, I took

everyone by surprise the following day when I awoke from my sleep in search of breakfast in a nearby Nkwenda trading center. This is because the place where I slept is a local accommodation facility that does not provide meals for customers. As I walked into Nkwenda Trading Centre looking for a place to get breakfast, I became the focus of everyone's attention. I could see people talking to one another, others pointing at me and calling others to come out and see, which I counteracted by greeting them in their language.

The greeting in the language did not save me from their gaze but drew them closer to me. I asked a group of men who were standing alongside the road where I could eat, and one of them offered to walk me to a local restaurant where I requested him to have breakfast with me. Surprisingly, this gentleman did not accept the offer but politely asked me to give him the money to go and buy alcohol instead of tea. Although this was not a shock to me that people take alcohol very early in the morning, I was shocked when he told me that he had spent a whole night drinking and the only medicine to cure the hangover was taking the same local gin on an empty stomach.

4.9.5 Establishing rapport and trust building

Establishing rapport during the world's greatest pandemic, where everyone was suspecting everyone was not an easy task for me. As I already mentioned, I was treated as a stranger in all aspects, and I had to look for ways to fit into the community. Moreover, it was the first time Uganda was experiencing a pandemic of that magnitude. While others waited for the pandemic to get less severe to collect data, I went head-on while it was still very severe, and I got all the data I wanted. After securing a simple accommodation in one of the homes, I started building relationships with that family. The family had small rooms that they hired for non-local guides and workers from the park, but due to COVID 19, all the rooms had no occupants since tourists weren't coming in. So, the villagers first took me as a relative of the

family who was there for a short visit. I already had all the names of the villages and set a time to walk to each one of them.

On a typical day, I could wake up at 7:AM, walk to the nearby trading center to buy a few breakfast items, and get used to the shopkeepers. While women are seen early mornings taking different directions with hoes going to the gardens, most men frequent small bars to drink alcohol; others are in small groups interacting in the trading centers. Porters with grey uniforms are detectable almost everywhere as they must report to the park every day by 7:00 AM; UWA workers and their vehicles are also detectable. Although I do not specifically come from Bwindi or Kanungu District, where I conducted my study, my home area, is Kabale District which neighbours Kanungu, and both districts are former parts of Kigezi in South Western Uganda. This means that I was not so much shocked by some of the cultural aspects of Bwindi, like non-native researchers or researchers from other regions.

Even though I share much of the cultural elements with the people of Bwindi, this does not mean I didn't encounter challenges. First, I had to change my appearance and dress code from wearing trousers, removing nail paintings, cutting my hair short, or making local braids. In the eyes of the locals, any woman who wears a trouser with painted nails or make-up is regarded as a prostitute. As much as I tried to abide by all these practices, it took me some time to fit in. On one occasion in the first week, when I attended a burial ceremony, the Reverend kept preaching about women who paint their nails and wear trousers as agents of the devil which made me uncomfortable. Since my nails still had some paint traces, I somehow became a center of attraction. Carrying an umbrella when it was shining was not something the locals were accustomed to, so I sometimes had to endure the sun's heat to fit in.

I had to go to a local market and buy low-quality long or below-the-knee dresses as wearing short skirts is considered a temptation to men. Further, I had to be careful not to mix some *English* words while conversing in *Rukiga, as this would be perceived as pride.* This

was a challenge I got at first because I could hardly speak fluently without one or two English words. I faced a challenge balancing my interactions with the locals because I had to interact with almost everyone so that the participants wouldn't think I was biased. It should be noted that even though I tried to adjust to the typical village life, the locals usually reminded me of how I am an educated woman and gave the impression that I was not part of them. Often, villagers thought of me as a researcher conducting research for the UWA or a scholar sent to spy on NGOs and CBOs.

Language is one of the fundamental tools for conducting ethnographic research (Murchison, 2010). According to Murchison (2010), conversations and interviews depend on a shared language to understand what is being said or told. Getting closer to the locals and talking to them in the Rukiga language helped me develop a friendly relationship with them, and they quickly accepted me. With time, I started to understand their perceptions in various aspects better. Points of interactions included shops, small bars, gardens, church, market, and sometimes walking around to see if I could find new friends, which helped. I must say that small bars and local drinking joints in trading centers were practical avenues for me to learn more about Bwindi because many people gather daily in these trading centers for drinking.

Although mingling with the locals in such places especially the locals, made me feel uncomfortable, I realized that being a part of things they love doing is the best way to gain information. One of the most powerful lessons of ethnography is that the researcher can learn from anyone and anywhere (Murchison, 2010). If an event is open to the public and everyone is invited to participate, you will find it easy to take up the participant role. If participation is enjoyable, including good food or music, and a sense of a hospitable environment, you may also be more inclined to participate. Based on this observation, I found that people in Bwindi are friendly and hospitable only if you respect them and their beliefs. Thus, such interactions and availing myself in popular and public places made me get known quickly and accepted

quickly. Drinking alcohol is treasured in Bwindi, and the people are proud to say that they won an Award from Uganda Breweries as the best drinkers in Western Uganda. Evidence of this is presented in the findings and discussion chapter, where alcoholism was highlighted as one of the negative impacts of tourism in Bwindi.

4.9.6 Participating in everyday activities

Participating in daily activities was a tool that I used to capture the minds of the people. It helped me capture hidden but valuable information that I could not have captured during a typical interview. I often joined people in their gardens for gardening activities; in that time, people would freely open up to me about anything. Some locals stated that they rarely see educated people go to the gardens. Some villagers stated:

> "*We know that educated people don't know how to dig and their work is to seat in office and wait for salary at the end of the month. Why are you suffering climbing these hills even?*" (Casual conversation with locals-2021)

Being part of their daily activities, eating what they eat, eased the tension between me and them. Tea and coffee growing are other avenues that the people of Bwindi engage in for their livelihoods. Every Tuesday of the week, trucks from tea factories collect tea from smallholder farmers. Tea collection points were another avenue I used to get into people's minds.

Figure 4.4: Garden activities

Researcher taking part in garden activities. On the left, I was helping in the garden weeding Cassava, in centre, I was harvesting beans while on the right I was helping in picking tea (Source: Field picture, 2021).

Figure 4.5: Collection Centre for Fresh Tea leaves

On the left, I was helping an elder to pack fresh tea leaves in a sack, in the middle I am helping to carry the sack to the truck and on the left, putting the sack of tea leaves on the track (Source: Researcher-Field photographs-2021)

Although I had a family I used to live with, to get richer experiences, I alternated and transferred from one home to the another, especially in distant places where I could not walk to and from due to distance. Some villages are hard-to-reach areas, but I managed to reach all these environments for a whole experience. Other than participating in garden activities, I engaged in community work such as funeral activities like fetching water and firewood, cooking, staying with the deceased families for vigils, and taking part in burying ceremonies, all of which were essential to being part of the community. Such activities are important in the community and being part of them shows solidarity; a community member who fails to be part of such activities is punished. The pictures below depict burial activities in which I took part.

Figure 4.6: Pre-burial and village activities

On the left, I was part of the women activities preparing for a vigil night, right on the top, I was part of the group going for burial and right bottom, I was fetching water for cooking at a burial ceremony (Source: Field work picture 2021)

I also enrolled to a girl's skills centre where I could spend most of my weekends learning tailoring and weaving of baskets with women and young girls (See Figure 4.7).

Figure 4.7: Training at a girl's empowerment centre

The figure above shows me learning to do tailoring as part of building rapport. On the top left are village women who also enrolled to learn hands-on skills, on the lower left is me making dresses and in the top middle is me putting on a floral dress I made for myself, and on the right top is a dress for sale while the lower right is my dress on display for sale. The figure depicts empowerment programs in Bwindi. (Source-Taken by the Researcher-2021)

Sometimes I visited craft shops and saw how they interact with visitors especially in the month of June and July which is their peak season. I also visited the old people, and the sick, fetching for them water spending some evenings with them. In one of the market days on Saturday, I met an old lady who has inability in speech and hearing, and we became friends, I visited her regularly and she taught me how to weave baskets. Towards the end of my data collection, I also celebrated my birthday on 24th of July with the children in one of the poorest communities and cut a cake with them which was their first time to eat a cake in their lives.

On the 27th of July 2021, World Rangers Day, I participated in cleaning up the Buhoma trading center. I also donated blood on the same day to save the lives of vulnerable people in

Bwindi. All these experiences made me feel part of the community I navigated through the entire data collection period. Moreover, living with fragile collectives in their homes made me gain much deeper insights missed out from the interviews. Things happened naturally in the confines of their homes. I was called their daughter, aunt, or Madam in some homes. The disadvantage I found with active participation in activities is that I had to ensure that I get everything in my head so that conversation could flow naturally. I jotted down everything in my notebook in the evening or before I slept. During data analysis, when I needed more clarifications or follow-ups from my informants, I could contact my friends who have phones to help me reach out to them. These interactions did not only stop at having friends but also cemented trust between me and the fragile collectives. Through interactions and active involvement with fragile collectives in their daily lives, I made new friends, and by the time I left Bwindi, I had created a pool of friends with who I am in touch with up to today.

My prolonged stay with communities in Bwindi and the personal engagement I had with fragile collectives contributed much to the success of my ethnographic journey. Henceforth, the unique experience I had with the fragile collectives was a pathway for me to understand the realities that exist out there and to a new understanding of the fragile collectives' participation in CBT. My daily interactions and participation in their livelihood pursuits, attending church services before churches were closed because of COVID-19, attending burial ceremonies, visiting the sick and the elderly, and taking part in corporate social responsibilities earned my trust in the eyes of the fragile collectives. By the time I left Bwindi, I had acquired titles such as "*Professor*, "*an ever-smiling woman,*" "*hardworking, and a person of people*" All these encounters resulted in a high degree of trust, friendship, and openness. I was assured that fragile collectives had faith in me when they opened freely in sharing their thoughts to the extent that most of them requested me to put their pictures in my book and their names.

However, due to ethical considerations, this thesis uses *pseudo names* to present the fragile collectives' thoughts.

4.10 Data collection

I began conducting interviews in May 2021. The months of March and May were periods of gaining access to most villages and creating rapport. The data collection process took 18 weeks, from Mid-March 2021 to 31st of July 2021. Participant observation and active involvement in any community activity I could see or hear of were part of my daily life. This helped me gain access to the community and the trust of community members. I was not so quick to start conducting interviews until I got answers to some of my questions in free interactions with the locals. I did not have a schedule for the interview, but I was always alert and ready with my gadgets, longing for an opportunity to avail myself. After establishing rapport with the locals, they started opening up to me which prompted me begin conducting interviews myself.

To ensure the confidentiality and privacy of the study participants, pseudo names were used. Study participants were recruited using purposive and convenient sampling techniques based on the trust and mutual relationships established between the researcher and the participants. For instance, I visited many homes and participated in their daily activities like gardening, cooking, and community activities like burial ceremonies and church services. Apart from one local whom, I was interviewing, in the middle of the interview, he stopped talking and requested me to stop recording him that he was uncomfortable, the rest of the study participants were okay with me recording them and taking pictures. When I tried to follow up and find out what caused him to behave that way, I was told he had had mental issues, so I nullified his interview and removed him from the participants.

Ethically, before any interview commenced, I could explain the study's rationale and the themes explored in the discussion. To my surprise, some participants could even start

answering the questions before I even started asking or set my audio to record, which showed me enthusiasm and the willingness of the participants to participate in my study. Although I did not follow a systematic order of my questions, I ensured that all questions were answered. In some situations where I found some questions unanswered, I could go back the next day or any other time I meet the participant and ask again. Listening to the audio after the interview in the evening helped me discover such discrepancies. I conducted interviews wherever I could get an opportunity, but most of the interviews took place in participants' homes or gardens as depicted in Figure 4.7. I used every venue that seemed convenient for the participants and me to conduct the interviews. Alongside audio-recording, I sometimes took notes on some important phrases but listening to the participants was 100 % utilized. During the interview, some participants could divert from the main themes, but I made sure to control the diversion by bringing back the conversion to the main themes discreetly.

Figure 4.8: Conducting Interviews

The figure above shows me conducting interviews and interactions with the respondents. Fifty-five (55) fragile collectives engaged in direct, indirect, and no participation in income-generating activities were interviewed. The interview lasted between 45 minutes and 2 hours (Source: Authors compilation-2021).

However, flexibility and allowing my participants to discuss freely provided an opportunity to get more valuable insight into the study. The probing technique was part of the

interview process which helped me to get more information. Each interview ended with closing remarks where I could thank the interviewee for their time and valuable information and asked if there was any other thing, they wanted to share with me. I also emphasized and reassured them that their responses would be confidential.

For the observation aspect of the data collection, I consciously patronized village walk activities, tourism enterprises like craft shops, retail shops, bars and restaurants, gorilla trekking and skills training centers, Uganda Wildlife Authority offices, especially the visitor information center, the Batwa settlements to obtain information on the nature of their operations. Throughout the entire data collection period, I stayed in people's homes apart from the first four days when I stayed in a guest house. The villages are scattered, and to create rapport, I could not go to a village once, and I got potential participants to interview. There was a family near UWA offices where I could go to charge my gadgets over the weekend to take me throughout the week. However, I had this one family, which I call my central family, where I stayed most of the time. This family rented me a room at a low price compared to accommodation facilities in Bwindi, and at least they had a solar though it was weak, they could charge my phone only.

4.11 Data processing and management

I created an inventory for data management and analysis and defined vital phrases, terms, and practices unique to fragile collectives using codes/ themes or categories. This was based on space, people, and activities. For instance, in the space or physical environment, I focused on people who were famous in CBT space and engaged in various activities, among others. I concentrated on interaction behaviors, dress codes, and the activities in which fragile collectives were engaged. This helped me differentiate between different forms of participation meant for fragile collectives. Although I was flexible in capturing and recording the collected data, I utilized the evenings to recollect all the data that would have happened during the day

and write them into my diary. I would also do personal reflections immediately after every interview and discussion when the memory was still fresh. This helped me to draw categories or themes out of the data collected. The whole process was guided by simultaneous ongoing data analysis and reflection.

Data from the interviews, informal discussions, observations, reflections, photographs and voice recordings were all compiled. All the data were gathered for transcription to identify categories and assign codes to determine emergent themes. I used my phone, laptop, and recorder to store my data. For backup purposes, I emailed all the recorded files to myself, including the transcribed versions. All interviews were transcribed verbatim. To avoid losing the meaning of the original data, I transcribed all the data in local language then to English. Consistent review of the research questions and looking out for relationships guided the process until I could find answers to the questions. This led to knowledge contribution and theory development, as depicted in Figure 4.8. I consistently practiced the iterative cycles of reflection throughout the data collection process to writing the findings. All collected data was processed and analyzed using Nvivo Software, although I could sometimes do manual coding too. Figure 4.8 represents researcher's data management and analysis.

Figure 4.9: Data management process

Source: Researcher's compilation-2021

120
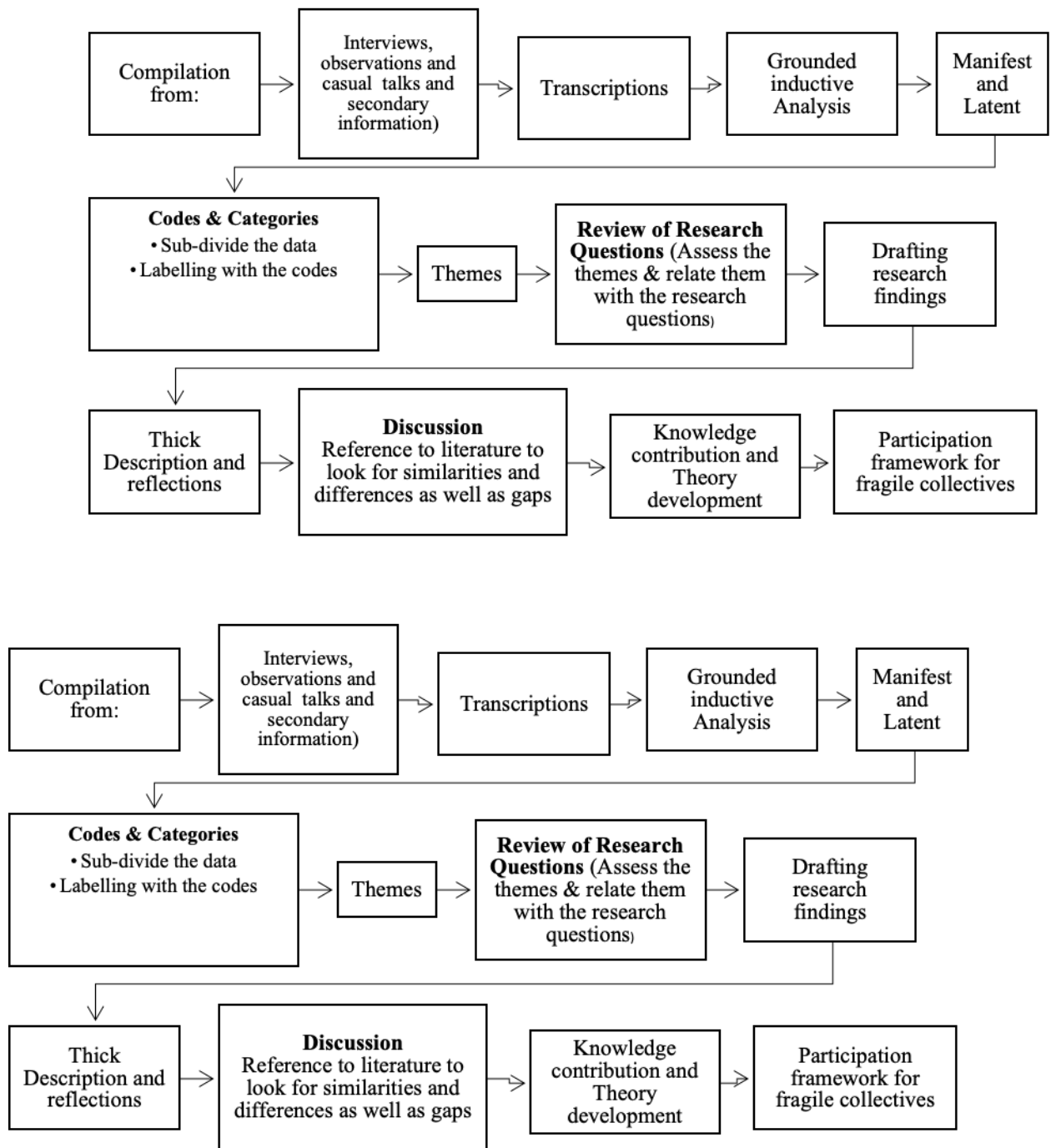
4.11.1 Grounded theory analysis and coding strategy

Ethnography approaches and grounded theory analysis were employed to inductively get a deeper understanding and interpretation of participation of fragile collectives in CBT as it occurs. Charmaz (2014) noted that qualitative research is an iterative process through data collection and analysis. The author emphasizes that researchers should aim at developing inductive abstract analytic categories through systematic data analysis. Based on Charmaz (2014) assertion, ethnography approaches and grounded theory analysis were used in this study to build a theoretical model of fragile collective participation in CBT. This is because there exist no studies that have operationalized participation framework for fragile collectives in the context of CBT. Application of these methodological approaches enabled the researcher to capture prevalent community dynamics, different realities, experiences, interpretations in the context of participation in CBT. Besides, the role of a researcher is to extend scholarship boundaries by giving the voiceless a voice in advocacy and activism (Sailor, 2010; Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). In relation to this, the first author of this study is a single woman raised in similar backgrounds as fragile collectives. She positions herself in this study to bring out the independent minds the fragile collectives and also the unsung heroes in the community in the tourism development discourse.

Considering that this study is embedded in social constructivism as a paradigm, inductive content data analysis was used to attach meanings from interviews, observations, documents, and other qualitative information (Lincoln, 1985). This was based on critical issues experienced and patterns that arose from multiple responses (Hyde, 2000). According to Holsti (1969), inductive data analysis is associated with content analysis that involves the unitization and categorization of data. Categorization consists of the organization of unitized data into categories that enables the researcher to describe information about the context from which

data was derived. Based on these assertions, I used both processes from the initial stages of passive participation up to the last step when I left the field. I categorized and analyzed data from initial observations and reflections in the initial stages. Inductive content analysis is used when there is scanty previous knowledge about the phenomena or if the obtainable knowledge is dispersed (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). This study used inductive content analysis due to the lack of previous information about the participation of fragile collectives in CBT development activities.

To capture and honor the voices of the fragile collectives, NVivo coding was used. In NVivo coding, participants' direct language is captured in the form of codes rather than the researcher-generated words (Saldaña, 2021). To become familiar with the data, I read through the transcript many times as I generated direct codes from the participant's phrases. After getting acquainted with the data, I developed initial codes from the participant's expressions, followed by searching for patterns and themes. However, the process is iterative, at some point, I could combine first and second cycle coding simultaneously. Consequently, the study employs the content analysis technique due to its remarkable similarities with inductive data analysis (Lincoln, 1985). Previous studies have used such data analysis methods and recommend them as an effective and appropriate method of analyzing qualitative data (Cohen, 2011, Paiva, 2008 &Walters, 2016).

Data analysis in qualitative research is synchronous with data collection (Miles et al., 2018). Based on this, I did the initial analysis of the data during my fieldwork to identify the evolving issues. Nevertheless, transcribing data was time-consuming and involving, so I partially transcribed the interviews during data collection. I familiarized myself with the data by listening to the interviews over and over again. Self-reflection and observational notes were part of the whole process. This helped me come up with a summary for each discussion that enabled me to identify key themes and emerging issues. Consequently, grounded theory

analysis helped me to explore the underlying issues from multiple realities. Ultimately, data was interpreted based on my reflections and observations, and was reported from an emic perspective with verbatim quotes. Data was filtered through the researcher's etic perspective to come up with an overall interpretation of the phenomenon.

4.11.2 Stages in coding and saturation point

Data analysis was done in three stages. In stage one, initial coding was involved, which I carried out after getting fully familiarized with the content through repetitive reading and reviewing transcribed data. In this phase, I developed various codes and labels. Stage two involved focused coding about research objectives. This furthered into theoretical analysis that involved searching for patterns within the data and assigning categories and subcategories. Stage 3 involved theoretical coding where five categories emerged, each with sub-categories. This was achieved by grouping related categories based on the research objectives, ultimately leading to theory development. Regarding saturation, I continued coding until I reached data saturation, where no new codes or patterns emerged from the data. For data collection, saturation was obtained when I assessed that I had a complete understanding of each fragile collective perspective, and no new information was being obtained from respondents.

4.12 Methodological rigor/ trustworthiness

In qualitative research, validity and reliability issues are captured under methodological rigor/ trustworthiness. This is because qualitative research faces criticism due to the lack of scientific rigor. After all, the researcher is usually part of the instrument that engages participants (Noble & Smith, 2015). Whereas validation in quantitative research focuses on the ability of the study to come up with findings that follow theories and concepts employed (Sarantakos, 1998, p.78), in qualitative research, it is regarded as trustworthiness and authenticity (Creswell & Poth, 2016; Lincoln & Guba, 1986). Regarding reliability, Creswell and Poth (2016) define it as the stability of responses to multiple coders of data sets. In

quantitative research, consistency is emphasized to ensure the reliability of findings (Fraenkel, Wallen & Hyun, 2012). However, qualitative reliability shows that researchers consistently apply inappropriate research approaches and behavior to different projects (Gibbs, 2007 as cited in Creswell, 2009). In this study, the criteria of trustworthiness suggested by Guba (1981) were adopted. Guba and Lincoln (1981) suggest four significant concerns relating to reliability: actual value, applicability, consistency, and neutrality. Trustworthy data requires data credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability, as shown in Table 4.4

Table 4.4: Techniques of ensuring validity and reliability in this study

Scientific term	Naturalistic term	Techniques
Internal validity	Credibility	**Prolonged engagement** -I immersed myself in the community for a long time to get into the roots of issues and dynamics of CBT in the area. Alongside persistent observations
		Triangulation- Apart from focus group discussions, I employed all ethnographic approaches e.g., in-depth interviews, conversations, personal observations, secondary sources, and literature search methods for data collection.
		Member checks
		I was not able to apply members apply because it was not practically possible due to time constraints and a larger sample.
		Although I did initial data analysis while in the field, these results were inconclusive enough to contact the respondents for validation. However, I made sure that during the interviews and interactions, I reminded the fragile collectives of the purpose of the study at the end of each interview and repeated important aspects for clarification. For example, before I concluded an interview, I could state that:
		"*Before we conclude, you said that; I want you to confirm this; did you say that;*" then I could gracefully end the interview by thanking the respondent and clarifying all the essential aspects. To ensure this, I transcribed verbatim, and during data analysis, I presented and reported data from fragile collectives' perspectives.
		Peer debriefing
		I used three peer debriefers. One is a senior lecturer at Kyambogo University, Uganda; the others are Ph.D. and DHTM students at The Hong Kong Polytechnic University. I consulted them throughout the whole study process.

Scientific term	Naturalistic term	Techniques
		They helped me examine my data transcripts, methodology, and themes. They helped provide me with feedback from another perspective.
External validity Generalizability	Transferability	**Thick description** Thick description through describing in detail the themes of the study was utilized. I employed this procedure to inform the readers who are not well versed with fragile collective participation in CBT in the context of Uganda. The current study has given a detailed prescription of the social setting and the research participants and presented their unpacked views during the interviews.
Objectivity	Confirmability	I validated the findings, interpretations and recommendations with the data collected.

Source: Adopted from Guba 1981

4.13 Ethical issues

The following ethical issues were observed to respect people's privacy and their rights. Being allowed to collect data from the selected communities is an essential ethical consideration (Saunders et al., 2012).

4.13.1 Community entry

To access the selected community, permission was sought from the chairpersons of villages called Local councils (LCs). The LCs were informed about my presence in the area, the purpose of my study, and its implication. Traditionally, Local Councils in Uganda at the village level are respected people in the community, and the researcher contacted them before any research activity was carried out. All these procedures were done before the commencement of the data collection. This is because they are the most influential and people in the community and have the right to stop any stranger in their village. The village chairpersons were cooperative, although some could ask me for some small money to buy alcohol.

4.13.2 Informed consent

Respecting participants' rights and informing them about the purpose of the study is vital in research (Leary, 2001). This helps the participants to decide whether they want to participate in the investigation or not (Saunders et al., 2012). The present study obtained consent from fragile collectives verbally in their local dialects. Study participants were briefed about the purpose and their role in the study. All this was communicated in Rukiga, the local dialect, and no participant engaged in this study without their consent. I got two cases where one just declined to talk while we were in the middle of an interview and left me while another requested me not to record her or even write anything. I respected her choice, and we interacted casually, although I did not get many details. I discarded those two cases and did not include them in this study.

4.13.3 Anonymity

Babbie (2007) states that anonymity is perceived in a study when identification is made impossible. It ensures that the respondent's name does not appear on the research instrument (Sarantakos, 2005, p. 21). Although most of the respondents wanted their real names to appear in my thesis, I have made sure that in this thesis, all participants' identities are protected, and that the respondents were informed about it. I have used pseudonyms/codes to replace their actual names, especially in the presentation of findings. This was achieved by masking the respondents' names and the specific work they do.

4.13.4 Confidentiality

Respecting participants' identities and avoiding disclosing information to other parties without their permission is ethical (Sarantakos, 2005; Babbie, 2007). To achieve this, all participants' data were strictly used for the projected purpose. I assured respondents, that all the information obtained would be used for academic purposes only. Moreover, before conducting any interview and taking any photos, the purpose of the study was explained to the

local leaders, elders and participants. Besides, consent was sought from the respondents and all the 55 fragile collectives including other members of the community accepted to participate in the study without coercion.

4.13.5 Privacy

Privacy concerns the extent to which personal information should be disclosed to others (Sarantakos, 2005; Saunders et al., 2012). The study's objectives guided the extent to which the respondents' private lives were encroached on. This was done by ensuring that participants ' personal lives were not intruded into nor disclosed to other people. Additionally, I refrained from sensitive questions so that respondents were comfortable giving accurate responses. Efforts to protect the privacy of all participants were adhered to. I did not force participants to answer questions that they were not pleased with. Interestingly, respondents were willing to share even beyond what I could ask, especially more in the concluding parts, where I could ask them if there were anything they would like to share with me that we had not covered in the interview. I sought permission from the Local Chairpersons and local elders of the area to conduct the study. All the respondents agreed that I should use their photos not in presentations only but also in the presentation of the results.

4.13.6 Honesty and transparency

I ensured that the findings were reported per the collected data. There is no dishonesty data in this study. The research output is according to what I gathered from the respondents. I consistently took responsibility for sticking to what the data was telling me.

4.14 Chapter summary

This chapter has provided an account of the methodological perspectives of this research. The underpinning paradigm of the study (social constructivism) and the approach (ethnography) have been presented. Primarily social constructivism and ethnography are used to gain an in-depth and deeper understanding of the fragile collectives 'participation in CBT,

factors that enable them to participate or hinder them from participation, solutions for the barriers identified, and economic benefits of CBT derived from participation. Participant observation, in-depth interviews, and secondary data sources employed as the data-gathering methods have been elaborated. The selection criteria procedure (purposive sampling) has been discussed. The stages of data collection procedures have been provided. Reflexivity, establishing rapport and trust building have been elaborated. Consequently, content analysis and identification of employed themes have been presented. The chapter has also discussed the trustworthiness and credibility of data. Finally, the ethical considerations relating to this research have been addressed.

5.0 CHAPTER FIVE: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is comprised of six sections. Section one presents findings on the socio-demographic profiles of fragile collectives involved in this study. This section also presents the nine categories of fragile collectives and their identities identified among the 55 fragile collectives involved in this study. The socio-demographic profiles include gender, age, level of education, marital status, number of children, income, and occupation. Eleven types of fragilities such as being a woman, landlessness, chronic diseases, single parenthood, abandonment, elderly, minority, widowed, domestic violence, disability and orphaned are reported. Out of these eleven forms, nine categories of fragile collectives were identified. These include women, landlessness, people with chronic diseases, single parents, the abandoned, victims of domestic violence, people with disabilities, elderly and the Batwa (Aboriginals). Based on the purpose of this study, it is vital to understand the socio-demographic profiles of fragile collectives and their characteristics to get a holistic view of who the fragile collectives are and what makes them fragile. Besides, categorization of fragile collectives is helpful in identifying similar patterns amongst themselves and how these patterns shape their participation in CBT.

Section two of this chapter presents results for question one of this study: *What are the fragile collectives' forms of participation in CBT?* This section reports findings on the different forms of participation that fragile collectives engage in. The forms presented are direct, indirect and no participations. This section also presents how fragile collectives understand participation in CBT and the different aspirations for participating in CBT. Section three presents findings on question two of this study: *What are the benefits derived from the different*

129

forms of participation? The participation benefits presented are in form of positive economic benefits (PEB), positive non-economic benefits (PNEB) and negative benefits (NB) . Section four reports findings on the third question of this study : *What are the enablers to participation in CBT?* This section presents human, financial, social, natural, physical and cultural livelihood capitals as key enablers to participation in CBT.

Section five of this chapter presents findings on the fourth question of this study: *What are the barriers to participation in CBT?* The barriers presented are in form of internal and external barriers to participation in CBT. The last section of this chapter presents findings of the fifth question of this study: *What are the solutions to the identified barriers to participation?* The solutions reported are in form of strategies and copying mechanisms to the identified barriers to participation. Chapter summary concludes this chapter.

5.2 Socio-demographic profiles of fragile collectives

5.2.1 Gender

Table 5.1 presents the social demographic profiles of 55 fragile collectives covered under this study. Of the 55 fragile collectives, twenty-nine (29) were female while twenty-six (26) males.

5.2.2 Age

Their age ranged between 25 and 85 years, with the highest age category falling between 36 and 45 years.

5.2.3 Level of education

Eighteen fragile collectives had never been to school; twenty-eight had acquired between primary one and primary seven education, five had obtained a secondary education, three had received education at a diploma level, while one had attained the highest qualification at university level. In Uganda's education system, such qualification is obtained after 16 years

of formal education. It entails seven years of primary education, four years of secondary education (Ordinary level), two years of higher secondary education (Advanced Level), and between 3 to 5 years of university education, depending on the course one takes. Fragile collectives who had never been to school and those who dropped out of school at different levels mentioned lack of fees and negative beliefs held by their parents that education had no value. One female fragile collective whose parents preferred educating boys had this to say:

"In our olden days, we could not go to school. Our parents did not care about educating a girl child. Educating a girl child was not a priority. All my brothers went to school, but for the six of us, our work was helping in the garden and ensuring that we did not miss out on any season, and everything was done by the girls at home while the boys were at school",

(SP3, a 45-year-old, bar owner and operator)

5.2.4 Marital status

Twenty-six fragile collectives were married, eight were widowed, nine were married but abandoned by their spouses, seven were separated/ divorced, and five had never been married.

5.2.5 Number of children

Thirty fragile collectives reported between 1 to 5 children, eighteen fragile collectives reported between 6 to 10 children, two fragile collectives mentioned between 11 to 13 children, and five fragile collectives had never produced any child. Important to note is that the participants who reported the highest number of children were older adults of 65 years and above, apart from two fragile collectives with a few exceptions who said more than ten children, were at the ages of 36 and 45 respectively.

Table 5.1: Profile of fragile collectives

ID	Occupation	Gender	Age	Education	Income (UGX)	Income (USD)	Marital Status	Children	Type of fragility	Forms of Participation		
										DP	IP	NP
CI: Craft Industry -Craft making and selling (n=12)												
CI1	Artist	M	25	Tertiary	> 100000	> 28.42	Single	n/a	Orphan/landless	✓		
CI2	Wood carver	M	36	Secondary	> 100000	> 28.42	Single	n/a	PWCD	✓		
CI3	Wood carver	M	25	Secondary	50000-7000	14.21-19.89	Married	1	Abandonment	✓		
CI4	Wood carver	M	39	Primary	10000-20000	2.84-5.68	Married	5	Landless	✓		
CI5	Wood carver	M	37	Primary	20000-50000	5.68-14.21	Married	4	Landless	✓		
CI6	Wood carver	M	26	Primary	10000-20000	2.84-5.68	Married	1	Landless	✓		
CI7	Basket weaver	F	36	Secondary	> 100000	>28.42	Divorced	1	Single mother	✓		
CI8	Basket weaver	F	70	Primary	> 300000	>83.53	Married	9	Elderly	✓		
CI9	Basket weaver	F	68	None	< 50000	<14.21	Married	1	Widow	✓		
CI10	Basket weaver	F	45	None	20000-50000	5.68-14.21	Married	6	Domestic violence	✓		
CI11	Basket weaver	M	56	Secondary	20000-50000	5.68-14.21	Married	6	Domestic violence	✓		
CI12	Craft entrepreneur	M	29	Tertiary	> 400000	>113.68	Single	1	Orphan/ single father	✓		
SP: Service Provider -Accommodation, Food and Beverage and Retail services (n=8)												
SP1	Campsite owner	F	56	Primary	> 400000	>142.10	Married	2	Widow/HIV/AIDS	✓		
SP2	Bar owner / operator	F	46	None	20000-50000	5.68-14.21	Married	4	Widow/landless		✓	
SP3	Bar owner / operator	F	45	None	-	-	Divorced	7	landless		✓	
SP4	Bar owner / operator	F	39	Primary	20000-30000	5.68-8.53	Single	3	Single mother		✓	

ID	Occupation	Gender	Age	Education	Income (UGX)	Income (USD)	Marital Status	Children	Type of fragility	Forms of Participation		
										DP	IP	NP
SP5	Restaurant owner / operator	F	57	Primary	50000-70000	5.68-8.53	Divorced	8	HIV/AIDS		✓	
SP6	Bar & grocery owner	F	27	Primary	5000-10000	1.42-2.84	Married	1	Abandonment		✓	
SP7	Bar & grocery owner	F	36	Secondary	10000-20000	2.84-5.68	Married	5	Abandonment		✓	
SP8	Grocery kiosk owner & operator	F	76	None	5000-10000	1.42-2.84	Married	9	Domestic violence		✓	
VW: Village Walk – Story telling, performances and demonstrations (n=5)												
VW1	Storyteller & cultural demonstrations	F	39	Tertiary	> 500000	142.49	Married	4	Domestic violence	✓		
VW2	Storyteller & cultural demonstrations	M	83	None	> 500000	10.00-50.00	Married	11	Elderly and sickly	✓		
VW3	Coffee and banana brewer	M	58	Primary	50000-100000	14.25-28.50	Married	6	Domestic violence / Mental illness/disability	✓		
VW4	Banana Brewer	M	50	Primary	20000-50000	5.70-14.24	Married	6	PWCD	✓		
VW5	Village guide	M	39	Secondary	300000-50000	25.00	Married	5	Domestic violence	✓		
LP: Linkage activities- Supply of fresh produce to tourism establishments and to locals, construction materials and other related services (n=5)												
LA1	Fresh produce supplier	M	36	University	50000-100000	14.25-28.50	Married	2	Disability-one eye		✓	
LA2	Fresh produce supplier	M	65	Primary	20000-30000	7.12-14.25	Married	6	Elderly and disability		✓	
LA3	Car washer	M	27	None	10000-20000	2.84-14.25	Single	n/a	Abandonment/landless		✓	

ID	Occupation	Gender	Age	Education	Income (UGX)	Income (USD)	Marital Status	Children	Type of fragility	Forms of Participation		
										DP	IP	NP
LA4	Stone crusher (RIP)	F	36	Primary	40000-50000 per truck	11.14-13.93	Divorced	1	Single mother/landless		✓	
LA5	Stone crusher	M	74	Primary	50000-70000 per truck	13.93-19.50	Married	3	Disability/landless		✓	
AS: Auxiliary services- Financial services and other support services (n=3)												
AS1	Mobile money attendant	F	32	Secondary	Monthly10000	28.49	Single	1	Disability		✓	
AS2	Bicycle mechanic	F	37	Primary	Monthly10000	28.49	Married	3	Widow- HIV/AIDS		✓	
AS3	Shoe repair man	M	40	None	5000 -10000	1.42-2.84	Divorced	3	HIV/AIDS		✓	
MN: No participation (n=10)												
MN1	Small holder farmer	M	61	Primary	None	None	Married	8	Disability			✓
MN2	Small holder farmer	M	74	Primary	None	None	Married	10	Widower/Disability			✓
MN3	Small holder farmer	F	55	None	None	None	Married	8	Widow/ HIV/landless			✓
MN4	Occasional laborer	F	32	Primary	< 5000	1.42	Married	3	Abandonment/landless			✓
MN5	Small holder farmer	F	44	Primary	< 5000	<1.42	Married	5	Abandonment			✓
MN6	Small holder farmer	F	39	Primary	< 5000	<1.42	Married	5	Abandonment			✓
MN7	Landless	M	68	None	None	None	Married	7	Landless			✓
MN8	Small holder farmer	F	45	None	< 5000	<1.42	Married	4	Abandonment			✓
MN9	Casual laborer	F	31	Primary	< 5000	<1.42	Married	2	Widow/landless			✓
MN10	Casual laborer	F	26	Primary	< 5000	<1.42	Married	3	Abandonment			✓

ID	Occupation	Gender	Age	Education	Income (UGX)	Income (USD)	Marital Status	Children	Type of fragility	Forms of Participation		
										DP	IP	NP
BP: Batwa participation activities- Selling of crafts and dancing for the visitors and others (n=9)												
BP1	Dancer & guide	M	48	None	10,000p/perform	0.85-2.85	Married	7	Minority	✓		
BP2	Dancer & guitarist	M	85	None	8000 p/perform	0.85-2.28	Married	n/a	Minority	✓		
BP3	Dancer & guide	M	50	None	10000p/perform	0.85-2.85	Married	9	Minority	✓		
BP4	Volunteer	F	25	Tertiary	Monthly100000	28.49	Single	n/a	Minority		✓	
BP5	Dancer & craft seller	F	30	Primary	8000 p/perform	2.23	Married	4	Minority/PWCD	✓		
BP6	Dancer	F	45	Primary	3000-5000	0.85-2.28	Married	13	Minority/ Widow/ HIV	✓		
BP7	Dancer & craft seller	F	28	Primary	8000 p/round	2.23	Married	3	Minority/ PWCD	✓		
BP8	Porter	M	36	Primary	50000 p/perform	14.25	Married	10	Minority / Abandonment	✓		
BP9	Charcoal supplier	M	50	None	10000-20000	2.85-5.70	Married	6	Minority		✓	
CE: Formal Employment (n=3)												
FE1	Cleaner	M	55	None	Monthly100000	28.50	Married	4	Disability	✓		
FE2	Basket weaver	F	42	None	Daily 5000	Daily 1.42	Married	7	Domestic violence/HIV	✓		
FE3	Crafts tailor	F	61	None	Daily 5000	Daily 1.42	Married	6	PWCD	✓		

(Source: Authors compilation, 2021)

Notes: *Fragility:* a condition that makes fragile collectives marginalized and vulnerable

1 USD = 3,592.47 Ugandan shillings.

Forms of Participation: Direct Participation (DP), Indirect Participation (I), and No Participation (NP)

135

PWCD: People with Chronic Diseases, PWD: People With Disabilities, HIV: Human Immunodeficiency Virus

5.2.6 Income

Of the 55 fragile collectives, twenty-seven fragile collectives identified themselves as low-income earners and reported incomes below 1.90 US dollars a day or/and income between 1.90 US dollars to 3.20 US dollars a day. In comparison, twenty-three fragile collectives reported revenues between 3.20 US dollars and 5.50 US dollars or /and above while five fragile collectives mentioned that they cannot meet their immediate needs and cannot even afford three meals a day. They also mentioned the lack of necessities of life such as lack of food, soap, salt, and other household essential items like lack of chairs, plates among others.

Figure 5.1: Village life

Figure 5.1 depicts a typical example of village life of the rural poor. On the left, I am welcomed by a 68-year-old woman in her home. This lady has speaking and hearing difficulties and was abandoned by her husband because of her condition. On the right, she serves me a meal in an old saucepan.

*(*Source*: Researcher's compilation, 2021)*

The above picture represents village life in Bwindi, which also depicts rural poverty. Traditionally, the Bakiga, the dominant tribe in Bwindi village, are hospitable people; their hospitality is shown best in the presence of a visitor. When a visitor is received in a home, the

best meal is prepared and served on the best platter. Practically, the fragile collective shown in Figure 5.1 did not have a plate in her house to serve me with food but used the same saucepan that cooked the food as a platter.

5.2.7 Occupation

Their occupations varied and covered different areas: Twelve fragile collectives were dealing in craft making, eight in accommodation, food, beverage, and retail operations, five in village walk activities, five in auxiliary services, nine in Batwa entertainment participation activities, and three were employed in different tourism facilities. In comparison, ten fragile collectives reported no or marginal participation activities. Having presented the socio-demographic profiles of fragile collectives, the next section presents fragile collectives and their identities.

5.3 Fragile collectives and their identities

This study covers 55 fragile collectives identified as *"sub-groups of the community identified as marginalized, vulnerable and minority because of their identity as women, people with disabilities (PWDs) and chronic diseases elderly, widows and widowers victims of domestic violence, single parents, abandoned couples, landlessness and the Batwa (Aboriginals).* Because of their proximity to Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, they continue to bear the consequences of conservation initiatives and tourism development in their area (Ahebwa, 2013). Despite the benefits associated with tourism, most locals surrounding BINP continue to languish in poverty (Tumusiime et al., 2018). Based on interviews, conversations, and personal observations, eleven categories of fragile collectives were identified among 55 fragile collectives involved in this study, as presented in Table 5.2. Noted from observations and interviews conducted, fragile collectives in this study were identified and distinguished with multiple identities. A detailed description of these categories and various identities is given in the following subsections.

Table 5.2: Categories of fragile collectives

No	Type of fragility	No of fragile collectives
1	Women	29
2	Landlessness	13
3	Chronic diseases +HIV/AIDS	12
4	Single parenthood	12
5	Abandonment	11
6	Elderly	11
7	Minority/ Aboriginal/ Batwa	09
8	Widows and widowers	08
9	Domestic violence	07
10	Disability	06
11	Orphaned	02

Source: Compilations from interviews and observations by the Researcher-2021

5.3.1 Women

Women fragile collectives form the largest category of this study. In this study, women are accorded special attention because of their multiple fragilities. Six categories of women fragile collectives were identified: eight married women, eight widows, six married women but abandoned by their spouses, four women who separated from their husbands, one woman who never married but has children, and one young lady who is not yet married.

5.3.1.1 Married women

Eight women identified themselves as married women. All women in this category reported different types of fragilities. Most women fragile collectives had experiences of domestic violence because of the abusive behaviors of their husbands. They mentioned alcohol as a significant cause of their husbands' abusive behaviors. It is well known that in Uganda, it is normal and okay for a man to drink alcohol every day but abnormal and indiscipline for a woman. From my discussions with them, they all blamed alcohol as a source of their suffering. Some women condemned their husband's heavy drinking as a spiritual disease or a curse from their ancestors.

Other women blamed tourism as a source of all the evils. They reported that, on the onset of tourism, their husbands started getting money either through selling property to investors or agricultural produce to the campsites or as workers in the camps. For those whose

139

marriages have been bitter, they started undergoing victimization a few years into their marriages, and they blame the alcoholic behaviors of their husbands for shaping their victimization experience. Alcoholism led to women's victimization in different ways. For instance, some women would be abused in situations where they denied their partners from selling family resources to buy more alcohol.

Other women would be blamed for not conceiving fast in the first few years of their marriage, for producing girls only, or for failing to make more children. The rest of the women whose partners had daily drinking habits also experienced daily abuses. Moreover, other women reported that their husbands would come in the night while drunk and demand hot meals, yet it was impossible to provide hot food due to the lack of modern cooking and storage facilities. It was noted from the conversation with these women that their husbands became abusive because of being heavily intoxicated with alcoholic drinks. For instance, a 42-year-old woman and a mother of five had this to say:

I have this small job I do as a basket weaver. The money I am paid here is not enough for me to feed five children and cater to other home needs. My husband makes charcoal but spends all his money drinking with his mistresses; when I complain, we fight. He will beat me when he comes home very drunk and finds little food or does not find food in the house. Similarly, when I find him with his mistresses, he turns shame into anger and beats me. Three weeks ago, he beat me up almost to death. He wanted to cut me with a panga, I had to run for my rescue at my mother- in-law's home (FE2: a 42-year-old basket weaver)

SP6, a mother of a disabled child, reported that her husband is a drunkard, and before he abandoned her because of her child's condition, they could fight almost every day. When I asked SP6 the reason for their fighting every day, she had this to say:

He beats me every day because I have refused to produce for him another child, yet my child is still young. My child's condition is worrisome; he's now two years old but cannot sit, walk or stand. Recently, he also fought me because I got my savings of 34.04 US dollars from a women's group and bought a mattress. When he came and found a mattress on the bed, he threw it out, He argued that I wasted money on a mattress, claiming I should have given him the money to plan for it. He calls me a misfortune in his life.

(SP6: a 27-year-old bar and grocery operator)

In this category of women, it was noted that fighting with their spouses almost every day was a result of their spouses being drunkards, having extramarital sexual affairs, and failing to provide essential items like salt, soap, and other necessities. All women reported too much alcohol consumption and the failure of their husbands to take responsibility as family heads as sources of conflicts in their homes.

5.3.1.2 Widows

This study found a high proportion of widows (8) than widowers (1). Their age range was between 31 years to 68 years. Observable in this category were hardships associated with their marital life after their husband's death. Whereas it is easier for widowers to continue with their marital life with other wives because of polygamy in Uganda or remarry immediately after their wives' death, widows' marital life is quite different (Ntozi, 1997). Apart from CI9, the other widows reported being involved in hidden or secret relationships for various reasons. For instance, some widows mentioned that they were forced to acquire sexual partners in search of financial, physical, and psychological support. Most widows had many children, and five of them mentioned that they were forced to look for sexual partners to help them raise the children.

It was noted that apart from MN9, a 31-year-old who was cohabiting with a married man, the rest were engaged in secret relationships due to fear of being attacked by the wives of their secret lovers and being blamed by their in-laws and the community at large. Concerning this submission, several issues related to stigmatization and victimization emerged from this

141

category, such as harassment, rejection, loneliness, discrimination, and forceful deprivation of property rights. CI9, a 68-year-old who lost her husband eighteen years ago, mentioned that loneliness and missing her husband was major central issue in her life.

All the other widows reported that they were going through harassment, rejection, loneliness, forceful deprivation of property rights, and poverty after the death of their husbands. Eight widows said different types of fragility identities. Four widows (SP1, AS2, MN3, and BP6) identified themselves as HIV/ AIDS victims and were stigmatized after their husbands' deaths. Apart from BP6, who narrates that she contracted HIV after the death of her husband and she does not know whom she got it from due to multiple sexual encounters, the rest of the widows reported that they contracted HIV from their late husbands. For instance, SP1 narrated that she married her husband at 21, and she did not know that her husband had lost a wife due to HIV. She had this to say:

About 26 years ago, while I was cohabiting with my husband, I learned I had contracted HIV/AIDS. I did not know that my husband was HIV not until a friend took me to the Capital and requested me to test for HIV, which I did, only to find that I was HIV positive. When I told my husband about my status, he did not accept the results, and he instead started blaming me for how I brought the disease to him. While I started taking ARVs my husband did not only refuse to start taking drugs, but he also abandoned me for another wife, claiming that he could no longer stay with a prostitute (me). His life started deteriorating around 2015 until when he passed on in 2017. (SP1: 56-year-old campsite owner)

Similarly, AS2 discovered that she was HIV positive when she was pregnant for her third child. She narrates that although she gave birth from the hospital, her child was born with HIV. AS2 describes that her husband did not deny the fact that she had several extramarital sex encounters, and by the time they discovered that they were both HIV positive, her husband could not take ARVs due to her low CD4 count. He died two years later when her last born was two years. She narrated that she had never lacked anything in her house, her children were in good schools, but as soon as her husband died, she could not afford to pay school fees for

the children, nor could she afford to meet some of the necessities in life. She further reported that, instead of her in-laws helping her to take care of children, they instead started fighting over her husband's property and put restrictions on which ones to use and not to use. She narrates that she has suffered while taking care of the children especially the last born who is HIV positive.

In a related manner, MN9, a 31-year-old widow said that, although she had separated from her husband due to extramarital sexual encounters, she is still counted as part of the family as a first daughter-in-law. She narrated the death of her husband as tormenting to date. When I asked her to explain how her husband's death was tormenting her, MN9, who was cohabiting with another man at the time of the interview, narrated as follows;

After the death of husband, my mother-in-law did not want me in her compound, nor did she want me to use the land to dig for my children. She has harassed me until today, especially when she finds me in the garden digging for my children to get what to eat. She says I don't belong in the family and should stop using the family property, yet she does not provide anything for her grandchildren.

(MN9: a 31-year-old widow and casual laborer)

Separately, MN6 was stigmatized after her husband's death, who was attacked by a charged and unhabituated gorilla, resulting in death. MN6 narrated that her husband had escorted visitors for Gorilla trekking in the park. MN6 narrates the ordeal of her husband's death as follows:

My husband was a tracker in the park. On the ordeal day, my husband led a team of visitors to the pack to track the gorillas; on their way back, he encountered a charged and unhabituated gorilla; it attacked him, bit him, and left him with bruises all over his body. He was rescued by park officials and was taken to the hospital. A few months later, he ran mad and died. My husband's death has not only caused loneliness and poverty but also harassment from my in-laws who do not support me. (MN6: a 39-year-old smallholder farmer)

The widows mentioned all the above circumstances as their sources of harassment, rejection, loneliness, and poverty-related issues. For instance, when I probed to understand the reasons for the widow's harassment, MN6 explained how her late husband's relatives were harassing her because she got herself a lover. By the time of the interview, she had a two-year-old daughter from her new lover, and the family was putting pressure on her to take the child to the father as she could not take care the child using the family's resources. To make matters worse, her 17-year-old daughter also got pregnant during COVID 19, and by the time of the interview, her daughter had a three-month-old baby and was being accused of not being a good example for her daughter. Whereas it's normal for a man to get a lover or remarry after losing his beloved one, it's abominable for a woman to do the same, MN6 narrates. She explained how she is a laughingstock in her village because she gave birth from an unknown lover by the family, and she was accused of being an undisciplined woman setting bad examples to the other women. In another incident, SP2, a widow and bar operator, narrated how she feels rejected and harassed by the community members. In her own words, SP2 had this to say:

There is a lot of gossip here, and some women come to attack me here that I want to snatch away their husbands. Being a widow, many people think I am operating this bar as a cover-up for prostitution.   (SP2, a 46-year-old bar owner and operator)

Other widows added their thoughts on victimization and unfair societal norms they experience. They affirmed that when a woman loses a husband, she is supposed to adhere to the cultural norms for instance, not marrying again or having a sexual affair with another man unless the deceased's family decides that one of the brother-in-law or fathers-in-law inherits them. It is regarded as bad omen if it is found that a widow is having a sexual encounter with another man not chosen by the family. Additionally, poverty was also among the common issue that the widows mentioned. Some of the widows stated that they could not afford to buy a kilo of meat, yet before their spouses died, they used to eat meat every weekend.

Loneliness was also shared and was a reason for getting sexual partners. All widows reported forceful deprivation of property rights except CI9, who said that she has never had issues with her in-laws and they support her in any way they can. She mentioned that even when she wants to sell any property, her in-laws do not restrict her, and they respect her to the extent that no one has ever harassed her sexually, which is common among other widows.

5.3.1.3 **Married women abandoned by their spouses**

Out of the twenty-nine women fragile collectives, six women reported cases of abandonment by their husbands. Apart from SP6 and MN4, who identified themselves as second wives, the rest of the abandoned women reported themselves as first wives. Their age ranged from 26 to 45 years. When asked the reasons for abandonment, they reported different reasons, but alcoholism was mentioned most. All the women lamented that excessive alcohol consumption by their spouses is the primary cause of their abandonment. They reported that their spouses sell their land to get money for drinking. Land is an important family asset and a source of livelihood. They also mentioned that in the process of drinking, they get secret mistresses or second wives whom they spend money with. Some women in this category reported that their husbands sold all the land and disappeared or migrated to other areas with their mistresses to enjoy the money. Two of the women said their husbands sold all the land because of excessive drinking and left them with no land to till to get food for the children. Related to this issue, SP7 who was abandoned by husband with a disabled child had this to say:

It is almost five years since my husband disappeared with her mistress to an unknown place. He abandoned me with five children when my last born, was two years (child does not stand, sit, talk or help himself to eat). He convinced me to sign the agreement to sell our last biggest land. He lied to me that the money was going to treat our child and use the remaining money to buy another cheap land at a distant place. Once he got the money, he ran without saying bye. He called me on my cell phone after one year, telling me that he could not bear to stay with a misfortune child, yet their family has no history of disabled people. (SP7: a 36-year-old bar, and grocery owner)

145

Similarly, MN10, a 26-year-old abandoned woman with three children added that her husband left her while she was pregnant for the third child to the city after selling all the land and spending all the money drinking with other women. MN10 narrated that when life became unbearable for them to survive with no land to get food, her husband left for the city to look for jobs. She said that her third child was five years and they had not heard from her husband.

While majority abandoned women blame alcoholism as the source of their husbands' abandonment, MN5 a smallholder farmer and casual laborer, affirmed that her husband loved her so much not until he married a second wife. MN5 narrates that her husband became like a mad person; he developed a hatred for her and the children. MN5 narrated that her suffering is a result of her co-wife who wants her husband to sell off all the land and buy others in her favour. When MN5 refuses to sign the agreement of selling land, her husband beats her. By the time of the interview, MN5 was renting a small room in the trading center where she was staying with her children because her old house had fell. What is noted from this category is that all the six women mentioned domestic violence and victimization experiences because of lack of land where to till food for their children and the circumstances under which their husbands left them.

5.3.1.4 Women who separated from their husbands

Of the 29 women, four identified themselves as women who separated from their husbands. They reported different issues that led to their separation. Issues such as domestic violence, poverty, alcoholism, extra-marital affairs, and failure to pay dowry were among the issues as indicated in Table 5.3

Table 5.3: Reasons for separation

Reason for separation
Being a single mother is not easy. When my husband failed to pay the dowry, my parents got annoyed. They instructed me to leave my husband and come back home.   (CI7: a 36-year-old basket weaver)

146

> *Due to poverty and lack of care from my husband I decided to leave him and come back to my parents to use my parents land. My husband sold all the land and spent it on drinking and survival with seven children was not easy.* (SP3: a 45-year-old, separated)

> *I separated from my husband twenty-two years ago due to domestic violence issues. He beat me almost every day until I and my children decided to leave him and return to my parents.* (SP5: a 57-year-old restaurant owner and operator)

> *I separated from my husband because he was involved in extramarital sexual encounters. He did not provide anything at home, yet he was a boda-boda rider and used to get the money he could spend with his mistresses. On a fateful day, it was a weekend, and I asked him to buy us a kilogram of meat; he told me he did not have the money. Out of annoyance, I told him how he gets money to spend with his prostitutes; he got annoyed and grabbed me, beating me almost to death. That is when I packed my bags and decided to go back to my parents.* (LA4: a 36-year-old stoner crusher (RIP)

Source: Responses from fragile collectives who separated from their husbands

5.3.1.5 Women who never married but they are mothers

Out of the 29 women fragile collectives, two women identified themselves as single mothers. SP4 A 39-year-old bar and grocery owner narrated that she got her first born from a man who had promised to marry her as a second wife, but all did not work. She described that; she knew the father of her child very well and how he was desperate to get a child because his wife had failed to conceive. She recounted that she and her lover's wife conceived almost the same time, and the man broke his promises to marry her when his wife also gave birth. SP4 narrated that after getting disappointed in her first manfriend, she got another manfriend who promised to take care of her and her baby. Still, after getting pregnant for him, she never set eyes on the man, and the story continues the same with the third man, the father of her last born. SP4 stated that she does not regret having her three daughters, but she regrets having been unlucky to fall into the hands of the wrong men who have taken advantage of her situation. SP5 narrated how the whole village calls her a prostitute, and she gets insults from other women blackmailing that she is a "homewrecker." AS1, a 32-year-old mobile money attendant and disabled, narrated her story about her ordeal. AS1 got pregnant with a married man who was

not from her village. After getting pregnant, AS1 could not see the man again but kept in touch on the phone, but she was the one who takes care of her child alone.

5.3.1.6 Women who are not yet married (Single women)

Of this study's twenty-nine women fragile collectives, one woman identified herself as a single woman. BP4, a 25-year-old volunteer with a tertiary education diploma in accountancy who earns 28.49 US dollars per month, identified her as the only Aboriginal (Mutwa) with the highest level of education among the Batwa. Other than expressing her anguish about how the dominant Bakiga are exploiting her fellow Batwa, she did not disclose so much about herself. BP4 narrated how she feels bad seeing the Batwa, including her, being used and manipulated, and yet they are entitled to equal opportunities like the Bakiga.

5.3.2 Landlessness

Landlessness formed the second largest category of fragility. Land is an essential asset in Uganda. It is a source of livelihood for most rural people in Uganda. Of the fifty-five fragile collectives, thirteen of them were landless. Among the thirteen were six women and seven men. They gave varying reasons for landlessness. For example, women reported a lack of land rights and ownership from their families or husbands, the sale of land by their spouses without their awareness, eloping with other women, and being from low-income families without land resources. Some women fragile collectives reported cohabiting with their husbands as second wives without any land rights. Below are some of the reasons highlighted by women fragile collectives:

I am a second wife. My husband abandoned with three children and yet I don't have any land to feed my children. All the land belongs to the first wife.   *(*MN4: a 32-year-old casual laborer)
 Similarly, men reported various reasons for being landless such as poor family background, lack of inheritance rights and loss of land due to tourism and border conflicts as reported below:
My father was constantly fighting my mother because my mother was always refusing him to sell land. After my mother's death, he sold all the land and was left with nothing. I could not defend our land

148

because I was young. Our land was bought cheaply and he started drinking and marrying different

women.   *(CI1: a 25-year-old Artist)*

Separately, other three men fragile collectives reported that their lands were taken by Congo government without compensation. For example, MN7, who stays at the border of Congo and Uganda, narrated how he lost his land to Congo without being compensated. There were long-time border conflicts between Uganda and Congo. When the government of Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo agreed to demarcate the border, MN7 land was taken by Congo. By the time of the interview, he was still living on the small portion of the land that remained when they demarcated the border. He looked worrisome about the safety of his life because he mentioned that the Congolese had given her several warnings about their land. In line with the statement, MN7 a father of ten who lost his land to Congo, testified that:

My livelihood is agriculture, but all of my land has been seized. Congolese have grabbed 99 percent of my land, and the government has not compensated me. I have ten dependants and am having trouble feeding them. Look at my house and kitchen; my house is in Uganda and the kitchen is in Congo; I sleep in Uganda and cook from Congo. Congo is also the location of my toilet. Previously, I could cultivate plenty of food from the land, and my wife could sell the excess to get salt, soap, and paraffin, among other things. I can't think about tourism when I am languishing in poverty. The Congolese are threatening me that I should stop using their land   (MN7, 68 years old, landless)

Figure 5.2 Demarcation of land

In the above picture: the path between the two houses separates Uganda and Democratic Republic of Congo. The small house is MN7 kitchen which is in Congo and the big house is his

main house which is in Uganda. The land behind the small house and above the main one belonged to MN7 but was all taken without compensation   (Field work compilation, 2021)

5.3.3 People with chronic diseases

Twelve fragile collectives were identified as people with disabilities (PWDs). Interviews with them revealed to me different health issues as a significant setback in their lives. Of the twelve fragile collectives, five women and one man identified themselves as people living with HIV/AIDS. What is noted from this category is that they claimed that they acquired the disease from their husbands. Apart from SP2, BP6, and AS2, who confessed that they did not know how they caught the Virus due to multiple sexual encounters, SP1, AS2, and MN3 confirmed that they contracted HIV from their spouses. For example, FE2, a basket weaver, described her condition as the worst experience. She reported that she regrets having married her husband, and sometimes she feels like committing suicide when she thinks of taking drugs/ARVs every day. She does not only regret marrying her husband and taking ARVs every day, but also her beauty that is fading away every other day. In her words, she stated:

I married my husband when I was a virgin. Since then, I have never slept with any other man apart from him. When I was pregnant with our last born, I discovered I was HIV/AIDS. When I confronted him over the same issue, he denied it and started accusing me that I was the one who brought the disease to him.   (FE2: a 42-year-old basket weaver)

SP5, a 57-year-old restaurant owner, AS3, a 40-year-old shoe repairman, and BP, a 45-year-old dancer, confessed that they don't know whom they acquired HIV from due to multiple sexual encounters. AS3 a single father of three, narrated that he got to see that he was HIV positive in 2004, but he does not blame anyone because he does not know whom he got it from. Similarly, BP6, a widow, recounted that she cannot tell when she acquired HIV and who gave it to her. She revealed that even after the death of her three different husbands, she had been involved in multiple sexual encounters. She learned she was HIV positive in 2017 when she had constant illnesses. Like AS3 and BP6, SP5, who separated from her, narrated that:

150

When I separated from my husband, life was hard for me to survive. I had four children and looking after them was not easy for me. In looking for survival through different men, I got HIV/ AIDS. But I am thankful that my twins, the last borns, did not contract the disease from me. But my fifth child also got HIV but not from me. She got it by herself. (SP5: a 5-year-old restaurant owner and operator)

FE3, a 61year old craft tailor, had issues with her legs. By the time of the interview, her legs were swollen, and she mentioned she could not walk to work. BP7 reported on how she feels like a social misfit because of her fistula condition. BP7, who belongs to the Aboriginal group, narrated that she had never given birth from the hospital from her first to the third. After expected delivery with her third born, she developed complications which she calls a curse that has no cure. She narrated as below:

After giving birth, water-like fluid started flowing out of me without stopping. My condition humiliates me, and I sometimes fear going to entertain visitors, yet it is the only means of survival I have. I fear being near people because of the foul smell that comes from me. It is so natural for the Batwa not to bathe, but with this condition, I try to clean sometimes, but the smell keeps growing stronger.
(BP7: a 28-year-old dancer and craft seller)

Other fragile collectives reported diseases such as periodic paralysis, swollen legs, hernia, mental illness, and illnesses associated with old age. For instance, BP2 an 85-year-old Aboriginal a musician and dancer reported that apart from being Childress, he is asthmatic and was operated on because of hernia.

5.3.4 Single parenthood

Single parenthood was also prevalent among women. Twelve fragile collectives reported that they were taking care of their children without any support from the fathers of their children. This was common among women apart from one CI12, a 29-year-old male craft entrepreneur. Women reported issues of separation from their husbands; others mentioned abandonment from their husbands, while others said that they produced with irresponsible men. Most of the fragile collectives in this category fall under so many varieties, such as

abandonment, those who never married but have children, or those who separated from their husbands with children.

5.3.5 Abandonment

Abandonment was another reported issue among eleven fragile collectives, especially women and young people. Women reported that their husbands abandoned them because they had other wives or mistresses or due to unavoidable circumstances such as illnesses or disabilities. The following extracts narrate the situation:

It is now three years ever since my husband abandoned me. He left me with three children, a 10-year-old, a 6-year-old and two and a half-year-old boy. I am the second wife. He used to send me upkeep money which I used to supplement with my casual jobs, but he no longer sends any money to us; he does not pay fees for the children. Look at this young one, he cannot sleep minus food, or he will suck my breast until I feel like collapsing. (MN4: a 32-year-old laborer)

Because I produced a disabled child, my husband abandoned me. When he saw my child's condition, he denied that he was the father. He accused me of sleeping with other men, so God punished me and gave me such a disabled child. (SP6: a 36-year-old, bar, and grocery owner)

Separately, CI1, a 25-year-old artist and painter narrated that his father left them immediately after the death of their mother. He recounted that:

Growing up and being raised without both parents is the hardest experience. My sister and I have suffered a lot because our father abandoned us and went and married another wife. Since mum passed on, our granny has taken care of us like her own, yet she is also a widow. Sometimes I could see my aunts and uncles unhappy with us. That we are burdens in the family and eat their free food while our dad is busy selling land and enjoying himself. I could feel inadequate to the extent that I wanted to commit suicide. (CI1: a 25-year-old artist)

5.3.6 Domestic Violence

Domestic violence was reported by seven fragile collectives. Of the seven fragile collectives, two were men while the rest were women. They both narrated how they are beaten and abused by their spouses. Some of their extracts are stated below:

Table5.4: Causes of domestic violence

I am the second wife. When I married my husband, I found him sleeping on old mats. Recently, I got

152

my savings of 31.95 US dollars from a women's group and bought a mattress. When he came and found a mattress on the bed, he threw it out and wanted to cut it into small pieces. When I reported him to the village courts, the chiefs resolved the matter and asked him to allow me to bring back the mattress to the house. He refused to sleep on my mattress and has never slept here since then. He tells me to enjoy my mattress with my disabled son, or if I want, I should find other men to sleep on it. He tells me I brought him misfortunes by producing a disabled child. My husband is a drunkard, and we fight almost every day. (SP6: 27-year-old bar and grocery owner)

One time, my cowife attacked me, and I reported to the police and they arrested her. She was bragging that she could not be arrested because she knew she had support from her husband. In revenge, my husband turned to my banana plantation and cut all the bananas down. He has given several warnings that I will be next to be cut like the bananas. My husband wants me dead. I live under the protection of local chiefs, but I am scared he will kill me one day. (MN8: a 45-year-old small holder farmer)

My wife and I got problems, and she started conniving with children to kill me. My wife started bringing men into my house, and when I learned of it, they started harassing me.. One night, my son and wife beat me up, took me, and dumped me in a bush, thinking I was dead. Good Samaritans rescued me, and they took me to the hospital. When I reported the matter to family members, they advised me to leave my wife; otherwise, she was determined to kill me. Right now, I go in hiding and fear because I think her men friends are determined to kill me. (CI11: a 56-year-old basket weaver)

I have faced challenges during my marriage. I didn't get a chance to go to school, I just got married, and sometimes I feel that because I am not educated, and my husband is educated and working, he mistreats me. Because he has money, he drinks every day, and each night he comes home drunk; I expect quarrelling and fighting (CI10: 45-year-old basket weaver)

I don't drink nor go to bars, but my wife became a drunkard, and I became the talk of the village. She goes to bars and drinks till late. When I could try to advise her, she could fight me; she could abuse me in front of children, something I could not tolerate and decided to abandon her for another woman. (VW5: 39-year-old village guide)

My husband has money, but it is for his mistresses. He has a child from another woman in Rwanda and another from this village. When I talk about such issues, we end up fighting. He stressed me with his mistress, and I got into a depression. His family supports him; they want him to marry another woman. They tell him how I am making him my slave because I earn more than him. (VW1: a 39-year-old Story teller)

Source: Responses from victims of domestic violence

5.3.7 Disability

Nine fragile collectives were identified as people with disabilities (PWDs). Of the nine, three were women while six were men. They reported different disabilities such as blindness, lameness, and other deformations. They reported issues of stigma because of their conditions. For example, SP6 and SP7 were abandoned by their husbands because they produced disabled children, as explained in the Section on the abandoned women. SP6 and SP7 share similar experiences of abandonment and stigmatization, having been labelled by their husbands that they brought misfortunes into their lives by producing a disabled child. SP6, whose child cannot stand, walk or help himself with anything, had this to say:

After safe delivery, my son did not cry for 24 hrs. But even when he cried, he refused to breastfeed. The doctors confirmed that he had issues with his brain and spinal cord. I stayed in the hospital for six days while he was being observed. My son is now five years, he cannot sit, stand nor help himself. (SP7: a 36-year-old bar and grocery owner)

My son was born with twisted legs. I got difficulties while giving birth in the hospital. He is now two and half years. I have lost hope. He cannot sit now, walk or stand; it worries me. (SP6: a 27-year-old bar and grocery owner)

AS1 recounted that she got complications during birth, she got back problems, one of her legs got twisted and never came back to normal. She developed a humpback that she had never had before. AS1 described her ordeal as below:

Although I produced through a c-section, the operation was successful, and I came out of the theatre without complications. A few days later, after developing complications in my back and legs, I could not stand or walk. The doctors checked, and they could not tell what exactly I was developing. I was discharged from the hospital, but my condition continued getting worse. My right leg turned anticlockwise, and I also developed a humpback. Although I started walking again, I became disabled permanently. I was never born like this, nor do we have hereditary diseases of this kind

(AS1: a 32-year-old mobile money attendant).

For MN2, a smallholder farmer, widow, and blind had this to say:

I lost my wife seven years ago. Shortly after her demise, a strange disease attacked my eyes, I went to several hospitals, but none could cure me until I got blind completely. Since then, my life has become miserable, I cannot walk without assistance, nor can I do anything for myself. I get help from my grandchildren, who do house chores for me. But sometimes, I am a burden to them, although they don't say it to me   (MN2: a 74-year-old widower and blind)

MN1, a 61-year-old smallholder farmer as well as a casual laborer, narrated that he was born lame. Still, his lame leg does not stop him from doing any activity apart from the locals calling him Kagyere/ Kamuga (Lame leg), which he said he got used to and left God to punish people who call him lame. LA5, a 74-year-old stone crusher, reported how he got an accident while he was clearing the thicket for tilling, and a shrub pierced his eye at the age of 19. LA5 narrated that due to the lack of hospitals in the area, the time he managed to access a health center, it was too late for his eye to be treated, and the only option was to remove it. LA5 regretted that throughout his life, he has suffered because people call him oweshongo (one-eyed man). He narrated that he gets annoyed when they call him such a name but prays to God to forgive them. Similarly, LA1, A 36 a 36-year-old fresh producer supplier, recounted that his eye got damaged at the age of five and it was removed. He narrated how he has lacked support from his family and regrets statement such as *"Ogu owerisho rimwe oragyira Ngu aryarugamu owomugasho," literally that don't waste money on this one-eyed boy, he won't become useful person in future"*

5.3.8 Elderly

Of the 55 fragile collectives that participated in this study, eleven identified themselves as elderly fragile collectives. Of the eleven elderly fragile collectives, three were female, the rest were males, and all were married. Their age range was from 61 years to 85 years. Elderly fragile collectives reported different types of fragilities. This category mainly reported on health-related issues such long-term illnesses and having many dependants.

5.3.9 The Batwa (Aboriginals)

This category is comprised of nine Batwa fragile collectives. Their age range is between 25 and 85 years. They stated that ever since they were evicted from the Bwindi forest, their life has never been the same. They reported several issues ranging from personal diseases, lack of food, and lack of land to till to generalized problems such as exploitation and marginalization. They mentioned that they are the most marginalized and victimized minority people in Bwindi because of their identity as Batwa. For example, BP2, an 85-year-old, emphasized that he had missed eating meat for a long time. Besides, he requested to be included in the scheme of the elderly, which he claimed that being an aboriginal, he had been left out many times by the people who registered the elderly. He further reported on the issues of land given to Batwa, how small it was, and how it could no longer sustain them because of loss in fertility. While concluding the interview with BP2, he had this to say:

The president of Uganda gave us land, but it is small and no longer fertile and our houses are falling. We are discriminated against on social benefits of the elderly. I tried to register myself to benefit as an older person but have not received anything. If the President could consider the old Batwa like me to pay some money like they give other older people in this village. They should also consider giving us food because they took our forest which used to feed us. I have missed eating meat for years, but no one cares about us.

(BP2 an 85-year-old Aboriginal, a musician and dancer)

Table 5.5 presents some of the extracts from the rest of the Aboriginals and their grievances.

Table5.5: The plight of Batwa

Experiences of Batwa before and after evictions from Bwindi Forest
Before the forest was taken from us, the forest was ours. We lived and depended on the forest as a source of livelihood. The forest was our home, source of food, etc. We lived in our world, and our job was to look for what to eat, see the day go and night come if we could be satisfied. Our life in the forest was powerful. (BP3: a 50-year-old dancer and guide)
We miss the free food we used to eat. When we stay for a whole year without meat, we feel something is lacking in our life. While in the forest, we could eat wild honey, yams and fruits, all sorts of meat, etc., without struggling like today. We did not know days of the week or

seasons of the year. We could tell that its Christmas when we see beans of the Bakiga flowering. Life was fun in the forest unlike today. (BP6: a 45-year-old dancer)

When we were chased out of the forest, we were not directed on where to go, nor what to do as an alternative source of livelihood. The Bakiga bakaba baratunuga (being segregated), that we were smelling. They could give us food and place unto our hands, without platters, or they could dig a small hall and put a banana leaf and pour food there. They did not want us to use their plates. And they could also give old clothes but in the forest, we used not put on clothes. (*BP2:an 85-year-old dancer and musician)*

The Bakiga verbally abuse us that that we are dirty, we look like animals such as gorillas, baboons, all sorts of negative things are associated with Batwa. But the advantage we have is that the Bajungu (whites) love us and it annoys the Bakiga.

(BP1: a 48-year-old dancer and guide*)*

Batwa people are exploited by the Bakiga people to develop themselves. To be sincere, a Mutwa is stepped on in this community. At BDP, there is no Mutwa who is employed there apart from one lady who operates a craft shop. Look at me, I am educated but I am working as a volunteer. All the big positions are occupied by the Bakiga. There is no Mutwa who works in BCRC. Besides, the Bakiga take advantage of the Batwa to gain selfish interests. 99 percent of the Batwa are HIV positive. Within five years, I think the Batwa will be no more. And the challenge, they drink on empty stomach and forget to swallow their medicine. We have a big problem. (BP4: a 25-year volunteer)

Our children are falling sick because of lack of what to eat and herbs. Our children are best treated with herbs not Panadol or medically. (BP7: a 28-year-old dancer)

Responses of Batwa fragile collectives (Source: Authors compilation-2021)

5.4 Fragile collectives' forms of participation in CBT

From data analysis, three forms of participation emerged. These are direct, indirect, and no participations as indicated in Table 5.6. All fifty 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. Bataka is community-based tourism managed by a chairperson elected by the community members and assisted by representatives from each village. The Management of Bataka plans, executes, and implements

157

programs for the whole community, the fragile collectives are involved in general assembly only: One of the fragile collectives stated that:

> *Apart from voting the chairperson and our representatives, I don't know what exactly they do. They never come back to us. I don't know whether our representatives will take our problems to Bataka. I don't see any tourism plans in this community.*
>
> (MN3, 55-year-old farmer)

Other fragile collectives added that, other than being invited to the end-of-year parties, which involved eating, drinking, and dancing, they have never been told of any tourism activity that benefits them, nor have they ever been given feedback on their challenges. They reported that Bataka belongs to a few individuals in the community, and they were running it as an individual asset. One of them stated that:

Bataka is for the chairperson and the treasurer. As community, we no longer benefit from anything. Previously they could get sponsors for our children and employ them, but we are watching them fill up their stomachs since Bataka was turned into an individual asset.

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

Others emphasized that Bataka belongs to the few elites in the community and their relatives who are responsible for Bataka's downfall. After assuming power, they use Bataka resources to develop their businesses. This notion was supported by the statement below:

All the leaders we voted into Bataka management, who are the owners of village walks and accommodation facilities, have replicated Bataka projects into their own businesses. Moreover, they have sold most of the Bataka assets without consulting us, and Bataka is no more.

(CI9, a 68-year-old basket weaver)

Table 5.6: Fragile collectives' forms of participation

Themes	Categories	Sub-themes
***Direct participation* (N=28)** **Male= 17** **Female=11**	Craft Industry (CI)	Wood carving, Basket weaving & Craft enterprising
	Service providers (SP)	Accommodation, food and beverage services
	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) **Female=11** **Male=06**	Service Providers (SP)	Bar and restaurant services, retail services,
	Linkage Activities (LA)	Supply of fresh produce and raw materials, car washing stone crushing
	Auxiliary Services (AS)	Bicycle repairing, mobile money services and shoe repairing services
No participation (N=10) **Female=07** **Male 03**	Marginal Participation (MP)	Subsistence farming, occasional labor

Themes from data analysis (Source: Author-2021)

5.4.1 Direct participation (DP)

Direct participation emerged as the most significant category, with twenty-nine (29) fragile collectives dealing in different income-generating activities. Out of the twenty-nine, eighteen were male collectives, while eleven were female. In the context of this study, direct participation refers to:

> *"The involvement of fragile collectives in 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"*.

5.4.2 Indirect participation (IP)

Indirect participation emerged as the second category of the fragile collectives' forms of participation with sixteen (16) fragile collectives. This form of 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. Fragile collectives who engaged in such activities do not have direct contact with the visitors but still earn indirectly from Gorilla tourism. Therefore, in the context of this study, indirect participation refers to:

> *"The involvement of fragile collectives in non-tourism related business activities"*

5.4.3 No participation (NP)

This form of participation emerged as the last category, with ten (10) fragile collectives who were not dealing in any income-generating activity. Out of the ten fragile collectives, seven women fragile collectives were identified as smallholder farmers, casual laborers, and landless, while three were male fragile collectives. Common among this group is that they sustain their livelihood through subsistence farming or casual labor. Subsistence is farming on a small scale for home consumption and casual labor is, occasional labor that most fragile collectives depend on to sustain their families. Therefore, in the context of this study, no participation is defined as:

> *Marginal participation where fragile collectives engage in subsistence farming to sustain their livelihoods"*

No participation is referred to as marginal participation because fragile collectives in this category recognize that tourism exists, and they could be indirectly participating in one way or the other. For instance, providing occasional labour services.

5.5 Understanding of participation from a fragile collective perspective

Table 5.7 presents views of fragile collectives and different meanings attached participation in CBT. Before conducting any interview, I would first introduce the study's purpose, highlighting the questions I would inquire about. The first question of this study (*what are fragile collectives' forms of participation in community-based tourism?*), was not easy for fragile collectives to answer. Although the purpose of this study was to understand the forms of participation, fragile collectives provided different meanings that explain their understanding of participation.

Table 5.7: Different activities associated with participation in CBT

Bakiga	Batwa	The youth	Women
-Village walk activities -Getting donations and sponsorships	-Dancing for the visitors -Selling crafts	-Starting up empowerment organizations -Providing guiding services	-Making crafts -Entertaining visitors -Working for the rich

160

-Starting up a craft shop -Retail business -Local bars & restaurant -Cultural experiences	-Starting up Batwa village walk -Starting up a bar - Porterage services	-Agritourism -Working as porter -Employment	-Homestay business -Small scale business -Getting sponsorship for the children

(Source: Interview and informal interaction responses)

Sponsorship was the most mentioned meaning of participation among fragile collectives. Most fragile collectives tagged participation as getting sponsorships for their children. In other words, most fragile collectives equated participation to the benefits of Gorilla tourism. For instance, one fragile collective described participation as indicated below:

Participation in community-based tourism means getting sponsors for children. I know that several people in this village are sponsorship beneficiaries. When tourism started here, many women who used to dance for visitors got sponsorships for their children, including me. As time went by, they requested us to send our children to dancing groups that entertain visitors as a way of participating in tourism.

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

From the interviews with fragile collectives, informal talks with locals, and visual signposts of community-based organizations showing children sponsorships, it became apparent that getting sponsorships for children through dancing or any form of entertainment to visitors is a common form of participation. Some fragile collectives reported that although they don't know much about participation in community-based tourism, they feel they have participated when their children get sponsors as stated below:

I do not work in tourism, but when I send my children to dance for visitors, and they get sponsors, I will benefit from tourism too. My first born got sponsorship from dancing; the second born was picked from the rest at school when the Bajungu (visitors) visited their class

(MN: a 32-year-old casual laborer)

Correspondingly, other fragile collectives added their thoughts on the meaning of participation in community-based tourism, as presented below:

Table5.8: Understanding of participation in CBT

Participation in tourism in this village is for the rich not for the poor like me. Tourism has money but it belongs to the owners. My job is stone-crushing and I use my own hands to survive. For us the

161

poor, they don't want us to benefit from tourism. If I want to sleep, tourism does not bring food on my table.   (LA5, a 74-year-old stone crusher)
I have operated this restaurant business for more than 20 years. Although visitors don't come to my restaurant, people who work in the park and those who drive visitors are my customers. So, I would love visitors to keep coming.   (SP5, a 57-year-old, restaurant owner and operator)
If you want to make money in Bwindi and participate in tourism, starting up a village walk to Batwa settlements or an organization that targets Batwa is the way to go. Bajungu like helping vulnerable people like Batwa. The Batwa are attractive for Bajungu in Bwindi and smart boys are making money out of them. The challenge is that within five years, the Batwa tribe will go extinct. 99 percent of the Batwa are HIV or have AIDS. And we ready to dress like Batwa and keep tapping the dollar from the Bajungu. If it means going somewhere and looking for short and ugly people and use them as Batwa, we are ready to do it.   (Informal conversation with locals-June 2021)
For tourism, I don't know what to do with it. The Batwa only dance as the only way to benefit from tourism. I don't have hopes that I can ever be rich. Afterall when my wife goes to dance for visitors, the money she gets we use it together. E.g. drinking alcohol together   (BP9 a 56-year-old charcoal maker and supplier).

Responses from fragile collectives (*Source*: Author-2021)

Notes: Bajungu (Visitors); The Batwa (Aboriginals); The Bakiga (The Dominant group)

5.6 Aspirations for participation

Other than the three forms of participation that have been presented in section 5.4, fragile collectives in all categories revealed their wishful thoughts of being supported with food, land to till, money to start-up small-scale businesses, and sponsors who can help their children's education and enable them out of poverty, they expressed various aspirations as presented below:

5.6.1 Livestock and poultry farming

Livestock and poultry farming was cited by most fragile collectives. They emphasized that this type of farming is easy to start and brings in quick incomes. For example, most fragile collectives mentioned rearing of pigs, goats, birds among others as avenues that could improve their livelihoods because of their quick returns. They mentioned that availability of campsites, bars and guest houses reassures them of constant market. For example, MN1, a 61-year-old

disabled, smallholder farmer and volunteer who chases back the animals when they escape from the park, had this to say:

Although I am lame, it does not mean that I cannot do something for myself. I love rearing pigs, but I don't have capital to start with. I wish to start up a demonstration farm for visitors, but I don't have money to start with.

MN1 also wished to be employed by the campsites as a dancer regardless of his condition. He narrated that if he could be employed in the campsites as a dancer, cleaner or as a fence trimmer. Similarly, MN2, a 74-year-old blind widower and smallholder, expressed interest in zither playing. He said that if he could be connected to the campsites, he could make visitors happy. Additionally, most fragile collectives expressed interest that if they had the capacity, they would engage vegetable growing, and agritourism, highlighting that since there are many camps and people who work in tourism, there is market availability.

I have a vision of fighting poverty through agriculture and tourism. I want to start a demonstration farm, only that I am stuck with finances, and I hope visitors will like it.

(LA1, a 36-year-old fresh produce supplier)

5.6.2 Homestays

This was common among the four village walk site owners who felt that they were not taking advantage of their premises. They noted that:

If I had an accommodation facility, I would hire my own guides. And if the guide is under my control, I would not be manipulated the way these guides are cheating us. For example, I want to own my camp and hire my Mutwa guide. If I can get a mujungu, I have high expectations and know I could die a better person. (VW3, 58-year-old coffee and banana brewer)

I feel like developing this place into a homestead so that I can control my project since I already have tourism products that the visitors love. (VW4, a 50-year-old banana brewer)

CI12 craft entrepreneur added that, there is potential in Bwindi for small and medium hotels to thrive, but both local and foreign investors focus on upscale hotels for the Bajungu (visitors).

163

CI12 hoped to start up a small budget hotel for both locals and locals emphasizing that it was a niche to tap into. CI1 and CI12 expressed interest in establishing budget hotels, restaurants, and bakery services. They mentioned that there is a lack of budget hotels and restaurants in Bwindi. They emphasized that there is demand due to *many organizations present in Bwindi.* In relation to this statement, CI1recounted:

If I had land, I would put an accommodation facility for guides and for budget visitors. Some tourists who are also poor sometimes lack budget-friendly accommodation. There's no food outlet here that can serve tourists. We have one restaurant in Nkwenda trading center but you hardly find food. Most food supplies in the camps are bought from other areas. Can you imagine the lodges and camps buying fresh foodstuffs from Kihihi? There is no baking outlet here. The one we have at Farmers Restaurant is unreliable. We have opportunities here, but we are not exploiting them. If I had money I would venture into it.   (CI1: a 25-year-old artist)

5.6.3 Self-help projects and livestock

Engaging in any project or business that bring direct income to in the household was mentioned by majority fragile collectives. Most of them expressed interest in handcraft making restaurant business, small bar and retail trade. Others aspired to start up charity organizations, empowerment programs and community-based organizations. They proposed that if they could be connected or supported in terms of small capital or donations, they could help themselves, as narrated below:

I hear that some organizations help widows in many forms. Those organizations should also reach out to me because I am suffering. Lastly, when the parks and camps are employing, they should consider people of my status, because I am sure they have jobs that suit my education. Does cleaning the compound, washing dishes in the kitchen, or carrying a tourist's bag require any qualification?

(MN9, a 31-year-old casual laborer).

I plan to start a restaurant if I get money or any support. But the challenge is that I don't have capital. This is because the population of workers here has increased, and there are few local restaurants (MN6 (Rip), 54-year-old smallholder farmer).

Similarly, the Batwa fragile collectives expressed their aspirations that if they could be given goats, sheep, pigs, or something that is sustainable such that in case of an emergence, they could help themselves instead of waiting until the peak season. They explained that during a low season, they suffer so much since they entirely depend on entertaining visitors. They attributed their suffering to the little money they are given for their services which they spend spontaneously on drinking even before reaching home. They confessed that in some settlements and cultural sites where they perform, owners of those facilities have put up bars for them and as soon as we finish dancing, they start merry making where they spend all the money. In relation to this, one fragile collective that:

I would have started a small bar, but I don't think I can manage to raise money to buy a jerrycan of Waragi (local gin). People here drink. Both the Batwa and the Bakiga drink a lot. So, when you start a bar, you can quickly get money. (BP3: 50-year-old dancer and guide)

Separately, LA2, a reformed poacher expressed interest in showcasing cultural experience. His aspiration is stated below:

I know visitors like cultural things. I want to go to the butcher and buy hides and skins, lay them on the bed, get stools and cover them with hides and skins. When tourists come, I feel they will like my services. I am even located along the way to the camps; I will put a signpost on the road so that visitors can be curious and visit me. I need someone to market me. I have a good idea, and I am sure it will work (LA2: 65-year-old fresh produce supplier).

Section 5.6 has presented findings on socio-demographic profiles of fragile collectives, forms of participation, how fragile collectives understand participation, different aspirations. This section has highlighted that fragile collectives have multiple identities, they participate in CBT directly or indirectly or marginally. Understanding of participation from the fragile collectives has been highlighted. The

findings have also revealed that fragile collectives have different aspirations despite their identities. The following section presents findings on the benefits derived from the forms of participation.

5.7 Participation benefits from community-based tourism

This section presents findings for research question two: *What are the benefits derived from the forms of participation?* Participation benefits are in three forms: positive economic benefits (PEB), positive non-economic benefits (PNEB) and negative benefits (NB) as shown in Table 5.9. Part one of this section presents findings on positive economic benefits (PEB), part two presents findings on positive non-economic benefits (PNEB) while the last part presents findings on negative benefits (NB). 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 5.9: Participation Benefits

Positive Economic Benefits (PEB)	Positive Non-economic Benefits (PNEB)	Negative benefits (PNEB)
Family sustenance and survival	Empowerment	Loss of land
Education	Financial independence and burden relief	High cost of living
Acquisition of assets and home improvements	Self-esteem, confidence, and contentment	Alcoholism
Improvement in earnings	Social and individual transformation	Prostitution and spread of HIV/AIDS
Creation of employment opportunities	Social status uplift	Domestic violence & family breakages
Savings culture	Exposure	Marginalization and exploitation
Fulfilment of cultural norms and practices	Friendship	Elite domination
Financial independence	Reconciliation, prayer, and sense of belonging	Increase in crimes & murder
Poverty reduction	Preservation of culture and conservation of the environment	Hatred and jealousness among the locals

Source: Themes from data analysis

166

5.7.1 Positive economic Benefits

Family sustenance and survival

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. The focus was on taking care of children and ensuring they had enough food and clothing. Some 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. The Batwa stressed that having less land moreover infertile is not enough to fend for their families. For example, BP6, who is estimated to be 45 years older, a mother of ten, a widow, and HIV positive, said that dancing for organizations had enabled her to feed herself and her three grandkids. Like any other Batwa, BP6 said other than dancing, she also has a white friend who sends her food and other supplies through a coordinator. She narrated:

> *I have a Mujungu who takes care of me. He sends me food sometimes. They also gave me small rats which look like rabbits. They told me that when I feel like eating meat, I should not starve. But when I dance, I get some money to drink.*

> (BP6: a 45-year-old dancer)

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. Besides that, before COVID 19, visitors used to bring us clothes; we now lack what to put on because the Bajungu are no longer coming. 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)

Apart from the Batwa, other fragile collectives from the dominant Bakiga also emphasized that tourism was the only source of income since they did not have land, and the

little they had was no longer fertile. 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. However, CI6 expressed his gratitude to tourism because it enabled him to sustain his family even when he was 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)

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)

Equally, LA5 a stone crusher narrates the benefits of stone crushing:

I have managed to take care of my grandchildren. My family depends on me for survival, especially to ensure that my grandchildren get what to eat. My grandchildren were brought to me when they were too young. One of my grandson was brought to me when he was seven months old and one child for my daughter was left to me when she was one and half years. It's me who has taken care of them up to this stage, people give me respect because of the care I have given to my grandchildren. Although tourism has not benefited me, rich people who work in tourism buy my stones which has helped me to sustain my family (LA 5: a 74-year-oldear old stone crusher).

For fragile collectives who were not participating or participating marginally reported survival benefits. For example, MN8: a 45-year-old, MN10: a 26-year-old, and MN4: a 32-year all casual laborers reported the survival benefits from CBT. MN4 explained that:

Although I don't work in tourism, but I survive through providing, carrying timber for the campsites when they are building. I also dig for the rich people. I use the money (0.070 US Dollars) to hire small gardens to carry out small farming to ensure that my children get what to eat.

(MN4: a 32-year casual laborer)

Other fragile collectives reported small tokens they were getting from well-wishers. 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

Education was the second praised benefit fragile collectives had acquired from tourism. They narrated that before tourism, there was only one primary school called Kanyashande Primary School, and no secondary school existed. They narrated that this school was accessible to all since most villages are far away from it. In an informal interview with one of the proprietors of Bwindi Plus primary school commented that:

Why I started a school, I used to walk over 14kms to school. One day, it rained so much and while I was crossing a flooded river with my friend, he missed a step on the crossing bridge and he was taken by running water. When I contacted some visitors and told them about constructing a school to solve such problems, they supported me to put a school which has saved many children in the nearby villages from walking long distance. (Informal interview interview-22/7/2022)

In support of the above citations, fragile collectives appreciated that many good schools sponsored by visitors have been constructed including Bwindi community secondary school, the only Secondary School in the community. They added that most children in the community get sponsorships from visitors. Some fragile collectives testified that even though they had not benefited a lot from tourism, they were happy that their children were being helped to have better education compared to previous days when they had few educated people. Furthermore, fragile collectives narrated that the directors of private schools get in touch with tour guides or visitors directly and visit their schools. They revealed that it is through such school tours that visitors spot needy children and give them gifts, promise them school fees and other donations.

MN5 a smallholder farmer whose husband abandoned her with five children for another woman narrated that:

I first educated my three children in a government school, but my children could not get sponsors. I decided to transfer them to private schools where they had a better chance to meet sponsors and we found sponsors for them. Thanks to tourism!

(MN5: a 44-year-old smallholder farmer).

Although I don't work with tourism, visitors have helped us in many ways. For example, my daughter got a sponsor from her school. The visitor picked her up from the rest of the children from her class. The sponsor pays my daughter's school fees and sometimes sends us money for upkeep through the Director of the School   (MN10: a 26-year-old, casual laborer)

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)

Acquisition of assets and home improvements

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:

170

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)

Different from VW4 who had land inheritance from his parents, CI3 a 25-year-old male wood carver and a porter narrated that his parents are poor and did not have land to share among the seven children. He had this to say:

I had nothing before I got a job in the park. In the few years that I have worked in the park, I have managed to buy three plots of land worth 1140.35 US dollars in three different locations. I am constructing a residential house. I am so sure that after COVID 19 when visitor start coming again, I will complete my house. There a few young people like me in this village who have assets like mine.

(CI3: a 25-year-old male woodcarver and a porter)

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.

Improvement in earnings

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. For example, one fragile collective stated:

I sell foodstuffs like matoke (plantain) which adds to my income. I am planning to do poultry too because it brings in quick money. (VW4: 50-Year-old, Banana Brewer)

171

Additionally, SP5 stated that through her restaurant business, she has built rent rooms which gives her extra income. She reported that because of so many workers from different organizations, Uganda Wildlife Authority, hospitals, tour drivers, etc, rentals in Bwindi are in high demand.

I have benefited a lot from this business. I have managed to build a house in my mother's plot. Although it is not yet finished, I am happy. I have also built some small rentals behind here where I stay. They are all occupied by tenants. Although the plot belongs to my mother, but I helped her to build the rentals and we share the rent dues with my mother. When I get profits, I also buy pigs. So far, I have three pigs which I am taking care of. (SP5: a 57-year-old restaurant owner and operator)

Creation of employment opportunities

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. One participant stated that:

When I was joining the Porterage, I had two plans. To work and continue with school so that I can enter tourism. But when I failed to continue with school, I still found myself working in tourism because porters work with the department of tourism, which fulfilled my dreams of working in tourism.

(CI3, a 25-year-old porter and woodcarver)

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)

Saving culture

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

172

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.

<div align="right">(FE1: a 55-year-old, campsite compound cleaner)</div>

BP5, a porter who supplements her porter job with dancing and craft selling, narrated*:*

When I joined porters, I started getting tips from Bajungu. Each time I carry a visitor's bag, I am paid 15 US dollars. I started saving until I began to buy iron sheets and bricks. I thank tourism that I have managed to build a semi-permanent house with iron sheets. Before I built this house (iron sheet roofed house), I stayed in a small grass-thatched house made of mud.

<div align="right">(BP5: a 30-year-old female dancer and porter)</div>

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.

<div align="right">(FE2: a 42-year-old basket weaver)</div>

Fulfilment of cultural norms and practices

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 citations reveal fragile male collectives about the fulfilment of bride price:

Although tourism negatively impacts our lives, it has helped us to some extent. I raised 12 million (3,369.60 US dollars), which I used to pay the bride price to my wife's family. At least I am now a respected son-in-law. I am working hard to see that I can raise money and wed her in church.

(CI5: a 39-year-old woodcarver)

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

Another important thing I have benefited is reporting myself to my wife's family. You know, in Bakiga culture, when you elope with someone's daughter, you have to 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)

On the other hand, BP1, an Aboriginal, a dancer, and a guide at Bwanya Batwa cultural center, stated that although dancing helps him sustain his family such as eating good food and buying clothes for the children, he narrated how he was happy to wed his wife in church. He attributed such happy moments to tourism. He had this to say:

Dancing sustains my family. Most importantly, it is through dancing that I wedded my wife. I got a mujungu (visitor) who sponsored the whole wedding. He bought me a good suit which I was the only Mutwa (Aboriginal) with a suit. I feel bad that I sold my suit shortly after my wedding. It was a low season, and I had no money to buy food for my children, so I had to sell my suit to purchase food. It hurts me that I sold it more cheaply than the money I bought it.

(BP1: a 48-year-old dancer and guide)

Other benefits

Some fragile collectives described how tourism made them acquire luxury items such as beddings, radios, and cell phones, among others. For example, CI9, a 68-year-old widow narrated that she had never slept on a mattress. With the introduction of tourism, she got a mattress as a gift from the White professors and researchers who had come to conduct research. She explained how she has kept the mattress very well as a remembrance, and even when some

174

people in the community complain that they have not benefited anything from tourism, at least for her, she has something to show. She narrated as below:

When tourism started in this place, many white researchers came here. By then, we could sleep on mats made of papyrus reeds or pile dry grass in sacks and put them on the bed to act as mattresses. That was advanced because even getting a sack or a big cloth to pile in dry grass was difficult. I got a big a, long-lasting mattress from the visitor who was a researcher. I have kept that mattress as a mamento and used it for visitors only. (CI9: a 68-year-old widow and a 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 basic 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)

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. Tourism would not be more harmful to us other than greedy people who coordinate tourism activities. (VW2: an 83-year-old storyteller and herbalist)

This sub-section has presented findings on the positive economic benefits (PEB) derived from participation in community-based tourism, the following sub-section presents results on the positive non-economic benefits (PNEB).

5.7.2 Positive non-economic benefits (PNEB)

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

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 and marginalized. 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

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

176

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. When I asked about the men's responsibility in the home, most women said their husband's work was to go to the bar and drink all day, come back home drunk, and demand food. They also stated that sometimes their husbands could sell their agricultural harvests by force or without seeking their permission to get money for drinking, and yet they did not contribute to the production of that food. They appreciated tourism as a savior from 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 also to meet our needs without depending on a man.

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

When I asked CI8 where their husbands get money for drinking and why husbands couldn't help their wives in home chores, CI8 had this to say:

Haaaaaaaaaa, you have made me laugh, men get money from their wives from the agricultural produce. Those who work, their money is used for alcohol consumption. Women take care of children including the husband. Men here are like bosses and its normal. We got used of the situation.

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

Self-esteem, self-confidence, pride and self-contentment

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)

LA1 36-year-old one-eyed fragile collective also mentioned how tourism had boosted his self-esteem. He claimed that being referred to as a one-eyed man (Karisho) gave him an inferiority complex. When he was younger, he says he didn't receive much support from his parents, peers, or teachers. He also remembers his older brother, who was educated, refusing their father to send him to school. He recounted:

I have achieved a lot from tourism, and sometimes my brother asks me for financial help when he is stuck. I no longer feel inferior because of what I have been able to achieve.

(LA1 a 36-year-old, male agriculturalist)

Acquisition of knowledge and skill

CBT can empower residents by providing them with the necessary skills, knowledge, and confidence to direct tourism (Asker et al., 2010; Nomnian et al., 2020).

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.

178

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. So many other fragile collectives shared the different skills and knowledge attained all because of tourism. BP4 a Mutwa/Aboriginal with the highest education in Bwindi doing volunteering job at a women's bicycle project recounted:

I started during COVID 19 and I have not worked for so long, but I am glad I am getting bicycle mechanic skills; few women are mechanics. Among the Batwa, I am the only one. As a volunteer, I know that the mechanical skill will lead me to get full employment at Bwindi Women Batwa Project.

(BP4: a 25-year-old female volunteer)

Equally, BP9, a 50-year-old Charcoal maker and supplier, states:

My wife was trained by some organization which I don't know. She is an expert in making modern charcoal stove. Because of her expertise, The Bajungu and some other women came and took her to Tanzania to teach women how to make modern charcoal stove. My wife is the first Mutwa to board a plane. (BP9: a 50-year-old Charcoal maker and supplier)

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 actually 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

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 20 community based and non-government organizations in Bwindi whose objectives are to empower women, children, vulnerable people, and the Aboriginals. 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)

Exposure

Some fragile collectives mentioned how tourism had made them get exposure. Some mentioned that they had never thought leaving their village to the city while some reported that they have never boarded a bus or a vehicle going anywhere. One CI6 narrates:

Oh, I forgot to tell also, one-time I went to Kampala (the capital city of Uganda) as a result of dancing. I went to pride theatre, we danced and we won. We slept in a good hotel and we were also taken to the Airport to see Aeroplanes. Madam, had it not been tourism, would I ever go to the city or even see an Aeroplane landing or taking off. Therefore, I don't talk ill about tourism. It has exposed me to people and sometimes I look at myself and I can't tell. God is good but tourism is the best hahahahah…..

CI7: a 36-year-old, basket weaver)

Social status uplift

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 also reported that before he became a porter he was a nobody in his village. He stated that although he was doing his wood carving business, he hardly got a chance of interacting with visitors even when he knew some English. He said that he had always felt less valued among his peers. He stated that:

When I am talking about tourism, I don't want to stop. I want it even to multiply and even stay forever. I was looked down upon in this village most especially when I dropped out of school. People thought that I would join bad groups and become a hooligan or a drunkard like other peers do. But as of today, I thank tourism that it has made me the person I am today, villagers now beg me to connect them to Bajungu/visitors because I have access to them, I talk to them, and some fellow youth beg me to help them post their pictures using my phone. To be precise, I am respected because I have something to show, and I am proud of what I have achieved so far in a short time.

(CI3: a 25-year-old woodcarver and a porter)

Acquisition Friendship

Friendship was mentioned by fragile collectives who interact with visitors directly as a key benefit from tourism. They established that being friends with visitors has so many benefits such as getting market for their products, soliciting sponsors and donors for them and last resort friends to run to in case of any challenges in life. For instance, those who said they had benefited in terms of friendship indicated how they were helped during the Pandemic and they sent them money to feed their families. In this regard, CI3, a woodcarver accounted:

For example, me, if you remove tourism, and you say that tourists should stop coming here, I already have so many friends who are whites. They send me money to feed on and they are sponsoring my daughter. I have an assurance of what I am telling you, like next month, for example a Mujungu from Australia is coming to visit me. Still, he is purposely coming to see me and buy most of my gorilla carvings to take them to another person in Switzerland. I can survive if they stop tourists from coming but the rest of the community members who don't have contacts and connections with Bajungu cannot survive. (CI3, 25-year-old wood carver and porter)

VW1 said that she has benefited from white friends in the form of donations. She said that each time she gets financial challenges, she seeks help from them. For example, she mentioned that during the Pandemic, her white friends sent her money to buy food for her family having told them the challenges she was facing with her husband. VW1 said that her husband was staying in the city with another woman, the business was down and yet she was building their residential house; she got stuck financially, and the white friends sent her money that helped her complete the house.

Reconciliation, prayer, and sense of belonging

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 work place, 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)

Conservation of the environment and preservation of culture

The fragile collectives mentioned conservation and preservation of culture were the least non-economic benefits. Fragile collectives who talked about them described conservation

as not killing the Gorilla or going back to the park to carry out illegal hunting. Although majority stated that if they had a way of poisoning the Gorilla, they would do so simply because they have not earned from Gorillas, a few fragile collectives were happy to mention that they have conserved the gorilla because it is their source of livelihood. The quotations below indicate some of the narrations:

Before tourism, we used to kill Gorillas when they escape from the park to community gardens. Gorillas are so disastrous, when they come to your garden, they will destroy everything. But because we know, it is because of Gorillas that we receive visitors, no one touches on the gorilla in this community. When they escape from the park, we have HUGO members who take them back to the Park or we call the Park officials to come and take them back to the park. This is because we know the value of the Gorilla. Gorilla is Gold to us. (CI3: a 25-year-old wood carver and a porter)

Besides, CI11 basket weaver reported how his basket weaving has contributed to environmental conservation. He stated that, although environmental and park authorities do not recognize him as a conservationist, he feels like one and this makes him happy. In this regard, he narrated that:

Most baskets here in Bwindi are made of African fabrics, but for me I use leftovers from factories, cloth bales, used plastic bottles, and bags mixed with some few African fabrics. I can just go into garbage pits and look out for used things; I clean them and think of what art piece can come out of them. I make flowerpots and bottles from used water bottles. I also go to people who do tailoring, I pick cuttings which I use to make toys. I get fabrics from endibota (bales) or the factory's waste. I make this basket from anything ranging from baskets, laptop bags, phone covers, children's toys, etc This way, I reduce on waste that could harm the environment

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

A few fragile collectives mentioned that weaving baskets and the establishment of cultural sites and entertainment centres is as a way of cultural preservation for both the Bakiga and the Aboriginal cultures. From personal observation, I witnessed many community-based organizations such as cultural sites, women groups, youth groups, children dancing, and Batwa cultural experiences were cultural and environmental aspects are emphasized. To sum this sections 5.7.1 and 5.7.2 have presented findings on both positive economic and non-economic

benefits. However, some pitfalls were also uncovered during the interviews. Thus, the following section presents the costs associated with community-based tourism in Bwindi.

5.7.3 Negative benefits of community-based tourism

While participation in community-based tourism is regarded as a blessing in the lives of most fragile collectives, a spectrum of negative impacts of community-based tourism were also disclosed during interviews. In other words, some fragile collectives still believed that community-based tourism was a curse that would bring the people of Bwindi to their deaths. Negative effects such as loss of land, high cost of living, agricultural damage by wild animals, drunkenness, prostitution, domestic violence, marriage breakdowns, dependence, criminality and laziness were raised. These costs of community-based tourism are presented in the sub-sections below:

Loss of land

Loss of land was a biggest issue that was raised by fragile collectives. They narrated that, as much as tourism had positive benefits on their lives, most fragile collectives testified that tourism contributed to poverty since most of their land was taken from them forcefully. They reported that land was purchased from them cheaply and most people just spent the money in merry making. Some people migrated and went into other areas while others stayed in Bwindi with small plots of land that were not near the forest. The most affected fragile collectives were those who were living on edges of Bwindi Forest and those living inside the park (The Batwa/ Aboriginals). Both tribes of the Bakiga the dominant and the Batwa the minority reported that their land was taken from them without compensation, and they were left with nothing to cultivate and to survive on.

Batwa entirely depended on the forest for their livelihoods, and they are the poorest people in Bwindi. They also revealed that the introduction of community-based tourism resulted in the loss of their land to the Uganda Wildlife Authority, foreigners, and wealthy

185

community members. The Batwa eviction from Bwindi Forest and restrictions on Bakiga (the dominant) access to the forest were the most important elements of this aspect. Furthermore, some fragile collectives claimed they sold their land to investors through coercion and bribery. Others claimed that their parents sold land out of excitement and spent the proceeds on alcohol and women. These concerns are corroborated below:

Before the forest was taken from us, the forest was ours. We the Batwa depended on the forest as our source of livelihood. The forest was our home, source of food, etc. We lived in our world and our job was to look for what to eat, see the day go and night come if we could be satisfied. Our life in the forest was powerful. Life was good compared to today when we don't have anything to eat. We are starving.
(BP1: a 48-year-old dancer and guide)

You see, where the park offices are seated and the campsites, all that land belonged to my father-in-law. We used to cultivate millet, maize and beans and that land was fertile compared to the other areas. We were not used of buying food but due to limited and infertile land that we were left with, we no longer get bumper harvests like we used to get. (CI: a 70-year-old basket weaver)

Tourism took our land from us." If our land weren't taken from us, we wouldn't be poor. All the land on which these lodges are built was our land purchased from our parents for a small sum of money that they could not plan for. We cannot even purchase any land here because it has become so expensive.
(CI5: 37-year-old wood craftsman)

Cost of living

The second grievance that fragile collectives raised was higher costs of living. They pointed out that, with the new dawn of tourism in Bwindi, everything became more expensive, starting with simple commodities like salt, soap, sugar, and other household basics. The expensive commodities were identified as land, followed by food. This also led to some poor, fragile collectives who couldn't afford to live in Bwindi and migrated to other areas. Bwindi is now referred to as a *"Dollar City"*. This aspect is highlighted in the citation below:

I work to satisfying basic daily needs only. This place has grown prohibitively expensive. My friend, this is a Dollar City. This place has become so pricey that if you can't dig your food, you won't be able to feed yourself. Because of tourism, food costs are higher here than in the capital, Kampala.
(CI4: a 39-year-old wood carver)

Alcoholism

186

Excessive consumption of alcohol was raised as a major concern in Bwindi. It was reported that alcohol consumption in Bwindi is taken as a treasure. I witnessed this behaviour myself where people start flocking bars as early as 7:00 am and they drink the whole day and night. Although this was common with men, women also drink especially in the evening when they come from the garden or over the weekends. They narrated that when people get money, most of them their first instinct is to buy alcohol.

Some people have land, but instead of putting it to use, they either sell land to the rich and spend it on alcohol consumption. Others know that when it is a peak season, they will get money from tourists, and once they get money, some hire vehicles and they go to drink from bigger towns. They come back after spending all the money. My sister you came during bad times, when it is a peak season here, people stay in bars the whole night. Before COVID 19, people could drink the whole night. There is year that the Uganda Breweries recognized the people of Bwindi as the best drinkers of the year, and they were given an award.

(LA1: a 36-year-old fresh produce supplier)

I sold a solar panel and a modern charcoal stove which the visitors bought for us to get money for drinking. I could not stay without going to the bar and yet I had assets inside the house. My wife and children entertain visitors from different cultural sites, the money they get is for us to buy food and the rest we spend it in the bar. I don't have hopes that I will be rich, the little I get, I spend it on alcohol MN9   (BP9: a 50-year-old charcoal maker)

The above statement was reinforced by the following:

The problem with Batwa is they don't listen. They treasure drinking so much. Now wait and see when they come from dancing, you will see how they come here and start drinking. Sensitization is needed but I don't know whom the Batwa can listen too. Even Bwindi hospital has tried to sensitize the Batwa about the dangers of alcohol, but they don't listen.

(BP4: a 25-year-old volunteer)

Prostitution and spread of diseases

Prostitution was another major concern that was raised by fragile collectives. Most fragile collectives blamed too much alcohol consumption as root cause of prostitution. Others blamed the foreigners especially the soldiers, the workers at campsites and drivers/tour guides. I also witnessed this when one day four young ladies were physically fighting over a man.

187

Majority fragile collectives affirmed that prostitution increased with tourism since most non-local tour guides often sleep around with the local girls. VW5 a village guide said that:

Prostitution in Bwindi is on a high rate. Both men and women, married and unmarried are all into prostitution. The drivers who bring tourists to the area liaise with some of the village walk owners so that when they give them the tourists, the village walk owners get them girls and women to sleep with.

(VW5: a 39-year-old village guide)

Locals attributed malnutrition and HIV/AIDs, the most common diseases in the community, to alcoholism and increased prostitution rates. They emphasize that instead of men buying food for their families, they would rather spend all the money they earn on alcohol, and when they're drunk, they engage in multiple sexual activities where most of them spread and acquire HIV. One participant had this to say:

Almost 99 percent of the Batwa are HIV positive. Within five years, I think the Batwa will be no more. And the challenge is they drink on an empty stomach and forget to swallow their medicine. We have a big problem   (BP4: a 25-year-old volunteer).

Researcher-Did you just say that 99 % of the Batwa are HIV positive?

BP4- Yes, if you want, you can go to the hospital and get records.

Researcher-What could be the reasons for the rampant spread of HIV?

BP4- There is a myth that if you backaches and sleep with a Mutwa), you get healed. When the Batwa were chased from the park and intermingled with the Bakiga, Bakiga men took advantage of Batwa women as medicine and in infected them with AIDS. In the forest, the Batwa used not to fall sick nor die at a young age. The Bakiga started buying them alcohol, and when they got intoxicated, the Bakiga would rape them. And also, the Batwa themselves have sexual encounters amongst themselves when drunk, infecting those who are not infected.   (BP4: a 25-year-old volunteer)

I also noticed that most Batwa had signs of malnutrition, so when I asked BP4 if she knew why, she said it was because they spend all their money on alcohol and they have nothing left to provide food for their families. One fragile collective added:

My sister, you came during bad times; when it is a peak season here, you can think people here are insane. Before COVID 19, people could drink through the night. Night clubs were always busy. Prostitution here is high. Even married people engage in prostitution. When people have money, they can do anything, that's why the rate of HIV here is rampant. My wife is a nurse and they have records.

There is no household here that does not have an AIDS victim apart from me. The Batwa people are dying at a high rate because of alcohol consumption and rampant sex encounter.

<div align="right">(LA1: a 39-year-old Fresh producer supplier)</div>

Domestic violence and family breakage

A recent study by Scarpa et al. (2022) indicated that alcohol is a big challenge in Bwindi where men spend money on alcohol and fail to provide food for the family resulting in domestic violence. Some fragile collectives stated that many women have failed in their marriages because of the army since some people end up engaging in sexual encounters with the army people. Others said that it is because of free money which the locals solicit from tourists:

The problem with people here is that they're used to free money/ dollar which makes them lazy to work or even invest. For example, men get a lot of money from tourists but use it to drink, eat pork and enjoy women. When money becomes too much for them, they hire a vehicle and go and drink from big towns like Fort Portal, Mbarara or Kabale. You hear women fighting with their husbands due to lack of essential commodities at home, yet they drink every day and whole day. It is not surprising that, some men have failed to take care of their families which has resulted in domestic violence

<div align="right">(LA1: a 39-year-old Fresh producer supplier).</div>

Families have been broken for many reasons including alcoholism, HIV/AIDs, prostitution and domestic violence. This is elaborated in the following extracts:

My wife's brother left him with 8 children and married in the army barracks. My brother later became mad and ran away. He left the eight children with us, and the wife eloped with the army man. Tourism! it is true that it has brought benefits, but it has also impacted us negatively. Tourism has contributed to family breakages and escalated domestic violence in this place.

<div align="right">(CI5: a 37-year-old wood carver)</div>

My first wife is already sick with HIV. I thank God that I abandoned her before I acquired the disease from her. That is a result of over-drinking. Moreover, she is a leader in this community. But I am told that every man who wants to sleep with her does so after making her drunk. I could not afford to stay with such a woman. (VW5, a 39-year-old village guide)

Marginalization, exploitation, and double-dealing

Most fragile collectives reported that marginalization, exploitation, and double-dealing were common in Bwindi. They claimed that several organizations and educated individuals have relationships with visitors, particularly for sponsorship and other potential benefits. They

narrated that because they don't have contacts with the visitors, several organizations were taking advantage of them. They emphasized that fragile collectives as well as donors were being exploited which has increased marginalization. In relation to this issue, VW5 a village walk guide elaborated on this issue:

When tourists come, most of them do not go without going for village walks to see the Batwa and their means of livelihood. Some organizations and village site founders, therefore, take advantage of this and make charts for donations and yet sometimes tourists want to donate less than what is on the chart but are forced to donate according to these charts. After the gifts are made, some organizations don't give them to the Batwa or they give them less than what was donated. Some organizations therefore exploit the visitors and the Batwa for their own selfish gains

*(*VW5: a 39-year-old Village guide and a cultural site owner)

An aboriginal / Batwa fragile collective emphasized:

We entertain tourists during peak season, but we have no idea how much money they pay to watch us. We make tourists happy, yet we only make a small profit. According to my knowledge, a mujungu travels from America to see a gorilla and a Mutwa. However, the Bakiga are taking advantage of us to obtain funds. They drive nice cars and live in nice houses, yet no Mutwa has a bicycle, except one Mutwa who owns a small local bar.

*(*BP1, a 48-year-old guide and dancer)

This was also confirmed by another fragile collective who said that:

I lost my father in 2000. We expected to get scholarships from tourists but the people who manage villages walks and have connections with visitors are not fair. They are not interested in helping us. The guides mislead them to help organizations which, in most cases only benefit the founders and not the people. Only a few help, but others use the money they get for their own needs in the name of helping Batwa and vulnerable people in this village. One of them is building a flat from the money meant to help Batwa. Some give 10% and even 0% of the donations they get to the Batwa.

(CI12: a 29-year-old craft entrepreneur)

Similarly, BP4 Mutwa and a volunteer at a women's project professed that:

My sister got a mujungu who promised to build a house for our parents, but he was going through one of the owners of Batwa village walk. The mujungu sent the money and the village walk owner used it to build his own house. He did not know that my sister got an email from the Mujungu and my sister wrote to him reminding him about the promise, only to discover that the Batwa village walk owner got in touch with him and deceived that our parents died and used the money to build for another Mutwa. Bakiga manipulate us because we are poor, and people take advantage of us.

Increase in crime and murder

Cases of murder were reported by most fragile collectives. The time of data collection between March and July 2021, five cases of murder were reported in the villages I was gathering data from. Four people were found dead in the bushes with bruises and signs of strangling. In another case, two girls who were working in a big bar in Bwindi as waitresses fought at night and one cut one's neck which resulted to death. In another incidence, VW3, who is still nursing the injuries of bullets from an armed man narrated:

On a fateful day, I went to the trading centre to drink. We have an army barracks that protects the area because of tourism. One soldier came looking for his mistress, whom they had conflicts with. The army man was shooting at whoever he came across. It so happened that that army man found me in a group of women, and he suspected that his mistress was with us, the army man started shooting at random and I was shot in the thigh, which affected my lower leg.

(VW3: 58-year-old, coffee and banana brewer)

Section 5.7.3 has presented negative benefits associated with CBT in Bwindi. Despite the costs associated with tourism in Bwindi, fragile collectives reported on various factors that have enabled them to participate in an elite dominated CBT space as presented in section 5.8.

5.8 Enablers to Participation in CBT

Section 5.7 has presented findings on benefits derived from participation in community-based tourism. This section presents findings on enablers to participation in CBT. It presents findings of research question three: *What are the key enablers to fragile collectives' participation in CBT*? This chapter provides invaluable insights in understanding the context under which fragile collectives pursue their livelihoods but also reveal specific factors that contribute to fragile collectives' participation in CBT. The factors that enable fragile collectives' participation include livelihood assets categorized under human, financial, social, natural, physical, and cultural capitals (see Table 5.10).

Table 5.10: Livelihood capitals as participation enablers

Livelihood capitals	Type	Enabler to participation
Human	Fragile collectives' skills and experience	Knowledge, skills, experience, and creativity
Financial	Fragile collectives' financial support, access, and knowledge	Own savings, small loans, financial support from family, friends, and NGOs
Social	Fragile collectives' networks and connections	Women's porter's and birder's associations, entertainment groups, family social support, entrepreneurial family support, networks with owners of facilities, friends with visitors, collaboration with the BINP, NGOs, connections with the guides
Natural	Presence of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park with Wildlife, Waterfalls and Caves	-Gorilla trekking, bird and buffer fly viewing -Waterfalls and cave visiting
Physical	-Tourism Information Center -Establishment of Community projects Presence of the Nkwenda Craft Centre -Presence of campsites and other accommodation facilities Establishment of Gorilla trails -Infrastructure development e.g. road networks, hospitals, schools,	-Attracting visitors and providing information to visitors - providing a market for crafts -Accessibility to visitors and Market for crafts -Presence of maintenance jobs opportunities in camps and in the park -Road access to BINP and other areas, creating awareness about sponsorship programs
Cultural	-The presence of Batwa (The Aboriginals) -Establishment of village walks -Batwa cultural walks -Crafts	-Knowledge about the indigenous culture -Establishment of village trails

Source: Interview responses and observations-2021

Notes: NGO= Non-Governmental Organization; BINP= Bwindi Impenetrable National Park

5.8.1 Human capital

Human capital was identified as the most important enabler for fragile collectives to participate in community-based tourism. Fragile collectives mentioned capital in form of skills, knowledge, experience, and creativity as enablers necessary for participation. For example, in

the context of the Craft Industry (CI), all the 12 fragile collectives in this industry mentioned artisanal and weaving skills acquired from their families, friends and relatives enable their participation. Others reported that they had attained some formal training to get such skills. For instance, CI1, CI2 and CI8 reported that although they had some hands-on skills, they had received formal training to enhance their skills in art and weaving respectively. CI1 and CI2 believed that attending an Art school and benchmarking others has played an important role in enabling their art occupations. Acquisition of skills through training was emphasized:

Although I knew how to carve gorillas, attending an art school has added an advantage to me. When you check in the crafts shops around, all the gorilla sculptures look the same. As for me, my art is unique. Moreover, my education enables me to communicate with customers and tell them stories through art which attracts them to me. (CI1: a 25-year-old, Artist)

Similarly, CI8 a basket weaver emphasized that training had enhanced her weaving skills which makes her baskets look attractive to customers:

When they opened the park, an organization called Bwindi Mgahinga Conservation Trust (BMCT) came and trained women and men adjacent to the park. They trained us how to weave. There were different projects, some women joined mushroom growing training projects, other women joined basket weaving, and men were trained in beekeeping. I knew how to weave before, but I did not know the designs. We were taught different designs and how to mix colors using different herbs. And at the end, I got the first grade and got a certificate. And we really got money out of these baskets.

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

Correspondingly, village walk, and cultural site owners reported that they had acquired formal training from Bwindi Mgahinga Conservation Trust (BMCT) which they also believed were important enablers in their village walk activities. For instance, VW1: a 39-year-old, Storyteller and cultural demonstrator narrated that she got opportunities to train with so many organizations while she worked as a community guide. VW1 explained that while attending various workshops and visiting many community-based enterprises in so many areas in Bushenyi, Kabale and so many other organizations she benchmarked and acquired a lot of skills which have enabled her to operate her cultural, village site. VW5 also a cultural site owner and a village walk guide emphasized:

193

I had just completed my S.6 and that's when my father passed on. My mother could not manage to pay school fees for me to continue with school. I was just stuck with life not until MBIFT came looking for people to train in cultural matters. And because we are living near the park and I was among the few educated people, I got a chance and they put me on a course for one month. I got a certificate in tour guiding; thus, I am a professional community guide. After training, I immediately got a job as a community guide. And the experience from that job has helped me start my own cultural site showcasing the Batwa experience. (VW5: a 39-year-old, Village guide)

Other fragile collectives CI3, CI4, CI5, CI6, CI7, CI9, and CI10 reported that they acquired wood carving and basket weaving skills from their families, friends, and relatives and at the Nkwenda craft centre. For instance, CI6, a 26-year-old Woodcarver mentioned that he started dusting and cleaning paintings in people's crafts in the Nkwenda craft center while he was learning how to carve. He said that he acquired all the skills necessary for him to carve on his own in one year and decided to leave the trading centre and started his own. Other fragile collectives believed that families and friends were important enablers in their businesses as stated below:

I learned carving from my elder brother, and I can carve any type of gorilla. The Bajungu like handcrafts and sometimes they can tell me to carve a gorilla how they saw it in the jungle and I do it. With that, I charge any money I want, and they pay.   (CI3: 25-year-old Woodcarver)

Although I did some fine art at school, I learned to weave from my grandmother, and I know different crafts like making mats and I can even draw. I even draw postcards alongside weaving. And being gifted naturally with art has enabled me. And for me I am so creative, when I look at something, I learn it and do it and it come out well.

(CI7: a 36-year-old Basket weaver)

Regarding fragile collectives engaged in accommodation, food and beverage operations, they make use of cookery skills acquired through both formal and informal training. For example, SP1, a Campsite owner indicated that she acquired formal training but also transferred the skills for cooking she learned from her mother to the operation of her restaurant.

My mother taught me how to cook which motivated me to do the business of cooking. When I heard that tourists were coming here, I thought that I could get an opportunity of operating a restaurant and serving tourists. So, when I reached here, I started operating a small restaurant in the Nkwenda trading

194

center. I was preparing chips and tea, the small lodges that were here were not providing such services. The early Professors who came to do research in the park got interested in my services, they invited me for a training workshop saying that tourism was promising. They trained me on how to prepare various dishes and they made me love my business the more

<div align="right">(SP1: a 56-year-old, Campsite owner).</div>

Other fragile collectives such as VW2, VW3 and VW4, emphasized that they applied cultural history and traditional practices they learned from their parents. VW2 said that he learned to treat people using local herbs from his father. When tourism started, he turned it into a business that is like by cultural tourists. Similarly, VW3 and VW4 reported that they learned about brewing local gins from their fathers and they transferred the experience into money-making projects.

Dancing skills were reported by the Batwa as important enablers to participation. The affirmed that dancing did not require any training to entertain visitors because they already had the skills of traditional dancing. BP2: an 83-year-old dancer and Musician explained that before we were evicted from the forest, the role was to hunt and gather wild food followed by dancing after getting satisfied. He narrated that in the forest, they lived a happy life and merry making was part of them that is why every Mutwa knows how to dance a skill that has enabled their participation in cultural sites. BP1 a 48-year-old dancer and guide added that when tourism started in Bwindi, the Bakiga started inviting them to entertain visitors and because they knew their unique dancing styles. BP1 testified that as time went by, dancing became career and occupation of every Mutwa.

Customer care skills was also reported by fragile collectives in the food and beverage operations. Fragile collectives in this sector that is dominated by women attested that that good customer care had helped them to run their businesses. For an example, SP2 a bar owner and operator stated that she is not educated but the passion she has for her customers have helped her to maintain her customers. She said she is a free woman who talks to and welcomes everyone

<div align="center">195</div>

Whether you are my enemy or my friend. I keep a smile on. I don't keep grudges with my customers and my neighbours. I treat my customers like my family. I have a sense of humor and people love me for that.   (SP2: a 45-year-old, bar owner and operator)

SP3 and SP4 added that other than being passionate about their businesses, persistence and hard work have been key enablers to participation. Other fragile collectives attested that ability to speak multiple languages, experience, persistence, and resilience were key enablers to participation. For example, AS2 a bicycle mechanic who repairs bicycles at a women's' project in Bwindi had this to say:

They say that this job is a dirty job and for the poor. On top of that, it is not a job of women. But I have persisted in all these sentiments, and I am happy with my job.

(AS2, a 37-year-old, Bicycle mechanic)

LA1, a fresh producer narrated that, although he is educated with a university degree in Agriculture, his previous work experience in a boutique equipped him with entrepreneurial skills and the ability to communicate with his customers in his supplying business. LA3 a car washer also added that knowing many languages such as French, Kiswahili and Rukonjo has helped him interact freely since he deals with driver and guides who come from different places and cannot speak the local dialects. LA 3 testified that although he is not educated, the little English and other languages he has learnt form the street enables him to negotiate and conduct his businesses well.

5.8.2 Financial capital

Financial capital was named as a second key enabler to participation. Fragile collectives conformed that own savings, small loans from individual investors and micro-credit facilities, financial support from family, tips from visitors, and monetary donations from visitors enables them to operate their business (see Table 5.10)

Table 5.10: Sources financial livelihood capitals

Code	Source of capital	Description
CI1	Loan, own savings, and tips	*My dad had sold land and I knew he had money, so I asked him to support me and he gave me a loan of 2 million as a loan to pay back in instalments. So, my savings from tips, earnings from my relatives' shop, and the balance from the hospital bills donations helped me to start up my own craft.*
CI3	Tips, own savings, and donations	*I got tips and small donations from visitors which help me to rum my business*
CI5	Own saving and donations	*From a previous job in a craft shop and small donations*
CI7	Own saving	*I started from scratch and got capital through saving. Each time I could sell a basket, I could save, I worked hard and I was tolerant because I knew what I wanted. When I could get a friend and buys like 5 baskets at ago, I could save until I became self-employed.*
CI9	Own savings	*I dig and sell some of the fresh produce like matoke and millet and beans and I buy materials to weave, I also have rentals that support me.*
CI10	Own savings	*I use money from rentals to support my weaving business*
CI12	Savings from tips, family assets	*I was a porter from 2006 to 2009 and I could save the money I was getting. Then I had raw materials got from my mother's plantations. I would get clients who would give me money over and above what I would work for. For example, one time one visitor gave 50 Euros. Then my mother also backed me with 106.73 US dollars. In 2011, my family sold land and I got a share of 12m that gave me a boost which I injected in this business heavily*
SP1	Sale of produce and use of family land	*I had small capital which I had acquired from the sale of products that helped me start. And preparing, tea, and simple meals did not require so much. He advised me that since he has family land at the entrance of the park, we could start a budget-friendly hotel targeting tourists. With his support, he put a camp facility with 20 rooms. In 1995, I started running an accommodation facility alongside a bar and a restaurant.*
SP2	Support from husbands	*I operate a small bar as you can see. It's my husband who started it for me before he died.*
SP3	Own savings from job	*I had to look for survival. I worked in a camp as a cleaner, which really helped me to survive. I worked for this camp for two years, until they brought machines to clean the compound and I was laid off. I was earning 18.68 US dollars per month and I used to save, that's where I got small savings and started a business.*
SP4	Livestock and own savings	*Had pigs which I sold and started up a business*
SP5	Loan	*I got a loan of 133.41 US dollars and started a restaurant*
SP6	Own saving	*Of recent, I got my savings of 32.02 US dollars from a women's group and bought a mattress, you see this small shop, I used the balance from the money I got from the association to start it*

SP7	Loan from mother	*When my husband left me, I got a small loan from my mother and started this small business. Because life was hard for me, so I needed something that i can do without moving because of my lame child*
VW5	Tips and own savings	*I used tips and my own savings to start a craft shop although it later collapsed*
VW1	Own savings, sale of trees, loan	*The starting capital was little, so I got a loan that I have not even finished paying. I looked for land and acquired it but for renting. I had a shamba of trees, I used the trees to build these huts you are seeing.*
LA1	Own savings	*I used my savings from my previous job to acquire and started growing passion fruits and pumpkins.*

Source: Interview responses-2021

5.8.3 Social capital

Social capital was identified as the third enabler of fragile participation in CBT. In this regard, networks, connections, support from friends, family, community-based and non-government organizations, and collaborations with the Uganda Wildlife Authority were identified as key enablers to participation. For instance, fragile collectives in the craft industry and village walk activities highlighted that being connected to tour guides is one way to get visitors to buy their crafts. Other fragile collectives mentioned that having connections with campsites and the park was their ventures' most important enabling factor. At the same time, other fragile collectives stated that being part of the associations was helping them to get market for their crafts. For example, all craft sellers highlighted that being friends with tour guides was the only way they could get access to visitors to buy their crafts. CI5, a woodcarver recounted:

The guide will come and tell you that he has visitors who will go for a village walk. He will even instruct and set the price for you to sell them. He will tell you, let's say each piece they pick, to sell it at 25 USD. After selling, he takes 15 USD, and you take 10 USD. Let's say it's a big deal if they are ten visitors. You accept and make a sale. Because even if you refuse, there are so many craft sellers that he can go to. I instead keep praying for him to bring more visitors. Here we work like that. You can never sell anything if you don't give commission to guides and engage in such deals, you keep seeing visitors passing and going.

(CI5: a 37-year-old woodcarver)

Other than having good relationship with guides, customer referrals were mentioned. CI5 elaborated when you have good rapport with driver guides, they even recommend you to other guides

and visitors on condition that you must give them commission. SP4, a bar owner and grocery operated who weaves baskets as a supplementary to her business, added that having good connections with tour guides was necessary for a reliable market for her basket business and had this to say:

What helps me is that some of the guides are my friends, so my friend guides bring me tourists. Otherwise not easy to sell the baskets to a Mujungu when you don't have connections with a Mujungu. It is also by chance that tourists make a stopover to buy baskets If you don't have a good relationship with tour guides.

<div align="center">(SP4: a 39-year-old, bar owner and grocery)</div>

This above narration was also supported by village walk site owners who affirmed their business thrive and depend on guides and other organizations who have contacts with visitors. For example, VW3 agreed with VW2 that guides and community-based enterprise markets their businesses and bring to them visitors:

Through the community (Buhoma Rest Camp), the park sends me tourists who come with guides. There are also many village walks, and when they get tourists who love the cultural experience and treating people with herbs, they bring them.

<div align="center">(VW2: an 83-year-old storyteller, cultural demonstrator and herbalist)</div>

At first, I was getting tourists from some people who own community walks, but later on, I started receiving visitors from different guides. I feel I am self-employed, but it is through the guides and in other organizations

<div align="center">(VW2: a 58-year-old Coffee and Banana brewer)</div>

VW1 and VW4 emphasized that having connections with guides, campsite managers, and other tour companies have helped them to market their cultural sites locally and internationally. For (SP1), a campsite owner, emphasized that having so many friends have helped her to have an extensive customer base. Moreover, she revealed that when operating her small restaurant, she fell in love with a park ranger whom she later married. She said that her husband did not only help her to start a campsite but also connected her with park officials and other visitors. Below is her narration:

Because my husband was educated and he knew how to talk to clients, he encouraged me to target tourists. This is because, at first, I was only serving tour guides and the local people. He had so many chances of getting contact with tourists that he promised to connect me to tourists. He was also part of the first team that habituated the gorillas; thus, he was known and connected to many people. This helped me to get clients, and my business as a restaurant started booming. Like the previous chief wardens and community wardens, the Park officials were supportive. They could send me visitors as well (SP1: 556-year-old Campsite owner)

<div align="center">199</div>

CI7 basket weaver narrated that other than waiting for visitors to buy her crafts from the Nkwenda Craft center, she has established good relationships with camp managers, who invite her to weave from their camps:

When I had just weaving, my baskets got to market, and I even started receiving orders beyond my capacity. The orders came from organizations and some people who have access to tourists like the Batwa. Then the camps also started inviting me to their camps and giving me orders which I have sustained today

(CI7: a 36-year-old Basket weaver)

On the other hand, most fragile collectives who do not have access to visitors indicated that they give their handcrafts to the Batwa to sell for them on their behalf. This is because, the Batwa entertain visitors directly and 99 percent of the Batwa do not know how make handcrafts but earn small commissions given to them when they sell baskets to the visitors. Other fragile collectives mentioned that they sell their crafts through children who go to entertain visitors in camps or on the street or community-based organizations that have children's entertainment groups. Other than connections, membership in community associations and groups was mentioned as an essential enabler. Most fragile collectives indicated that being part of community associations and groups had helped them sell their baskets. For example, CI8, CI9, CI10, SP8, and AS2 mentioned that women's associations had enabled them to secure market for their baskets.

As grannies, we hold monthly meetings to discuss our progress and our baskets, when the Bajungu wants our baskets, they call us through Nyaka Project, and they come and take our baskets

(CI8: a 70-year-old Basket weaver

Besides being a bicycle mechanic, I belong to Kyeshero Bakyara Tubebamwe, a women's group that teaches women to weave baskets. Sometimes they tell us that we shall receive visitors. So, they encourage us to bring our baskets, and when we are lucky, they buy all our baskets

(AS2: a 37-year-old Bicycle mechanic)

Some fragile collectives employed temporarily or casually employed jobs in tourism enterprises considered social capital an important aspect that helped them get jobs. For example, FE1, FE2, and FE3 said that they secured their jobs through friends, family, and relatives. FE2 and FE3 recognized the importance of friendship with relatives and friends. They confirmed that their

employer was a friend at church and a distant relative, and they believed that this relationship secured them their jobs. For FE1, he had this to say:

I have a friend who works at the camp as a Chef; he's the one who recommended me. He came and told me to write an application, and I thank my wife, she wrote an application for me, and when I took it, I was interviewed and given a job immediately. (FE1: a 55-year-old, Campsite compound Cleaner)

On the other hand, other fragile collectives highlighted support from their families and friends in form of financial help to fund their business as stated below:

After senior six, my aunt opened a craft shop in Rushaga, and I went to work for her in her craft shop. During that vacation and while working, I got into a severe accident, and I spent a whole year at home because my leg was seriously injured. So, when I sent pictures of my leg in plaster to my friend and sponsor, he sent me money to clear hospital bills. So, after clearing hospital bills, I remained with a balance of 3millions (845.91872 USD). So, I decided to start my own business using that money. So, when I told my aunt and my dad about it, they encouraged me to start, and my aunt decided to sell me her craft shop.

(CI1: a 25-year-old Artist)

5.8.4 Natural capital

Fragile collectives described Bwindi as a place gifted by nature with natural endowments. Fragile collectives mentioned Bwindi Impenetrable National Park itself, Mountain Gorillas, a variety of bird species and butterflies, waterfalls, caves, and other wildlife species were mentioned by fragile collectives as important livelihood capitals in their lives. Fragile collectives admitted that Gorilla (Engagi) is an important resource that brings visitors to Bwindi, giving birth to various entrepreneurial activities. Some fragile collectives expressed their views as follows:

I am a grade three teacher. I was frustrated by the government not putting me on a government payroll, the salary pay was too low, and sometimes, they could not pay me. My husband didn't have a job, and life was hard for us. I told myself, we have engagi (Mountain Gorillas), visitors are there, and they will keep coming; the park authority is there to protect the visitors. Why can't I start something of my own?

(VW1: a 39-year-old Storyteller and cultural demonstrator)

If Gorillas were not there, I don't think a Mujungu would come here. What brings a Mujungu is a gorilla, nothing else. All these businesses you see around started because of gorilla tracking. Tourism contributes like 90% to the development of this area. Tourism and Gorilla are like Gold to us.

(CI3, 25-year-old, Woodcarver)

Tourism is here for us to stay; the onus is on us to organize ourselves and tap the potential surrounding us. You know the Bajungu love the people of Bwindi, and it's because we have conserved the Gorillas, and they

love the Gorilla. That is why I am communicating the conservation of Gorillas through art with my children. So, unless all the Gorillas die, we shall not see the Bajungu, but gorillas are there; they are here with us.

(CI1: 25-year-old Artist)

Other fragile collectives acknowledged that, as much as gorilla tracking was the main tourist activity that attracts visitors to Bwindi, they attributed their participation to land ownership. For example, fragile collectives VW2, VW3, and VW4 pointed out that starting cultural demonstration activities was easy for them since they already had traditional skills, experience, and their own premises, compared to VW1 having to acquire a loan to hire land to operate from. Besides, fragile collectives, especially wood carvers and basket weavers, highlighted the availability of natural materials in their community as an added advantage for the craft industry to thrive. They narrated that Bwindi is gifted by nature and the availability of weaving materials has enabled their businesses to thrive. Below are some of the expressions:

I have unique baskets made from natural products. Bajungu love baskets made out of natural products. We are gifted with all these products in the hills.

(CI7: 36-year-old, Basket weaver)

We also have unique trees for making woods for carving. Even people plant emisavu (local trees), and I buy from the community when mine is done. The good thing, these trees grow so fast, and many people in this community use such trees for fencing. So, materials are available. We also have clay soil and cement.

(CI2: a 36-year-old woodcarver)

5.8.5 Physical capital

Physical capital was identified as the fifth enabler of participation. Fragile collectives described physical assets in the form of physical developments in the area, such as the establishment of Community Lodge enterprise, campsites, other small accommodation facilities, Kwenda Craft Street, Visitor Information Centre, Buhoma trading center, and other small trading centers and other infrastructural developments. Fragile collectives stated that all these facilities came into place after the introduction of tourism in Bwindi. Out of 55 fragile collectives, 25 fragile collectives, especially craft sellers, Village walk owners, and a few who were dealing in indirect activities, agreed that Uganda Wildlife Authority had enabled their participation through marketing Bwindi as a Gorilla tourist destination.

One fragile collective, a village guide said that sometimes he goes to the Visitor Information Center, which has information about visitors, and he actually gets clients from there. However, two village walk owners stated that community lodge enterprises were the ones sending them visitors. This was supported by women fragile collectives who stated that Buhoma Rest camp, a community lodge enterprise, enables their participation. Women fragile collectives said that through this lodge, they used to sell their baskets and dance for visitors before it collapsed.

Buhoma Mukono, Community Development Association, is where most of us learned and improved our weaving skills. It had ten groups, each one with a chairperson. We used to go and dance for the visitors in the park before the group collapsed. We were under BMCDA and used to go with our baskets when dancing. We even used to have a small hut inside at Buhoma Rest camp where we could weave and take our baskets for sale.   (CI9: a 68-year-old basket weaver*)*

Other fragile collectives pointed out that the establishment of community-based organizations and non-governmental organizations has enabled their participation. They said that while they send their children to entertain visitors, they give them baskets to sell for them. Besides, two fragile collectives stated that the availability of Gorillas and the security provided by the park enable them to work. CI2 and VW1 pointed out that security in Bwindi enables them to work peacefully. It was noted that there are different types of security agencies in Bwindi, including Uganda Police, Uganda Army and Tourism Police, and Uganda Wildlife Rangers, all equipped with security equipment to ensure the security of visitors and locals is tightened and assured. Other than security, other fragile collectives noted that infrastructural development like roads and small trading centers with rental houses enabled many fragile collectives to run their businesses.

It was observed that both Nkwenda, Kacwampale, Buhoma, and Kalere were the busiest trading centers with small-scale businesses that are run by most of the fragile collectives. The physical structures were put by local elites, and fragile collectives hired them to operate their business. They revealed that all these developments started as a result of tourism development and they enable them operate their businesses smoothly. One fragile collective narrated:

Before tourism started, the village was so remote, and people were poor. Only older people were the ones doing lumbering and commercial agriculture business. There was no shop around, no saloons, no shops, and

everything used to be got from Butogota. We used to walk to Butogota, and there were no vehicles, and means of transport were limited.   (CI2: a 36-year-old woodcarver)

Besides, five of the 55 fragile collectives stated that they had also built rental houses where they were getting income to support their business. About Kwenda craft street, half of the fragile collectives agreed that 99% of opportunities exist in Nkwenda Trading Centre. Kwenda is a traditional Craft center at the entrance of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park. Twenty-seven fragile collectives declared that their participation started from Nkwenda street: Below are some of the expressions:

I come from Mukongoro. It is off the tourism trail. Although this place has Batwa settlement, visitors come there only to visit the Batwa but not us, the ordinary people. Even if you put a business there, it cannot work. No opportunity there, no activity for tourists. The option is here in Nkwenda street. 99% opportunities are in this trading center

(CI4: a 39-year-old woodcarver)

I started weaving 15 years ago; I used to weave at home with my late grandmother, who taught me how to make crafts. I started to go to Nkwenda to look for market for my products in 2015, and I used to sell them on the roadside. I sold my crafts slowly until I got some little money to rent a room to put my craft shop.

(CI7: a 36-year-old Basket weaver*)*

Researcher: What is so special about Nkwenda street?

Nkwenda is a special place because it is near the park entrance, and it's a street for crafts well known by tourists. So, when you come to Nkwenda street, there are high chances that you will get tourists and buy the crafts. But when you remain at home, no tourist will ever know that you make crafts. Okay, even at home, I used to sell, but I could sell to people who knew that I make suitable baskets, especially friends

(CI7: a 36-year-old Basket weaver)

5.8.6 Cultural Capital

Although cultural capital was not mentioned by majority fragile collectives, village walk founders and cultural site appreciated that culture is the biggest resource that enables participation in Bwindi. They narrated that they identified a niche that was not exploited along with gorilla tracking and other tourist activities. VW2, VW3, and VW4 noted that, when tourism started, they went and registered with Buhoma Mukono Community Development Association (BMCDA) and expressed their interest in serving as cultural stakeholders. BMCDA accepted them and began marketing their services under Buhoma Community Rest Camp, a community project. VW1 and VW5 narrated that they were trained in cultural matters by Bwindi Mgahinga Conservation Trust, which equipped them

with cultural knowledge besides their local cultural understanding. Moreover, VW1 and VW5 noted that the presence of the Batwa, whom tourists like, was a starting point for them. VW5 explained that:

The Batwa is a hot product here that we package and sell. We have the Batwa culture experience, where the Batwa showcase how they used to live in the forest, and the visitors love the Batwa. And the visitors who come to Bwindi hardly go minus going to the village walks, which the Batwa is the main product among the village walks (VW5: a 39-year-old Village guide and Batwa cultural site owner*)*

In summary this section has highlighted human, financial, and social capital as the most contributing enablers to the participation of fragile collectives. For instance, some fragile collectives reported that Bwindi National Park and Gorillas are there to stay. Still, participation becomes difficult if one is not creative enough to start something or lacks the money to start a business, fragile collectives stated. Besides, other fragile collectives revealed that having money and knowledge to do something without connections is meaningless. Having connections with local guides, the campsite managers, village walk founders, visitors, and the UWA or Park officials cited as the most important enabler to participation. Having presented enablers to participation, The next section (5.8) presents the barriers to participation that fragile collectives encounter. They include internal and external barriers to participation in community-based tourism.

5.9 Barriers participation in community-based tourism

Explicitly, this section presents findings on participation barriers from all the three forms of participation in community-based tourism. Principally, it presents findings on the fourth research question: *What are the barriers to fragile collectives' participation in CBT?* These barriers are divided into two categories: internal and external barriers to participation. This section is divided into two parts based on the two themes. Part one presents internal barriers while part two presents external barriers that hinder fragile collectives' participation in CBT. This section ushers to the presentation of the results on solutions and mechanisms provided by fragile collectives to the barriers to participation.

5.9.1 Internal barriers

In the context of this study, internal barriers are defined as individual challenges that prevent or hinder fragile collectives' participation in CBT as presented below:

Financial constraints

Lack of capital was identified as a major constraint to participation. All the 55 fragile collectives noted that lack of access to finance/ less capital was their major constraint. Ten fragile collectives who were not involved in any activity reported that lack of starting capital was a limiting factor even though they wanted to participate. Majority of the fragile collectives live below the poverty line as was indicated by their low incomes in section 5.5. Fragile collectives who engage in casual labor activities for their family's survival narrated that fragile even though they wished to participate and engage in small-scale businesses such as vending in small items, basket weaving, storytelling, dancing, and bar operations, they reported that it was impossible for them to do so without financial support.

I plan to start a restaurant if I get money or any support. But the challenge is that I don't have the capital to buy equipment.   (MN6 (RIP), 54-year-old, smallholder)

I have a sewing machine for sweaters, although it is no longer working. I didn't have money to buy the materials, and it has been overkept. I don't have money to repair it.

(MN4: a 32-year-old casual laborer)

I have thought of a business selling tomatoes, but I don't have the capital to start with.

(MN10, 26-year-old casual laborer)

Due to lack of financial base majority fragile collectives were dealing in small scale businesses while others are portrayed as cultural products especially the Batwa, women and children. For example, BP3 a Mutwa dancer and a guide in of the Batwa cultural sites commented:

We don't know how much money the visitor's pay to come and watch us. We make visitors happy but we earn little. What I know, a mujungu comes from America to come and see a Gorilla and a Mutwa: Only two things. But the Bakiga are using us to get money. I would have started a small bar, but I don't think I can manage to raise money to buy a jerrycan of Waragi. People here drink. Both the Batwa and the Bakiga drink a lot. So, when you start up a bar, you can easily get money   (BP3: a 50-year-old dancer& guide)

206

Difficulties associated with borrowing money from micro lenders were highlighted. SP2 a 46-year-old widow, who operates a small local bar expressed her apprehensions about taking out a bank loan since she is unsure if she would be able to repay it. She said she lacked the necessary collateral to receive a loan and couldn't risk her one piece of land. SP2, narrated that after her husband's death, she had to rely only on the business to survive, and the business was steadily deteriorating. She also stated that she had spent her initial capital and was now operating on credit. She noted she wanted to run away but wasn't sure where to go. SP3 who separated from her husband and was operating a small local bar described a similar problem as SP5: Most fragile collectives who were running small scale business stated that they wanted to expand their business but could not do so due to a lack of resources and loans. Other fragile collectives confirmed that they have customers, but the most prominent issue they face is obtaining finance to expand their enterprises. A case in point, SP3 stated that:

I feel insecure in this business; I cannot save from this business. I would go for a loan to boost my business, but I don't have collateral security. If I had enough capital, I would expand my business, but I don't have any hopes of getting money   (SP3, 45-year-old bar owner/operator)
The business is small, and I need more capital for expansion. This is not the business I would want to have. I want a more significant business but don't have money to inject it.
                                                                (SP4, a 39-year-old bar, grocery owner, and operator)
Customers are there; but I don't have items in the shop. People come asking for this and that, but the shop is empty   (SP6, a 27-year-old bar, grocery owner, and operator).

Similarly, SP5, a pioneer in the local business restaurants and has been in operation for more than 20 years, shared that: "*You see how this restaurant looks; I would be in a lovely restaurant if I had money "as shown in Figure 5.3.*

Figure 5.3: Image of local restaurant

Figure 5.3 depicts the image of the pioneer local restaurant in the Buhoma trading center. On the left is SP5 with her customers taking breakfast on the side of the restaurant. In the middle, she is preparing lunch of a local cuisine (Goats head and Matooke/plantain and on the left is her kitchen (Source: Researcher, 2021)

Other fragile collectives mentioned that they were struggling to pay monthly rent for the premises where they work from. They stated that they were operating their enterprises solely to survive and pay rent, which was affecting their already failing businesses. Furthermore, they noted that the cost of running their small business in terms of purchasing raw materials and long-distance transportation all demand money, which was prohibitively expensive for them to operate due to their small size. SP2 expressed that she has many challenges, but the biggest one is the monthly rent of 16.1675 US dollars for both the bar and behind the bar where she sleeps.

While most fragile collectives, particularly those in the craft industry, cited a lack of capital to purchase more materials and construct proper structures and equipment, others cited a lack of capital for renting larger spaces for their crafts or even renovating their crafts and premises. Furthermore, CI1 stated that visitors prefer larger craft shops with a wide range of items using CI12 as an example of a business that receives a lot of visitors due to its size and display of crafts. Similarly,

CI7 a basket weaver who has dreams of helping other women in the village come out of poverty, had this to say:

I don't have the capacity to buy uniforms for the women, or acquire a strategic place where I can rent for my women to entertain visitors and display their crafts. I need a bigger place where my group of women can show case their crafts to tourists. You see my craft shop is so small that all the 20 women cannot come and fit here. Also getting materials that are not locally available are a challenge. We get them from some distant place across the park and sometimes passing through the park is restricted.

<div align="right">(CI7: a 36-year-old female basket weaver)</div>

In addition, three fragile collectives in the village walk sector including VW3, a 58-year-old coffee and banana brewer showed an interest in establishing homestay facilities to augment their cultural activities but were constrained by financial resources. They expressed wanting to have control over their visitors who came to appreciate their cultural experience but were hampered by the hefty costs of setting up a homestay.

Language barrier

Language barrier was identified as the second limitation to participation. Apart from five fragile collectives who had attained higher education and affirmed that they can interact with visitors freely, the rest of the fragile collectives recognized English and communication with visitors as another hindrance to participation in their various occupations given their low levels of education. Majority of the fragile collectives admitted that they occasionally fail to bargain for their products in front of visitors and thus miss out on a sale. For example, a BP7 dancer and craft seller, as well as other Batwa fragile collectives, have complained that they are unable to negotiate with guests and hence receive less money. They stated that individuals who can communicate in English are better negotiators and earn more money. Other vulnerable groups, particularly those in the craft business reported that some visitors enjoy interacting with them but are humiliated when they cannot speak in English. Some vulnerable groups expressed their emotions, particularly their humiliation in front of the visitors. BP8, who provides porterage services alongside dancing and craft selling narrated that:

I regret not attending school because I can't communicate efficiently with Bajungu like the people who know some English. Some visitors attempt to engage me in lengthy talks, which I avoid. Even when the guest is willing to talk to me, I feel embarrassed, so I avoid the visitors (BP8, a dancer and craft seller/porter)

Similar to BP8, CI7 a basket weaver and CI4 a woodcarver said that due to a lack of confidence, CI7 said she sometimes gets stuck and uncomfortable when communicating with visitors. She stressed that, while she speaks some English, she lacks the confidence to hold a conversation. She also requested that I teach her how to use a smartphone she had purchased to communicate with clients and market her products. She confessed that it was causing her problems. CI4 stated that he receives people who wish to converse with him but are unable to do so. He emphasized that clever English-speaking youngsters have ties with Bajungu and receive assistance from them to grow their businesses. He added that he occasionally has the opportunity to teach Bajungu how to carve gorillas, and that in return, they ask him what they can do for him, but he is unable to express himself owing to the language barrier. He wished he knew English because he could have made connections and accomplished his dream of opening an expert wood carving workshop.

Operators of village walk and cultural sites reported that lack of English abilities significantly impacted their operations. VW2, VW3, and VW4 talked about how they rely on the guide to explain their services to the tourists. They also stated that the guides do not always offer the exact and true information they present. Despite their awareness of the implications of CBT participation, most fragile collectives in all categories cited a lack of education and expertise about tourism as one of the issues hindering their participation. They stated that finding a job in tourism without a college diploma is difficult and that educated people fill all tourism jobs in the park.

LA3, the car washer, explained that in the park, they only hire educated people from far away. He narrated that he has tried unsuccessfully to apply for a position as a porter. As LA3, SP6, a mother of a disabled child, indicated that apart from her child's condition prohibiting her participation, she would love to work as a porter or a ranger in the park but education limits her potential. She is also stated that she is unaware of any tourism-related activities she may participate in although she is

operating a small local bar and grocery shop. She said that her children make gorilla sculptures, but they don't know where and how they can sell them.

Lack of social capital

On the other hand, some fragile collectives expressed that they would love to join one of the powerful women groups in Bwindi, but they did not know who to approach to connect them to the group's Director. Three of the fragile collectives expressed desires to work in parks or campsites as cleaners or cooks but were limited by lack of education. In this regard, MN9, a widow and a mother of two, had this to say:

As I told you that tourism gives jobs to people who are educated; with my primary three, I don't think I can get a job. Besides, I know how to make mats, but I don't know where to sell them or whether tourists can buy mats. I can also manage to work as a porter or even clean in camps, but I don't have a person to connect me to the campsites or parks. I would love to have a job, business, or rearing of goats, but due to a lack of connections, I have left everything to God. (MN9: 26-year-old, casual laborer)

Similarly, MN1a 61-year-old disabled had this to say*:*

I know how to play a herp and dance, but I don't have a chance to meet visitors to entertain them. I know how to dance, but I don't get a chance. With my lame leg, I can dance and jump into the sky; unless you see me limping, you cannot notice that while I am dancing. Given a chance, I can demonstrate my dancing skills. (MN1: a 61-year-old smallholder farmer)

Age, chronic diseases, and illnesses

Age was recognized as a limiting factor in involvement by three fragile collectives: CI8, VW2, and BP2 highlighted how their advancing years prevented them from carrying out their duties. VW2 and BP2, 83 years old, revealed how their advanced age prevented them from doing their tasks, sometimes involving long walks. For example, BP2 explained that the cultural location where he performs is far from his home and that he occasionally experiences pain when traveling long distances because he has had three hernia operations. CI8 said,

I'm growing weaker and weaker as I get older. Running up and down with young people competing for visitors to buy my baskets saddens me at my age, but I don't have much of a choice because I have to do it for survival.

I can't weave without my glasses. Also, craft-making necessitates acquiring supplies, which requires energy that I really don't have at this age (CI8:a 74 year old basket weaver)

A variety of chronic conditions were also highlighted as a barrier to participation. Five fragile collectives explained that illnesses occasionally prevent them from carrying out their responsibilities. VW3 mentioned that he had seasonal mental troubles that prevent him from doing anything. BP7 narrated that:

I've had a fistula since the birth of my third child. The condition prevents participation in huge public events. For example, because I'm afraid of smelling, I can't dance but I can cheer or drum for the dancers. Almost everyone in this place knows my condition, and this humiliates me. I am occasionally alone and this affects my participation. (BP7: dancer and craft seller)

Similarly, SP1 a widow and a campsite owner poured her heart to me how she feels embarrassed when they refer to her a prostitute and a source of HIV/AIDS in Bwindi

Unlike these days, when my husband had just died 15 years ago, it was so difficult for me. I lost most of my customers saying that they would contract AIDs from me. I became the talk of the day, most men feared and avoided coming to my bar. At least these days, people with HIV share things with others, those days it was so hard, I became isolated, and the business almost collapsed. This has affected me till today. The locals have put allegations on me that I am the source of HIV in this community. (SP1: a 56-year-old campsite owner)

Limited time

Limited time was alluded to as one of the hurdles to participation This was mainly reported by women who are faced with double burdens and triple roles. They confessed that that their triple roles as farmers, care takers and care earners limit their full participation. CI0 a basket weaver and a mother of six stated that she would be working in an organization such as Ride for a Woman with her weaving abilities, but she has to care for the home because her husband is always busy with his job in the park. She went on to say that some of her children, who would generally assist her with gardening and housework, are boarding school students, while those at home also require her care.

As a woman, I have to be in the garden, I have to make sure children go to school at the same time I have to make sure I am around to prepare lunch for my husband and when I am not around he quarrels and complains resulting in fighting. I feel overwhelmed by home chores and my husband does not support me. The greatest

challenge I have is lack of time to concentrate on my basket weaving.

(CI10: a 45-year-old female basket weaver)

FE2 and FE3, on the other hand, indicated that their occupations need them to work Monday through Sunday, especially during peak season, which they sometimes fail to do due to home and garden obligations. They described their salary as being contingent on their attendance at work; if they fail to show up, they are not paid.

Family problems

Family issues were mentioned by five fragile collectives (VW1, VW3, VW5, CI10, CI11, and FE2). Lack of support from spouses and fighting amongst couples were mentioned as the common barriers to participation. When I asked how these were barriers to participation, VW1 described her husband as a man that is involved with many sexual partners. Whenever she confronts him, they get into arguments which sometimes put pressure on her. And whenever she has pressure attacks, she cannot attend to her customers until she's better. My husband cannot help even if he sees that the business is sometimes overwhelmed by many customers. He will sit at a distance and look on.

Conversely, VW3, VW5, CI10, CI11, and FE2 cited fighting with their spouses as the most significant barrier to their participation. Each time these fragile collectives fight, they get affected on their occupations. For example, FE2 mentioned that after a fight with her husband, she does not want to go to work the next day. She stated that it is sometimes difficult for her to go to work since she usually sleeps in the woods or at her mother-in-law's house when they quarrel, and the next morning she feels unfit for work. VW3 mentioned that whenever he disagrees with his wife, he does not want to meet with any clients because he enjoys his profession and does not want to appear cheerful in front of clients when he is not. VW5 said that his craft shop collapsed due to his busy schedule with village walk activities because his wife could not operate it. Apart from VW1, the rest of the fragile collectives attributed all these issues to alcoholism.

Lack of interest

Twenty-eight fragile collectives identified loss of interest as one of the barriers to participation. One of them, CI10, a basket weaver, indicated that she had lost interest in basket weaving due to a lack of market. She stated that she did not understand why she should continue weaving baskets if she had no hope of selling them. On the one hand, FE1, FE2, and FE3 raised the issue of low pay. Seven Batwa fragile collectives, on the other hand, revealed that they would not be entertaining tourists if it weren't for lack of other livelihood options. They attributed their lack of interest to poor pay and sometimes no pay by the owners of the village walk sites where they entertain visitors from. One of them expressed her lack of interest as follows:

I don't want to go to X anymore because she doesn't pay well. We have danced for visitors despite her giving us little money or no pay and barking at us. Imagine dancing for 0.28 US dollars, which isn't even enough to buy a kilo of corn. Due to a lack of alternative income sources, I keep returning. She can pay us between 0.57 and 0.85 US dollars when she is in a good mood, but she is unpredictable. What irritates me the most is that she forbids us from selling our handicrafts. She deceives people into believing that those crafts belong to the Batwa and that the Bajungu are supporting us by purchasing them, yet she doesn't share the profits with us. When the Bajungu give us tips, she doesn't pay us that day, and she'll say that the money is sufficient. She's a horrible person. We earn money for her, but she doesn't seem to notice.

(BP5: a 30-year-old dancer and craft seller)

Poverty and lack of land resources

Majority fragile collectives in the marginal or no participation group highlighted poverty, lack of financial resources and assistance, education, connection, time, and a lack of interest, among other things as barriers to participation. Poverty was mentioned as one of the significant barriers to participation. Poverty was attributed lack of livelihood resources. They especially envisioned that if they owned land or animals, they would use such resources to obtain money to participate in income-generating activities. They emphasized that a lack of such resources adds to participation barriers and their inability to provide for their families. They testified that, despite having fantasies about participating in CBT, it was a dream come true for them.

Section 5.9.1 has presented internal barriers that are explicitly individual. The next section presents external barriers to participation in CBT.

5.9.2 External Barriers

In the context of this study, external barriers refer to barriers that fragile collectives do not have control over. They include socio-cultural, structural and operational related barriers as presented below:

Problem of the guides

The issue of guides was highlighted as the most common hurdle faced by all fragile collectives in all the three forms of participation. Driver guides and community guides, according to fragile collectives, are critical pathways to their participation. They voiced concerns about stereotypes, visitor restrictions, and commission. Pertaining stereotypes, CI1 and CI2 reported that guides bad-mouth craft vendors at the Nkwenda trading center. CI2 says that visitors sometimes tell him from campsites that they were told that he is a thug. According to CI2, he sometimes perceives that certain guests are afraid of him. He further described how he was once detained, and his hair was cut on the claim that it scared away visitors. Visitors are scared by unfavourable stereotypes from guides. According to CI1, even if they have a passion for aiding vulnerable groups, we don't stand a chance because of those stereotypes.

CI1 clarified that it is the tour guide who picks up the visitor from the airport and takes them up to Bwindi, so the guide has all the influence on this visitor. He further added that driver guides have their allies or craft shops both in Bwindi and other National Parks. He emphasized that he can see tourists peering through the car windows, but some of these guides don't make stop overs for the tourists to check out their items. Instead, they drive them only to their allies or, when they stop, put the visitors in an unnecessary hurry, denying the crafts vendors to fully showcase their items.

On the issue of commission, CI5 narrated that they have to give commission to the guides to be able to sell their products to the tourists. Sometimes the tour guides or driver guides set the price for the goods to get enough commission.

For example, the guide will say that each piece the tourist chooses will be sold for $25. He takes $15, and you take $10. The guides, you see, are motivated by money and commission. That is how we work here. You will

never be able to sell anything if you do not pay a commission to guides. It's even better because I am paid less than a dollar for each piece when I sell it to the crafts. The guides trick us and make more money than we do. If you do not engage in such transactions, you will continue to watch visitors come and leave. In any case, life is difficult here. It's a case of the survival of the fittest. (CI5: a 37-year-old woodcarver)

Aside from the guides' love of commission, CI7 noticed that big camps in contact with drivers occasionally give them free food and sometimes accommodation, luring them in and forgetting about the vulnerable collectives. Additionally, vulnerable groups along village and gorilla routes cited tourist restrictions as deterring participation. Some guides, according to CI3, do not allow visitors to stop at the crafts or exhibits along the trails. He highlighted that their families make a living by selling goods along the routes, but some guides are untrustworthy. He claims that even if guests wish to interact with them, the guides do not allow them. CI6 went on to say that guides buy crafts and place them in village walk places, which is why guests are not allowed to buy from them. He affirmed that guides mislead visitors by claiming that the crafts on display at village walk sites are manufactured by fragile collectives selling their products. The visitor will only stop in rare instances of when they stop, the guide walks away fast, and since the visitors have to follow the guide, they also leave.

The Batwa fragile collectives also expressed their concerns about the behavior of the guides. The Batwa usually entertain the visitors on village walks, but the guides never allow them to interact with them, even when some Batwa know little English. The owners of the village walk often assures the tourists that they help the fragile collectives, yet they don't. BP2 highlighted his dissatisfaction with the guides' refusal to allow people to visit their homesteads and view their awful living conditions:

Sometimes the guides cheat us on our tips even when the Mujungu states that money belongs to us. The guides instruct visitors to put the money in a safe box that has a big padlock, and when the visitors leave, they open the safe box and take away the money. (BP1, 48-year-old dancer and guide)

Competition and lack of market

The second most common barrier to participation cited by fragile collectives was competition and lack of market. Most of the craft industry's fragile collectives reported intense competition from

larger groups, particularly non-governmental and community-based organizations, campsites and lodges, the Uganda Wildlife Authority, and competition among themselves. For example, fragile collectives in the Nkwenda craft center stated how they believe campsites and village walk founders who deal in similar craft services are driving them out of business. They pointed out that they compete with campgrounds inside and outside the park and that each camp has its artisan shop. They mentioned that what hurts them is that they acquire their crafts in Kampala, the capital, and other locations, deceiving people into thinking that the crafts belong to vulnerable collectives and that they are supportive of the community. They also noted that the Park authority, which should be supporting fragile collectives, is competing against them. One of the fragile collectives summarized the issue of competition as below:

By the time visitors are allowed to move out of the campsites and lodges, they will have already purchased crafts from their craft stores. On the street, competition is stiff, and we sell by chance. This street has over 30 craft shops, excluding village walk crafts. If possible, I could have given the guides incentives to get visitors attention, but I don't know who to approach. Even yet, I'm concerned that with my limited resources, I won't be able to compete with large camps and organizations. And instead of assisting us, the park authority is helping large organizations and camps and we have been forgotten. Survival of the fittest is the motto. You see, even our Chief Warden is from the north, according to what I've heard. We don't know him; they merely drive by in their cars, unaware of our issues. They don't care about the problems of ordinary people. All we need now is God's help (CI7: a 36-year-old basket weaver)

CI12 a craft entrepreneur and a driver guide emphasized that visitors are competed for by everybody like community walks, Ride for a Woman. With such a competition CI12 narrated that their sales were being affected. He mentioned that because they don't have money to give to guides as commission like community walk organizations do, they were being driven out of the business slowly. "*The guides are a problem because they don't recommend us*". Other fragile collectives mentioned that founders of community walk organizations have craft stores in their sites which they claim are for Batwa. The visitors buy crafts thinking they are supporting the Batwa which is not the case. The following extract confirms:

217

For us, we just display our crafts waiting for well-wishers or chance guests who may come by themselves. Because even when the tour vehicles are passing and you see tourists peeping through car windows, the guides don't allow them, because if they allow them, they know they will miss out commission from bigger camps. Even if clients want to have a stopover, to our craft shops, the guides stop them. The guides promote community walks, and the founders deceive that they are supporting the Batwa and yet all the money goes to the founder. These founders have gone an extra mile and deceived visitors that they are supporting the Batwa.

(CI: a 29-year-old male craft entrepreneur and driver guide)

SP2 who owns a small local bar but weaves baskets as a supplement mentioned that village guides forbid them from selling their baskets to visitors, highlighting the same concern as elaborated above. Due to such restrictions from the village guides, SP2 narrated that they give their baskets to the Batwa or craft shop owners who have access to visitors to sell for them. SP2 and AS2 highlighted the challenges associated with selling their baskets through Batwa and people who own craft shops as cited below:

You see, I am located along the trail where tourists pass, but the guides don't allow visitors to stop by. Some guides are jealous. They are the ones in control of visitors, and they are the ones who can convince them to buy from us, but they pretend as if they don't know our problems. The Batwa whom we give our baskets don't to sell for us, they don't return the money. I gave up on making baskets.

(SP2, 46-year-old bar owner and operator)

I gave someone, a craft owner, my eight baskets, but he told me that all of them got lost. Those craftspeople get a lot of money during the peak season. The craftspeople are even worse than the Batwa. Imagine my situation as a widow with orphans; knowing how I struggle; he just sold my baskets and used the money. How can a man with five senses cheat a woman like me, and you fail to declare even a single coin?

(AS2, a 37-year-old bicycle mechanic)

The founders of the village walk sites also raised the issue of competition amongst themselves, with each claiming that the other is a copycat. VW4 had the following to say:

Almost every site with a village walk is concocting my product, yet individuals say I benefit from this activity. And the same guides who may potentially bring visitors for me here are also duplicating my services, and therefore I get fewer people. (VW4: a 50-year-old banana brewer)

Separately, other fragile collectives from other sectors also complained about competition. SP1, a campsite owner, also mentioned that, despite being the first to open a campsite in Bwindi, she was up against intense competition from other camps and lodges with more advanced facilities. LA3, a car washer, stated that he made a lot of money when he first started washing cars, but that by the

time of the interview, he intended to leave the business due to competition from camps, lodges and the Uganda Wildlife Authority. He explained that, because of camps and lodges installing washing bays in their facilities, his clients reduced. He observed that many youths on the street were doing the same jobs and that competition among them was becoming intense. Similarly, SP5 reported that she was facing stiff competition from upcoming restaurants that were trying to concoct her services. AS3, a shoe repairman also noted the same issue of competition amongst cobblers. LA3 and LA5 highlighted the issue of lack of market and low prices for their stones. They stated that as tourism is seasonal, so is the market for their stones. The market for our stones has reduced since tourists coming in are very few, which has prompted us to sell them at a low price, yet we put in so much labor in collecting them, they said.

Elite dominance

The third most common hindrance to fragile collectives participating in CBT was identified as elite dominance. The wealthy, educated, foreigners, big organizations, and the park govern community-based tourism in Bwindi according to most of the fragile collectives. They claimed that the community's elites have complete control over everything, making it difficult for a fragile person to have visitors or sell anything without their permission. The community owns only two community lodges (see Appendix 7), while the rest of the community-based organizations and non-governmental organizations (see Appendix 5 & 6) are owned by the wealthy, educated, and foreigners.

Most respondents stated that the educated occupy most of the positions and jobs in these community enterprises. They further elaborated that the traditional leadership in two community projects is controlled by local elites who not only employ their relatives but also misappropriate community funds and divert them to meet their selfish interests. Most of the vulnerable collectives believed that the elites had taken over their participation in small-scale businesses and that they had been driven further to the periphery of society. One fragile collective comment that:

The biggest challenge is that the leaders we elect to manage our community enterprises connive with the rich and the park and forget about us. Politics in this community has killed tourism in Bwindi. When tourism had

219

just started, everyone was happy because, in one way or another, visitors were coming to our community; they could buy our baskets, we could go to our community lodge and dance for the visitors, sell our baskets, etc. But nowadays, the rich and selfish people manage everything and for us the poor are just watching

(C18, a 70-year-old basket weaver)

The collapse of the Buhoma Mukono Community Development Association (BMCDA)

Many of the fragile collectives, particularly women, stated that the collapse of the Buhoma Mukono Community Development Association, or COMMUNITY, had impeded their participation. BMCDA, according to one fragile collective, is an association in which every home in Buhoma and Mukono is a member. It was founded in Bwindi to assist members in obtaining benefits from the park. Because park officials manage the park, BMCDA was one way for the park to distribute revenues to the community. Most of the fragile collectives agreed that they had benefited from the selling of baskets, local music, dancing, and drama offered by local women groups, and employment in two COMMUNITY lodges, among other things, while under the care of BMCDA. Women fragile collectives also said that illiterates had been taught to save up and were assured of some money. Now everyone has been on their own ever since the fall. Their Rest camp and Havens no longer benefit them. One of the women fragile collectives presents their plight as follows:

BMCDA taught and improved our weaving skills for the most part. There were ten groups, each with a chairperson. Before the group disbanded, we used to go to the park and dance for the visitors while selling our baskets. Things were fine, but our organization was crushed by the present leadership, characterized by power disputes and embezzlement of funds. We were going there before Ride for a Woman started taking her group of women to entertain tourists. We even had a small hut inside Buhoma Rest camp where we could sell our baskets and expect sales. As a widow, I was never worried about salt, soap, or other essential requirements, but now life is complicated. (CI9: a 69-year-old basket weaver)

Similarly, CI6 who does his wood carving along the village trail, had this to say:

When the BMCDA and camp collapsed, visitors reduced. It used to bring so many visitors and at least we used to see visitors who love the community, and we occasionally sell. And even the community guide used to convince visitors to buy our crafts, unlike guides of these days.

(CI6: a 26-year-old woodcarver)

Lack of power and corruption

Most fragile collectives stated that they lack decision-making capacity and are excluded from critical topics that affect them. People in the craft industry reported hearing rumors that the craft center might be closed due to disorganization. This resulted from the fact that two people (one local and one non-local) were allowed to display their items inside the park, but natives who had been pleading for the same opportunity were denied. They said that the park is allowing the wealthy and people from other places to operate within the park while the locals are excluded. More specifically, specific craft industry youth fragile collectives voiced worry that the park has never sensitized them to any youth activities. This was backed up by the craft association's chairperson, who stated that they lack role models in the community to help them and that the park does not care about them. The chairperson of the crafts association reported that:

Occasionally, I approached the community warden about us displaying our products at least once a week at the visitors' information center in the park, but he refused. It's recently when we were shocked that the opportunity was given to a few people from big organizations here in Bwindi, leaving us the poor.

(CI12: 29-year-old craft entrepreneur)

Fragile collectives also aired out their discount with the park officials. They emphasized that they don't want the grassroot poor people to benefit. *"Corruption in the park is too much"*. Fragile collectives highlighted that UWA does not employ the locals apart from porters even when some locals are educated people. They recounted that UWA advertise, they employ people from other places. The following extract explains:

Just imagine, the community warden does not even know the local language. It's just community warden by title. Opportunities are not shared equally to the front-line people. Mercenaries are hired for commissions neglecting the locals who can even do even better than those they think they are better. Our trust remains in Our God that can't be bribed that one day we shall also be considered. We need people to come and understand the problem at hand. The community warden would have come in the community and ask us the challenges and tell or even teach us the standards they want. Yes, we are disorganized, but as a park, what have they

221

done? To sit in the office and they are paid at the end of the month? We would appreciate their advice, but we don't see them to advise us. (CI1: a 25-year-old male Artist)

Seasonality and lack of local demand

Craftspeople, Batwa (Aboriginal) people, and cultural site owners relying only on international visitor traffic acknowledged seasonality. For example, fragile collectives that make and sell crafts have stated that their income is dependent on peak season. The Batwa's revenue relies on entertaining guests and occasionally selling items on behalf of the Bakiga. Aside from that, they have no alternative source of income if visitors do not come. They stressed that their sales are reliant on seasonal international visitors. Most domestic tourists, they said, don't appreciate crafts and bargain a lot. Therefore, some visitors are very supportive while others aren't. A typical example given was the difference between White customers and Ugandan customers. CI1 recounts;

Most Ugandans do not value art. When you tell someone $10 for a piece, they immediately think of beers or akazito kenyama (a stick of meat). These crafts would have closed if we relied solely on local tourists. It is easier for a local to spend 28.25 US dollars on beer than on purchasing an artwork. Sometimes they even think we are lying to them about the price. However, when Whites come, in most cases when we mention a fee, they're always willing even to buy the pieces at higher prices and even tip us. Sometimes they encourage us even when the art piece is not the best. (CI1, a 25-year-old artist)

Due to lack of local demand, basket weavers complained that when the baskets take long in-store waiting for a peak a season, they lose color or are sometimes destroyed by insects. The lack of domestic demand was further attributed to a lack of marketing capacity.

Conflicts and divisionism

The Batwa fragile collectives mainly reported conflicts and divisionism. BP3, a dancer and guide at one of the Batwa cultural centers, said that the Bakiga do not have access to visitors, and in this regard, the Bakiga give them their crafts to sell for them. He narrated that lack of trust between them has resulted in conflicts and divisionism amongst them.

While we go to entertain visitors, the Bakiga give us their baskets to sell on their behalf. It is a fact that most Batwa don't know how to make baskets; at times, it brings conflicts between the Bakiga and the Batwa. Sometimes the Batwa sell the baskets, and they don't declare all the money, give halfway, or even if it's genuine

and express what they have sold, the Bakiga don't believe it is what they have sold. I don't know how we shall solve it, but it's a big issue (BP3, a 50-year-old guide, and dancer)

Besides, BP1 pointed out that so many organizations of Bakiga were fighting for them, and which has divided the Batwa and they don't know where they belong. Collectives emphasized that the Batwa are running here and there looking for who can pay higher than the other.

The Bakigas are even fighting for the forest where we perform from. Another Mukiga has started another Batwa walk next to us. I don't know how it will end, but I sense danger, and this is already affecting us.
(B1: a 48-year-old dancer and guide)

Jealousness

All the fragile collectives mentioned that there is a lot of envy among the residents. They stressed that many people are opposed to one another's progress. According to fragile collectives, people have been spellbinding one another and sacrificing people's children to make quick money, and there have also been many mysterious deaths. Some of the fragile collectives stated that sorcery was causing them problems in their businesses. Two of my respondents, LA5 and MN6, passed on due to allegations related to culture. When a confident woman suspected of practicing sorcery and bewitching five school-going children was burnt alive, LA4 died unexpectedly and mysteriously in July 2021, while MN6 fainted and went into a coma after a week of admission into the hospital. Many fragile communities testified that witchcraft had claimed the lives of their loved ones, and some chose to keep a low profile in low-income activities to avoid being bewitched. The following extracts give a detailed narration

There are so many opportunities on this street and in Bwindi at large but the locals have negative energy. There is a lot jealous and lack of cooperation. With my agemates, they are educated, have ideas, they are connected, and things move faster if we combined efforts and work together, but they are hard to deal with. When you tell them an idea, they think that you want to use them for your gains. What can you do to such people who are against development? (CI1: a 25-year-old Artist)

VW2, a storyteller and herbalist added that:

People here are envious and hate to see their fellow people developing. People around here prefer to murder each other using witchcraft instead of trying to work hard for the progress of everyone.

<div align="right">(VW2: an 83-year-old storyteller and herbalist)</div>

Theft issues

Three fragile collectives mentioned stealing as another barrier to participation. It was mainly reported by fragile collectives who deal in crafts, local retails shops and bars. Crafts people highlighted that they face a challenge of smart boys also freelancers who steal small craft items and sell them to visitors. The woodcarvers also reported the issue of theft of their equipment. Besides, LA2 who is a fresh produce supplier reported problems with thieves stealing his passion fruits in the garden. LA4 and SP3 have similar issues with burglars. LA4 (RIP) stated that before starting her stone-crushing business, she worked as a park porter but had to leave due to unforeseen circumstances and lower pay. She claimed she was handed a package of $564.80 when she resigned from her employment, which she utilized to open a small bar, but thieves broke into the bar and took everything, which was the beginning of her suffering. SP3 had this to say:

One of my friends lost a husband, and I went for the vigil night, while at the funeral, thieves entered my shop and stole everything. I had invested 141.20 US dollars in my business, but all were looted in one night.

<div align="right">(SP3, 45-year-old Bar owner and operator)</div>

Stereotypes

Stereotyping was reported by mainly women fragile in-service provision sector. They expressed that they were harassed and being backbitten by the locals and that they are prostitutes. Five women fragile (SP2, SP3, SP4, SP5, and SP7) reported that, at times they are attacked by other women who think that they sleep with their husbands. SP1, SP3 and SP4 revealed that at times they engage themselves in sexual relationships with men in anticipation of getting help from them. Still, instead these men take advantage of their situation and end up calling them prostitutes. On the other hand, SP5 a divorced fragile collective and HIV positive spoke her mind and said:

People laugh at me that I married a man. I get humiliated. Culturally, a man is supposed to marry a woman, but I did the opposite. I was tired of women attacking me that I sleep with their husbands. You see, in my

condition, no man could marry me again. So, I met a fellow HIV victim who was suffering and homeless and married him. (SP5, 57-year-old restaurant owner)

SP2, whom I found by the time of the interview at each other's throats with three women, said that:

There is a lot of gossip here and some women come to attack me here that I want to snatch away their husbands. Being a widow, many people tell me I am operating this bar as a pathway to prostitution. People poke their noses into my private life, something I don't like. I am even thinking of running away but don't know where to go. (SP2: a 46-year-old a bar owner and operator)

SP1 a widow and campsite owner described how she feels embarrassed when she hears negative utterance about her. She narrated as follow:

They call me a prostitute and it kills my ego. Even though my husband had abandoned me, but his death affected me so much. Sometimes I hear people say don't go to that bar of that widow, arabasiga silimu (you will contract HIV from her). And I am accused that I am among the people who have spread HIV in this community (SP1, a 56-year-old, campsite owner and operator)

Discrimination and marginalization

According to some of the fragile collectives, discrimination and marginalization were identified as some of the barriers to participation. Five fragile collectives complained about being discriminated against in some activities. Even though other fragile collectives mentioned marginalization and discrimination about their financial difficulties that hindered them from participating, it came out vividly clear with MN9 and MN1, who emphasized that rich people don't want to associate with poor people with problems:

One time I joined a women's association, but it was sad that I could not get an opportunity to participate in any activity. No one wanted to listen to me. Some women could refer to me as a cursed woman emphasizing that I was the reason my husband hung himself. I decided to leave the group to avoid such negative assertions because those women were stressing me.

(MN9: a 31-year-old casual laborer)

Disabled people are pushed back. I was once a chairperson of disabled people, but due to corruption, they voted for another person who is not disabled. I got annoyed and left the association. People are using disabled people to earn money (MN1:61-year-old smallholder farmer)

Lack of insurance for porters

Apart from their lives being at risk from wild animal attacks, harsh weather, and lack of medical insurance, the porters also reported that sometimes they receive difficult visitors who hardly talk to them yet assist them with various things. The porters are also sometimes accused of theft by the visitors

As porters, we do a credible job under very harsh conditions. We do extra work like slashing and cleaning up the park and are not paid for it, yet we receive very little money in terms of salary. We work under harsh conditions because the weather is unpredictable; sometimes it rains heavily, or the sunshine is too much, and being in the bush exposes us to many diseases. Yet, we are also very susceptible to attacks by wild animals. The park rangers and guides have been given medical insurance, and we have been left out yet at high risk.

(CI3: a 25-year-old Woodcarver and a porter)

Location

Two fragile collectives mentioned that even if they wanted to carry out something, their villages were offside the tourism opportunities. They reported that community guides told them to organize themselves in a group since they are far from tourist trails and the trading center, so they market them as a group. The two fragile collectives reported that village guides promoted some people and left out others. They explained that sometimes the village guides bring visitors to their village, but they pick out a few homes to meet the visitors.

Crop destruction by the animals

Animals are the most significant threat in this Bwindi, all the 55 fragile collectives testified that Gorillas and monkeys are threat to their gardens. Others said that when they forget to close the door, the animals will carry a pan of food. They further stated that the Batwa who used to tend their gardens are no longer available for such minor chores, saying that they are now accustomed to money. They underlined that no Mutwa could agree to maintain the gardens in exchange for free money and dancing. CI9 elaborated on her plight as follows:

I live on the park's edges, and the problem is, animals regularly destroy my gardens. I often have to spend a lot of time chasing the animals away, leaving little time for other activities at home, such as my brewing

business. In retaliation for the park officials' failure to listen to the people's cries, some residents in this village continue to engage in unlawful poaching

(VW4: a 50-year-old, brewer)

I suffer since I do not have children to help maintain my garden. I occasionally employ someone to keep my gardens free of animals, but this is expensive. Is it reasonable to sell my basket and pay someone to maintain my garden? A gorilla is treated better than a person at this park because you can even get arrested if you throw a stone at them. I'm not sure what they expect us to do. We are only surviving because of God's grace.

(CI9: 68-year-old basket weaver)

Figure 5.4: The boundary between the National Park and Community Land

The figure above shows the distance between the park and community land and is indicated by the orange arrow. The locals cultivate near the park edges. Because they must guard their gardens from animals escaping from the park to look for fresh vegetation, they lack time to participate in tourism activities (Source: Field work photographs-2021)

 Other barriers

Some fragile collectives complained about their lack of access to visitors due to their location. They observed that fragile collectives based in Nkwenda, near the entrance of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, had more opportunities than them. They also complained that

227

campgrounds and lodges do not support their operations. They remarked that instead of supporting local businesses, most campgrounds and lodges purchase fresh goods from other towns. The stone crushers and the cobbler who operated in the open complained about the weather. Although AS3, the cobbler, disliked the weather, he said he likes more sunshine than rain because people do not leave their homes when it rains. He also mentioned having many dependents as a challenge.

In this section, I have presented internal and external barriers that hinder fragile collectives' participation in CBT. Noted from these barriers shared is that, to a larger extent, external barriers outweigh internal barriers in the direct and indirect forms of participation while internal barriers outweighed external barriers in the no participation category. External barriers, especially village and driver guides control, elite domination, absence of transparent legal systems to defend fragile collectives' interests, lack of financial resources, and lack of power have been highlighted as barriers to participation. On the other hand, high illiteracy levels, poverty, lack of livelihood resources such as land and livestock, and money to invest in CBT projects have been highlighted at an individual level. It has been identified that barriers to participation vary across the direct forms of participation. However, the problem of guides, elite domination, lack of support from parks, and the problem of animals destroying their gardens was common to all the fragile collectives. It has also been highlighted that some fragile collectives face multiple barriers to participation. All in all, fragile collectives blame the park authority, the management of BMCDA, the elites in the community, and guides as the source of their participation barriers. They specified that the mentioned stakeholders have the power to change things in their favor, as presented in the next section of solutions to barriers to participation in CBT.

5.10 Solutions to barriers to participation in CBT

This section reports findings on solutions or strategies suggested by fragile collectives that can be applied to solve the identified barriers to participation. It presents findings of the last question of this study: *What are the solutions and mechanisms to the identified barriers to participation in*

CBT? The solutions to the barriers to participation are twofold: First, mechanisms or suggestions of how fragile collectives want the identified barriers to participation be solved. Second or how fragile collectives respond to the barriers to participation or how they cope up with identified barriers to participation. This section is therefore comprised of two sections. Section one presents mechanisms that can be put in place to lessen the barriers to participation while section two presents copying strategies that fragile collectives use to respond to the identified barriers to participation.

5.10.1 Mechanisms to the identified barriers to participation in CBT

Fragile collectives gave different suggestions depending on their forms of participation, as presented in Table 5.11. Most recommendations were directed to the management of Uganda Wildlife Authority, Buhoma Mukono Development Association (BMCDA), Community-based and non-governmental organizations, the private sector, particularly the campsites, the tour guides, village guides, and local elites. These were identified as key stakeholders in control of community-based tourism in Bwindi, and fragile collectives stated that without their effort, nothing productive could be achieved.

Table 5.11: Mechanisms suggested for the identified barriers to participation

Strategies/ Mechanisms	Suggested Stakeholder
Direct participation	
-Put in place a clear system and standard operating procedures	The Park Authority (UWA)
-Make consultations with fragile and inform them on the decisions concerning	The campsites
their fate on issues of development	Community based organizations
-Consider creating a designated craft village and carrying out consolidated	Non-Governmental organizations
marketing without differentiating locals and non-locals, rich vs the poor; make	Local and non-local guides
a good signpost showing that there is one craft village	
-Consider collaborations and partnerships on conservation issues	
-Build good infrastructure	
-Encourage equal opportunity to participate and accountability in sharing of	
benefits	
-Requested the park to consider street boys and the community to have access	
to visitors.	
-Requested for campsite support by allowing visitors to come out of the camps	
and visit communities and also support their craft business	

Strategies/ Mechanisms	Suggested Stakeholder
-Driver guides and the park should understand that tourism is the source of livelihood for many families in Bwindi	
Sensitization	
-Grant land ownership and expand land for the Batwa	The Park Authority (UWA)
-Involve them in workshops like others	The campsites
-Increase employment of Batwa in the Park and in the Batwa development project.	Community based organizations
	Non -governmental organizations
-Empower the Batwa by putting up Vocational schools to teach them skills, like making bricks, welding, carpentry work, and hands-on skills.	Local and non-local guides
-Fair treatment	
-Establish a vocational institute for the Batwa	
-Revival of community-based tourism projects	
-Have control over their resources	
-Develop compensation programs based on the frontline people	
-Develop marketing programs for village walks	
Indirect Participation (IP)	
-Establish a skills training center	The Park Authority (UWA)
-Extend micro-soft loans	The campsites
-Establish linkage programs	Community based organizations
-Revive the community-based tourism projects	Non-governmental organizations
	Local and non-local guides
Marginal or No participation (MNP)	
-Provide investment, aid, skills training, and other forms of support	The Park Authority (UWA)
-Stimulate empowerment programs and self-help projects	The campsites
-Extension of financial support in form of seed capital,	Community based organizations
	Non-governmental organizations
	Local and non-local guides
	Financial institutions

Responses from interviews: Source- Researcher-2021

Creation of a craft village

Fragile collectives especially those in the craft industry proposed that the park authority should establish a designated area (crafts village) like those they hear of in the capital (Kampala) for all craft shops, big community walks, organizations, and associations rather than favoring a few individuals operating from within the park. Others proposed significant signposts at the crafts village,

and guides always inform tourists about such an establishment. They specified explicitly how they wanted the craft village to look, highlighting that:

We want each sector to have its part for easy identification, for example, community walks on one side, crafts on the other, birders, etc." We're fine even if they rent the craft village it to us; what we don't want is to be thrown out of the park (CI12:29-year-old craft entrepreneur)

On one hand fragile collectives, particularly those from villages with gorilla trails, proposed that the park and village walk founders should consider employing people from their villages for such services. They emphasized that benefiting communities were not distributed evenly, yet all villages shared the burden of gorilla destructions on their gardens. On the other hand, Batwa fragile collectives stated that they would like to construct their own Batwa village if they received funding. Some of the reasons given by the Batwa fragile collectives included being used and manipulated by the dominant Bakiga. In reaction, BP4, one of the few educated Batwa in Bwindi, stated:

We want to start our own Batwa village walk, but we cannot do so. If we can get support and develop our trail, it will save us from these Bakiga thieves and we are unsure whether we will be able to attract visitors. The problem is that we lack confidence and skills; there are few educated Batwa, but even those who are educated lack capacity. (BP4:a 25-year-old volunteer)

The above narration was supported by CI12, who suggested that:

I want to sacrifice and make a difference in the lives of Batwa. I am a Mukiga but what my fellow Bakiga are doing to the Batwa is not fair. They deceive visitors that they are empowering the Batwa; how much have they empowered them? How come no Mutwa owns even a small shop or a bicycle? The Bakiga solicit donations from visitors to help the Batwa only to help themselves; they pay them little money for their dance performances, etc. I want to use my savings in the future to solve a problem that is not yet solved. I want to teach the Batwa how to catch a fish, not eat it. It is a vocational school that is lacking, and that is what can help them out of poverty and exploitation. (CI12: 29-year-old, a craft entrepreneur)

Need for support from relevant stakeholders

Further, fragile collectives noted the park only supports camps and other prominent organizations like Ride 4 a Women who are already rich; in this regard, they requested that the park should also think about grassroots people, especially the fragile collectives who are struggling to sustain themselves. They underscored that tourism in their area is the most significant economic activity and affirmed that there is no way that poor people can benefit from it when they are being

pushed away. The fragile collectives in the artisan industry also suggested that campsites should at least support them by buying their art pieces instead of buying them elsewhere. Four fragile collectives proposed that the camps should also allow visitors to visit the community to expose them to the products in the community outside the campsites. In this regard, CI2 had this to say:

We kindly ask the camps and guides that restrict visitors from coming into the community to please allow them. Some guides restrict them thinking we shall beg them, but all we want is to market our products too and sell. Our families depend on tourism to survive. (CI2: a 36-year-old woodcarver)

They also proffered that the tour guides and driver guides should make stopovers at their craft shops.

CI6, a village woodcarver, gave a cruel recommendation as below:

For the guides, there is nothing we can do to them, maybe to pray for them to die; if I am still living, perhaps I will make money. But, if possible, their bosses should sensitize them to stop being jealous and allow the visitors to support us by buying our crafts. (CI6, a 26-year-old woodcarver)

Need for sensitization and Visitor-host interactions

Fragile collectives requested the park to encourage visitors to constantly interact with the community that is conserving the forest so that the community can benefit more. CI7 noted that this could be done by changing the habit of guides who usually impose visitor restrictions. He emphasized that guides should allow visitors to interact with the community. They noted that although guides have an influence on visitors, at times visitors' express interest in interacting with locals; in this case, they requested guides to allow visitors to interact with the locals when they show interest. This recommendation was also supported by CI3, a village woodcarver who suggested that the founders of village walks and organizations should sensitize their guides and tell them to be fair to their fellow villagers surviving on crafts. However, he raised a concern that the village walk founders are thieves, too, and they have employed their family members and relatives who don't care about the needs of the fragile collective. In this regard, CI3 suggested that, even though village founders use their relatives as guides, they should consider working and developing together as a team, or else witchcraft, jealousy, and killings will never stop in Bwindi.

To the non-local guides especially the ranger and safari guides, fragile collectives requested the park to sensitize and let them know and appreciate the importance of crafts along the trails. However, they also acknowledged that they are disorganized and wished if they could get organized into strong groups dealing in crafts, maybe they could be helped. CI1, CI5, and SP5 suggested that the park authority should come on the ground and understand fragile collectives' problems. SP1 emphasized that the previous community and tourism wardens used to reach out to people and commended that the current management should do the same. One of them lamented that:

Uganda Wildlife Authority say that we are disorganized; how have they helped us? Instead of the Community Warden asking us the challenges we are facing or even teaching us the standards they want, yes, it's true we are disorganized, but we need sensitization, guidance, and support from them.

(CI4: a 39-year-old woodcarver)

Need for consolidated marketing and operating procedures

On a separate note, CI3, a woodcarver, suggested that instead of fighting with the park something that will not solve all community problems, they should get one person to market and sell their crafts from outside in developed countries to earn good money from their crafts. This is in line with CI12, who also suggested that UWA should collaborate to find a market for their crafts because they don't have that capacity. In terms of competition, village walk fragile collectives proposed that if the park authorities could set standard operating procedures and regulate mushrooming cultural sites that do copycats, steal tourists, deceiving them with unauthentic services. In this case, VW4 identified himself as a pioneer of banana brewing as a tourist product in Bwindi and submitted that:

The Park authority should come and inspect our sites and at least get to know what we are doing. Some sites sell words only without authentic experience. A tourist should see how a banana is planted up to get the point of getting the local gin. (VW4 :a 50-year-old banana brewer)

VW4 added that because he doesn't have connections with camps, those camps take visitors to the mushrooming cultural sites which forge his services. He, therefore, requested the park to create awareness to the camps, at least to direct visitors to the approved cultural sites. Moreover, V2 and VW3 added their voices to VW4 and asked that guides should give them ample time and demonstrate their activities without interruptions. Like craft people suggested, the village walk site owners also

suggested that the park should market their products instead of being left in the hands of corrupt people who pretend to be marketing and yet they are just cheating them.

Need for sponsorship programs

On the other hand, fragile collectives who have not benefited from sponsorship programs requested to be considered on such programs. They stated that at least if they could get sponsorships for their children, they can use the small monies they would have paid as school fees to start up any small income-generating activities.

You see, they rich people have built schools, so when you are lucky and get a sponsor, they tell you to buy school materials which are almost equivalent to fees. So sometimes, some parents fail to get such materials and give up. But is there any sponsor who only pays school fees without school requirements? The money comes and it is eaten by the founders. We request the founders of the schools to waive the school fees and give us full sponsorships.   (LA5 a 74-year-old stone crusher)

Revival of health insurance scheme and Bataka

Some fragile collectives requested that if their children could acquire sponsorship, they would be contented. Furthermore, most fragile collectives requested that since they were cut off from the health insurance schemes (Equality), accessing Bwindi hospital was expensive for them. Equality is a health insurance scheme that every household in Bwindi is entitled to and BMCDA, a community project, covered it before it collapsed. In this regard, fragile collectives requested the revival of that scheme.

Before, we used to pay 5000 to the hospital on top up of Equality from Bataka community project, but we no longer have that insurance. If a poor person like me gets an accident or get a disease which needs operation you die because an ordinary person like me cannot afford the hospital. My wife walked for 30 kilometres in search for a health centre to give birth which was risky. We therefore request revival for Bataka.
                    (CI6: a 26-year-old male woodcarver)

Besides fragile collectives, especially women and village craft makers, pointed out that it is difficult for them to make a living without BMCDA (Community/ Bataka). They prayed that Bataka could be revived, and it markets them as it used to do before it collapsed. In relation to this, CI9, a craft maker, proposed that they should first remove the current chairperson from power. She noted the elected chair was the source of all problems they were facing in the community. They lamented that the park

authority is also not helping them resolve the issue; it is just watching them perish. With lamentation, they suggested that the park authority could intervene and sort them out. SP8 added that the chairperson used up all the women's associations' money and sold their craft house and piece of land without their knowledge. Both CI9 and SP8 lamented that they no longer received Equality, their association collapsed, they no longer have where to sell baskets, and a private and powerful organization replaced them. In relation to this, CI8 proposed:

Before Bataka collapsed, we were under a women's group that used to market and sell our baskets. If it could be revived, previously, village walks were managed by the community, and indeed, community members could benefit through selling their crafts, but today, many village walks have come up, and the village walk owners don't allow visitors to buy from us. And also, being old does not mean that I am not useful, you see I still weave, I know many skills, village walk people should also include us in their programs of visiting the old and see what we do. (CI8: a 70-year-old basket weaver)

Compensation

Fragile collectives whose gardens are destroyed by animals suggested that the park should put a compensation scheme on the issue of animals invading their gardens. They noted that animals are the biggest threat in Bwindi and proposed that the park should give food to the most affected families, while others suggested that the park should employ their unemployed sons and daughters. With this, VW 4 proposed:

People who reside in the park's surroundings should be prioritized as well. The park should think about hiring our children. They only hire people from afar. Unlike in the past, when individuals were uneducated, we now have many degrees in this field. Individual members who have been severely affected by the animals should likewise be compensated. They should also strive for harmony to put a stop to human-wildlife conflicts. If tourism is to thrive indefinitely, we must coexist with the park.

(VW 4: a 50-year-old Banana Brewer)

On a separate note, CI5 proposed that:

If they could give us back our forest, we would start cutting timber again, and mine gold. I think we can be better than tourism. If they can give back the park to us for one year, I know I can get 1kg of Gold and if I sell it, the money from 1kg can sustain me for a longer time. Can tourism raise that money? We have wealth here, but they don't want us to exploit it. The park wants to conserve the tree; it grows and falls to make manure. What does that manure help me as a poor person? (CI5: a 37-year-old wood carver)

Other fragile collectives suggested that instead of disbursing the 5% to the district, the park should get that 5% for like three months, buy pigs, and distribute it to the people bordering the park, especially those who are severely affected by animals. For example, LA2 suggested that:

We can get sustainable profits. But they deceive us that they send money to the sub-county or district. When that money comes, it goes to corrupt people. If they get one piglet and they give each person, after nine months, the pig will be giving birth, and that's money. (LA2: a 65-year-old fresh produce supplier)

Need for monthly pay

Three fragile collectives who do porter services as supplementary income activities proposed that, due to the nature of their services and challenges they encounter. At the same time, the park should consider getting more workforce in the wilderness when the gorillas disappear. In this case, CI3 proposed:

We also request that when gorillas relocate and we walk long distances, they should give us some allowances because it involves a lot of work. (CI3: 25-year-old woodcarver and porter)

They further requested that if Uganda Wildlife Authority could put them on the monthly payments and at least raise their payment to 20 US dollars. They noted that the 15 US dollars paid per turn in a month were not enough. Alternatively, they suggested that UWA could put at least 283.50 US dollars per month on their porter's association account so that they could share something meaningful amongst themselves at the end of the year. They further suggested that UWA should include their services in their brochures so that visitors are aware that porters earn 15 US dollars from carrying their bags. They noted that they are not introduced to the visitors during the briefing before they go for tracking, and the visitors don't pay them thinking they're part of the park staff. Like the craft and village walk industry, the porters also suggested that UWA should sensitize the tourist escorts to respect tourists' property because sometimes the guards pick up visitors' items from their bags. In the end, they are alleged to be thieves. And lastly, the three fragile collectives suggested that they should consider giving porters medical insurance since they do the same job as rangers and guides besides carrying tourists' bags. They pleaded that the park should understand that they depend

on a tourist's bag, and they get one turn once a month, which is not reasonable, and requested to be considered in their welfare programs.

Request for land ownership and fair treatment

As already noted, the Batwa fragile collectives suggested that if they could get support and establish their village walks, they made other suggestions concerning their settlements. Noted among the recommendations was a request for land titles and fair treatment. In this regard, BP7 suggested that organizations could build them permanent houses instead of mud stick houses which keep falling, and also give them small loans to start up their businesses so that they can reduce dependence on tourism which makes them more vulnerable during non-peak season. This was confirmed by a BP2 80-year-old who testified that during the off-peak season, they suffer from hunger, the houses keep falling, and the land they bought for them was no longer fertile. He thus requested more land and a constant food supply until the peak season. This was supported by BP8, who proposed that:

The Government should consider giving us land titles. We are squatters on this land. Like now, I need a small loan, but I cannot acquire the loan simply because I don't have the land title. The government should consider giving us ownership of this land so that we can be independent.

(BP8: a 36-year-old porter)

In an interview with BP3, he confessed that they have so many challenges as Batwa, which they have lacked to get solutions. He admitted that the people who would be helping them to develop are the ones exploiting them. He noted that they did not know who to report to and were only left with suffering. In this regard, he pointed out that if they could get a genuine person to market them within their settlements, not settlements created by the Bakiga. He stressed that all the Batwa village walks are owned and controlled by the Bakiga, who use them to get rich. Thus, he suggested that;

If the park can develop the road connecting the main to our settlement, maybe the visitors could be coming to visit us. Then during the off-season, we suffer a lot because we depend on a mujungu 100% when they are not there; we suffer from poverty. Instead of our children going to steal, I would urge the well-wishers, the government, and those organizations fighting for us at least to give us livestock so that in case of any problem,

we can solve it by ourselves without waiting for the   mujungu or money from well-wishers.

<div align="center">(BP3: a 50-year-old dancer and guide)</div>

The above narration was not different from CI4, CI5, and MN7, whose land were taken by the government of Congo, who suggested that the Government, through UWA, should compensate them or resettle them or give them part of the park to settle there. On a separate note, four fragile collectives suggested that if the Batwa could be considered in workshops and meetings that affect their lives, increase their pay and leave the tips given to them by the visitors to take control of them. They further suggested that the guides could also allow them to interact with visitors. Seven fragile collectives revealed that the Bakiga deceive visitors that the handcrafts belong to the Batwa, and the visitors buy the crafts thinking they are supporting them when they are supporting the Bakiga or the founders of those organizations. One of them suggested if they could train them how to make such crafts or give us the 50 % of the space to display our items. He stressed that even though many of them cannot speak English, at least some can try.

5.10.2 Coping mechanisms to the identified barriers to participation in CBT

Creativity and innovation

Fragile collectives, especially those in the craft industry, noted that being creative is one   way to curb competition amongst themselves and attracting visitors. It was pointed out that all craft people sell similar things and have concentrated on wood carving and even buying from one person. And yet there is a market for different crafts and art pieces. One fragile collective noted that:

The visitors can ask different things, understanding what the visitors want and doing different things that are not like others has helped me get many clients   (CI1, a 25-year-old artist)
 My head is full of new ideas daily, which sets me apart from the rest. My innovative and creative skills attract many customers. I do various things   (CI11:56-year-old basket weaver)

Friendship with guides and campsite managers

Most fragile collectives mentioned that being friends with local and non-local guides and campsite managers is one to survive in Bwindi.

Being friends with campsite managers has helped me. They invite me in their camps when they have visitors or making crafts for them, and especially the different styles and fashions have helped me overcome competition on the craft street. (CI7: a 36-year-old basket weaver)

If you don't befriend guides and you don't give them commission, you can never sell anything. If you don't engage in such deals, you keep seeing visitors passing and going. Here we work like that.

(CI5: 37-year-old wood craver)

Diversification of livelihoods

Most fragile collectives mentioned that they do not deal in one activity due to competition and off-peak seasons. Apart from fragile collectives in the marginal or no participation category, the rest of the fragile collectives were dealing in multiple livelihoods in case one failed. For instance, livestock farming and or a side business were most mentioned as stated below:

Visitors are very few in months like April, May, October, and November. They appear in months like December and from June-September. And in months when they're not around, even those with crafts don't work. This means one needs a side income business to rely on when visitors are not around. Because the low season is usually short, I use it to carve more gorillas. I keep carving and stocking so that during the peak season, I have enough stock. But having a side business is what I am aiming at.

(CI4: a 39-year-old wood carver)

COVID 19 has taught me a lesson that we should not only rely on a mujungu (visitor) for survival. I used my little savings to start up a small retail business to make me busy. I think with time; I will even stop going to the trading center to sell crafts because competition is stiff.

(CI7:36-year-old basket weaver)

Resilience, hard work and Embracement

Being resilience and hardworking were also highlighted as copying strategies. Notably, women, people with disabilities, and chronic diseases stated that accepting who they are were, was helping them to navigate through societal stereotypes. For example, women fragile collectives who operate small bars said that being called prostitutes did not change their identity as women. They mentioned that accepting their fate as women in bars, abandoned women, people with HIV, single mothers, and women who separated from their husbands was none of their concerns as long they were sustaining their families. Below are some their statements below:

I get challenges as a woman; people say I am a prostitute and sleep with campsite managers to get clients. But if my business is progressing well, I don't care what people say about me. Such negative comments from people

239

make me even work harder to show them that being a woman does not mean failure.

<div align="right">(VW1: 39-year-old storyteller)</div>

I have learned how to love myself. Tourism has empowered me both financially and socially, and this keeps moving. Whether they call me a widow or a prostitute, I don't care as long my business is doing well.

<div align="right">(SP1, 56-year-old campsite owner)</div>

We are few women bicycle mechanics in this place. When I got this job, both men and women laughed at me. They said that this job is dirty and for the poor. On top of that, it is not a job of women. But I persisted in all those sentiments. Because I had to persist, knowing the challenges I was already facing as a widow, I wanted that job because it was the only hope for survival. Married women could not continue because their husbands refused them, claiming they couldn't stand the shame.

<div align="right">(AS2:37-year-old bicycle mechanic)</div>

Most respondents said they rely on their small savings, which they put back into their businesses. Others said they borrow small loans from micro-credit institutions and local elites to pursue their livelihoods. Several fragile collectives mentioned that savings in village Saccos (*Akaboxi*) is their savior when facing financial difficulties. Akaboxi means pooling money, and they save it in village saving groups. Notably, women fragile collectives mentioned akaboxi as a source of funding where they borrow small loans which do not require security. On the other hand, the Batwa fragile collectives surprisingly did not mention any solutions to their problems apart from their proposed strategies. They stated that if they got money for buying alcohol, the rest of the challenges, they did not know what to do, emphasizing that people who would be helping them were the ones exploiting them.

5.11 Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented nine sections. In section one, social-demographic factors such as gender, age, level of education, marital status, number of children, income and occupation have been presented. Women, landlessness, people with chronic diseases, disability, abandonment, single parenthood, domestic violence, elderly and the Batwa have been presented in section two as fragile collective identities. In this section, women fragile collectives reported multiple fragilities/ identities which makes them more fragile. Section three has presented direct, indirect and marginal or no forms of participations in CBT. Direct participation is dominated by male while females dominate indirect

<div align="center">240</div>

participation. Section four has given a highlight on understanding participation from a fragile collective perspective while section five has presented different aspirations from all fragile collective. Section six has presented participation benefits in form of positive economic benefits (PEB) and positive non-economic benefits (PNEB). In the same section, negative benefits from CBT have been presented. Enablers to participation such as human, financial, social, natural, physical, and cultural have been highlighted in section seven. All the livelihood capitals have been emphasized as important enablers to participation. Section 8 has given a highlight of barriers to participation in form of internal and external barriers where external barriers to participation outweigh the internal barriers. Elite domination and control was mentioned as the biggest challenge to participation. The last section of chapter five has presented solutions to the barriers to participation in form of strategies and copying mechanisms to the identified barriers to participation. From the suggested solutions to barriers to participation, public institutions like UWA and private institutions such as Campsites, CBOs, NGOs, guides, and local guides have been indicated as key stakeholders that can help the fragile collectives overcome the identified barriers to participation in CBT. Having presented findings in nine different sections, the next chapter discusses the findings in alignment with broader literature and theoretical underpinnings employed in this study.

6.0 CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of the study objectives and how this relates to the existing literature and previous studies. The findings being discussed are based on fieldwork observations and unstructured interviews conducted with 55 fragile collectives residing around Bwindi Impenetrable National Park. This study develops an empirical and practical participation framework for fragile collectives that is inclusive and sustainable. This study brings insights on participation, benefits, enablers, and solutions to the identified barriers, thus making a substantial contribution to getting a deeper understanding and holistic view of the fragile collectives' participation in CBT. The participation framework developed acts as a foundation for guiding the inclusive and sustainable participation of fragile collectives in CBT. Thus, the discussion of the findings is based on the five objectives of this study, including: (1) To investigate the fragile collectives' forms of participation in community-based tourism; (2) To investigate the benefits derived from fragile collectives' forms of participation; (3) To explore the factors that enable fragile collectives to participate in community-based tourism (4) To explore the barriers that hinder fragile collectives' participation in community-based tourism and (5) To identify solutions and mechanisms to the barriers to participation in community-based tourism. This chapter is divided into nine sections. Section one discusses findings on socio demographic profiles of fragile collectives while section two findings based on the characteristics of the fragile collectives. Sections three up to seven discusses the five objectives of this study. Section eight describes a supporting environment while the last section elaborates the proposed framework of the study. This chapter ends with a chapter summary.

6.2 Findings on the socio-demographic profile of fragile collectives

The age group between 31 and 59 years old constituted the highest number with 38 fragile collectives, followed by ten fragile collectives over 60 years, while the youngest people between 18 and 30 years old constituted the smallest group with seven fragile collectives. These findings are

related to previous studies that reported patterns between age and participation in CBT (Lu et al., 2017; Mensah, 2016; Mugizi et al., 2017). From observations and interviews, male dominate direct activities while females dominate indirect occupations. This finding reflects the socio-cultural setting where males dominate most of the community's political, economic, and social activities. This finding concurs with previous studies that documented low participation of women in CBT-related activities (Adeyemo & Bada, 2017; Freeman et al., 2022; Mensah, 2016; Mugizi et al., 2017; Taylor, 2017).

On the other hand, this study contradicts with a study in Napo County in China that documented a high number of female respondents with several of them involved in tourism (Xu et al., 2022). While community-based tourism spaces in Bwindi such as the craft center, community guides, porters, and village walk activities are dominated by men, it was observed that women dominate garden work activities and household workloads. Besides, through observation in CBT spaces, it was noted that most porters, birders, and village guides are men. Out of my curiosity, I had a casual talk with the Chairperson of Buhoma Mukono Porters and the one for Birders Associations, it was found that out of 98 porters, only 33 were females, and the rest were men and there was no female birder among the local birders. When I asked about the low participation of women in such activities, the chairperson of the porters association said that women are mostly held in garden work and lack time for such activities, lack of confidence in themselves to interact with visitors were among the reasons he mentioned. Besides, the Chairperson of the Birders Association revealed that no parent or husband could allow his daughter or wife to be in the wilderness looking for birds yet there is garden work and other home chores to attend. This observed pattern is in line with Tanwir and Safdar (2013), who argue that women's double burdens, gender norms, and triple roles as farmers, caretakers, and cash earners reduce the time available for their participation in project-related activities.

Thirty-six fragile collectives were married, and the rest were widowed, separated/ divorced, and never married. Apart from five fragile collectives who never had children, the rest had between one to 13 children. The high number of children is attributed to a lack of family planning practices that never existed before the Bwindi Community Hospital was established. Other factors for a high

number of children is attributed to a culture where the majority of fragile collectives confirmed that they produced so many children in anticipation of getting wealth from girls in the form of dowry and for boys to inherit property in case their parents die. This finding explains the low levels of education in Bwindi because most families could not send all the children to school with meagre resources. Besides, having a high number of children means childcare responsibilities which was established as a barrier to participation.

High illiteracy levels found among the fragile collectives, limit their participation in CBT. This result coincides with previous studies that have indicated that in general, people with no or low levels of education often lack skills and expertise in areas needed in tourism operations and limited access to information to engage in tourism planning and management (Bello et al., 2016; Birendra et al., 2021; Nguyen et al., 2022; Zielinski, Jeong, et al., 2020)

While twenty-seven of the fragile collectives had a very low-income level, ten had a moderate-income level and five had a relatively high-income level. Based on the World Bank threshold 1.90 US dollar of measuring poverty, most fragile collectives stated that their incomes were not even enough to sustain their families. In contrast, a few fragile collectives said their payments were just enough to maintain their livelihoods and improve their living standards. The findings indicate that most fragile collectives live in absolute poverty. According to World Bank (2018) and World Bank (2020) thresholds, a person is regarded as extremely poor if they live below 1.90 US dollar a day, and also one who earns between US$3.20-a-day and US$5.50-a-day is considered poor because there is a likelihood of this person falling back to 1.90 US dollars. Surprisingly, it was found that the Batwa fragile collectives who directly participate in CBT and whose culture plays a central role in Bwindi's heritage earn less than any other person in Bwindi, and they live miserable lives. This finding is in line with previous studies which established that indigenous people or people on the fringes of the community get marginal benefits from community-based tourism (Dyer et al., 2017; Guo & Jordan, 2022; Mensah, 2016; Strickland-Munro & Moore, 2013). Guo and Jordan (2022) indicate that over 80% of villagers in Likeng Village, Wuyuan County, Jiangxi Province, China, who participated in

the paid labor market through full-time, part-time, or self-employed categories earned less. On the contrary, Lo et al. (2019) indicate that households involved in tourism activities earned a significantly higher income than those not involved in any tourism activity.

This study has provided evidence that participation in CBT is influenced by socio-demographic factors. Based on such a finding, this study suggests that factors such as age, gender, number of children, income, education and income should be put into consideration when designing community-based tourism. Besides, it emerged from this study that CBT activities are dominated by men, therefore, to ensure wider opportunities for participation, there is a need to repackage CBT products that are geared towards enticing women to participate.

6.3 Findings based on the characteristics of fragile collectives

The characteristics of fragile collectives, such as marginalization, exclusion, and vulnerability, were evident among the fragile collectives. Before the introduction of tourism in Bwindi, all the locals adjacent to BINP and the Batwa, the minority who were forest dwellers of Bwindi, had equal access to the forest resources, and all the locals benefited equally. However, with the onset of CBT, despite the benefits associated with CBT, the current results indicate that it has increased the marginalization and vulnerability of the fragile collectives. Findings revealed that CBT had created two groups of people: the empowered and the disempowered. The empowered are the few elites in control of common community-based tourism resources and beneficiaries and influence decisions in their favor at the expense of the majority fragile collectives. The fragile collectives in Bwindi still operate on the margins due to a lack of decision-making power. For example, suppose someone wants to join a porter's association, which is also the biggest benefactor of fragile collectives in Bwindi. In that case, they are expected to pay a membership fee of   800,000 UGX, equivalent to 212.88 US dollars. To the already fragile collectives struggling with financial difficulties, this worsens the situation and denies them opportunities to participate. This finding concurs Teressa (2015), which revealed that despite the importance of ecotourism to the locals of Wenchi Crater Lake in Ethiopia, it caused

marginalization of the group resulting in majority and minority. Another study by Lane and Corbett (2005) which examined the experience of Australian indigenous peoples with a national, community-based environmental management program, revealed the systemic marginalization of indigenous peoples. Brynin and Longhi (2015) assert that ethnic minority groups are relatively likely to be in poorly paying occupations and minority groups often find limited access to opportunities due to their disadvantaged nature. A study by Imai et al. (2011) in Vietnam indicated that ethnic minorities are more inferior not necessarily because they are underprivileged households but because the returns from tourism are much lower for ethnic minorities than for the majority. To have a more inclusive and sustainable CBT, marginalization and vulnerability tendencies must be minimized. This can be done through the establishment of linkages between the "haves" and "have nots" and inclusion in the production of tourism products (Guo & Jordan, 2021; Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018).

Disability and chronic diseases were also found to hinder fragile collectives' participation in CBT. Five of the fifty fragile collectives reported issues with a disability, while twelve fragile collectives reported multiple problems associated with chronic diseases. Although some of these fragile collectives exhibited a sense of embracement and aspirations to participate in CBT, they were constrained by different forms of disabilities. Two women fragile collectives whose spouses abandoned them because of having given birth to children with disabilities were getting difficulties joining any occupation because their children needed their care and attention. This finding is supported by Lindstrom et al.(2012), who established that young women with disabilities face unique challenges in gaining employment, accessing post-secondary education, living independently, and fully participating in their communities. Embracing who you are is a sign of self-worth and self-esteem. This indicates that when fragile collectives are supported to develop individuals' capacities such as engaging in self-help projects at their premises which do not require them to go and look for what to do can be one of the ways of including them in the tourism chain.

6.4 Findings based on fragile collectives' forms of participation in CBT

The first objective of this study was to investigate the fragile collectives' forms of participation in CBT. CBT seeks to increase local people's involvement in tourism and take charge of tourism ownership in their area (Mowforth & Munt, 2015). 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).

First, the findings of this study indicate that fragile collectives do not take part in the decision-making or management of BINP. They have been educated about the values and significance of BINP as a heritage site, but they hardly get involved in the direction of the park. The BINP heritage site is managed by Uganda Wildlife Authority officials appointed by the Government, and these officials hardly involve the locals in the decision-making process. This finding is like Dodds et al. (2018), who indicated that in the Greater Mekong Subregion countries, the government-owned nature of national parks and protected areas inhibits the ability of local communities to be sole managers of CBT and, therefore, top-down planning approaches are common. On the other hand, a study in Thailand established that although the Park Authority had given opportunities for the local people to participate in major cultural events, the locals were not consulted on the park development and management (Esichaikul & Chansawang, 2022). Furthermore, Van Nguyen et al. (2020) discussed that participation in decision-making in Sapa, Vietnam follows a top-down approach due to political systems with little structural support for local involvement.

Literature indicates that participation in governance and decision-making is linked with who has the power to take part in its execution and decision-making process (Scheyvens, 1999; Timothy & Tosun, 2003). Tosun (2006) points out this kind of participation as tokenistic and coercive, where community members are used as stepping stones to achieve the interest of other stakeholders such as local elites, private investors, and multinational companies. Besides, existing studies present similar

findings (Guo & Jordan, 2022; Mensah, 2016; Sabuhoro et al., 2021; Thetsane, 2019; Tian et al., 2021; Wondirad & Ewnetu, 2019). These studies indicate that most CBT projects take a top-down kind of participation where the local communities are represented by local elite leaders, community-based organizations, or appointed officials from the government. The locals hardly get information related to tourism development which has created power inequality, social exclusion, and fewer benefits of tourism. In the context of Sub-Saharan Africa, a few studies that have been conducted on participation indicate similar results (Chinyele & Lwoga, 2018; Mensah, 2016). It is shown in another study that the state, public officers, the contemporary educated, and elite remain potent players in the overall decision-making process and assume all the powers pushing the relegated to the margins and leaving the ordinary members of the community out in the cold (Lenao, 2017).

Although this study's results match previous research studies in many ways, it should be noted that this study is unique and specific to fragile collectives. This study clearly provides of how participation in CBT takes place in the context of fragile collectives. First, participate passively in a community-based tourism enterprise called Bataka through representatives. This enterprise is managed by a Chairperson and Village Councillors. All community members above 18 years vote for these leaders. The disadvantage with this kind of participation that this study found, is that, the fragile collectives hardly get feedback from their representatives. Majority of the fragile collectives indicated that other than being called for the end of year party, they have never participated in any meeting, no feedback, nor have they ever been consulted on any matters concerning tourism development in their area. Similar findings have been illustrated by Lenao (2017) about the challenges of participation through representation. Another striking difference that this study presents is that the majority of the fragile collectives did not show interest in being included in the decision-making process, but they instead aspired for employment opportunities in the Park, sustainability of their livelihoods and social transformations. They believed they didn't have the confidence and capacity to make decisions but requested the Park Authority and Bataka leaders to create employment opportunities for them in the Park instead of recruiting non-locals. This finding indicates that when fragile collectives' views and

opinions are considered, there can be a harmonious coexistence of the locals and the Park. This is supported by existing literature which demonstrates that people who are marginalized hold valuable tacit knowledge and unique skills that can complement expert tourism knowledge and contribute to the development of more sustainable places and inclusive communities (Bellato & Cheer, 2021; Biddulph, 2018; Biddulph & Scheyvens, 2018).

Second, this study's findings indicate that most fragile collectives do not participate in decision-making but actively participate in tourism-related and non-related activities. This finding is in line with existing literature which documents that other segments of the community who are not directly involved in decision-making can still participate in tourism-related economic initiatives (Laws, 2011). Direct participation was identified as a popular form of participation, with most fragile collectives concentrated in the craft industry and Batwa participation activities followed by an indirect form of participation with the majority focused on service provision sector. In contrast, the last category of no participation mainly took subsistence farming and occasional labor as marginal participation. Therefore, engagement in craft making and selling is the commonest form of fragile collective participation in CBT. Moreover, it was also found out that fragile collectives from other sectors also make crafts alongside their businesses. This finding demonstrates a self-reliant economy with knowledge of visitors' needs in terms of souvenirs. This study concludes that all the fragile collective forms of participation identified do not reflect any state of decision-making. This finding is supported by literature that communities living near any tourist attraction can get involved in other forms other than taking part in decision-making (Ashley & Roe, 1998). Further, Tosun (2006) acknowledges that community participation is usually tokenistic, where community members only endorse decisions regarding tourism development issues made for them rather than by them. In this regard, this study found that Bataka, a community-based tourism enterprise that had created a platform for women's participation through the sale of crafts, entertaining visitors, and other benefits, had collapsed, and no one had a clue what had happened. Based on the current fragile collectives'

forms of participation, Figure 6.1. Illustrates the existing forms of participation from literature and what the study found.

Figure 6.1: Matching current forms of participation with existing literature
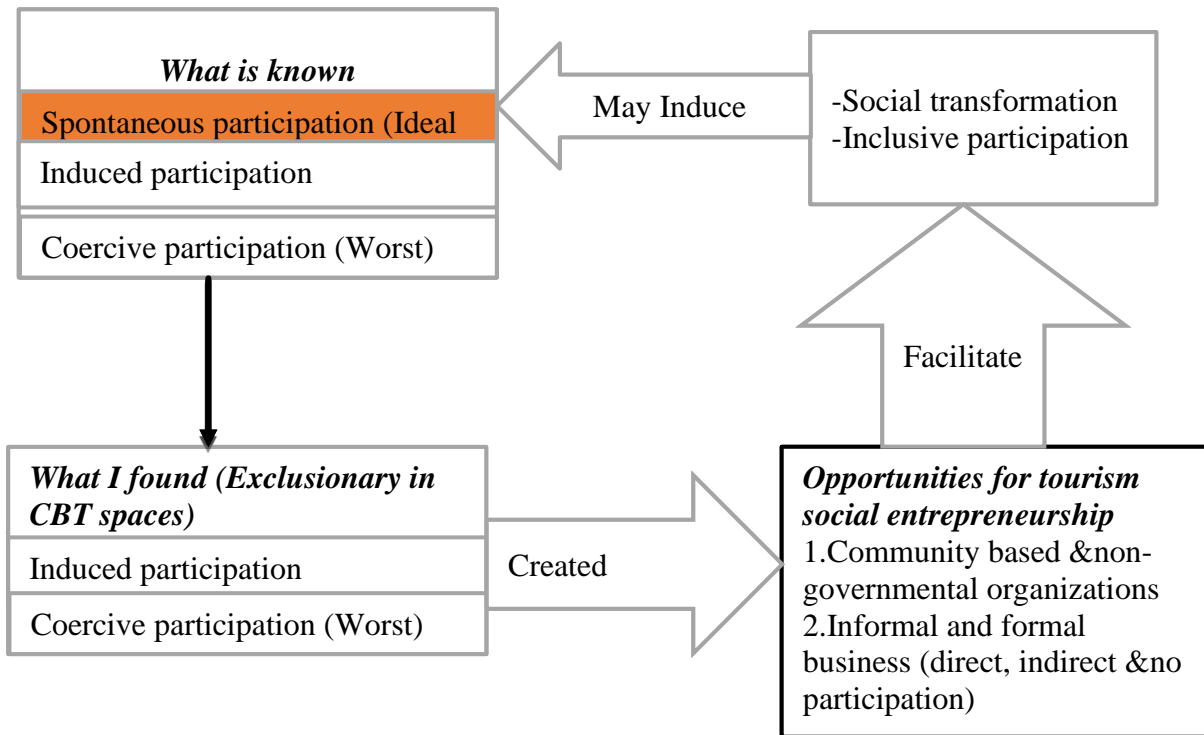
Figure 6.1 depicts the current situation of participation of fragile collectives in Bwindi (Source: Authors construction, 2021)

As much as this study's findings are consistent with previous studies, it is interesting to note that such exclusionary spaces have created entrepreneurial opportunities for fragile collectives. It should also be noted that the collapse of Bataka has also paved for other community enterprises that have created entrepreneurial opportunities. Since most fragile collectives are small holder farmers and they expressed different entrepreneurial aspirations; agritourism, marginal tourism enterprises or farm tourism packages that are beneficial could be introduced which foster wider and inclusive participation.

Table 6.1: Situating forms of fragile collectives' participation in CBT development

Form of participation	Evidence	Implication
Self-mobilization and spontaneity	-Twenty-eight fragile collectives are directly in contact with visitors. Seventeen of them develop tourism services by themselves and they earn substantially. -Eleven fragile collectives who participate under NGOs, CBOs, and Campsites benefit marginally compared to the ones who develop services by themselves. -Seventeen fragile collectives participate indirectly, and their benefits are moderate. Ten fragile collectives don't participate and their benefits marginal -None of these fragile collectives are involved in the decision-making of the community enterprise (Bataka).	First, this result suggests that CBT can improve fragile collectives' livelihoods without taking part in decision making. Second, this result indicates exploitation and income inequality among fragile collectives. Third, these results suggest that CBOs and NGOs should increase fragile collectives benefits and enhance their livelihoods. Forth, since they are not involved in decision-making, two-way communication should be emphasized. Lastly, findings of this study recommend social and financial support services to uplift the fragile collectives who are trapped under CBOs and NGOs and those who are not engaged in activity to start self-income generating activities. This recommendation is based on aspirations to participate in CBT that were revealed by fragile collectives.
Empowerment	Local elites have power over fragile collectives and are taking advantage of their situation in empowerment programs. The Batwa and some village site owners who rely on NGOs, CBOs, and guides.	This study has established that fragile collective who operate under such circumstances are marginalized and still languish in poverty which confirms degree of tokenism. None of them owns anything. Instead of enabling independence and self-Empowerment of fragile collectives, CBOs and NGOs have trapped them under a cage which explains the vicious cycle of poverty present among the fragile collectives. This study suggests the need for genuine fragile collective empowerment programs and small-scale tourism enterprise empowerment programs.
Partnerships		The disadvantage with this form of participation is lack of feedback, accountability, and

Form of participation	Evidence	Implication
	Fragile collectives are indirect beneficiaries of Bataka community projects in form collective benefits such as schools, water projects etc. They also have voting rights to elect the Bataka Chairperson and village councilors to convey their opinions. Before the collapse of Bataka, many fragile collectives benefited from it through various ways (Promotion of women's group, village walk, employment)	transparency which perhaps led to the collapsed of Bataka. This finding is important not only because it contradicts the roles the role of leaders but because it reveals these leaders are driven by their own selfish interests. Further this finding is important because it indicates that competition among representatives where they must inject in money soliciting for votes does not give an assurance to fragile collectives that their needs will be catered for. Priority is rather given to recover the previous debts incurred in campaigns using community resources which also explains the collapse of Bataka. This study therefore suggests that, unless external auditors outsourced or an anonymous volunteer takes over, the Bataka CBT issues may take eternity. But it should also be noted that, There exists many CBOs and NGOs which are copycats, and they are doing exactly what Bataka was doing, they are benefiting a few friends and relatives at the expense of the majority and fragile collectives respectively. Moreover, based on Butlers model and Doxey's irridex model, Bwindi as a destination has reached consolidation, stagnation, irritation, and antagonism levels where small tourism businesses are suffering and there is scramble for the resources.
Interaction	Local elites have greater involvement in this level. Community based tourism is in the control of and organized by CBOs and NGOs	Existence of fragile collectives operating from the margins of the community. Exclusion and marginalization are prevalent. This study calls for intervention strategies and suggest CBT that is inclusive and sustainable in nature. Pseudo and tokenistic benefits in form of sponsorships and material benefits.
Consultation	Fragile collectives are not consulted	This study reveals that fragile collectives are not consulted on any matter affecting them. They are just gazers in their community.

Form of participation	Evidence	Implication
Informing	Fragile collectives are not informed of any tourism development in Bwindi	This finding confirms earlier observations. This explains why many elites dominate all significant activities
Manipulation		Exclusion and marginalization are prevalent.
	CBT projects have been taken over by elite and powerful individuals in Bwindi. Foreign domination is prevalent. Greater benefits go the elites at the expense of fragile collectives	

(Source: Researcher's compilation -2021)

 Notes:

NGOs= Non-Governmental Organizations; CBOs= Community Based Organizations

6.4 Findings based on the benefits of participating in CBT

The second objective of this study was to investigate the benefits derived from the forms of participation in CBT. This study indicated positive benefits as blessings to the fragile collectives while negative benefits were established as curses to the fragile collectives. Section 6.4.1 discusses positive benefits while 6.4.2 discusses the negative benefits of CBT.

6.4.1 Positive benefits

Results show that community-based tourism has become an essential source of employment and has created entrepreneurial opportunities for fragile collectives, which has resulted in the improvement of fragile collectives' living standards. Both direct and indirect forms of participation 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. To underscore this finding, the standard of living in rural Uganda is measured in terms of assets one possesses, material comfort available to a person, the type of food one eats, clothes one puts on, type of school

children goes to, and the kind of house one lives in. This assertion is reflected in a study in Southwestern Uganda which indicated that households residing in permanent and semi-permanent houses were perceived as wealthier and associated with a good standard of living than their counterparts living in temporary dwellings (Tumwesigye et al., 2021).

Existing literature points out that CBT has 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 participation in CBT is an essential avenue for local residents to overcome poverty and improve their livelihoods (Artal-Tur et al., 2019; Ayorekire et al., 2022; Dangi & Jamal, 2016; Mensah, 2017). However, these studies have focused on the impacts of CBT to the community as a whole. The current study is unique because it focused on understanding the forms of participation. Therefore, the findings suggest that CBT should be inclusive since it is evidenced through this study that it can benefit fragile collectives substantially. The results of the current study underpin the direct pathway in which the benefits of tourism activities 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 CBT, 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 CBT 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 are derived from direct participation in CBT and should not only be limited to CBT spaces or direct interaction with the visitors but also to linkage participation activities that bring meaningful and sustainable benefits to fragile collectives.

As opposed to extant literature which indicates that local residents have to take part in decision making as a key ingredient to benefit from tourism (Tosun, 1999). This study found that fragile collectives are not bothered about taking part in decision-making. They are bothered about what they can engage in, that brings food on their table. Besides, they affirmed that decision-making is for the educated and for them making small proceeds from their agricultural produce supplies, and small-scale businesses were found visible. This finding is consistent with previous scholars (Ashley et al., 2000; Su & Wall, 2014). It is further mirrored in a study of Setokoe (2021) in Nqileni Village, Eastern Cape, South Africa, which established that CBT had promoted the creation of linkage sectors such as agriculture, fishery, and retail that are not limited to tourism spaces.

Another significant benefit that this study found was reflected in the form of empowerment. Empowerment was manifested in the form of non-economic benefits such as psychological, personal and social benefits. First, this study demonstrates that self-esteem, pride, contentment, and happiness are important components of psychological empowerment. 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. In line with this finding, a study by Vukovic et al. (2021) suggested that self-confidence strengthens self-awareness, and a strong and successful woman is free and self-sufficient. The authors mention that empowerment affects women's appreciation of themselves; therefore, they can fight for themselves, their position in society and the business environment. Although the current results reflect what was suggested by Vukovic (2021) that empowered women can fight for their position in society, it was established that women fragile collectives

in Bwindi are still navigating through gender roles, and they have not reached a level of fighting for themselves in the society. During the interviews, especially with women fragile collectives, they remarked that, they feel contented with the small earnings, but they don't have the confidence to compete with men.

Furthermore, as highlighted by Pratt (2022) women in Fiji are key decision-makers, exercising creativity and acting on their plans with greater autonomy and control over their affairs without interference from their spouses or others within the community. It should be noted that women in Bwindi still hold lower societal positions and participate on the margins. The above findings are consistent with the literature and they reflect the economic empowerment of fragile collectives (Scheyvens, 1999). Scheyvens acknowledges that the local community need to be empowered to decide on what forms of tourism facilities they want in their community. However, the findings of the current study indicate 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.

Psychological and personal benefits such as financial independence, peace-making and reconciliation were established as critical non-economic benefits. First, financial freedom and the capacity to provide for the family were manifested among the twenty-nine women fragile collectives. All of them agreed that participation in CBT can be an avenue for women empowerment. They confessed that before tourism was introduced in Bwindi, their whole life depended on a man begging him for simple basic home needs like salt and soap; sometimes, they could be beaten because of their dependence. Married women and single mothers particularly mentioned this. They also noted how they were burdened with garden work without

256

support from their spouses. This study reveals that tourism has saved women from such embarrassments from their husbands and they can afford the home necessities. Moreover, even women abandoned by their spouses expressed how they had hopes in tourism to revive their situation.

It also was established that women are a source of family labor and should ensure that the family constantly supplies food throughout the year. With the introduction of tourism in Bwindi, this study demonstrates that the money earned in various activities is used to pay for garden labor. Women hire casual laborers to till their land, relieving them from garden chores. Additionally, single mothers testified that tourism had relieved them from men taking advantage because of their situations. In this case, this study reveals that CBT has reduced single mothers' reliance on men, to the extent of trading their bodies for sex in search of support for their children. Moreover, even the fragile collectives who do not participate in CBT agreed that participation is the only way a woman in Bwindi can be empowered. Similar findings are established in a study by Moswete and Lacey (2015), which show that women had progressed from passive involvement to active involvement in related cultural ventures due to freedom from economic dependency on men and society and from depravity, emptiness and familial dependency. The current study found that women fragile collectives who are self-employed are more economically empowered than those working in formal enterprises.

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). The difference between the current study and the previous studies is that women fragile collectives in Bwindi are concentrated in small-scale retail and handcraft businesses compared to men who dominate in guiding services, ownership of accommodation facilities, village walk sites and porterage services. Although some studies indicate that women

have come out to do what men can do, the results of the current study suggest that few women fragile collectives in Bwindi have gained the confidence to do what men can do. This finding contradicts with findings of Moswete and Lacey, (2015) in Botswana which established that women work as community guides and (Montero, 2020) in Quilombola, Ecuador, which indicated that all guides are women. It should be noted that women fragile collectives in Bwindi are constrained by so many factors but the major one lacking education. This study therefore suggests self-help projects which align with the confidence levels of education of women fragile collectives.

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.

This study demonstrates that CBT has enhanced skills and knowledge, acquisition of friends, promoted social transformations and at a family level some fragile collectives have managed to reconcile with their families. 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. Apart from the fragile collectives who were not engaged in any activity, this study demonstrates that some of the fragile collectives were also engaged in social transformation activities such as women's group and youth groups aiming at uplifting other fragile collectives. This finding compliments

previous research (De Lange & Dodds, 2017; Kimbu & Ngoasong, 2016) by unpacking how CBT is transforming oneself and others. A study by Dahles et al. (2020) in Cambodia demonstrate that tourism social entrepreneurship contributes to new ways of ensuring that the poorest segments of society receive a greater share of benefits.

As much as tourism social entrepreneurship is suggested as way to go, this study reveals that there exists a lot of local CBOs and NGOs in Bwindi all gearing at social transformations but at the expense of the fragile collectives. Fragile collectives are used to solicit donations but they receive a small share out of such donations, and the rest is taken by CBOs and NGOs. This result contradicts a study by Dahles et al. (2020) in Cambodia which established that non-governmental organizations (NGOs), encourage the establishment of social enterprises that employ the locals as an instrument for creating sustainable livelihoods, but rarely are such enterprises developed and operated by local people. Based on Dahles' findings, 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 is operationalized by Keane and Cinnéide (1986), who explains the concept of self-help using analogy of teaching people how to catch a fish rather than presenting them with one on a plate. The emphasis of this analogy lies in the power of people in a community coming together, to define their problems and learn how to address them so as they improve their situation (Garkovich, 2011). Keane and Cinnéide (1986) claim that there is a need to promote a spirit of cooperative self-help and self-confidence before engaging in commercial ventures. This does not only build confidence among the local people but also members gain experience at working together as a unit which can enable them to undertake significant projects.

Politically, fragile collectives testified that participation in CBT is a source of power at the household level. Most women fragile collectives confessed that depending on a man for all

the financial needs renders women powerless in a home. This finding implies that CBT does not only empower them economically but also gives them power to express themselves at home. Some women confessed that previously, a woman had no voice in their families and had no say in family matters. With the economic power associated with earnings from tourism, the findings reveal that some women are consulted by their spouses in decision-making. They added that they are sometimes asked to contribute financially in case of purchasing a family asset. These findings reflect what Scheyvens, (1999) pointed out as determinants of the impacts of ecotourism initiatives on local communities.

Skill enhancement was a significant non-economic benefit that some fragile collectives had derived from participation. 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 CBT.

6.4.2 Negative benefits

It is true that FCs reported that tourism has brought for them economic benefits but also emphasized that tourism had brought curses for them. Socially for example, FCs emphasized that tourism has increased the spread of AIDS, prostitution, domestic violence, jealousness among the locals and high crime rates like homicides. Environmentally, FCs reported that although they have Hugo members from the community who protect the Gorillas from destroying their gardens, they feel they are not part of the conservation initiatives. Most FCs reported that before tourism came, Bwindi Forest was their source of livelihood, and they were protecting the environment well. This sentiment may jeopardize conservation efforts. This study therefore suggests that FCs should be included in the conservation efforts. For instance, FCs can work directly with the Management of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park in conserving it. Fragile collectives agreed that as much tourism has brought for them benefits,

results indicate that it has also affected them negatively. This finding is supported by The Bwindi Impenetrable National Park 2020 Conservation Assessment outlook which highlights that tourism-related incomes have not directly benefited the poorest people close to the park. Employment opportunities such as wardens, senior wardens, research officers etc) are usually occupied by those from "outside".

Several negative benefits were highlighted, and loss of land was the most mentioned negative benefit associated with CBT. Both the Bakiga and Batwa fragile collectives put the blame on tourism as reason to why they were evicted and restricted from accessing Bwindi forest. Some fragile collectives lamented that their current suffering and poverty is due to the ignorance of their parents who sold land to investors to establish campsites. It was established that at the start of tourism in Bwindi in 1993, the locals did not know what to do which attracted the foreign investors who bought their land cheaply. The wiser fragile collectives bought land elsewhere. Results indicate that majority spent the money on alcohol and were left with nothing. This finding could explain the general impoverishment among the fragile collectives. Some of the fragile collectives confessed that they feel bad when they see their original lands occupied by foreigners who cannot even remember to employ them.

On the one hand, women fragile collectives attested that the agricultural lands they occupy on the fringes of the park are no longer fertile compared to the land taken by the park. On the other hand, men fragile collectives regretted having reformed from poaching and revealed that given an opportunity, they could still go back to the park to hunt wild animals for meat. The Batwa, who are traditional hunter-gatherers and entirely dependent on the park, confessed that they miss meat and other foods in the forest, which explains their impoverished nature. This finding coincides with previous studies (Adelona, 2017; Alderete, 2020; Jeyacheya & Hampton, 2020; Letoluo & Wangombe, 2018). This means that although fragile collectives praised that tourism has brought them benefits, deep down in their hearts, they are not happy

with tourism, which explains why some fragile collectives requested that the park should be given back to them. This result confirms the effect of tourism development on fragile collectives. Based on this finding, this study suggests that tourism policies should encourage tourists who visit protected areas to contribute to the conservation of nature and economic benefits to local communities and account for and minimize negative social impacts (Leung et al., 2018). Failure to address such discrepancies can jeopardize conservation efforts.

Conversely, Walpole and Goodwin (2000) argue that the benefits are usually not distributed equally. They point out that the existence of local economic elites further constrains the distribution of benefits. In their study, Walpole and Goodwin (2000) indicated that distributional inequalities favor external operators and urban gateway residents rather than rural villagers. They stress that the local economy remains peripheral to regional and national centers, so core-periphery relations also exist within the local context. The findings indicate that tourism's revenue distribution was uneven in the local economic sectors. The losers are the lower class and minorities who suffer from a system of "exclusion, segregation, and labor segmentation (Betancur & Gills, 1993, p. 192), as this study demonstrates.

Another study in Ghana indicated inequity in the distribution of ecotourism outcomes, as revenue from ecotourism is shared between park management and the government of Ghana without any direct financial benefits to the communities (Cobbinah et al., 2017). The current findings further coincide with Ireri et al. (2020), who emphasize that distributive justice is concerned with achieving equity rather than equality by ensuring that deprived sections of the community receive proportionately more benefits than others (Dangi, 2016; Jamal & Camargo, 2014). On the other hand, the present study has found evidence of this in Bwindi, whereby most empowerment programs are channeled to a few women from selected families, the Batwa and children who also receive marginal benefits from such programs. This study has not established evidence of more benefits channelled to the young people, the very poor or other

disadvantaged groups in the community. Failure to address such inequalities undermines the contribution of the fragile collectives in CBT.

Furthermore, this study established village inequalities in benefit distribution, justifiably due to disadvantages of topography and proximity to CBT spaces. Some fragile collectives pointed out that although they are victims of crop destruction by gorillas and monkeys, they were just observers of tourist vehicles passing by their area, while others were far from gorilla and village trails. The revenue-sharing programs meant to benefit such less fortunate people are handled by people who are less affected by animals and sometimes they use the money to rehabilitate small roads connecting to villages that do not benefit fragile collectives in any way. Besides, none of the tourism programs showed evidence of channelling benefits like employment and training to the youth and to the elderly. This study suggests that specific guidelines about revenue sharing should give priority to fragile collectives that face serious damage from animals. Village trails should be developed in such areas that are off-trail so that fragile collectives located in such areas can also benefit.

6.5 Findings based on enablers to participation in CBT

The third objective of this study was to investigate the key factors that enable fragile collectives' participation in CBT. Based on data analysis, five participation enablers in form of capital livelihoods were revealed. These include human, financial, social, natural, physical, and cultural capital livelihoods and are congruent with various previous studies. In the context of human capital, this study demonstrates human asset is an essential resource for fragile collectives in pursuit of their livelihoods. This study reveals that knowledge and skills acquired from the home environment (family members) and informal training from friends and relatives (onsite experience) are key ingredients for participation. Informal training from workshops and associations were manifested as the source of human capital.

Whereas fragile collectives with formal education had an added advantage of interacting freely with visitors compared to their counterparts, this study demonstrates that human capital acquired from home, onsite and informal training is widely used in Bwindi. With the high number of illiterates, fragile collectives testified that education in Bwindi is a recent development because of tourism. Majority of the fragile collectives employed traditional skills acquired from within their circles. For instance, it was established that, traditionally, weaving baskets and other handmade crafts such as mats was mandatory for every woman or young girl in a community, while wood carving was men's occupation. Since childhood, fragile collectives could learn such skills from their parents or grandparents. Besides, cooking and hospitality skills inherited from their mothers are evident among women fragile collectives in the food and beverage and retail services.

This study demonstrates such practices and experiences are important enablers to participation because when tourism was introduced in Bwindi in 1993, fragile collectives did not start from scratch. They matched their traditional local knowledge and artisanal skills to pursue their livelihoods when tourism was introduced in their area. Existing literature supports the notion that empowering the host communities is a necessary condition for them to harness the opportunities that come along with tourism (Ashley et al., 2000; Scheyvens, 1999). Leihaothabam (2016) stated that human capital significantly influences participation in identifying and realizing such opportunities. Pasanchay and Schott (2021) indicated that English speaking is a key skill for providing effective services. This study found that a few fragile collectives who are educated were doing much better compared to their uneducated counterparts. Some fragile collectives acquired informal training from workshops; the results indicate that NGO conservation agencies like MBCT played a significant role in upgrading some fragile collectives' guiding, basket weaving, and bee-keeping skills. This finding coincides with Hoque et al. (2020) who affirmed that NGOs had a played a critical role in

empowering the Lawachara Khasia Punji community to become involved with tourism-centred earning activities ranging from tour guiding to operating family-oriented tourism micro-businesses selling local products such as traditional cuisine, establishing shops and providing limited-scale homestays.

Emphasis on capacity building and training of craft producers in support of handcraft production and development is paramount since the fragile collectives are able to utilize the local and existing skills (Tasci et al., 2014). Furthermore, experience and on-the-job training was apparent among wood carvers and craft makers who acquired skills from their fellow carvers or as attendants in the craft shops. This is re-echoed in a study in Kenya which established that 84% of firms hire as many short-term casual workers who receive apprenticeships as a pathway to full employment (Harris, 2014). Outstandingly, whereas no study has exclusively researched fragile collectives' own skills and experiences from their inner circles, creativity and innovation acquired from family members were found as important enablers to participation.

Figure 6.2 depicts an 88-year-old woman fragile collective whose basket weaving skills were upgraded by her grand-daughter and her great-granddaughter to suit visitors' needs. Apart from the great-grand daughter at the university pursuing a diploma in Business Administration, the grandmother and her granddaughter do not have any education. Still, they can participate due to their unique and creative skills acquired from their grandmother. This finding implies that, much as education is a vital ingredient in participation, local skills and talent should be harnessed, as established in this study. This finding is supported by Francesca et al. (2009), who emphasizes that although attracting new talent can address current and future skills shortages, tapping into skills already existing within a locality particularly those that address the low-skilled is paramount.

Figure 6.2: Creativity and innovation among fragile collectives

Figure 6.2 depicts informal training from grandmother as an enabler: Top left is the grandmother, middle is her grand-daughter who has upgraded her grandmother's skills and, on the top right, is her great- grand daughter who has upgraded further to meet the local market as well as international. Bottom left, traditional baskets, bottom middle upgraded baskets, and bottom right creative innovations back bags (Source: Researcher- 2021).

Despite the numerous empowerment programs that exist in Bwindi, such local talents are being ignored; instead, young people are soliciting donations to empower young generations through sophisticated training leaving out the most fragile, and yet they can act as enablers. Although majority of fragile collectives' lack education that limits their participation, this study suggests that local skills and talents of economically inactive fragile collectives should be harnessed and upgraded to meet the changing needs of the visitors and the entire community. This enables them to participate and makes them feel part of a vibrant community (Francesca et al., 2009).

This study established that participation requires financial resources. It was found that four primary sources of financial resources are considered necessary by fragile collectives as key enablers to participation. These sources include their own savings, monetary donations

from visitors, property sale, and small loans acquired from microlending individuals and groups. This has been confirmed in previous studies (Pasanchay, & Schott, 2021; Zielinski et al., 2021). It was found that fragile collectives who engage in direct activities with visitors get gifts in the form of monetary donations or tips, which they use to pursue their livelihoods. However, it was noted that such philanthropic cash donations created conflicts and dependence syndrome in Bwindi, especially among the Batwa. Results revealed that visitors identify fragile collectives who are needy and offer to start self-help projects for them; once this gets to the ears of local elites who act as intermediaries, they cheat them and the cash donations end up in their pockets. Besides, some local elites solicit donations to enable fragile collectives to start self-help projects; they use the gifts for their selfish interests. This finding not only depicts a "professional begging" culture that has engrossed Bwindi but also takes advantage of the fragile collectives. As much as the tradition of giving is emphasized by (Kuri et al., 2022), one should ponder: *other than giving direct cash directly to fragile collective as a tip or gift, do intermediaries or local elites deliver cash donations faithfully?* Based on this notion, this study suggests that as much as visitors love the people of Bwindi, especially the fragile collectives, follow-ups and evaluation of the financed project should be emphasized. Besides this study confirms that external support in form of funds is an important source of capital which enables participation of fragile collectives.

In the context of social capital, networking, friendship, and belonging to a social group or an association were essential to participation. This study reveals that having solid networks with key stakeholders such as the park authorities, managers in campsites, local and non-local guides, NGOs, and CBOs visitors is crucial for participation. This is because these key stakeholders have constant contact with visitors. Although Bataka Community enterprise was regarded as an essential driver for participation, having a good relationship with the UWA (park authority) is key because of its full control of the park and the visitors. The finding of

267

this study demonstrated that being friends with both local and non-local guides for marketing is a critical enabler. This finding is in line with previous studies that established that having relationships and strong networks with the government officials, tour operators and NGOs for marketing and diversification purposes (Pasanchay & Schott, 2021; Schott & Nhem, 2018). Although, Schott and Nhem (2018) underscore the value addition of tour operators in terms of marketing, selling, and offering tourism products under no commission policy, this study found tour operators in Bwindi work closely with campsites, NGOs and CBOs who give them commissions. The issue of commission is the greatest challenge for fragile collectives to enable their participation.

Social capital in terms of friendship with visitors was also found to be an essential enabler in this study because of the word of mouth, social media marketing, and financial support they extend to fragile collectives. Fragile collectives, especially the educated ones who engage directly with visitors, indicated that they get email addresses, Facebook accounts and other social media platforms where they keep in touch with visitors. Visitors market fragile collectives on different media platforms, make referrals, and send them small donations to support their businesses and families. This implies that host-visitor relationships should be encouraged as long as visitors are not coerced to do so, which indicates implied destination making and promotion of fragile collectives. This finding concurs with Chung et al. (2016), who pointed out that online friendship results from face-to-face interactions between the visitors and the locals. This calls for designing online promotional tools to enhance fragile collectives' involvement in CBT activities. In addition, both local and non-local guides should be trained and sensitized about the importance of encouraging visitor-host relationships. Another important aspect of social capital that this study found was belongingness. According to Burgos and Mertens (2017), it emphasizes the aspect of collective property of the community.

Being a part of an association or a community group was found as an essential enabler to participation. As this study established, women groups, development groups, and orphanage and children's entertainment groups are popular forms of participation. Although these associations are liable to conflicts (Okazaki, 2008), this study found that community groups, women's associations, and children's entertainment groups were some of the avenues for fragile collectives' participation. Majority of the fragile collectives belong to such groups where they are able to sell their crafts directly to visitors or through children and Batwa who entertain visitors. The current study affirms that village associations were platforms for lending and savings at low interest rates, their insurance in case of emergencies, the market for craft products and skills enhancement. This finding is contrary to what was found in Bali in Indonesia (Dolezal & Novelli, 2020).

It should be noted from this study that some fragile collectives who were not participating in any activity was as a result of the collapse of women groups they belonged to. This means that, some fragile collectives feel socially and economically empowered when they are part of an association, as reflected by Tucker and Boonabaana (2012). This is evidenced by fragile collectives, especially women who affirmed that they prefer being part of an association where exploitation is minimal compared to individual dealings. Thus, associations and community groups where members exercise collective power and decide on matters that affect them should be encouraged. Research shows that for the effective operation of tourism, it is important for the community to organize themselves through their local leaders and form tourism-related associations to share information and possible experiences (Thetsane, 2019).

The results on physical capital show that infrastructural developments such as roads connecting BINP to neighboring trading centers, schools, and hospitals are important enablers to participation. Additionally, tourism establishments such as lodges and campsites, Nkwenda craft center, and Gorilla and village trails passing through communities, coupled with the

269

presence of raw materials, are all enablers to participation. Although Buhoma Rest Camp and Havens Lodge, both community or Bataka projects, were on the verge of collapse, these establishments were cited as important enablers to participation. This finding concurs with Ahebwa (2013), who established that the Bataka is a source of livelihood to the locals. This study indicated that the establishment of such an enterprise came with indirect opportunities for community members, such as a market for the local supply of bananas, milk, eggs, and vegetables. Similarly, a study in Jiuzhaigou Nature Reserve in Sichuan Province, China, whose primary source of livelihood is tourism, indicated physical assets were the basis for rural households to engage in tourism because many livelihood activities require corresponding physical assets (Ma et al., 2018).

Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, a world heritage site, was identified as a natural livelihood capital. It is an important source of visitors to Bwindi because of the mountain gorilla. In addition to that, there are a variety of bird species and butterflies. Therefore, this study demonstrates Bwindi as a place gifted by nature with thick forests, waterfalls, and caves. Pasanchay and Schott (2021) discussed that natural capital plays a vital role in rural villages which rely on natural resources. This study demonstrates that, other than the mountain gorilla and related species which attract visitors to Bwindi, there are no other touristic economic activities in the area. Whereas a fraction of fragile collectives expressed the need to take back the forest into their hands, the only way to conserve this critical resource is to involve fragile collectives in conserving BINP and all its habitats since it is the only source of visitors to Bwindi.

Another significant enabler to participation that this study found was cultural capital. Cultural capital in the form of indigenous cultures of the Batwa and Bakiga reflecting traditional lifestyles in the form of dance and drama, dress code, and food are revealed as important attractions for visitors. This finding aligns with a study by Rahman et al. (2021) in

Bangladesh, which indicated that indigenous cultures, traditions, and rituals are essential points of attraction. This study found Batwa traditional performances to be a unique cultural capital liked by visitors. It was established that the Batwa is a cultural tourist package in Bwindi and the visitors hardly go minus visiting village Batwa settlements. It is fascinating that most of the Batwa village settlements are owned by the Bakiga, and the Bakiga use the Batwa to sell their crafts to visitors. Although this finding has some commodification aspects, focusing on the Batwa as a tourist product and leaving out the Bakiga, who also has a rich culture, is discriminatory. Efforts to include Bakiga in the promotional packages should be considered. In addition, the study demonstrates women and children's entertainment groups are essential enablers for participation because all these provide avenues for fragile collectives to sell their crafts directly to the visitors.

It should also be noted that, as much cultural tourism is demonstrated as an important enabler to participation, a lot is left to be desired among the fragile collectives. Cultural tourism has a lot to offer in terms of cultural experiences. Other than weaving baskets and dancing for the visitors, a feel of homestays which is key in cultural tourism, is missing. In this regard, this study suggests community-based tourism with a component of homestays for fragile collectives. Fragile collectives may not have desirable homes for visitors to stay, but with the help of the Government through UWA, a few homes can be inspected and be upgraded to a standard that suits a visitor. Interestingly, this study reveals a lot of aspirations from fragile collectives which homestays were prevalent among the mentioned aspirations. Although setting up a homestay may involve a lot of logistics in the context of fragile collectives' previous studies have indicated homestays is one of the factors increasing participation and promotion of cultural sustainability (Acharya & Halpenny, 2013; Bhattarai & Adhikari, 2021; Pasanchay & Schott, 2021; Sood et al., 2017). It is well documented that homestays are important tourism products that can encourage participation and empowerment and can also

271

address socio-economic, political, ethnic, and gender disparities within communities (Acharya & Halpenny, 2013; Pasanchay & Schott, 2021).

This study concludes that participation in CBT is not influenced by one factor but a multitude of factors. This study emphasizes that empowerment programs such as capacity building in basic skills development, strong community groups, associations and networks, and access to soft micro-loans can help fragile collectives to become self-reliant can foster fragile collectives' participation in CBT.

6.6 Findings based on barriers to participating in community-based tourism

The fourth objective of this study was to investigate the barriers that hinder fragile collectives' participation in CBT. This objective was designed to understand the challenges faced by that fragile collective participating in various activities and the hindrances that restrain fragile collectives from participating. Section eight of chapter five reported findings on internal and external barriers to participation. Internal barriers such as lack of education, financial constraints, apathy or lack of interest, lack of time, gender roles and external barriers such as the problem of the guides, competition, marketing challenges, lack of support from the park authority, elite domination, the collapse of Bataka, jealousness among the community members, gender biases and stereotypes, and crop destruction by park animals and social exclusion. Some of the barriers are reported in existing literature as discussed below:

6.6.1 Discussion of findings in the context of external barriers

The challenge of the guides was found as the most prevalent barrier to participation across the fragile collectives. A study by Jensen (2010) and Powell et al. (2008) established that that guides have the potential to promote local businesses, assist local artisans in product development and sales as well as create philanthropic opportunities for the visitors. However, the findings of the current study do not support this notion. It was revealed that fragile collectives lack access to visitors because of restrictions imposed on visitors by the tour guides,

ranger guides, and community guides. It was further reported that without the guides' permission, the visitors could not buy anything from the fragile collectives, nor could they interact with any other person in the community. This finding echoes Wondirad et al. (2020) study in Ethiopia, which found that there were no interactions between communities and tourists in Ethiopia in fear that if locals understood the economic values of tourism, they would forfeit their business in the future.

As a result, the guide's restrictions have led to a lack of market, low bargaining power, and low sales for both fragile collectives in direct and indirect participation. Another possible explanation for this finding may be attributed to the local and non-local guides' lack of knowledge about their roles as promoters of local economies. The findings of the current study are consistent with those of Pereira and Mykletun (2012), who found that guides in the Municipality of Manaus in the Brazilian Amazon generate a few benefits to the locals in the form of in-kind services or as revenue due to a result of lack of competence in interpretative skills and lack of knowledge about sustainability.

Another surprising finding related to the problem of the guides is that, village walk site owners and Batwa fragile collectives do not have control over their resources; they rely on the guides to determine everything, including how much they are paid. The current finding contradicts a study conducted by Ahebwa (2013) on payments of site fee. Ahebwa (2013) reported that village site owners are entitled to 40% of the fees paid by each visitor and that they are free to decide on how to be paid. However, this study found that, the village site owners do not know the exact amount that visitors pay and that they are given peanuts at the end of the month. This explains the current bad leadership and management of Bataka which could be the possible cause for such discrepancies. Thus, this suggests that local guides and campsite owners should be sensitized to understand that most fragile collectives attain their livelihoods through

souvenir items and small-scale tourism-related initiatives. They should therefore give a chance to visitors in case they are interested in supporting the fragile collectives.

Despite the concerted efforts to include the fragile collectives in the production of tourism and tourism supply chains (Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018; UNWTO, 2017), manifestations of discrimination and social exclusion were prevalent as barriers to participation for most of the fragile collectives. It was established that some fragile collectives are excluded and discriminated against in-group associations while others are more favored than others. For instance, it was discovered that some Batwa fragile collectives who work as porters in the park are discriminated against when it comes to giving out slots or turns of carrying visitor's bags.

The study findings reveal that Bakiga porters are more favored than the Batwa. In relation to this finding Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2012) opine that when one with greater power takes advantage of one with lower power, the exchange is considered unfair. Similarly, it was revealed that some fragile women collectives who are singles, separated, or young widows are looked down upon because of their statuses. Similar findings are documented by Guo and Jordan (2021), who reveal that Likeng residents in China experience various forms of social exclusion such as socio-economic and political. These barriers to participation are related to what Guo and Jordan (2021) identified as four significant dimensions of social exclusions. I included more two dimensions (natural and physical exclusions) as depicted as summarized in Table 6.2

Table 6.2: Dimensions of social exclusions identified as barriers to participations to CBT

Dimensions	This study found
Economic exclusion	Inequalities in distribution of resources and CBT benefits- low payments/ wages
	Lack of tourism related employment opportunities
	Lack of necessary skills or training
	Lack of access to financial capitals
Political exclusion	Lack of participation in decision making especially women and Batwa

Dimensions	This study found
	Lack of opportunity to express fragile collective interest
	Lack of feedback channels on the performance of CBT projects (Bataka, and community campsite and lodge)
Social exclusion or relationship exclusion	Elite domination in all spheres
	Lack of visitor- fragile collective interactions
Cultural exclusion	Low cultural Bakiga fragile collectives' identity in village walk activities or loss of Bakiga traditional values
	Powerlessness of Batwa over their culture
Natural exclusion	Lack of land rights and ownership especially for Batwa, young people and women
	Restrictions from accessing the Park resources
	No compensation schemes for crop destruction
Geographical exclusion	-Some villages are located in places that are off from tourism trails -Long distance

Source: Adopted from Guo and Jordan (2021)

Although small tourism businesses play a significant role in the lives of the poor, competition over resources and development opportunities affects the success and survival of their companies (Ashley & Garland, 1994; Buhalis, 1999; Rantšo, 2016). In this regard, the current study found that fragile collectives compete with campsites, village walk sites, big NGOs and CBOs, campsites, the park, and amongst themselves. What is surprising is that the local NGOs and CBOs which could be supporting the fragile collectives in terms of the market deal in similar businesses like those of fragile collectives. This has led to the loss of clients and the closure of some businesses. A study by Twinamatsiko et al. (2019) carried out in the same context reported that basket weavers' incomes had reduced due to the lack of a tourism market and high levels of competition between local enterprises. The finding that visitors only buy from campsites and do not buy from fragile collectives dealing with crafts is also supported in this study.

Furthermore, vivid examples of such a barrier are documented in research by Dodds et al. (2018), who indicated that private businesses in Thailand compete with CBT initiatives. On the other hand, the study established that fragile collectives also compete amongst themselves. This finding is similar to a study in Papua New Guinea which indicates that there are so many guest houses initiated by tour operators, which has created competition among the villagers (Reggers et al., 2016). Besides, the current study reveals that the Park Authority, which would be helping the fragile collectives with the issue of competition, collaborates with campsites and more prominent organizations, leaving fragile collectives out of the chain. This implies that participation in Bwindi is unequal and skewed primarily to the power holders rather than the powerless. This finding is exemplified in Dolezal and Novelli (2020) study in Bali in Indonesia, who demonstrate that the private sector was often considered a significant investment partner that has left community ownership aspirations and conflict over the use of CBT spaces.

It was also noticeable that most tourist vehicles could hardly make a stopover in Nkwenda craft centre leaving the fragile collectives hoping to get chance visitors. Visitors in Bwindi are accommodated in campsites, and they are allowed to move out to the communities by campsites managers or tour guides. These campsites have craft shops that offer similar crafts to those of fragile collectives, limiting opportunities for fragile collectives to benefit. This is reflected in a study by Melubo and Carr (2019). As suggested by Wondirad et al. (2020) and Tolkach and King (2015) that if CBT is to achieve sustainable development in favor of communities, collaborations, networks and partnerships must be put in place. Since campsites, tour operators and NGOs, and CBOs are the pathways to visitors; this study suggests that fragile collectives should create networks amongst themselves to get noticed and create partnerships as well as alliances with the mentioned stakeholders to avoid unnecessary competition and inequitable distribution of benefits. Besides, campsite managers should

collaborate with local fragile collective farmers by supporting local farmer's initiatives and facilitating capacity-building programs, as suggested by Jeyacheya and Hampton (2020).

Extant literature show that effective participation requires decentralization of central government's political, administrative, and financial powers to local government (Tosun, 2000). Tosun (2000) affirms that coordination among formal bodies, public and private sector and private enterprises is essential for the highly fragmented tourism industry. In this study, however, it was found that the administration of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park is highly centralized and all the decision-making, and planning are made by the Park Authority without any community members on board and fragile collectives as well. This study found no coordination between the park authority and the fragile collectives, and 99% of the park employees are non-locals. Despite a fully-fledged department of community tourism, findings of the current study indicate that the fragile collectives do not know the use of that office, and neither do they know who the community warden is. This finding implies that as much the management of Bwindi Impenetrable Park are the generators of tourism in Bwindi, they work in isolation. This gap between the fragile collectives and the park authority may escalate conflicts and jeopardize conservation efforts in the future. These findings are prevalent in existing studies.

One of the studies in Southern Shaanxi, China, indicates that lack of consultation and poor governance is one of the challenges facing pro-poor projects (Lo et al., 2019). This study suggests that government officials and local elites dominated decision-making for pro-poor schemes. Another study in Malawi indicates bureaucracy in the centralized public administration system are major impediment to participation (Bello et al., 2017). A comparison of findings on competition and lack of support reveals that fragile collectives in Bwindi have no say in any matters concerning their participation. The locals are not well informed about community development tourism issues which hinders fragile collectives' participation and

pushes them further to the margins of the community. There is a small chance that participation of fragile collectives in CBT will improve soon. Taken together, these results suggest that the park authority (UWA) in collaboration with NGOs and CBOs in Bwindi should cooperate with fragile collectives and factor in their needs in development programs.

Furthermore, the park authority should consider employing a fraction of fragile collectives in the jobs that suit them. Besides, despite the inability in leadership and management skills exhibited by the majority fragile collectives, the park authority should collaborate with some of few fragile collectives who have potential in management and leadership skills who can be representatives of other fragile collectives. Further, Uganda Wildlife Authority can learn from Indonesia and South Africa where the management of CBT attractions involves or partners with the locals in the management, planning and implementation of development projects which has eventually increased the participation of locals in the whole process (Giampiccoli & Saayman, 2018; Puja & Aryasih, 2020). Puja and Aryasih (2020) indicated that the local community's ability to manage Monkey Forest Ubud's tourist attraction had strengthened efforts to empower and improve community participation.

One of the primary goals of CBT is to spread benefits to a wider community ensuring equitable distribution of benefits (Asker et al., 2010; Dangi & Jamal, 2016; Goodwin & Santilli, 2009). Contrary to the expectations of CBT, the current study found that elite and foreign domination is among the barriers to participation. Most of the tourism establishments in Bwindi, especially campsites owned by foreigners from USA, South Africa, and Kenya who come with their workers or workers from outside Bwindi community. The results indicate that out of the 19 campsites/ lodges or hotels, only five belong to the locals and two belong to the community as CBT enterprises (See Appendix 7). It was also found that out of the 18 NGOs and 24 CBOs, only three are founded and run by women (See Appendix 5 & 6).

It should be noted that foreign-owned enterprises employ a handful of fragile collectives, local NGOs and CBOs employ their friends and relatives, and these elites grab any opportunity that arises at the expense of the fragile collectives. Although this finding is not surprising because of the twenty-nine women fragile collectives, only two women had attained tertiary education, an indication that, other than the patriarchal nature of the society, women are sabotaged by lack of education. This finding is supported by literature which indicates that local elites, particularly men, frequently dominate CBT development and end up monopolizing tourism benefits (Scheyvens, 1998) because they possess power, education, language skills or happen to live in the right places. The Batwa village walks are owned and controlled by the Bakiga, implying that the Batwa have no control over issues that affect them. It seems possible that these results are due to an avalanche of factors such as lack of necessary skills needed in the tourism industry due to high illiteracy levels, lack of coordination and support among stakeholders and discriminatory gender tendencies common in male-dominated societies. Another possible explanation is that it's evident that most fragile collectives lack knowledge about tourism opportunities. This finding is in line with previous studies which that have speculated elite domination and exploitation of resources at the expense of the poor majority (Bello et al., 2017; Gohori & van der Merwe, 2021).

Another notable challenge to participation that was found by the current study is the collapse of the Bataka. Findings indicated that Bataka a community enterprise was a source of livelihoods for many fragile collectives in Bwindi, especially women. Although investigating the community enterprise (Bataka) was not part of this study, it was mentioned by most fragile collectives an implication that Bataka was a significant source of livelihood. Fragile collectives reported that lack of accountability and feedback, corruption and embezzlement of Bataka funds were some of the reasons for the collapse of Bataka. They stressed that Bataka was being managed as an individual asset by the elected leaders who never provide feedback and

279

accountability of how Bataka operates. As much as Bello et al. (2016) argue that such community enterprises need representation in the planning process, it was found out that such kind of leadership is full of corruption, embezzlement and satisfying individual interest. Therefore, this study suggests that future studies can explore into performance of Bataka to understand the more underlying causes of its downfall other than power struggles.

Seasonality and lack of domestic market were established as barriers to participation. It was established that 99% of the tourists in Bwindi are internationals and experience two peak seasons, the first (June, July, August and September) and the second (from December to February). Findings reveal that the Batwa who entirely depend on visitors for their livelihood are severely affected during the off-peak season compared to other fragile collectives in other sectors. It was also established that during the low season, visitors who come for gorilla trekking are mostly Africans or budget visitors who do not fully support fragile collectives' livelihood activities which results in low sales and poverty on the side of the Batwa. It was further discovered that the Batwa spend their money spontaneously during the peak season and by the time of low season, they are left with nothing to take care of their families. Earlier studies on seasonality present similar findings (Banki et al., 2016). Although UWA has tried to offer discounts on gorilla permits to entice domestic tourists during off-peak season, various price strategies and price sensitivities should also be considered to modify negative seasonality effects (Xie, 2020). Moreover, it was evident in this study that most fragile collectives in Bwindi were switching to other small-scale businesses and livestock farming as coping strategies to combat the effects of COVID 19.

Traditionally, agriculture is a source of livelihood for communities around Bwindi Impenetrable and tourism-related businesses are taken as supplementary alternatives used to meet basic requirements. This study found that animals, especially gorillas, baboons, and monkeys, escape from the park to the community lands to feed on fresh vegetation. In the

process, these animals end up in people's gardens and destroy their crops. While it is confirmed that there are so many tourism business opportunities in Bwindi, the findings indicate that majority of fragile collectives do not have time to exploit such opportunities due to the problem of animals. It was established that fragile collectives must guard their gardens from animals the entire day from the time of planting until harvesting time. Other than vagaries of weather which at times affect crop yields, it was revealed that those who deal in small-scale commercial farming encounter huge losses from animals. This result concurs with a study in Maasai Mara National Reserve in Kenya which demonstrate that households who live adjacent face adverse effects of crop raiding (Mojo et al., 2020). Stringent measures to prevent animals from the park should be emphasized by UWA.

6.6.2 Discussion of findings in the context of internal barriers

Lack of education was found as the predominant barrier to participation across fragile collectives. The findings of this study indicated that the language barrier, lack of bargaining skills, lack of confidence to interact with visitors and lack of marketing skills are a result of lack of education. Findings revealed that most fragile collectives who engage in direct services with visitors cannot express themselves in English. It was established that even those who can speak some English still lack the confidence to sustain a conversation in English which explains their reliance on guides.

Moreover, it was evident that lack of education is the most prevalent barrier that discourages the fragile collectives who were not participating. This finding is confirmed by previous studies (Chili & Ngxongo, 2017; Duffy et al., 2016; Setokoe & Ramukumba, 2020). Although Duffy et al. (2016) indicated that low education levels was common among women, the current study indicate that the majority of women and men in this study did not possess any qualification. Despite their complaint that the park authority does not employ them, a number of them do not have the necessary qualifications to work in the park. In this regard, this study

suggests that capacity-building centres tailored to the needs of the fragile collectives should be put in place to equip them with basic skills that can help them in self-help initiatives.

The findings of this study revealed that most of the fragile collectives had great difficulty in accessing external financing to engage in income generating activities. Lack of access to credit and lack of capital assets were found as significant obstacles to participation. These include a lack of collateral and lack of support from the spouse. This was common among women and Batwa fragile collectives who do not possess land and land rights and thus lack access to micro-credit loans. Besides, it was further established that fragile collectives who do not possess land to cultivate and get starting capital through the sale of produce had difficulties in pursuing any livelihood. Even those with land rights fear putting their small pieces of land as collateral security in fear of losing it if they fail to pay back. This finding concurs with Handaragama and Kusakabe (2021).

Most fragile collectives had different aspirations but couldn't pursue their dreams due to financial constraints. It can be deduced from the study findings that financial constraints are attributed to lack of saving culture, employment in menial jobs, many dependants and lack of capital resources. The inability of fragile collectives to access capital greatly affects their participation. In general, these findings coincide with findings of other previous studies (Hoang et al., 2020; Thetsane, 2019; Zielinski, Kim, et al., 2020) which revealed that access to finance is one of the major barriers to participation in developing countries. Thus, micro-credit institutions should consider developing credit products that would attract fragile collectives to secure small loans.

Although fragile collectives operate from the margins of the society, it should be noted they are an integral part of the community and have something good to offer towards the development of themselves and the community at large if they are supported. Thus, extending necessary support in this direction will not only enhance their financial capability and economic

empowerment but also free them from the dependence syndrome that was found prevalent among fragile collectives in Bwindi. Typologies of community participation emphasize partnerships and collaborations between the haves and the have-nots to identify specific needs of the disadvantaged in the community. The fruits of such collaboration yield results that can help to put relevant interventions in place to limit the vulnerabilities that exist within CBT spaces.

It was also established that many people in Bwindi who have viable business get financial assistance from visitors in the form of donations. However, due to lack of education, fragile collectives find it difficult to develop viable business proposals to send out to donors or microcredit institutions due to their inability to express their business ideas. The majority expressed a concern that they have been cheated by educated people in Bwindi while trying to help in writing proposals for them.

Despite the concerted efforts targeting empowerment and inclusion of women's participation in tourism (UNWTO, 2017), this study found that women in Bwindi face various forms of cultural marginalization and are underrepresented in most of the tourism activities. First, the current study indicates that women in Bwindi occupy peasantry roles and caregiving responsibilities while men take up most of the sound tourism occupations due to cultural norms and stereotypes that exist within the society. This finding explains why men dominate direct tourism activities while women occupy indirect participation activities. These results confirm earlier findings which showed that most women across the globe still encounter gender roles as constraints to participation (Boonabaana, 2014; Carvalho et al., 2019; Hutchings et al., 2020). Contrastingly a study by Montero (2020), indicated that all guides in Quilombola, Ecuador, are women, the findings of this study indicate that guiding and interpretation services are dominated by men in Bwindi.

The current study found that majority of the fragile collectives especially women lack time to participate in CBT because of three separate spheres: family, garden, and work. It is a woman's sole responsibility to make sure that children have what to eat, and all gardens are attended to, and the home is in order. It was established that satisfying the three worlds is not easy, thus compromising their participation in CBT. This is consistent with previous studies, which indicate that women encounter numerous barriers of that nature (Isaga, 2018; Mariki et al., 2011; Melubo & Carr, 2019). A study by Melubo and Carr (2019) reflected how Maasai women are under-represented in the running and management of cultural Bomas due to the patriarchal nature of Masai culture that privileges men as bread winners and leaders while women are expected to play motherly and housekeeping roles.

Similarly, the current findings are mirrored in a study conducted by Boonabaana (2014), which demonstrated how women in Bwindi have to navigate through gender inequalities. Surprisingly, results also indicate that some fragile women collectives see themselves uncomplete and incompetent without a man's support in their lives. This was found common among widows, abandoned women, and those who separated from their husbands who seek men's support during home development and men task them to give them a share of their properties in case they are to assist them. The current study suggests that, even though these women lack the necessary skills to participate in technical areas, they possess local knowledge, which should be integrated into their development projects. In line with notion, empowerment programs in terms of capacity building in tourism-related skills should be fostered (Kesande et al., 2017).

In relation to gender roles, this study found that women fragile collectives in Bwindi are under-represented on the Bataka committee. It was discovered that ever since Bataka started from 1995, no woman has ever become a chairperson and yet one of the major aims for Bataka is to empower women. This study established that most committee members of Bataka were

males which disadvantaged women. This finding implies that most decisions affecting women were taken by men, hindering women's participation and leading to the collapse of a women's association under Bataka. It was established that women did not know what went wrong with their association and they were generally perceived as incompetent leaders without having adequate knowledge and skills of managing Bataka. It appeared normal to women as they also confirmed that they lack such management skills. This finding supports the assertion by Kala and Bagri (2018). The results also confirm that women fragile collectives are unable to lead (Moswete & Lacey, 2015). Thus, this study suggests that capacity building and leadership programs geared to instil confidence in women should be emphasized

Third, this study found that such women fragile collectives especially the widows, single mothers and abandoned women face stereotypes and bad mouthing from fellow women and the entire community. They are considered prostitutes, failures in life, and bad examples in society. It was established that women fragile collectives, especially those in the food and beverage operations, operate under harsh conditions where sometimes other women attack them, alleging that their businesses are used as avenues or hideouts to get their men. Women narrated how everyone in the community, both men and women looked at them as prostitutes. For men, they would want to take advantage of them while married women attack them and sometimes engage in fights with them, accusing them of wooing their men. This does inhibit not only women operations but also cause lack of respect in society. In this regard, this study confirms that the majority of the women fragile collectives in Bwindi operate under unfavorable conditions because of their gender as women, and this denotes strict cultural norms that disgrace a woman in the society. This study's findings support existing literature suggesting that women in Sub-Saharan Africa still face victimization and discrimination based on unfavourable cultural values, making them more fragile (Isaga, 2018). Therefore, this study

suggests that, women should also be considered as equal stakeholders in CBT and should be accorded due respect like any other member of the community.

Despite the benefits associated with participation, the results of this study indicate that most fragile collectives had lost interest in tourism, and they consider it as a package for the rich, educated, and the park officials. It was revealed that the lack of interest is attributed to lesser benefits associated with participation, lack of education, lack of market for crafts, and unfair distribution of benefits by the park officials. Bello et al. (2017) acknowledge the time and personal commitment as barriers to participation, lack of interest in tourism due to the monopolization of the rich and the educated who favor some people and leave out others. This finding is reflected in another study, where it was established that apathy has led to low participation of women as a result of them being excluded from tourism projects (Nutsugbodo & Adjei Mensah, 2020). This has limited participation in CBT and led to hatred for tourism to the extent that if they got a chance, they would kill all gorillas and burn the forest, that bring visitors to Bwindi. This finding denotes a community of psychologically disempowered and angry people, which is against the sustainability principles of community-based tourism. This finding is well documented in the literature (Agarwal, 1997; Doxey, 1975; Scheyvens, 1999). Tosun (2000) asserts that the exclusion of host communities has affected their dignity and rendered them weak and apathetic about tourism. To avoid such negative connotations, this study recommends equal distribution of opportunities to all members of the community. This can be achieved through involving members who are left out especially the fragile collectives in activities that suit them. For example, organizing them in an entertainment group does not require rich people, it requires an honesty and transparent person who can share the proceeds from entertaining visitors equally.

Different fragilities such as chronic diseases, illness, disability, poverty, age, and family issues (abandonment and domestic violence) are barriers to participation in CBT. Yau et al.

(2004) reflect that disability influences participation. In the context of this study, different fragilities had an impact on what fragile collectives participated in. Although some fragile collectives did not emphasize their fragilities as barriers to participation, some cases, such as chronic diseases, disability, and mothers with disabled and chronically diseased children, could not engage in some activities due to attention needed by the afflicted. On the other hand, this study discovered that domestic violence and abandonment were obstacles to participation. Fragile collectives revealed social stigma associated with such conditions makes them feel unworthy to be in public. Empowerment programs for such afflicted fragile collectives is what this study advocates for.

Victimization due to chronic diseases such as AIDS/ HIV was reported as an impediment to participation. Findings indicated that fragile collectives, especially women, face public judgment and stereotypes which cause shame and jeopardize their participation. Overall, these inequities can only be corrected through inclusive tourism development approaches that seek to include those who are stereotypically marginalized or excluded from tourism (Gillovic & McIntosh, 2020; Nyanjom et al., 2018; Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018). In addition, this study suggests that counseling services and sensitization of the fragile collectives who are HIV victims should be put in place. Social tourism entrepreneurship is growing in Bwindi, but it needs to be strengthened in favor of fragile collectives who feel isolated because of their conditions. Social entrepreneurs should recognize the presence of fragile collectives in the community and factor in their needs.

Further, this finding provides an opportunity for Uganda to strengthen community-based tourism that is inclusive in nature that would benefit fragile collectives directly (Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018; Scheyvens & Hughes, 2019). Overall, having discovered that fragile collectives are overwhelmed by elitism, this study suggests that social tourism enterprises that are more inclusive should also be encouraged to minimize on economic

leakages. This finding is supported by Jeyacheya and Hampton (2020), who point out that smaller, locally owned businesses are more compatible with inclusive growth in developing economies in South-East Asia.

6.7 Findings based on solutions and mechanisms to the barriers to participation

The last objective of this study was to identify the solutions and mechanisms for addressing the barriers to participation in CBT. Based on the responses from fragile collectives and personal observations, several solutions, and strategies to overcome the barriers to participation have been suggested. This study not only contributes to an understanding of the coping mechanisms by fragile collectives to overcome the obstacles to participation but also pronounces the under-researched perspectives of fragile collectives by understanding the strategies that can enable them to participate in CBT as indicated in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3: Proposed strategies and coping mechanisms for overcoming barriers to participation in CBT

Key stakeholders	Proposed strategies for overcoming barriers to participation
Uganda wildlife Authority (The Park authority)	-Consider employment of fragile collectives in jobs that fit them
	-Consider compensating fragile collectives whose gardens are destroyed by Gorillas and monkeys
	-Channel revenue sharing funds to the locals
	-Distribute opportunities equally
	-Involve the fragile collectives in conservation efforts (partnerships and collaborations)
	-Renumeration of porters
	-Promote and market fragile collectives on hands on skills
	-Designate a craft village
	-Interact with the fragile collectives
	-Intervention needed for Batwa fragile collectives who are overly exploited
	-Put in place standard operating procedures
Buhoma Mukono Community Development Association (BMCDA)	-Revival of the Bataka and women development association

Key stakeholders	Proposed strategies for overcoming barriers to participation
	Re-establish women craft shop
	-Accountability and feedback
	-Revive sponsorship programs
Campsites and other tourism establishments	-Allow visitors to come out of the campsites
	-Consider employment of fragile collectives in jobs that fit them
	-Support the fragile collective's hands on skills and avoid duplicating their business
	-Promote backward linkages with farmers
	-Stop stereotyping and collaborate with fragile collectives
Local and non-local guides	Support and market fragile collectives' businesses /make stopovers
	-Stop interfering in visitor tips
Community Based Organizations and Non-Governmental Organizations	-Deliver donations faithfully and avoid double dealing
	-Enhance and emphasize capacity building
	-Support fragile collectives' hands on skills
	-Stop cheating visitors at the expense of fragile collectives
	-Collaborate and partnerships enhanced
Fragile collectives (Coping mechanisms)	
Problem of guides and campsites	-Friendship with guides and campsite managers
Competition	Working together as a team
	-Healthy competition amongst themselves
	-Creativity and innovation
	-Diversification
Financial constraints	-Using own savings
	-Borrowing soft loans from individuals and micro credit institutions
	-Using family resources
	-Seeking small donations from visitors
Lack of education and language barrier	-Capitalizing on local resources (hands on skills /artisanal skills)
	-Relying heavily on guides for interpretation
	-Using local elites and multilingual locals
	-Use of non-verbal communication
	- Learning basic English words
Seasonality	-Diversification and embarking on farm activities

Key stakeholders	Proposed strategies for overcoming barriers to participation
Fragilities and stereotypes	Embracement, tolerance entrepreneurial mindset, resilience, hard work, prayer and working from own premises in case of serious disability.
Time constraints	-Use of family child labor during school holidays

(Source: Researcher-2021).

Notes: CBOs- Community Based Organisations, NGOs- Non-Governmental Organizations

Strategies and copying mechanisms presented in Table 6.4 are in line with the existing literature. For instance, fair distribution of benefits has been explored as a key factor that facilitates an enabling environment for local villagers to participate in CBT (Manaf et al., 2018; Mrema, 2015; Putra et al., 2021; Scheyvens, 1999). In line with changing the tourism map to involve new people and places, the study findings indicate that some villages in Bwindi do not have the opportunity to participate in CBT because of their location or being off tourism trails.

Based on the unfair distribution of benefits, it was proposed that more village trails be created in villages that are off-tourism trails. This finding is in line with a study by Manaf et al. (2018) in Indonesia who emphasized fair distribution of benefits through establishment of small tourism enterprises to minimize social jealousy. Extant studies have suggested utilizing incentives and financial support to disadvantaged groups in communities to overcome barriers to participation in community-based tourism enterprises (Marku & Balili, 2016). These initiatives are supported by Biggs et al. (2012) and Yusuf (1998), who recommend financial incentives for the marginalized. Results indicate that fragile collectives' desire to meet their survival needs keeps them pushing hard despite the constraints to participation.

Fragile collectives explain that the pressure to support their families at times causes them to work hard to get the money that can sustain their families. This finding means that fragile collectives with strong, resilient mindsets will overcome participation barriers (Bullough & Renko, 2013). In this study, adversity may not necessarily imply a disaster or

catastrophe, but having so many dependants below or above working age can be adversity itself. This finding agrees with Badzaban et al. (2021).

This study found that ICT adoption is an essential strategy that can help overcome barriers to participation. In this regard, few fragile collectives, especially the ones in the craft industry and village walk sites, reported that online platforms, especially Facebook and emails, can be good selling channels to use during off-peak seasons as well as marketing. Surprisingly, even though most fragile collectives did not own phones, they endorsed that knowing how to use a telephone, a computer, or any platform that can communicate to a visitor without intermediaries is important (Wondirad et al., 2021). This finding is consistent with the results obtained that ICT adoption for CBT enhances its marketing and distribution reach, enabling it to attract tourists of up to 140% of its optimal capacity (Gan et al., 2016). Based on this study, internet use via social media is considered a suitable channel to facilitate marketing and booking. Similar findings are mirrored in a study by Ngo et al. (2020) that indicated communication and promotion strategies of CBTEs, via social media as best promotional initiatives that can redress the unsustainability of CBTEs in Vietnam. A recent study suggests that diversification facilitates resilience of the business (Lin & Wen, 2021).

Embracement and tolerance were also established as coping mechanisms. These two concepts are positive reactions (Ap & Crompton, 1993). Although Ap and Crompton (1993) used embracement and tolerance towards visitors, in the context of this study, embracement and tolerance refer to self and stereotypes in the community. Most fragile collectives believed that embracing themselves had helped them navigate through stereotypes and survive othering experiences.

The lack of market and marketing skills revealed that fragile collectives understand the significance of working together and consolidated marketing as the best practices that can help them overcome barriers to participation. Literature highlights that marketing and access to

important markets are significant issues due to a lack of know-how and resources and a lack of visitor awareness of community-based tourism initiatives (Mtapuri & Giampiccoli, 2013). Consistent with previous scholars who assert that tour operators play a significant role in linking package experiences to international operators, this study emphasizes that networks, collaborations, and backward linkages can be good strategies that can minimize the barriers encountered by fragile collectives (Dodds et al., 2018; McEwen & Bennett, 2010; Mtapuri & Giampiccoli, 2013).

Based on the above, it was found that a few fragile collectives who relate to driver guides, village guides, campsites managers, and the park authorities have access to visitors and market for their products and positive word of mouth from visitors. Since most fragile collectives lack communication skills and don't have access to visitors, driver and village guides should endeavour to promote the livelihood pursuits of fragile collectives. And if at all a visitor is willing to interact with the fragile collectives, guides should give them ample time and allow them to interact freely without interference. Besides, driver guides should not expect commission from fragile collectives, as they do what they do only for survival.

Having discussed the findings on forms, benefits, enablers, barrier to participation and solutions to the identified barriers to participation, the following section describes a supportive environment developed from this study that can foster fragile collectives' participation in CBT.

6.8 Proposed supportive participation framework for fragile collectives

Figure 6.3 presents a supportive framework depicting roles from multiple stakeholders and key areas that need attention. Based on the conditions of marginalization and vulnerability that surround fragile collectives, their participation in community-based tourism can only materialize with the necessary support from various stakeholders. Findings of this study indicate that fragile collectives do not participate in decision making and the benefits that trickle down to them are very minimal. Although there are some success stories that this study

can refer too amongst the fragile collectives, the findings indicate that several fragile collectives have not benefited from community-based tourism. The forms of participation (direct, indirect and no forms of participation) established in this study are influenced by so many factors but key stakeholders in the community especially the Park Authority, the campsite owners, local and local guides, CBO and NGO founders and the local elites have a greater influence on the participation of the collectives.

The role of government institutions, especially the Uganda Wildlife Authority as the top governing body that manages Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, is fundamental. Other than collaborating with the community on conservation actions and revenue sharing from Gorilla levies which it disburses to the local government for community projects, this institution collaborates with a few community members who are organized and can meet the standards and expectations of the visitors. Thus, the roles outlined in Figure 6.3 can favor fragile collectives if policies and regulations are implemented. For instance, several fragile collectives are in constant conflict with the park due to wildlife destruction of their crops, but they are the least beneficiaries of community-based tourism. The park employs people not from the community but other areas, yet the adjacent communities suffer the consequences of tourism development. The community project that was implemented to offset such effects benefits a few people in the community. Therefore, the governance and leadership of the park should incorporate the needs of the fragile collectives and ensure equitable distribution of benefits of tourism to the most affected.

It was established that eighteen hotels and lodges operate in and around Bwindi Impenetrable National Park in the Buhoma sector. Out of the eighteen, fourteen campsites are owned by foreigners, and a handful of locals are employed in the campsites. These campsites accommodate resident visitors who come to track the Gorillas. The campsites also have the authority to allow visitors to visit the community or not. They have also set up craft stalls inside

293

their campsites. Most fragile collectives that deal in arts and crafts are being driven out of business. The study area is an agricultural zone, but the campsites hardly support the locals in buying their fresh produce apart from a few who have connections with the managers

Figure 6.3: Supportive environment for fragile collectives' participation
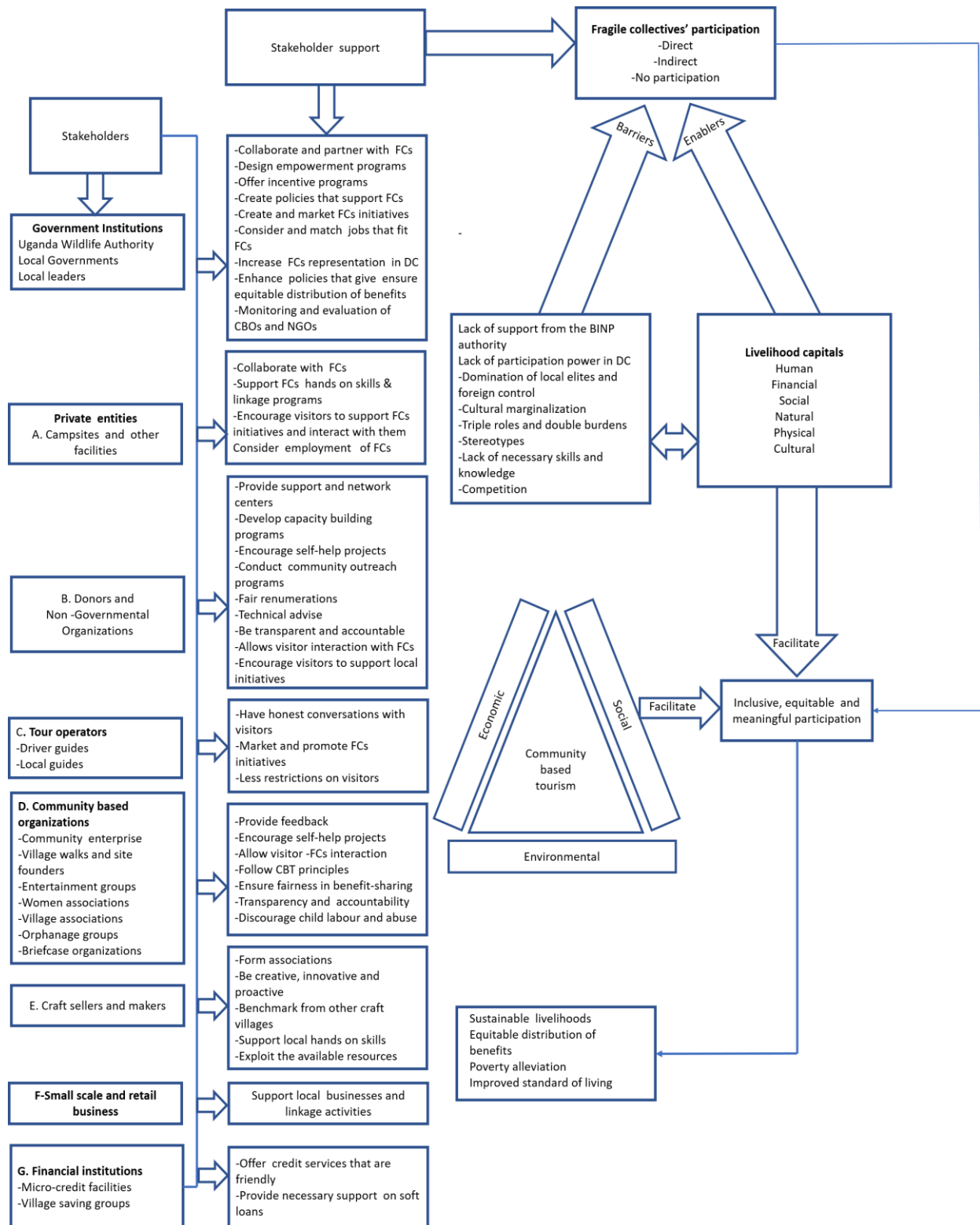
(Author's construction, 2022)

Therefore, for benefits to trickle down to the last person in the community, the campsite owners should support the local farmers through backward linkages. They should support the local talents by collaborating with the local artists rather than buying craft items from the neighboring countries. The driver and community guides are important stakeholders in fostering fragile collective participation. The driver-guides are responsible for picking visitors from the airport to the park for gorilla tracking and handing them over to the campsites if they are resident visitors. The community guides are responsible for taking the visitors around the community for cultural experiences. However, there are grievances from fragile collectives that the guides restrict visitors from interacting with them even when the visitors show interest. From observations and casual talk with the locals, the guides significantly influence the visitor. The guide is the only password to the visitor. Therefore, the guides should understand that the fragile collectives engage in informal activities for survival; supporting their initiatives is paramount for the sustenance of their families.

The central focus of international aid agencies and development organizations is to support the country's development process through capacity-building initiatives, infrastructure development and facilitating the creation of small and medium local enterprises (Jamieson et al., 2004). Non-governmental organizations can act as government development partners and as change agents of community-based organizations at grass-root level by organizing community members and coordinating various activities. They are also referred to as non - profit-making organizations (Arellano-López & Petras, 1994). From a pro-poor perspective, NGOs play an essential role in supporting the poor to move from informal sector to the formal sector (Mac Abbey, 2008). The author points out that the poorest people lack human and social capital; thus, NGO's address needs to consider such issues in their programs.

Non-Governmental Organizations and donors have facilitated community projects where the majority of the fragile collectives get small earnings to sustain their families. To a

more considerable extent, the assistance and funds favor the coordinators or founders of NGOs, pushing the fragile collectives further to the margins. The challenge with NGOs and donations is that there is lack of transparency and accountability.

Another important category of stakeholders is the founders of community-based organizations. There are over 30 community-based organizations targeting fragile collectives, especially the children, women, and the minority groups of Batwa. These community organizations have good Agendas for empowering the vulnerable and the marginalized in the community. What was observed is that most community-based organizations are not empowering the fragile collectives but inculcating dependence. For example, a recent study in Indonesia concludes that local elites oversee most activities related to tourism giving little chance for others to practice their skills (Dolezal & Novelli, 2020). The study indicates that local elites cooperate with outsiders, thereby creating power with outsiders while marginalizing majority of the community members. Most of the community members in this study are comprised of fragile collectives identified as women, people with disabilities and chronically ill, the elderly, the young, and the Aboriginals (Batwa). And because of their identity as fragile collectives, they are exploited by the local elites (who are the educated, those connected with visitors, the leaders in various positions, the founders of the community and non-Governmental organizations, and the rich) and are being pushed further to the margins of the community. This finding is confirmed by Lo and Janta (2020); Scheyvens and Biddulph, (2018). Another study in Botswana indicates that the state, public officers, the contemporary educated, and elite remain influential players in the overall decision-making process and assume all the powers pushing the relegated to the margins and leaving the ordinary members of the community out in the cold (Lenao, 2017). Thus, the community-based organizations should teach the fragile collectives to "catch a fish but not put one on a plate". They should train the fragile collectives in self-projects to become self-reliant, not dependants. It was established that fragile collectives

lack access to micro-credit loans due to lack of collateral security. The banks and other micro-credit institutions should offer friendly credit facilities to the fragile collectives. Yunus (2007), asserts that the poor are natural-born- entrepreneurs, what they need is just a conducive environment by giving them the right environment and a little bit of help getting started. The poor may be likely to find excellent opportunities that others ignore. The poor who have access to microcredit have made it (Yunus, 2007).

The stakeholders, such as the craft makers and small-scale business owners, need to organize themselves and look for opportunities. Through observation, at least most of the people in this area have something they do or know something they can do, especially basket weaving and wood carving. Even those ones who are not participating in any activity, tried and gave up, some never tried and are not interested, and some want to try but due to constraints they cannot. These people need to be supported through empowerment programs, basic business skills, product development and marketing.

Having looked at the role of each stakeholder, it is essential to note that there is an issue of power imbalance, and the community elites are at the forefront of the community projects. They tend to hijack the community projects where most fragile collectives survive and because they have the know-how and the authority, and by so doing, the ordinary person in the community, especially the fragile collectives are not involved. For example, it was discovered that the Community project which was put under the Governance of an elected Chairperson who later chose a committee to work with, has swindled all the money for the community project. By the time of data collection, the chairperson of the community project was in the hide-out due to failure of the accountability of the house that belonged to the women association. The fragile collectives especially the older women who belonged to this association were stuck with their baskets which they had been selling there.

In the face of 'neglect' from both public and private sectors, most elites have taken over community-based tourism projects and the fragile collectives especially women, children, the Batwa and all vulnerable people in the community are being exploited.

Based on the above mentioned issues, this study proposes a framework for fragile collective participation that ensures equitable distribution of benefits from community-based tourism through meaningful participation that is not exploitative. Despite the nature of imbalances in the community, fragile collectives still need support from collaborations and partnership from trusted stakeholders. The Government should come up with the right policies in consultation with all the stakeholders. All the stakeholders should ensure that there are active collaborations and partnerships amongst them and ensure that the needs of the fragile collectives are factored into their Agendas. And out of these stakeholders, there should come up with a community-based tourism development committee which should also involve the fragile collectives to increase their voice by having a representative in decision making. The committee should put the needed measures to ensure that there is active fragile collective involvement and empowerment. This can only be achieved when there is transparency, accountability, and fairness particularly in the distribution of benefits of community-based tourism.

The core element of involvement and empowerment of fragile collectives should focus on capacity building issues of business skills, planning and management, and self-help development skills. Notwithstanding the principles of community-based tourism, the fragile collectives should also be involved in conservation and preservation of their culture and environment. The fragile collectives should be allowed to express their needs and how they want them to be developed. For example, some fragile collectives have land resources that are underutilized, they aspire to develop them, but they don't have the capacity to do so. Instead of asking how the land should be developed or their priorities, the community's elites would like to buy land from them cheaply instead of partnering with them and developing it together.

When all the issues highlighted above are done effectively, the framework depicted in Figure 6.3 will result in a meaningful participation of fragile collectives that does not only adhere to the principles of community-based tourism but also ensures sustainable livelihood benefits to the fragile collectives at as well.

Fragile collectives face many challenges at a personal, societal, and institutional level, due to institutional failure to provide adequate social services and support for fragile collectives and uncertainties such as pandemics surrounding tourism, a more inclusive approach that encourages self-employment or individual entrepreneurship is required. An inclusive approach can encourage small-scale business start-ups, elderly entrepreneurs or senior-prenuers, and minority and women-owned businesses. Such avenues give a voice to the less privileged, those at the margins of society, and those who do not belong. They also gain economic independence and freedom and add value to the economy and society. This is possible only if a supportive environment enables them to flourish (See Figure 6.3). The supportive environment can be availed by crucial stakeholders like NGOs, donor agencies, and good Samaritans only if transparency, accountability, and fairness are adhered to.

Based on proposed supporting environment for the fragile collectives to participate in CBT, this study proposes a practical and comprehensive participation framework for fragile collectives. It encourages them to engage in self-help projects such as agritourism and small-scale businesses, using the available resources around them to become self-reliant and break the cycle of overdependence as discussed in the next section.

6.9 Proposed framework for fragile collectives' participation in CBT

Figure 6.4 shows a participation framework for fragile collectives. This study develops a practical and comprehensive participation framework because existing community participation frameworks emphasize participation as a categorical term which allows participation of host communities in their affairs at local and regional levels and in various

forms such as manipulative, coercive, induced, passive and spontaneous participations (Tosun, 2006). In these forms of participation, power redistribution, external involvement, local control and full managerial responsibility are emphasized as ideal forms of participation (Arnstein, 1971; Pretty;1995; Tosun 1999) while manipulative, coercive and inducive are considered as worst forms of participation (Tosun, 2006).

It was established from this study that fragile collectives engage in passive, manipulative, non-participation, inducive and coercive activities which are tokenistic in nature. Based on this finding, this study proposes a participation framework for fragile collectives which emphasizes participation in direct and indirect forms of participation which were established in this study. This is because these forms of participation bring direct benefits to the fragile collectives to sustain their livelihood. Engaging in livelihood activities such self-employment, supply of goods and services, individual enterprises is what this study is advocating for. The participation framework developed in this study also highlights the benefits associated with the forms of participation, the key enablers to participation and participation interventions or solutions to the barriers to participation. The goal of the framework in this study is to promote inclusive participation that encourages fragile collectives as tourism producers and equal stakeholders in CBT spaces.

Having proposed an enabling environment in Figure 6.3, this study develops a participation framework for fragile collectives that is practical and comprehensive as depicted in Figure 6.4

Figure 6.4: Fragile collective participation framework
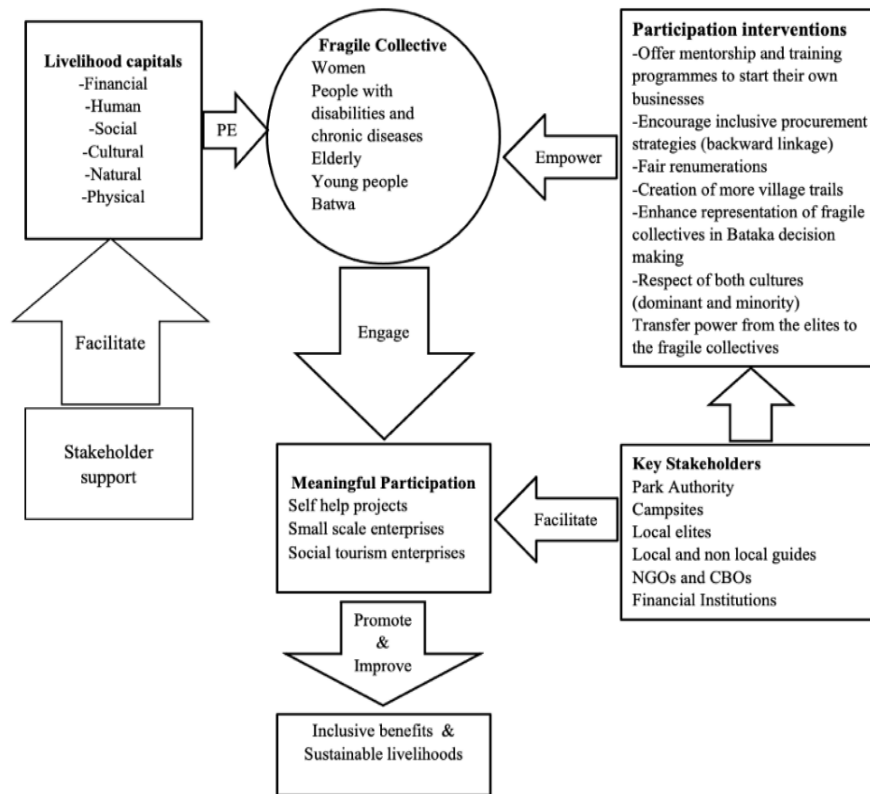
The framework uses elements from stakeholder's theory, sustainable livelihood framework and aspects of inclusive tourism practices to develop a participation framework that can promote participation of FCs in CBT spaces. Features such as livelihood capitals, collaborations, power relations, and all-inclusive tourism elements are employed to understand the dynamics within CBT spaces. Besides, community-based tourism contributes to sustainability in delivering social, economic, and environmental benefits; thus, the core elements of community-based tourism are also incorporated in the framework. In addition, fragile collectives face various barriers to participation, therefore, participation interventions based on internal and barriers to participation are proposed. Figure 6.4 depicts a participation framework for fragile collectives to participate in CBT. It proposes five elements: livelihood capital, participation interventions, stakeholder support, meaningful participation and promotion of inclusive and sustainable livelihoods.

6.9.1 Livelihood capitals

It was established from the findings that livelihood capitals play a significant role in enabling participation. Although the livelihood capitals play a big part in allowing the participation environment, they need a supportive environment. It was established that natural, physical, and cultural capitals naturally exist, but fragile collectives need to be supported in human capital and financial and social needs. For instance, Bwindi Impenetrable National Park a World Heritage Site, Mountain Gorilla, and other wildlife species, are critical natural enablers stimulating participation. A study by Su et al. (2019) in Hetu Town, Anhui Province, China, indicates that natural capital has the most significant effect on people's livelihood showing the crucial role of livelihood capital from the wetland. Thus, the conservation of BINP and mountain gorillas does not only benefit the tourists but also supports the fragile collectives to sustain or improve their livelihoods.

Tea and coffee growing was also seen as a vital livelihood that sustains most Bwindi families. Although coffee is grown on a smallholder scale, most of the households in Bwindi depend on tea as their source of cash livelihood. However, tea tourism is not considered an important enabler yet if developed well, it can be a source of livelihood for fragile collectives as well. This is because it is well documented that tea and coffee tourism are important tourism niches in most parts of the world (Woyesa, & Kumar, 2021; Yoopetch & Kongarchapatara, 2021). Therefore, this study proposes to Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) and Uganda Tourism Board (UTB) to integrate such niche products in Uganda's tourism package to expand participation avenues of fragile collectives since tea or coffee picking does not require sophisticated skills (see Fig 6.4). Results further indicate that as much as human, social and financial capitals were identified as essential enablers, a supportive environment is required to facilitate them. This is because the majority of the fragile collectives identified, lack of skills and knowledge and lack of capital and connections as major impediments to their participation.

As already explained in the supporting environment framework, key stakeholder support is needed to enhance these capitals.

Figure 6.5: A signpost for coffee and banana brewing experience

Figure 6.5 shows the owner of a village walk site standing next to his signpost. He offers experiential tourism to visitors on how coffee and banana are grown and processed up to the consumption stage and on the right, is a garden of tea which is a popular cash crop in Bwindi. (Source: Authors complilation-2021)

Based on the findings from solutions to participation barriers, fragile collectives diversify in different livelihood activities. However, these are individual initiatives which the Uganda Wildlife Authority and Uganda Tourism Board have neglected. This study therefore suggests that farm or agritourism demonstrations should be incorporated in Uganda's tourism product to promote such initiatives incubated by fragile collectives. This encourages the creation of new livelihood strategies that could be incorporated with existing livelihoods either as full time or part time livelihood alternatives (Jolliffe & Aslam, 2009; Cheng et al., 2010; Mbaiwa, 2018; Stone & Nyaupane, 2018).

6.9.2 Participation interventions

To ensure participation that is meaningful, participation interventions are proposed. Based on the barriers to participation and the strategies that were suggested by fragile collectives, this study proposes various participation strategies as depicted in Figure 6.4. Such

strategies need the support of various stakeholders to facilitate their execution as well as empowering the fragile collectives to participate to in CBT. Given the different fragilities such as disability and chronic diseases, exclusionary tendencies based on the intersectional ties across fragile collectives, different empowerment and capacity building programs need to be combined to facilitate their participation. This can only be possible if key stakeholders in CBT comes on the fore front. It should be noted that, fragile collectives have natural knowledge and skills, what is needed is organizing and empowering them.

6.9.3 Stakeholder support

From the ongoing literature, CBT does not operate in isolation because of the heterogeneity of communities. The local residents are sometimes overwhelmed due to lack of necessary knowledge and information regarding tourism; therefore, stakeholder support is required in this case. The potential support from both stakeholders is equally important because their involvement in tourism planning and management contributes to the integration of knowledge, established and well-informed decisions, maximization of equity and equality while minimizing power imbalance among different stakeholders. With the necessary support from different stakeholders, participation that is meaningful to fragile collectives is enhanced.

6.9.4 Meaningful participation

In the context of this study, meaningful participation refers to participation in livelihood activities that are tourism related and or non-tourism related such as self-help projects, hands on skills, small scale and social enterprises that can bring direct benefits to the fragile collectives. It is expected that meaningful participation of fragile collectives in CBT can result into inclusive and sustainable livelihoods since the framework suggests a multiplicity of livelihood activities that can give an opportunity to fragile collectives to participate.

6.9.5 Inclusive benefits and sustainable livelihoods

In the context of this study, inclusive benefits refer to benefits that are accessible to all regardless of gender, age, sexual orientation, marital status, and ethnicity. In contrast, sustainable livelihoods refer to the livelihood opportunities that help the fragile collectives improve and sustain their lives. The local elites, including the founders of CBOs, NGOs, the rich, the educated, and the local leaders, benefit significantly at the expense of the fragile collectives. While it is expected that CBT improves the livelihoods of the fragile collectives, they are operating from the margins, and benefits derived from their participation are marginal. The gap between the local elites and the fragile collectives is more comprehensive meaning that the local elites are becoming richer while the fragile collectives are becoming poorer. Figure 6.6 shows the difference between the housing conditions of local elites and the fragile collectives. To reduce the gap between the local elites and the fragile collectives, this study suggests an inclusive and sustainable CBT. Participation interventions will empower the fragile collectives to participate and engage in meaningful participation that will promote inclusive benefits and sustainably improve their livelihoods. However, community-based tourism that is inclusive and sustainable needs a supportive system from various stakeholders to facilitate participation interventions. This is possible only if the participation framework developed from this study is embraced.

Figure 6.6: Difference between housing conditions of fragile collectives and local elites

6.10 Mechanisms that can enhance the proposed framework

The participation framework developed from this study cannot yield practical and better results without some mechanisms to enhance it. Therefore, this study suggests the following mechanisms that can enhance the participation of fragile collectives in CBT.

6.10.1 Develop capacities and promote self-help projects

Participation in CBT requires capacity building through training, and educating community members about tourism benefits can increase awareness and participation. This is because effective participation in tourism development involves a combination of factors such as necessary knowledge and skills to enable them to exploit opportunities associated with tourism. This study is timely because less has been explored around the capacity building (Imbaya et al., 2019).

6.10.2 Increase in self-esteem, self-confidence, and self-drive

Scheyvens (1999) suggests that, for communities to get involved in any form of tourism or any community development activity, they must be empowered socially, economically, politically, and psychologically. Indeed, the findings of this study indicate that some fragile collectives most fragile collectives lack the financial resources and confidence to start up income-generating activities. Thus, empowerment programs need to be enhanced to suit the needs of fragile collectives.

6.10.3 Increase/ strengthen livelihood resources

Livelihood resources are essential assets that fragile collectives can easily access and utilize for survival. They refer to livelihoods as capabilities comprised of livelihood assets or resources that people have in their possession. These include natural capital (land, water, and wildlife), economic or financial capital (savings, credit, or cash), human capital (ability to work, skills, knowledge, and good health), and physical capital. It is noted that individuals, households, or communities can make a living depending on the availability of livelihood

capitals (Su et al., 2019). This study established that tea and coffee are the main cash crops in Bwindi. Although some village walk sites try to showcase coffee and banana experiences to visitors, the agricultural experience of tea, coffee and banana products in the gardens as tourism products is neglected. Extending tourism products to tea and coffee growing can be another avenue for fragile collectives to sustain their lives. This is because most fragile collectives get their livelihoods from tea growing as casual laborers. This result is confirmed in a study by Su et al., (2019), who established that few links exist between tourism and tea in China.

6.10.4 Structural and socio-cultural transformations

These must be part of the participation core because the findings of this study reveal structural and cultural barriers as the prevalent limitations to participation. To enable fragile collectives' participation in CBT, new structures must be implemented. Structures include gender mainstreaming, youth and women empowerment programs, and an inclusive CBT regardless of gender, age, sex, and ethnicity. Policy interventions and implications that can reduce segregation in workspaces need to enhance (Hutchings et al., 2020).

6.10.5 Transform dominant power over

Power increases domination of the elite in CBT spaces. From the findings of this study, it is evident that village elites and foreign facilities dominate. Village elites have put up community-based organizations which facilitate participation in the form of entertainment. Women, children, and the Batwa are significant entertainment objects. The owners of the community-based organization are exploiting the fragile collectives in these initiatives because of their marginalization. For ideal participation to occur, power domination should be transformed into power without and within to enable perfect participation. A similar finding in Bali established that a local elite oversaw most tourism-related activities, giving others little chance to practise skills (Dolezal & Novelli, 2020).

6.10.6 Stimulate partnership power with other associations

Collaborations and partnerships with others can stimulate participation because of interactions in CBT spaces. For instance, being a member of a women's group, village associations, and any other form of associations can enhance participation in CBT. The study findings reveal a lack of social capital as one of the limiting factors to participation. Lack of connections and interactions with the visitors is among the factors hindering fragile collectives' participation. Those who belonged to some associations and had access to visitors had an assurance of the market for their baskets. Based on community participation typologies which emphasize a bottom-up approach as ideal undeniably, the proposed framework can promote the fragile collectives from the manipulation, coercive and induced forms of participation to spontaneous, which is a perfect form of participation for residents in a destination (Tosun, 2006). Tosun (2006) affirms that host communities can participate in other forms of tourism, and this study confirms this revelation. Tourists also play a crucial role in the participation process. They are the source of participation. Enhancing such host-visitor interactions should be part of the participation process. From the findings, visitors turn out as donors of most projects in the area, but these projects only favor the elites in the community.

In general, the outcome of the proposed framework should be geared towards substantial benefits that can sustainably improve the fragile collectives' livelihoods. Therefore, based on fragile collective forms of participation in community-based tourism, a supportive environment that can enable fragile collectives to participate meaningfully and share profits/ benefits equitably in all spheres of community-based tourism is proposed. Empirically, this is not possible without the support and engagement of various stakeholders at different levels. The stakeholders have the power to change the status quo and provide a conducive environment for the fragile collectives also to benefit from community-based tourism. While key stakeholders have the upper hand for all the barriers faced by fragile collectives in community-

based tourism spaces in the study area, little has been done to support the fragile collectives' participation.

On the other hand, the underlying reasons behind barriers to participation for fragile collectives are associated with social-cultural and personal factors; thus, multiple stakeholder partnerships and collaborations can minimize the imbalances that exist amongst them. Therefore, the proposed framework can serve as a foundational guide for fragile collectives to collaborate with relevant stakeholders to overcome the challenges by embracing them as enablers. Taking barriers as one-sided obstruction, the fragile collectives can strengthen their identities, culture, social capital, and families as enablers to participation. This facilitates a community-based tourism model that "represents a fit to their identities" as single parents, widows and widowers, people with disabilities and chronic diseases, the elderly, and youths, among others. Instead of looking at barriers as curses, they should embrace them as blessings and take advantage of them to exploit the opportunities around them. Critical stakeholders need an upper hand to strengthen fragile collective capacities through empowerment and capacity building, collaborations, and partnerships that can yield meaningful participation that is not exploitative.

6.11 Chapter summary

This chapter has discussed the significant findings of the study. It has discussed fragile collectives forms of participation in CBT. Notably, direct, indirect, and no participation in CBT were meaningful livelihood pursuits for fragile collectives. To a more considerable extent, it was noted that most of the fragile collectives participated for survival benefits, and their livelihoods had improved slightly. The less beneficiaries mainly were observed among the Batwa, people with disabilities, and women fragile collectives. This finding is surprising because it is expected that direct participation should have substantial benefits for the Batwa.

Not only the Batwa but also women fragile collectives were participating from the margins. In other words, both positive and negative benefits associated with all forms of participation were established. To a small extent, direct and indirect involvement had substantially improved the livelihoods of the fragile collectives. The craft industry and village walk industry under direct participation were the most rewarding forms of participation. Several factors that enabled a participation environment were highlighted. These factors were in the form of livelihood capitals such as financial, human, social, natural, physical, and cultural capitals. Although all the capitals were cited as essential enablers and work together, financial, human, social, and cultural livelihood capitals were found more important than physical and natural livelihood capitals.

Nevertheless, this study also found various barriers to participation. These barriers ranged from internal to external barriers. Internal barriers were associated with socio-cultural barriers such as lack of education, financial constraints, and intersectionality. In contrast, external were associated with elite domination, the collapse of the Bataka enterprise, and a lack of support from key stakeholders such as the Park authority, the guides, the Campsite owners, the CBOs, and NGOs. Other than lack of education and financial constraints, this study found the most critical barrier to participation was the problem of the guides, elite domination, and lack of support of the Park Authority. Various mechanisms and coping strategies were devised to overcome the barriers to participation. Fragile collectives highlighted embracement and tolerance, resilience, networking, reliance on own savings, creativity, and innovations, and livelihood diversifications as coping mechanisms to overcome barriers to participation. Surprisingly, none of the fragile collectives mentioned being considered in decision-making.

The revival of the Bataka project enterprise, support from key stakeholders in employment, empowerment programs, networking, and collaborations were suggested as key strategies to help them reduce the barriers to participation. Although not taking part in decision-making has

implied effects on fragile collectives' forms of participation, this study established that with good leadership and governance in place and accountability of the Bataka project funds, fragile collectives have the potential to run their enterprises successfully. Nevertheless, different aspirations were also discussed. Therefore, this chapter concludes by an illustration of a participation framework that is comprehensive and practical for fragile collectives to participate in CBT. The subsequent chapter provides the conclusions from this chapter's analysis and highlights this study's practical and theoretical contributions

7.0 CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This study investigated participation of fragile collectives within the context of community-based tourism by understanding the forms of participation, benefits, barriers to participation, enablers as well as solutions and mechanisms to overcome the barriers to participation in CBT with the goal of developing a participation framework for fragile collectives. Based on the purpose of this study, the proceeding sections presents a summary of the thesis based on the objectives of this study, contributions of the study, limitations of the study, future directions, and research opportunities and finally the research reflections of my ethnography journey.

7.2 Contributions of the study

This study presents four contributions: theoretical, methodological, practical, and social contributions as presented in the following sub-sections:

7.2.1 Theoretical contributions

While literature documents participation in CBT as an essential pathway to poverty alleviation and improvement of livelihoods (Mensah, 2016, Zapata & Hall, 2011), there exists no framework that supports fragile collectives' participation in CBT. First, existing CBT models identify a community as a homogenous entity, yet literature indicates that a community is heterogeneous (Blackstock, 2005). Second, scholars argue that indigenous knowledge is underexplored in tourism knowledge systems (Nielsen & Wilson, 2012; Tribe & Liburd, 2016)

Operationalization and conceptualization issues exist with participation (Carpentier, 2016). Nielsen and Wilson (2012) contend that there is dearth indigenous voice and presence as scholars within tourism literature. Empirical frameworks that would support literature or help researchers to tackle the issue of participation in literature are less (Khazaei et al., 2013).

Ruhanen and Whitford (2019) acknowledge this discrepancy. Based on such conceptions, the findings from this study make several noteworthy contributions to the current literature in the following ways:

The significant contribution of this study to community participation literature is: first, this study brings an understanding of fragile collectives' forms of participation from a community-based tourism context. Community participation typologies Tosun (1999) ignores the aspect of fragile correctives' participation. This study has attempted to develop a comprehensive and practical participation framework operationalizing direct and indirect meaningful forms of participation for fragile collectives. These forms are ideal in the informal sectors and social tourism enterprises, facilitating inclusive fragile collectives' participation.

The proposed framework in this study hopes to advance the understanding of the participation of fragile collectives and how they would like to be involved in CBT development. The findings indicate that both direct and indirect forms of participation play a significant role in the lives of the fragile collectives as opposed to literature emphasizing that taking part in decision-making is a pathway to getting benefits. These forms of participation bring direct benefits which help the fragile collectives to sustain their livelihoods.

Second, the lack of empirical studies concerning participation of fragile collectives in CBT has hindered the creation of an enabling and inclusive environment for fragile collectives. With the new insights gained from this study, efforts geared towards creating an enabling and inclusive environment for fragile collectives can help eliminate the exclusive practices pushing the fragile collectives even further to the margins.

Third, 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.

Forth, this study has provided detailed empirical evidence of community-based tourism opportunities being identified and exploited by fragile collectives and critical pathways to how benefits flow within the community.

Another distinct contribution of this study is that it identified- Village associations and organized groups gearing into social transformations, especially women groups, that are interdependent network strategies that fragile collectives try to adapt to counteract the elite dominations. Having noticed that local elites, men, CBOs, and NGOs dominate CBT activities, this study established that some fragile collectives organize themselves into small groups to have a collective voice. This initiative shows social tourism entrepreneurship is taking root in Bwindi. Apart from small local bars, restaurants, and retail shops, which most fragile collectives engage in, the craft industry and village walk activities are a biggest benefactor of fragile collectives.

Emphasis on transformation through inclusive approaches to tourism products, such as fragile mentoring collectives about starting their businesses associated with tourism, inclusive practices and reasonable remuneration, must be the goal for crucial stakeholders (Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018). Taking part in decision-making brings immediate results for fragile collectives but engaging in self-help projects is a quick fix for their issues. Feasibly, the findings of this study will be exploited by empowerment organizations in forming the basis for the future development of effective and meaningful capacity-building programs.

Further results of this study contribute to knowledge on fragile collective forms of participation, the benefits derived from participation, what enables them to participate, the challenges they encounter and how they overcome them as well as strategies that can be

employed to reduce the barriers to participation in CBT. This study adds knowledge to the limited empirical studies on the participation of fragile collectives and what influences their involvement in CBT.

Notably, there is a dearth of studies discussing intrinsic issues about the participation of fragile collectives. Hopefully, this study's results will bring out meaningful and different perspectives of fragile collectives in tourism research. This study contributes to the literature addressing fragile collectives' needs by identifying several areas where progress can be made in improving their CBT environment.

This study established that, other than community benefits that came along with the onset of tourism in Bwindi such as establishment of community hospital, community schools and water projects, most fragile collectives testified that CBT had improved their livelihoods, standard of living and alleviated poverty at household level compared to previous studies which emphasize community benefits. Besides, some women fragile collectives testified that tourism had empowered them and saved them from depending on their husbands and their immediate families. Regarding barriers to participation, both individual and external barriers were established. Although individuals were highlighted as impediments to participation, external barriers such collapse of Bataka a community enterprise which was a source of livelihood, elite domination, problem of the guides who influence visitors, and host interactions, unequal distribution of opportunities were mentioned as overwhelming. Therefore, this study suggests that, before any establishment of CBT in an area, benefits associated with it in relation to barriers should be evaluated from fragile collective perspectives. Moreover, there exist no study that has investigated benefits and barriers associated with CBT from a fragile collective perspective, therefore this study contributes to literature.

7.2.2 Methodological contributions

316

Apart from the theoretical contribution, the use of ethnography in this research has also methodological contribution. Through my active involvement with fragile collectives in their daily lives brings new insights between knowledge and practice. This study emphasizes and endorses the use of qualitative research as a pathway to give a voice to the fragile collectives or the 'powerless' to have a voice in research particularly in tourism. My passion and enthusiasm to employ ethnographic approach came along with un/and or anticipated challenges which ushered me into a world of realities of conducting a qualitative study.

Principally, what we can learn from this study is based on the notion that the past studies that have been carried out focused on the entire community, this study focuses on special people such as widows, widowers, people with disabilities and chronic diseases, aboriginals (Batwa), women abandoned by their spouses and victims of domestic violence who have been neglected for so long in CBT literature. Even though much has been done on minority and marginalized groups elsewhere in the world, such notions of fragile collectives are ignored. Not many studies have been done in such unfortunate, hard to reach area environments, and during difficult times of COVID-19 pandemic. Essentially, the uniqueness of this study is that I went into difficult a place to get into, I spent 5 months and ten days immersed in the community with fragile collectives so that I can get to the roots of issues concerning their participation in CBT. The results obtained about participation of fragile collectives in CBT are essential in setting a pace for encouraging participation of fragile collectives applicable to different host communities specifically in policy formulation. The three forms of participation of fragile collectives in this study, for example were found to be important in explaining the impact of CBT in the lives of fragile collectives.

This study contributes to community-based tourism development from an insider's view which may arguably have an empowerment effect on the researched community. From a cultural anthropological point of view, this study is embedded in the local culture and

indigenous knowledge of the community under study. Having spent many months with the studied, it gave me ample time to understand the details of the local knowledge and the fragile collectives' distinctions and interpretations of their participation in CBT. This aspect is important as most scholars quite often miss out the 'emic voice' that is essential in setting and formulating community development goals. This study sets a pace for ethnographic studies since, it is an approach that is less utilized in tourism research and yet it yields rewarding and authentic results. Thus, the ethnographic methods used for this study may be applied to other studies elsewhere in the world.

7.2.3 Practical contributions

This research has several practical applications for pro-poor and community-based tourism destinations. First, key stakeholders can apply the fragile collective participation framework developed in the current study as a benchmark for policymakers and key stakeholders in community-based tourism to factor in the needs of the fragile collectives in their planning and decision-making programs. Further, given that fragile collectives operate in the margins and informal sector, policy-making bodies should implement strategies that govern the informal sector.

In host communities that exclude fragile collectives from participation in issues that affect them, informal education, professional skills development, and inclusion in networks that engage visitors should be enhanced (Lo & Janta, 2020; Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018). This study also established low participation of women in direct activities. Based on this finding, this study emphasizes the participation and inclusion fragile collectives in CBT direct activities. This can be achieved both empowerment and educational programs.

Empowerment and capacity-building programs can help fragile collectives to be self-reliant, not small tokens such as food, clothes, etc that are not sustainable. This is because this study found that empowerment programs in Bwindi have created dependence which has killed

the spirit of creativity and innovation among fragile collectives. This study provides essential information needed for establishing an effective CBT that is inclusive, and the findings from this study can be applied when designing participation frameworks for fragile collectives in the context of developing countries.

7.2.4 Social contributions

This study provides an avenue for bringing out the independent minds of the 'voiceless, powerless, or unheard' groups in the community and their potential for tourism development. Within the community, this study reveals fragile collectives' potential and abilities, dreams, and aspirations to the outside world. Quite often, key stakeholders underestimate fragile collectives' abilities from an etic perspective. By revealing their potential, we hope that the fragile collectives will be embraced as equal stakeholders in community-based tourism in the long run. This strategy increases their participation in tourism development activities and significantly contributes to tourism development.

This study also found low participation of women fragile collectives in direct CBT activities. Because of the triple roles and double burdens, women are kept in in indirect and low occupations, garden work and care giving. From the observation, all direct activities are dominated by men and women are kept in less productive activities (Ntanjana et al., 2020). This study suggests that women can play an important role in the community as key stakeholders if they are given equal opportunities or a platform to showcase their abilities. Besides, women possess unique skills such as customer care, food and beverages services, cooking, making souvenirs and maintaining culture (Tristanti et al., 2022). Keeping them in the margins of CBT spaces culminates into unequal distribution of benefits and disempowerment. Therefore, scholars should emphasize inclusion and participation of women fragile collectives in CBT spaces as equal stakeholders. Promotion of women owned enterprises or self-help projects should be emphasized. Besides, women can provide more

practical solutions that can help community developments since they interact more with the environment, provide care, take on more roles compared to their male counterparts.

The elites in the community have frustrated the governance structures and created separation of powers. In other words, the elites take advantage of the fragile collectives. The fragile collectives being represented by NGOs and CBOs who are serving their own interests creates unequal distribution of benefits among the FCs. Therefore, this study suggests that the fragile collectives need to work directly with the authorities such as Uganda Wildlife Authority, Bwindi Mgahinga conservation trust and other key stakeholders in CBT. This way, they will negotiate better and get a chance to raise issues that affect them.

7.3 Limitations of the study

This study pays attention to the impact of emotions on research. Ethnographers have trouble recognizing emotions in strange places (Beatty, 2010). The major limitation of this study is that while in the field, I interfaced with fragile collectives with multiple hardships concerning poverty, abandonment, discrimination, exploitation, disability, chronic diseases, sexual harassment, and domestic violence, among others. Although fragile collectives were always excited and willing to tell me their real-life experiences, sometimes it could be too much for me to handle. However, the more I listened to their touching stories, the more I empathetically and emotionally connected with them, making it even more vital to listen to more stories. Although embracing emotions in the research process enables the researcher to take a humanistic approach while studying the fragile collectives, it contrasts with academic training that emphasizes the view that emotions should be kept away during the research process to be rational and objective (Drake & Harvey, 2014). Like any other research design or methodology, ethnography has its strengths and weaknesses (Nixon & Odoyo, 2020). The main disadvantage is that it lacks breadth, as the focus is typically on one particular situation

or phenomenon, leading to criticism of lack of generalizability (Iacono et al., 2009). Equipped with such knowledge, I worked towards solving this weakness by collecting extensive data about fragile collectives' participation to get rich insight into issues affecting them in CBT spaces.

This study is also limited in terms of available empirical data on fragile collectives, specifically in the context of Uganda. Because of this limitation, most of the studies cited on the contextual background and literature review on Uganda are from national newspapers, NGO reports, and government reports, which may lack the academic rigor expressed in empirical scholarly research. Some sections, such as that of fragile collectives' background information in Uganda, are simple in rarity on the ground. However, this study notes that the literature on the participation of minorities, poor people, and under-deprived communities from other contexts helped set the agenda for this research. This study recommends that more studies be conducted on fragile collectives in Uganda to continue filling the gap in the literature. According to Moser and Korstjens (2018), ethnography involves in-depth interviews, participant observation and focus group discussions. I could not carry out focus group discussions due the heterogeneity among the study participants and time factor. Further, key informants were contacted at the very end of the study to get their opinions about CBT. This was not exhaustive enough as this was not an original plan of the study. Due to the issues that emerged from interviews with the respondents, I had to gather some views from key stakeholders. Based on this background, future studies should include focus group discussions to explore how it works among heterogeneous groups. Other studies should also consider gathering detailed information from key CBT stakeholders to get a deeper understanding of the CBT dynamics.

Further, the limitation of this study relates to local and non-local guides. Although I casually interacted with a few local and non-local guides and visitors about their relationship with the fragile collectives, this study does not present their views as it is out of the scope of this study. This is because this study highlights guides as a critical challenge in the eyes of the fragile collectives. Possibly to validate their insights, I would have included a section on perceptions of guide-fragile collective-visitor relationships. Since the focus of this study was on the participation of fragile collectives in CBT, I overlooked their views in this study. This study recommends that future studies capture the views of locals and non-local guides and visitors' opinions about fragile collectives.

7.4 Future directions and research opportunities

Based on the findings of this study, I would like to make the following recommendations for future research. First, future studies should investigate and evaluate the contribution of Community- based organizations, and non-governmental organizations to the lives of the fragile collectives. This is because, this study established that different Community-based organizations and Non-Governmental Organizations are the ones in control of community-based tourism. Tourism oriented NGOs in the developed world are partnering with a growing number of world NGOs and communities in poverty alleviation programs (Kennedy, 2009). Nonetheless, undertaking such evaluations requires prolonged and enough time with appropriate skills and financial resources. Second, the performance of community-based tourism enterprises, which is a source of livelihood to most fragile collectives, should also be evaluated. The purpose of this study was focused on the participation of fragile collectives; however, it was discovered that the community enterprises have significantly contributed to the lives of fragile collectives.

The current research used an ethnographic approach because of scantiness in studies that explain the participation of fragile collectives in CBT in a developing country context.

322

Despite the efforts to investigate the fragile collectives' forms of participation, benefits derived from participation, factors that influence their participation, and strategies to overcome participation barriers, the current study's findings cannot be generalised. To get a conclusive overview, future studies should consider quantitative research approach using a bigger sample of fragile collectives. Further, comparing fragile collectives' experiences in other contexts where CBT is well-established would be interesting. To get a comprehensive understanding of fragile collective participation and the dynamics within CBT spaces, more research is required to understand the relationship between the fragile collectives and key stakeholders (NGOs, CBOs, Campsites, and guides). Besides, from the demand side, further work needs to be done to establish whether local and non-local guides influence the visitor-fragile collectives' interactions. This would help to deeply understand the support of participation from a visitor's perspective. It would be also interesting to assess whether visitors feel coerced in supporting fragile collectives' initiatives. In other words, altruism and philanthropic practices should be investigated.

If possible, this study recommends that further research should be undertaken on the views of the young people to be incorporated in CBT development opportunities, their challenges, and the kind of support they would need from different stakeholders to boost their participation in CBT. Second, this study established that most empowerment programs are skewed to other segments, and the young people are overlooked. The issue of human-wildlife conflict and co-existence needs attention and is an important area relevant to fragile collectives in Bwindi. This is because it was noted that most of the fragile collectives are unhappy with the park and some wish the park to catch fire or all gorillas to die. Maybe further research can assess the long-term effect of human-wildlife conflicts on fragile collectives to assess if the negative attitudes towards the Bwindi Impenetrable Park Authority could change.

More research is needed to validate why the Batwa fragile collectives have remained poor even when they are the central point of attraction in Bwindi next to Gorilla. This is because the owners of Batwa Cultural sites live in good houses and drive cars, but no Mutwa lives in a good house or owns a bicycle. For the last twenty-eight years, the Batwa in Bwindi have been packaged as a tourism product alongside Gorilla; over twenty NGOs and CBOs empowerment have a Mutwa as a priority in their programs, but the outcome of such empowerment programs is not clear. *What went wrong?* Probably further research might explore the issues at hand than this study could establish.

Lastly, it would be interesting to investigate men's perceptions of women's participation in CBT. This is because it was hinted by some women fragile collectives that their husbands feel uncomfortable seeing their wives earn a living. Therefore, this study cannot generalize such findings as it was out of the scope of this study. An exploration into perceptions of men towards women in CBT would add exciting insights to CBT scholarship.

7.5 Reflections from my ethnography journey

This section marks the end of this thesis. It gives a highlight of the researchers' reflections on the entire thesis writing from idea generation, thesis writing framework development to its fruition. This thesis was developed through three phases: First, proposal writing and conceptualization of the framework of the study; second, data collection and third final write up of the thesis. Based on the three phases that this thesis went through, the following is a narration what the researcher went through:

Foremost, this study was carried during tough times of COVID 19 Pandemic. I collected data during the tough time of COVID 19 between March 2021 and July 2021, when everyone was anxious and talking about the good and bad effects of the pandemic. While one would have waited for the pandemic to get less severe to collect data, I went head-on when it was still very

tough, and I got all the data I wanted. This was remarkable. Establishing rapport during the world's greatest pandemic where everyone was suspecting everyone is not an easy task. It was the first time that Uganda had experienced a pandemic of that magnitude.

On the one hand, the community members misunderstood me as one of the agents registering for food relief and donations. Still, as time passed, people got to know the purpose of my presence in their community, and everyone was talking about how they were severely hit by COVID 19 due to a lack of visitors. On the other hand, I was still affected by the pandemic because some fragile collectives still considered me as an agent who could connect them to donors to give them some food. In this regard, collecting data in such a difficult time needs careful consideration of the information you are getting. I discarded four interviews after realizing that I was being given wrong information by respondents in order to win my trust so that I could include them on the donation list even after explaining the purpose of my interview.

Besides, being a female conducting a study in a male dominated society was also challenging for me. Relating with men whom I also needed to get valuable information was difficult for me. In the eyes of community, any single woman who is seen with men is regarded a prostitute. In some instances, male respondents could not interact freely with me, neither could I. Although I managed to get 27 male respondents, befriending them to the point of interviewing them was not easy since I had to be cautious with the negative statements. Furthermore, even though I am a Ugandan, spending many months in a totally different community was hard for me. At some point I had to remind myself that I am stranger who must abide by community practices.

Having navigated through all the challenges of data collection, transcribing and coding qualitative data was another tedious process that almost took ages. It was my first time to conduct ethnography study and coding verbatim was not an easy task for me. Nevertheless,

the uniqueness of their stories made the whole of process of transcribing and coding enjoyable. Each voice had a unique and interesting story not to be ignored. I can ably say that, from rapport building to interviewing, note taking, transcribing and coding, I learned so many skills as far ethnography is concerned. Although the whole process was intensive and challenging, it is beneficial and a learning experience for me.

This study has enabled me to network with various people such as academicians, practitioners, government officials, the private sector, and fragile collectives, paving the way for future research and project collaborations. Furthermore, this Ph.D. research has been a journey of transformation. Reflecting on how I joined the School of Hotel and Tourism Management at The Hong Kong Polytechnic University under my supervisor's guidance, I have learned much from proposal development to data collection, analysis, and discussion. Every step of this journey has been captivating to me, shaping how I look at things and broadening my horizons into becoming an independent scholar.

Outstandingly, this journey has helped me acquire fundamental skills in conducting qualitative studies, such as harmonizing theory and practice by adopting and integrating ideas. I can confidently state that this Ph.D. has nourished me to be an independent critical thinker and problem solver. I can proudly say that I am a better person in research than before I joined Ph.D., and I am ready to pass on knowledge to the next generation.

REFERENCES

Aas, C., Ladkin, A., & Fletcher, J. (2005). Stakeholder collaboration and heritage management. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *32*(1), 28-48.

Abdullah, L., & Pang, J. Y. (2016). Application of analytic hierarchy process for assessing sustainable development among underprivileged communities. *Journal of Sustainable Development*, *9*(5), 70-82.

Acharya, B. P., & Halpenny, E. A. (2013). Homestays as an alternative tourism product for sustainable community development: A case study of women-managed tourism product in rural Nepal. *Tourism Planning & Development*, *10*(4), 367-387.

Adams, W. M., & Sandbrook, C. (2013). Conservation, evidence and policy. *Oryx*, *47*(3), 329-335.

Adelona, I. (2017). Assessing the Effects of Ecotourism on the Developing World: A Galapagos Case Study.

Adeyemo, A., & Bada, A. (2017). Assesing Local Community Participation in Tourism Planning and Development in Erin-Ijesha Waterfall Osun State, Nigeria. *Journal of Tourism, Hospitality and Sports*, *24*(2017), 1-7.

Adongo, R., Choe, J. Y., & Han, H. (2017). Tourism in Hoi An, Vietnam: Impacts, perceived benefits, community attachment and support for tourism development. *International Journal of Tourism Sciences*, *17*(2), 86-106.

Agarwal, S. (1997). The resort cycle and seaside tourism: an assessment of its applicability and validity. *Tourism Management*, *18*(2), 65-73.

Agrawal, A., & Gibson, C. C. (1999). Enchantment and disenchantment: the role of community in natural resource conservation. *World development*, *27*(4), 629-649.

Aharikundira, M., & Tweheyo, M. (2011). Human-wildlife donflict and its implication for conservation around Bwindi Impenetrable National Park.: *Ninth World Wilderness Congress symposium; November 6-13, 2009; Merida, Yucatan, Mexico. Proceedings RMRS-P-64. Fort Collins, CO: US Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Rocky Mountain Research Station.* p. 39-44.,

Ahebwa, W. M. (2012). Tourism, livelihoods and biodiversity conservation: an assessment of tourism related policy interventions at Bwindi Impenetrable National Park (BINP), Uganda.

Ahebwa, W. M. (2013). Conservation, livelihoods, and tourism: A case study of the Buhoma-Mukono community-based tourism project in Uganda. *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration*, *31*(3).

Ahebwa, W. M., Sandbrook, C., & Ochieng, A. (2018a). 8 Parks, people, and partnerships. *Conservation and Development in Uganda*.

Ahebwa, W. M., Sandbrook, C., & Ochieng, A. (2018b). Parks, people, and partnerships: Experiments in the governance of nature-based tourism in Uganda. In *Conservation and Development in Uganda* (pp. 148-170). Routledge.

Ahebwa, W. M., van der Duim, R., & Sandbrook, C. (2012). Tourism revenue sharing policy at Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, Uganda: a policy arrangements approach. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, *20*(3), 377-394.

Ahmed, A. U., Hill, R. V., & Naeem, F. (2014). The poorest: Who and where they are? In *Marginality* (pp. 85-99). Springer, Dordrecht.

Akama, J. S. (1996). Western environmental values and nature-based tourism in Kenya. *Tourism Management*, *17*(8), 567-574.

Akbar, I., Zhaoping, Y., Mazbayev, O., Seken, A., & Udahogora, M. (2020). Local Residents'participation In Tourism At A World Heritage Site And Limitations: A Case Of Aksu-Jabagly Natural World Heritage Site, Kazakhstan. *GeoJournal of Tourism & Geosites*, *28*(1).

Alderete, H. (2020). How the Loss of Land is Threatening the Survivability and Culture of the Maasai.

Allman, D. (2013). The sociology of social inclusion. *Sage Open*, *3*(1), 2158244012471957.

Altieri, M. A., & Masera, O. (1993). Sustainable rural development in Latin America: building from the bottom-up. *Ecological Economics*, *7*(2), 93-121.

Amoah-Mensah, A. (2013). Strategic resources and performance of rural SMEs. *International Journal of Business and Social Research*, *3*(4), 106-119.

Ampumuza, C., & Driessen, C. (2020). Gorilla habituation and the role of animal agency in conservation and tourism development at Bwindi, South Western Uganda. *Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space*, 2514848620966502.

Ampumuza, C., Duineveld, M., & van der Duim, R. (2020). The most marginalized people in Uganda? Alternative realities of Batwa at Bwindi Impenetrable National Park. *World Development Perspectives*, *20*, 100267.

Andereck, K. L., & Nyaupane, G. P. (2011). Exploring the nature of tourism and quality of life perceptions among residents. *Journal of travel research*, *50*(3), 248-260.

Andereck, K. L., Valentine, K. M., Knopf, R. C., & Vogt, C. A. (2005). Residents' perceptions of community tourism impacts. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *32*(4), 1056-1076.

Anderson, W. (2015). Cultural tourism and poverty alleviation in rural Kilimanjaro, Tanzania. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, *13*(3), 208-224.

Anthony, B. A. (2019). *Measuring Poverty around the World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Ap, J. (1992). Residents' perceptions on tourism impacts. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *19*(4), 665-690.

Ap, J., & Crompton, J. L. (1993). Residents' strategies for responding to tourism impacts. *Journal of travel research*, *32*(1), 47-50.

Aprilani, T. L., Yuliarmi, Y., & Marhaeni, A. (2021). The Role of The Government in Development of Community-Based Tourism on Economic Growth Inclusivity. *Journal of the Community Development in Asia (JCDA)*, *4*(1), 96-105.

Aref, F., & Ma'rof, R. (2008). Barriers to community participation toward tourism development in Shiraz, Iran. *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences*, *5*(9), 936-940.

Aref, F., & Redzuan, M. (2009). Assessing the level of community participation as a component of community capacity building for tourism development. *European Journal of Social Sciences*, *8*(1), 68-75.

Arellano-López, S., & Petras, J. F. (1994). Non-Governmental Organizations and Poverty Alleviation in Bolivia. *Development and Change*, *25*(3), 555-568.

Armstrong, R. (2012). An analysis of the conditions for success of community based tourism enterprises. *ICRT Occasional paper*(OP21), 1-52.

Arora, S. K., Shah, D., Chaturvedi, S., & Gupta, P. (2015). Defining and measuring vulnerability in young people. *Indian journal of community medicine: official publication of Indian Association of Preventive & Social Medicine*, *40*(3), 193.

Artal-Tur, A., Briones-Peñalver, A. J., Bernal-Conesa, J. A., & Martínez-Salgado, O. (2019). Rural community tourism and sustainable advantages in Nicaragua. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*.

Arzjani, Z., & Rahiminezhad, V. (2011). Rural women and their roles in tourism. *International Journal of Bio-resource and Stress Management*, *2*(1), 1-4.

Ashforth, B. E. (1989). The experience of powerlessness in organizations. *Organizational behavior and human decision processes*, *43*(2), 207-242. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/0749-5978(89)90051-4

Ashley, C., Boyd, C., & Goodwin, H. (2000). Pro-poor tourism: Putting poverty at the heart of the tourism agenda.

Ashley, C., & Carney, D. (1999). *Sustainable livelihoods: Lessons from early experience* (Vol. 7). Department for International Development London.

Ashley, C., & Garland, E. B. (1994). *Promoting Community-Based Tourism Development: Why, What, and How?* (Vol. 4). Directorate of Environmental Affairs, Ministry of Environment and Tourism.

Ashley, C., & Roe, D. (1998). *Enhancing community involvement in wildlife tourism: issues and challenges* (Vol. 11). IIED.

Ashley, C., & Roe, D. (2001). *Pro-poor tourism strategies: Making tourism work for the poor: A review of experience*. Iied.

Ashley, C., & Roe, D. (2002). Making tourism work for the poor: strategies and challenges in southern Africa. *Development Southern Africa*, *19*(1), 61-82.

Asker, S., Boronyak, L., Carrard, N., & Paddon, M. (2010). Effective community based tourism: a best practice manual.

Asselin, M. E. (2003). Insider research: Issues to consider when doing qualitative research in your own setting. *Journal for Nurses in Professional Development*, *19*(2), 99-103.

Atkinson, A. B., & Bourguignon, F. (2001). Poverty and inclusion from a world perspective. In: Citeseer.

Attride-Stirling, J. (2001). Thematic networks: an analytic tool for qualitative research. *Qualitative research*, *1*(3), 385-405.

Authority, U. W. (2014). Binp General Management Plan 2014-2024. In.

Avila-Foucat, V. S., & Rodríguez-Robayo, K. J. (2018). Determinants of livelihood diversification: The case wildlife tourism in four coastal communities in Oaxaca, Mexico. *Tourism Management*, *69*, 223-231.

Avramov, D. (2002). *People, demography and social exclusion* (Vol. 37). Council of Europe.

Ayorekire, J., Mugizi, F., Obua, J., & Ampaire, G. (2022). Community-Based Tourism and Local People's Perceptions Towards Conservation: The Case of Queen Elizabeth Conservation Area, Uganda. In *Prospects and Challenges of Community-Based Tourism and Changing Demographics* (pp. 56-82). IGI Global.

Badzaban, F., Rezaei-Moghaddam, K., & Fatemi, M. (2021). Analysing the individual entrepreneurial resilience of rural women. *Journal of Global Entrepreneurship Research*, 1-14.

Bahaire, T., & Elliott-White, M. (1999). Community participation in tourism planning and development in the historic city of York, England. *Current Issues in Tourism*, *2*(2-3), 243-276.

Baker-Médard, M. (2017). Gendering marine conservation: the politics of marine protected areas and fisheries access. *Society & Natural Resources*, *30*(6), 723-737.

Baker, W. G. (2001). *Uganda: the marginalization of minorities*. Citeseer.

Balikoowa, K. (2008). Impacts of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park on local peoples' livelihoods. *Unpublished master's thesis. Norway: Norwegian University of Life Science*.

Bank, W. (2018). Poverty and shared prosperity 2018: Piecing together the poverty puzzle. In: The World Bank.

Bank, W. (2020). Monitoring global poverty. In.

Banki, M. B., Ismail, H. N., & Muhammad, I. B. (2016). Coping with seasonality: A case study of family owned micro tourism businesses in Obudu Mountain Resort in Nigeria. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, *18*, 141-152.

Barkley, D. (1991). Job Generation Strategies for Small Towns: An Overview of Problems and Potentials. *Regional Economic Development Research Laboratory: Clemson, SC, USA*.

Beatty, A. (2010). How did it feel for you? Emotion, narrative, and the limits of ethnography. *American Anthropologist*, *112*(3), 430-443.

Bebbington, A. (1999). Capitals and capabilities: a framework for analyzing peasant viability, rural livelihoods and poverty. *World development*, *27*(12), 2021-2044.

Bellato, L., & Cheer, J. M. (2021). Inclusive and regenerative urban tourism: capacity development perspectives. *International Journal of Tourism Cities*.

Bello, F. G., Carr, N., & Lovelock, B. (2016). Community participation framework for protected area-based tourism planning. *Tourism Planning & Development*, *13*(4), 469-485.

Bello, F. G., Lovelock, B., & Carr, N. (2017). Constraints of community participation in protected area-based tourism planning: The case of Malawi. *Journal of Ecotourism*, *16*(2), 131-151.

Bhalla, A., & Lapeyre, F. (1997). Social exclusion: towards an analytical and operational framework. *Development and change*, *28*(3), 413-433.

Bhat, A. A., Majumdar, K., & Mishra, R. K. (2021). Political factors influencing residents' support for tourism development in Kashmir. *International Journal of Tourism Cities*.

Bhattarai, R. K., & Adhikari, B. (2021). An Overview of Home Stay at Antu Tourism Area of Ilam District. *Journal of Business and Social Sciences*, *3*(1), 77-86.

Biddulph, R. (2018). Social enterprise and inclusive tourism. Five cases in Siem Reap, Cambodia. *Tourism Geographies*, *20*(4), 610-629.

Biddulph, R., & Scheyvens, R. (2018). Introducing inclusive tourism. *Tourism Geographies*, *20*(4), 583-588.

Biggs, D., Hall, C. M., & Stoeckl, N. (2012). The resilience of formal and informal tourism enterprises to disasters: reef tourism in Phuket, Thailand. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, *20*(5), 645-665.

Bimonte, S., & Punzo, L. F. (2016). Tourist development and host–guest interaction: An economic exchange theory. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *58*, 128-139.

Binns, T., & Nel, E. (2002). Tourism as a local development strategy in South Africa. *Geographical Journal*, *168*(3), 235-247.

Bird, K., & Shinyekwa, I. (2005). Even the 'rich'are vulnerable: multiple shocks and downward mobility in rural Uganda. *Development policy review*, *23*(1), 55-85.

Birendra, K., Dhungana, A., & Dangi, T. B. (2021). Tourism and the sustainable development goals: Stakeholders' perspectives from Nepal. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, *38*, 100822.

Bischoff, A. K. (2019). *Stakeholder support and collaboration in entrepreneurial ecosystems: an analysis of the roles of sustainability, education and culture*. BoD–Books on Demand.

Blackstock, K. (2005). A critical look at community based tourism. *Community development journal*, *40*(1), 39-49.

Blau, P. M. (1964). Social exchange theory. *Retrieved September*, *3*(2007), 62.

Blomley, T. (2010). *Development AND Gorillas?: Assessing Fifteen Years of Integrated Conservation and Development in South-western Uganda*. IIED.

Bole, D., Pipan, P., & Komac, B. (2013). Cultural values and sustainable rural development: A brief introduction. *Acta geographica Slovenica*, *53*(2), 367-370.

Bonner, A., & Tolhurst, G. (2002). Insider-outsider perspectives of participant observation. *Nurse Researcher (through 2013)*, *9*(4), 7-19.

Boonabaana, B. (2014). Negotiating gender and tourism work: Women's lived experiences in Uganda. *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, *14*(1-2), 27-36.

Bosselman, F., Peterson, C., & McCarthy, C. (1999). *Managing tourism growth: issues and applications*. Island Press.

Bowles, S., & Gintis, H. (2002). Social capital and community governance. *The economic journal*, *112*(483), F419-F436.

Boyd, S. W., & Singh, S. (2003). Destination communities: Structures, resources and types. *Tourism in destination communities*, 19-33.

Bramwell, B., & Sharman, A. (2002). Approaches to sustainable tourism planning and community participation: the case of the Hope Valley. In *Tourism and sustainable community development* (pp. 35-53). Routledge.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, *3*(2), 77-101.

Bray, R., De Laat, M., Godinot, X., Ugarte, A., & Walker, R. (2019). The hidden dimensions of poverty. In: Pierrelaye: International Movement ATD Fourth World.

Bricker, K. S., & Kerstetter, D. (2006). Saravanua ni vanua: Exploring sense of place in the rural highlands of Fiji. *Quality tourism experiences*, 99-109.

Briedenhann, J., & Wickens, E. (2004). Tourism routes as a tool for the economic development of rural areas—vibrant hope or impossible dream? *Tourism Management*, *25*(1), 71-79.

Brynin, M., & Longhi, S. (2015). *The effect of occupation on poverty among ethnic minority groups*. Joseph Rowntree Foundation York.

Buhalis, D. (1999). Information technology for small and medium-sized tourism enterprises: adaptation and benefits. *Information Technology & Tourism*, *2*(2), 79-95.

Bulatović, J., & Rajović, G. (2016). Applying Sustainable Tourism Indicators to Community-Based Ecotourism Tourist village Eco-katun Štavna. *European Journal of Economic Studies*(2), 309-330.

Bullough, A., & Renko, M. (2013). Entrepreneurial resilience during challenging times. *Business Horizons*, *56*(3), 343-350.

Burgess, R. G. (2002). *In the field: An introduction to field research*. Routledge.

Burgos, A., & Mertens, F. (2017). Participatory management of community-based tourism: A network perspective. *Community Development*, *48*(4), 546-565.

Burke, E. R. (2014). *Vulnerable and marginalised groups framework*.

Burke, S. (2019). Demystifying Poverty in Tourism: Looking into Pro-Poor Tourism in India.

Byrd, E. T. (2007). Stakeholders in sustainable tourism development and their roles: applying stakeholder theory to sustainable tourism development. *Tourism Review*.

Candelo, E., Casalegno, C., Civera, C., & Büchi, G. (2019). A ticket to coffee: Stakeholder view and theoretical framework of coffee tourism benefits. *Tourism Analysis*, *24*(3), 329-340.

Cañizares, S. M. S., Tabales, J. M. N., & García, F. J. F. (2014). Local residents attitudes towards the impact of tourism development in Cape Verde. *Tourism & Management Studies*, *10*(1), 87-96.

Carpentier, N. (2016). Beyond the ladder of participation: An analytical toolkit for the critical analysis of participatory media processes. *Javnost-The Public*, *23*(1), 70-88.

Carvalho, I., Costa, C., Lykke, N., & Torres, A. (2019). Beyond the glass ceiling: Gendering tourism management. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *75*, 79-91.

Cave, P., & Kilic, S. (2010). The role of women in tourism employment with special reference to Antalya, Turkey. *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management*, *19*(3), 280-292.

Chambers, D., & Buzinde, C. (2015). Tourism and decolonisation: Locating research and self. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *51*, 1-16.

Chambers, R., & Conway, G. (1992). *Sustainable rural livelihoods: practical concepts for the 21st century*. Institute of Development Studies (UK).

Chidakel, A., Child, B., & Muyengwa, S. (2021). Evaluating the economics of park-tourism from the ground-up: Leakage, multiplier effects, and the enabling environment at South Luangwa National Park, Zambia. *Ecological Economics*, *182*, 106960.

Chili, N. S., & Ngxongo, N. A. (2017). Challenges to active community involvement in tourism development at Didima Resort–a case study of Umhlwazini community in Bergville. *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure*, *6*(2), 1-15.

Chinyele, B. J., & Lwoga, N. B. (2018). Participation in decision making regarding the conservation of heritage resources and conservation attitudes in Kilwa Kisiwani, Tanzania. *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development*.

Choi, H. C., & Murray, I. (2010). Resident attitudes toward sustainable community tourism. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, *18*(4), 575-594.

Choi, H. C., & Sirakaya, E. (2006). Sustainability indicators for managing community tourism. *Tourism Management*, *27*(6), 1274-1289.

Chong, K. L. (2020). The side effects of mass tourism: the voices of Bali islanders. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, *25*(2), 157-169.

Chung, J. Y., Buhalis, D., & Petrick, J. F. (2016). The use of social network analysis to examine the interactions between locals and tourists in an online community.

Cobbinah, P. B., Amenuvor, D., Black, R., & Peprah, C. (2017). Ecotourism in the Kakum Conservation Area, Ghana: Local politics, practice and outcome. *Journal of Outdoor Recreation and Tourism*, *20*, 34-44.

Cohen, E. (1984). The sociology of tourism: approaches, issues, and findings. *Annual review of sociology*, *10*(1), 373-392.

Cohen, J. M., & Uphoff, N. T. (1980). Participation's place in rural development: seeking clarity through specificity. *World Development*, *8*(3), 213-235.

Cole, S. (2006). Information and empowerment: The keys to achieving sustainable tourism. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, *14*(6), 629-644.

Connell, J., Nankervis, A., & Burgess, J. (2015). The challenges of an ageing workforce: an introduction to the workforce management issues. *Labour & Industry: a journal of the social and economic relations of work*, *25*(4), 257-264.

Coria, J., & Calfucura, E. (2012). Ecotourism and the development of indigenous communities: The good, the bad, and the ugly. *Ecological Economics*, *73*, 47-55.

Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2017). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Sage publications.

Creswell, J. W., & Miller, D. L. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory into practice*, *39*(3), 124-130.

Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2016). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Sage publications.

Cropanzano, R., & Mitchell, M. S. (2005). Social exchange theory: An interdisciplinary review. *Journal of management*, *31*(6), 874-900.

Crosby, B. C., & Bryson, J. M. (2005). *Leadership for the common good: Tackling public problems in a shared-power world* (Vol. 264). John Wiley & Sons.

Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process*. Sage.

Dahles, H., Khieng, S., Verver, M., & Manders, I. (2020). Social entrepreneurship and tourism in Cambodia: advancing community engagement. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, *28*(6), 816-833.

Dangi, T., & Jamal, T. (2016). An integrated approach to "sustainable community-based tourism". *Sustainability*, *8*(5), 475.

Dangi, T. B., & Jamal, T. (2016). An integrated approach to "sustainable community-based tourism". *Sustainability*, *8*(5), 475.

Dangi, T. B., & Petrick, J. F. (2021). Enhancing the role of tourism governance to improve collaborative participation, responsiveness, representation and inclusion for sustainable

community-based tourism: a case study. *International Journal of Tourism Cities*, *7*(4), 1029-1048. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJTC-10-2020-0223

Darcy, S. (2002). Marginalised participation: Physical disability, high support needs and tourism. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management*, *9*(1), 61-73.

Davies, C. A. (2012). *Reflexive ethnography: A guide to researching selves and others*. Routledge.

De Lange, D., & Dodds, R. (2017). Increasing sustainable tourism through social entrepreneurship. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*.

del Mar Alonso-Almeida, M. (2012). Water and waste management in the Moroccan tourism industry: The case of three women entrepreneurs. Women's Studies International Forum,

Denman, R. (2001). *Guidelines for community-based ecotourism development*. WWF International.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2011). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*. sage.

Dernoi, L. A. (1981). Alternative tourism: Towards a new style in North-South relations. *International Journal of Tourism Management*, *2*(4), 253-264.

Dernoi, L. A. (1983). Farm tourism in Europe. *Tourism Management*, *4*(3), 155-166.

Dłużewska, A., & Giampiccoli, A. (2020). Enhancing island tourism's local benefits: A proposed community-based tourism-oriented general model. *Sustainable Development*.

Dobrowolsky, A., & Lister, R. (2005). Social exclusion and changes to citizenship: women and children, minorities and migrants in Britain. Canadian Political Science Association Annual Meeting,

Dodds, R., Ali, A., & Galaski, K. (2018). Mobilizing knowledge: Determining key elements for success and pitfalls in developing community-based tourism. *Current Issues in Tourism*, *21*(13), 1547-1568.

Dolezal, C. (2019). Being in the field in Bali: A reflection on fieldwork challenges in community-based tourism research. In *Tourism Ethnographies* (pp. 97-111). Routledge.

Dolezal, C., & Novelli, M. (2020). Power in community-based tourism: empowerment and partnership in Bali. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, 1-19.

Dominelli, L., & Campling, J. (2002). Oppression, social divisions and identity. In *Anti-oppressive social work theory and practice* (pp. 37-58). Springer.

Donaldson, T., & Preston, L. E. (1995). The stakeholder theory of the corporation: Concepts, evidence, and implications. *Academy of management Review*, *20*(1), 65-91.

Downe-Wamboldt, B. (1992). Content analysis: method, applications, and issues. *Health care for women international*, *13*(3), 313-321.

Doxey, G. V. (1975). A causation theory of visitor-resident irritants: Methodology and research inferences. Travel and tourism research associations sixth annual conference proceedings,

Dragouni, M., & Fouseki, K. (2018). Drivers of community participation in heritage tourism planning: an empirical investigation. *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, *13*(3), 237-256.

Drumm, A. (1998). New approaches to community-based ecotourism management. Learning from Ecuador. *Ecotourism: a guide for planners and managers.*, 197-213.

Duan, S. (2020). A Study on Poverty Alleviation Mechanism of Jinggangshan Tourism. 2019 3rd International Conference on Education, Economics and Management Research (ICEEMR 2019),

Duffy, L. N., Cardenas, D. A., Chancellor, H. C., & Byrd, E. T. (2016). Examining barriers, motivations, and perceptions of women working in the tourism industry: Case study of Ayampe, Ecuador.

Duflo, E., & Banerjee, A. (2011). *Poor economics*. PublicAffairs.

Duraiappah, A. K., Roddy, P., & Parry, J.-E. (2005). *Have participatory approaches increased capabilities?* International Institute for Sustainable Development Winnipeg.

Dyer, P., Aberdeen, L., & Schuler, S. (2017). Tourism impacts on an Australian indigenous community: A djabugay case study. In *Managing Heritage and Cultural Tourism Resources: Critical Essays, Volume One* (pp. 121-134). https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315249933-16

Echtner, C. M. (1995). Entrepreneurial training in developing countries. *Annals of tourism research*, *22*(1), 119-134.

Ellis, F. (1998). Household strategies and rural livelihood diversification. *The journal of development studies*, *35*(1), 1-38.

Ellis, F. (2000). *Rural livelihoods and diversity in developing countries*. Oxford university press.

Elo, S., & Kyngäs, H. (2008). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of advanced nursing*, *62*(1), 107-115.

Emerson, R. M. (1962). Power-dependence relations. *American sociological review*, 31-41.

Esichaikul, R., & Chansawang, R. (2022). Community participation in heritage tourism management of Sukhothai historical park. *International Journal of Tourism Cities*.

Fabian, M. C., Cook, A. S., & Old, J. M. (2020). Do Australians have the willingness to participate in wildlife conservation? [Article]. *Australian Zoologist*, *40*(4), 575-584. https://doi.org/10.7882/AZ.2019.010

Felder, F. (2018). The value of inclusion. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, *52*(1), 54-70.

Fetterman, D. M. (1989). Ethnography: Step by step.

Finefter-Rosenbluh, I. (2017). Incorporating perspective taking in reflexivity: A method to enhance insider qualitative research processes. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *16*(1), 1609406917703539.

Folarin, O., & Adeniyi, O. (2020). Does tourism reduce poverty in sub-Saharan African countries? *Journal of Travel Research*, *59*(1), 140-155.

Francesca, F., Sylvain, G., & Andrea-Rosalinde, H. (2009). *Local economic and employment development (LEED) designing local skills strategies*. OECD Publishing.

Frater, J. M. (1983). Farm tourism in England—Planning, funding, promotion and some lessons from Europe. *Tourism Management*, *4*(3), 167-179.

Freeman, A. A. B., Mensah, I., & Antwi, K. B. (2022). Smiling vs. Frowning Faces: Community Participation for Sustainable Tourism in Ghanaian Communities. In *Prospects and Challenges of Community-Based Tourism and Changing Demographics* (pp. 83-106). IGI Global.

Freeman, R. B., & Medoff, J. L. (1984). What do unions do. *Indus. & Lab. Rel. Rev.*, *38*, 244.

Freeman, R. E., Harrison, J. S., Wicks, A. C., Parmar, B. L., & De Colle, S. (2010). Stakeholder theory: The state of the art.

Frenzel, F. (2013). Slum tourism in the context of the tourism and poverty (relief) debate.

Gaile, G. L. (1980). The spread-backwash concept. *Regional Studies*, *14*(1), 15-25.

Galston, W. A., & Baehler, K. J. (1995). *Rural Development in the United States: Connecting Theory, Practice, and Possibilities*. ERIC.

Gan, S., Inversini, A., & Rega, I. (2016). Community-based tourism and ICT: Insights from Malaysia. *Information and Communication Technologies in Tourism 2016*.

Garkovich, L. E. (2011). A historical view of community development. *Introduction to community development: Theory, practice, and service-learning*, 11-34.

Gascón, J. (2015). Pro-poor tourism as a strategy to fight rural poverty: A critique. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, *15*(4), 499-518.

Gatzweiler, F., Baumüller, H., Husmann, C., & von Braun, J. (2011). Marginality: addressing the root causes of extreme poverty. *Zentrum für Entwicklungsforschung (ZEF) Center for Development Research University of Bonn, Working Paper Series*, *77*.

George, N., & Susan, M. (1996). An evaluation of ecotourism in Amazonas, Brazil. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *23*(4), 843-873.

Giampiccoli, A. (2020). A conceptual justification and a strategy to advance community-based tourism development. *European Journal of Tourism Research*, *25*, 2503-2503.

Giampiccoli, A., Jugmohan, S., & Mtapuri, O. (2015a). Community-based tourism in rich and poor countries: Towards a framework for comparison. *African Journal for Physical Health Education, Recreation and Dance*, *21*(4.1), 1200-1216.

Giampiccoli, A., Jugmohan, S., & Mtapuri, O. (2015b). Community-based tourism in rich and poor countries: Towards a framework for comparison. *National sun*.

Giampiccoli, A., Muhsin, B. A., & Mtapuri, O. (2020). Community-based tourism in the case of the Maldives. *Geo Journal of Tourism and Geosites*, *29*(2), 428-439.

Giampiccoli, A., & Saayman, M. (2014). A conceptualisation of alternative forms of tourism in relation to community development. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, *5*(27 P3), 1667-1667.

Giampiccoli, A., & Saayman, M. (2018). South African community-based tourism operational guidelines: Analysis and critical review. *African Journal of Science, Technology, Innovation and Development*, *10*(6), 759-770.

Gillovic, B., & McIntosh, A. (2020). Accessibility and inclusive tourism development: Current state and future agenda. *Sustainability*, *12*(22), 9722.

Gilson, L., Palmer, N., & Schneider, H. (2005). Trust and health worker performance: exploring a conceptual framework using South African evidence. *Social science & medicine*, *61*(7), 1418-1429.

Gohori, O., & van der Merwe, P. (2021). Barriers to community participation in Zimbabwe's community-based tourism projects. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 1-14.

Goodwin, H. (1996). In pursuit of ecotourism. *Biodiversity & Conservation*, *5*(3), 277-291.

Goodwin, H., & Santilli, R. (2009). Community-based tourism: A success. *ICRT Occasional paper*, *11*(1), 37.

Grandcourt, M.-A. E. (2020). The role of the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) in tourism and sustainable development in Africa. *Routledge Handbook of Tourism in Africa*, 131.

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. *Handbook of qualitative research*, *2*(163-194), 105.

Guo, H., & Jordan, E. J. (2021). Social exclusion and conflict in a rural tourism community: A case study from Likeng Village, China. *Tourist Studies*, 14687976211039067.

Guo, H., & Jordan, E. J. (2022). Social exclusion and conflict in a rural tourism community: A case study from Likeng Village, China. *Tourist Studies*, *22*(1), 42-60. https://doi.org/10.1177/14687976211039067

Gursoy, D., Jurowski, C., & Uysal, M. (2002). Resident attitudes: A structural modeling approach. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *29*(1), 79-105.

Hall, C. M. (2007). Pro-poor tourism: Do 'tourism exchanges benefit primarily the countries of the south'? *Current Issues in Tourism*, *10*(2-3), 111-118.

Hall, C. M., & Jenkins, J. (1995). Tourism and public policy. *A Companion to Tourism*, 525.

Hamzah, A., & Khalifah, Z. (2012). Community capacity building for sustainable tourism development: Experience from Miso Walai homestay. *Community Capacity Building*, *2*, 1-10.

Handaragama, S., & Kusakabe, K. (2021). Participation of women in business associations: A case of small-scale tourism enterprises in Sri Lanka. *Heliyon*, *7*(11), e08303.

Harper, M., & Cole, P. (2012). Member checking: Can benefits be gained similar to group therapy. *The qualitative report*, *17*(2), 510-517.

Harris, J. (2014). Meeting the challenges of the handicraft industry in Africa: Evidence from Nairobi. *Development in practice*, *24*(1), 105-117.

Healey, P. (2000). Planning theory and urban and regional dynamics: a comment on Yiftachel and Huxley. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *24*(4), 917-921.

Hemalatha, M. (2020). Women Empowerment And Tourism Industry. *International Journal Of Multidisciplinary Educational Research, 9*, *1*(2), 219-224.

Hinchliffe, S., Jackson, M. A., Wyatt, K., Barlow, A. E., Barreto, M., Clare, L., Depledge, M. H., Durie, R., Fleming, L. E., & Groom, N. (2018). Healthy publics: enabling cultures and environments for health. *Palgrave communications*, *4*(1), 1-10.

Hoang, T. T. H., Van Rompaey, A., Meyfroidt, P., Govers, G., Vu, K. C., Nguyen, A. T., Hens, L., & Vanacker, V. (2020). Impact of tourism development on the local livelihoods and land cover change in the Northern Vietnamese highlands. *Environment, Development and Sustainability*, *22*(2), 1371-1395.

Hoggett, P. (1997). Contested communities. *Contested communities. Experiences, struggles, policies*.

Holden, A. (2013). *Tourism, poverty and development*. Routledge.

Holden, A., Sonne, J., & Novelli, M. (2011). Tourism and poverty reduction: An interpretation by the poor of Elmina, Ghana. *Tourism planning & development*, *8*(3), 317-334.

Hollinshead, K. (2006). The shift to constructivism in social inquiry: Some pointers for tourism studies. *Tourism Recreation Research*, *31*(2), 43-58.

Holloway, I. (1997). *Basic concepts for qualitative research*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Holmes, G., & Cavanagh, C. J. (2016). A review of the social impacts of neoliberal conservation: Formations, inequalities, contestations. *Geoforum*, *75*, 199-209.

Holsti, O. R. (1969). *Content analysis for the social sciences and humanities*. Reading, Mass. : Addison-Wesley.

Honneth, A. (1996). *The struggle for recognition: The moral grammar of social conflicts*. MIT press.

Hoque, M. A., Lovelock, B., & Carr, A. (2020). Alleviating Indigenous poverty through tourism: the role of NGOs. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 1-18.

Hugman, R. (1991). *Power in caring professions*. Macmillan International Higher Education.

Hung, K., Sirakaya-Turk, E., & Ingram, L. J. (2011). Testing the efficacy of an integrative model for community participation. *Journal of travel research*, *50*(3), 276-288.

Husmann, C. (2016). Marginality as a root cause of poverty: Identifying marginality hotspots in Ethiopia. *World Development*, *78*, 420-435.

Hutchings, K., Moyle, C.-l., Chai, A., Garofano, N., & Moore, S. (2020). Segregation of women in tourism employment in the APEC region. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, *34*, 100655.

Hwang, D., & Stewart, W. P. (2017). Social capital and collective action in rural tourism. *Journal of travel research*, *56*(1), 81-93.

Ibrahim, Y., & Razzaq, A. R. A. (2010). Homestay program and rural community development in Malaysia. *Journal of Ritsumeikan Social Sciences and Humanities*, *2*(1), 7-24.

Imai, K. S., Gaiha, R., & Kang, W. (2011). Poverty, inequality and ethnic minorities in Vietnam. *International review of applied economics*, *25*(3), 249-282.

Irandu, E. M., & Shah, P. (2014). The Role of ecotourism in promoting women empowerment and Community Development: some reflections from Kenya. *Journal of tourism and hospitality management*, *2*(6), 245-259.

Ireri, P., Kung'u, J. B., & Muriithi, J. K. (2020). Distribution of the Benefits of Ngare Ndare Forest Trust and Il Ngwesi Group Ranch Ecotourism Enterprises in Kenya. *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure*, *9*(5), 1178-1192.

Isaga, N. (2018). Start-up motives and challenges facing female entrepreneurs in Tanzania. *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship*.

Ishihara, H., & Pascual, U. (2009). Social capital in community level environmental governance: A critique. *Ecological Economics*, *68*(5), 1549-1562.

Jaafar, M., Noor, S. M., & Rasoolimanesh, S. M. (2015). Perception of young local residents toward sustainable conservation programmes: A case study of the Lenggong World Cultural Heritage Site. *Tourism Management*, *48*, 154-163.

Jaafar, M., Rasoolimanesh, S. M., & Ismail, S. (2017). Perceived sociocultural impacts of tourism and community participation: A case study of Langkawi Island [Article]. *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, *17*(2), 123-134. https://doi.org/10.1177/1467358415610373

Jamal, T., & Camargo, B. A. (2014). Sustainable tourism, justice and an ethic of care: Toward the just destination. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *22*(1), 11-30.

Jamal, T., & Dredge, D. (2014). Tourism and community development issues. *R. Sharpley and D. Telfer, Tourism and Development. Concepts and Issues, Second Edition. London: Channel View*, 178-204.

Jamal, T., & Getz, D. (1999). Community roundtables for tourism-related conflicts: The dialectics of consensus and process structures. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, *7*(3-4), 290-313.

Jamieson, W. (2006). Interpretation and tourism. *Community Destination Management in developing economies*, 85-99.

Jamieson, W., Goodwin, H., & Edmunds, C. (2004). Contribution of tourism to poverty alleviation pro-poor tourism and the challenge of measuring impacts.

Jennewein, J. S., & Jones, K. W. (2016). Examining 'willingness to participate'in community-based water resource management in a transboundary conservation area in Central America. *Water Policy*, *18*(6), 1334-1352.

Jennings, L. B., Parra-Medina, D. M., Hilfinger-Messias, D. K., & McLoughlin, K. (2006). Toward a critical social theory of youth empowerment. *Journal of Community Practice*, *14*(1-2), 31-55.

Jensen, Ø. (2010). Social mediation in remote developing world tourism locations–the significance of social ties between local guides and host communities in sustainable tourism development. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *18*(5), 615-633.

Jeyacheya, J., & Hampton, M. P. (2020). Wishful thinking or wise policy? Theorising tourism-led inclusive growth: Supply chains and host communities. *World development*, *131*, 104960.

Jo, Y. N. (2013). Psycho-social dimensions of poverty: When poverty becomes shameful. *Critical Social Policy*, *33*(3), 514-531.

Jolliffe, L. (2010). *Coffee culture, destinations and tourism* (Vol. 24). Channel View Publications.

Joppe, M. (1996). Sustainable community tourism development revisited. *Tourism Management*, *17*(7), 475-479.

Juma, L. O., & Khademi-Vidra, A. (2019). Community-based tourism and sustainable development of rural regions in Kenya; Perceptions of the citizenry. *Sustainability*, *11*(17), 4733.

Jurowski, C., Daniels, M., & Pennington-Gray, L. (2006). The distribution of tourism benefits. *Quality tourism experiences*, 192-207.

Kala, D., & Bagri, S. (2018). Barriers to local community participation in tourism development: Evidence from mountainous state Uttarakhand, India. *Tourism: An International Interdisciplinary Journal*, *66*(3), 318-333.

Kapure, S., Singh, M., & Gupta, R. K. (2020). An investigation of local community's perceptions towards eco-tourism in dalma wildlife sanctuary, Jharkhand, India [Article]. *Ecology, Environment and Conservation*, *26*(1), 185-192. https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-85088131944&partnerID=40&md5=f9a7c0bdbd24df059fd3c4c1fef718c6

Kawarazuka, N., Béné, C., & Prain, G. (2018). Adapting to a new urbanizing environment: gendered strategies of Hanoi's street food vendors. *Environment and Urbanization*, *30*(1), 233-248.

Keane, M. J., & Cinnéide, M. S. Ó. (1986). Promoting economic development amongst rural communities. *Journal of rural studies*, *2*(4), 281-289.

Kim, M., Xie, Y., & Cirella, G. T. (2019). Sustainable transformative economy: community-based ecotourism. *Sustainability*, *11*(18), 4977.

Kim, S., Park, E., & Phandanouvong, T. (2014). Barriers to local residents' participation in community-based tourism: Lessons from Houay Kaeng Village in Laos.

Kimbu, A. N., & Ngoasong, M. Z. (2016). Women as vectors of social entrepreneurship. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *60*, 63-79.

Knight, D. W., & Cottrell, S. P. (2016). Evaluating tourism-linked empowerment in Cuzco, Peru. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *56*, 32-47.

Kontogeorgopoulos, N. (2005). Community-based ecotourism in Phuket and Ao Phangnga, Thailand: Partial victories and bittersweet remedies. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *13*(1), 4-23.

Kungwansupaphan, C., & Leihaothabam, J. K. S. (2016). Capital factors and rural women entrepreneurship development. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, *31*(3), 207-221. https://doi.org/10.1108/GM-04-2015-0031

Kunjuraman, V., & Hussin, R. (2017). Challenges of community-based homestay programme in Sabah, Malaysia: Hopeful or hopeless? *Tourism Management Perspectives*, *21*, 1-9.

Kuri, B. C., Ananya, S. A., Islam, S., & Hassan, A. (2022). Tourism Philanthropy: The Role of Tourism Fair, Festival and Event Stakeholders. In *Technology Application in Tourism Fairs, Festivals and Events in Asia* (pp. 41-62). Springer.

Lamberti, L., Noci, G., Guo, J., & Zhu, S. (2011). Mega-events as drivers of community participation in developing countries: The case of Shanghai World Expo. *Tourism Management*, *32*(6), 1474-1483.

Lane, M. B., & Corbett, T. (2005). The tyranny of localism: Indigenous participation in community-based environmental management. *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning*, *7*(2), 141-159.

Latip, N. A., Rasoolimanesh, S. M., Jaafar, M., Marzuki, A., & Umar, M. U. (2018). Indigenous participation in conservation and tourism development: A case of native people of Sabah, Malaysia. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, *20*(3), 400-409.

Laudati, A. (2010). Ecotourism: the modern predator? Implications of gorilla tourism on local livelihoods in Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, Uganda. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, *28*(4), 726-743.

Laudati, A. A. (2010). The encroaching forest: struggles over land and resources on the boundary of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, Uganda. *Society and Natural Resources*, *23*(8), 776-789.

Laws, E. (2011). *Tourist destination governance: Practice, theory and issues*. Cabi.

Lazaridis, G., & Wickens, E. (1999). "Us" and the "others": Ethnic minorities in greece. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *26*(3), 632-655. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(99)00008-0

Lee, T. H. (2013). Influence analysis of community resident support for sustainable tourism development. *Tourism Management*, *34*, 37-46.

Lenao, M. (2017). Community, state and power-relations in community-based tourism on Lekhubu Island, Botswana. *Tourism Geographies*, *19*(3), 483-501.

Letoluo, M. L., & Wangombe, L. (2018). Exploring the socio-economic effects of the community tourism fund to the local community, Maasai Mara National Reserve. *Universal Journal of Management*, *6*(2), 51-58.

Leung, Y.-F., Spenceley, A., Hvenegaard, G., Buckley, R., & Groves, C. (2018). *Tourism and visitor management in protected areas: Guidelines for sustainability* (Vol. 27). IUCN Gland, Switzerland.

Li, Y., Knight, D. W., Luo, W., & Hu, J. (2020). Elite circulation in Chinese ethnic tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *85*, 103030.

Lienert, J., & Burger, P. (2015). Merging capabilities and livelihoods: analyzing the use of biological resources to improve well-being. *Ecology and society*, *20*(2).

Lin, Q., & Wen, J. J. (2021). Family Business, Resilience, and Ethnic Tourism in Yunnan, China. *Sustainability*, *13*(21), 11799.

Lincoln, Y. S. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Newbury Parks, Calif. : Sage Publications.

Lindberg, K., Andersson, T. D., & Dellaert, B. G. (2001). Tourism development: Assessing social gains and losses. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *28*(4), 1010-1030.

Lindstrom, L., Harwick, R. M., Poppen, M., & Doren, B. (2012). Gender gaps: Career development for young women with disabilities. *Career development and transition for exceptional individuals*, *35*(2), 108-117.

Lisk, F. (1985). *Popular participation in planning for basic needs: Concepts, methods and practices*. Gower Publishing Company, Limited.

Lister, R. (2004). A politics of recognition and respect: Involving people with experience of poverty in decision-making that affects their lives. In *The politics of inclusion and empowerment* (pp. 116-138). Springer.

Liu, A. (2006). Tourism in rural areas: Kedah, Malaysia. *Tourism Management*, *27*(5), 878-889.

Liu, C., Dou, X., Li, J., & Cai, L. A. (2020). Analyzing government role in rural tourism development: An empirical investigation from China. *Journal of rural studies*, *79*, 177-188.

Lo, K., Li, J., Wang, M., Li, C., Li, S., & Li, Y. (2019). A Comparative Analysis of Participating and Non-Participating Households in Pro-Poor Tourism in Southern Shaanxi, China. *Tourism Planning & Development*, *16*(3), 318-333.

Lo, Y.-C., & Janta, P. (2020). Resident's Perspective on Developing Community-Based Tourism–A Qualitative Study of Muen Ngoen Kong Community, Chiang Mai, Thailand. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *11*.

López-Guzmán, T., Sánchez-Cañizares, S., & Pavón, V. (2011). Community-based tourism in developing countries: a case study. *Tourismos*, *6*(1).

Lor, J. J., Kwa, S., & Donaldson, J. A. (2019). Making ethnic tourism good for the poor. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *76*, 140-152.

Lu, C., Geng, B., Zhuang, T., & Yang, H. (2017). Research on impoverished Tibetan farmers' and herders' willingness and behavior in participating in pro-poor tourism: based on a survey of 1320 households in 23 counties (cities) in the Tibetan areas of Sichuan Province. *Tourism Tribune*, *32*(1), 64-76.

Lugalla, J. L. (1997). Development, change, and poverty in the informal sector during the era of structural adjustments in Tanzania. *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines*, *31*(3), 424-451.

Ma, J., Zhang, J., Li, L., Zeng, Z., Sun, J., Zhou, Q. B., & Zhang, Y. (2018). Study on livelihood assets-based spatial differentiation of the income of natural tourism communities. *Sustainability*, *10*(2), 353.

Mac Abbey, E. (2008). Constructive regulation of non-government organizations. *The Quarterly Review of Economics and Finance*, *48*(2), 370-376.

Mai, T. K. V., & Doo-Chul, K. I. M. (2021). The Effects of Vietnam's Tourism Development and Payments for Forest Environmental Services Policies on Local Livelihoods in Phong Nha-Ká Bàng National Park Areas [Article]. *Geographical review of Japan series B*, *93*(1), 1-10. https://doi.org/10.4157/GEOGREVJAPANB.93.1

Mainardes, E. W., Alves, H., & Raposo, M. (2011). Stakeholder theory: issues to resolve. *Management decision*.

Makombo, J., & Schmitt, K. (2003). Experiences in quantitative management effectiveness assessment using the Management Information System MIST in Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, Uganda. *Durban, South AFrica*.

Manaf, A., Purbasari, N., Damayanti, M., Aprilia, N., & Astuti, W. (2018). Community-based rural tourism in inter-organizational collaboration: How does it work sustainably? Lessons learned from Nglanggeran Tourism Village, Gunungkidul Regency, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. *Sustainability*, *10*(7), 2142.

Manwa, H., & Manwa, F. (2014). Poverty alleviation through pro-poor tourism: The role of Botswana forest reserves. *Sustainability*, *6*(9), 5697-5713.

Manyara, G., & Jones, E. (2007). Community-based tourism enterprises development in Kenya: An exploration of their potential as avenues of poverty reduction. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, *15*(6), 628-644.

March, J. G., & Easton, D. (1966). The power of power. *Classics of organization theory*.

Mariki, S., Hassan, S., Maganga, S., Modest, R., & Salehe, F. (2011). Wildlife-based domestic tourism in Tanzania: experiences from northern tourist circuit. *Ethiopian Journal of environmental studies and management*, *4*(4).

Marku, E., & Balili, L. (2016). Microfinance role in Poverty Alleviation. A study in the rural credit market in Albania. *Publication name*, 266.

Marsh, J. A., & Moohan, J. A. J. (2003). Small Firms in Rural Areas: Experiences of Victimisation. *Security Journal*, *16*(1), 39-49. https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.sj.8340124

Martinez, A., & Perales, F. (2017). The dynamics of multidimensional poverty in contemporary Australia. *Social Indicators Research*, *130*(2), 479-496.

Maruyama, N. U., & Woosnam, K. M. (2021). Representation of "mill girls" at a UNESCO World Heritage Site in Gunma, Japan. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *29*(2-3), 277-294.

Marzuki, A., Hay, I., & James, J. (2012). Public participation shortcomings in tourism planning: the case of the Langkawi Islands, Malaysia. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, *20*(4), 585-602.

May, S. (1997). Critical Ethnography. In (pp. 197-206). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-011-4535-0_19

Mayaka, M., Croy, W. G., & Cox, J. W. (2018). Participation as motif in community-based tourism: A practice perspective. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, *26*(3), 416-432.

Mayaka, M., Croy, W. G., & Cox, J. W. (2019). A dimensional approach to community-based tourism: Recognising and differentiating form and context. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *74*, 177-190.

Mbaiwa, J. E. (2003). The socio-economic and environmental impacts of tourism development on the Okavango Delta, north-western Botswana. *Journal of arid environments*, *54*(2), 447-467.

McDermott, M., Mahanty, S., & Schreckenberg, K. (2013). Examining equity: a multidimensional framework for assessing equity in payments for ecosystem services. *Environmental Science & Policy*, *33*, 416-427.

McEwen, D., & Bennett, O. (2010). Seychelles tourism value chain analysis. *Final Report Commonwealth Secretariat*.

McFarlane-Morris, S. (2021). 'Come this close, but no closer!'Enclave tourism development and social change in Falmouth, Jamaica. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, *19*(1), 132-146.

Mechanic, D., & Tanner, J. (2007). Vulnerable people, groups, and populations: societal view. *Health Affairs*, *26*(5), 1220-1230.

Medard, T., & Phil, F. (2017). *Lessons learnt from 20 years of revenue sharing at Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, Uganda*. International Institute for Environment and Development.

Medina-Muñoz, D. R., Medina-Muñoz, R. D., & Gutiérrez-Pérez, F. J. (2016). The impacts of tourism on poverty alleviation: An integrated research framework. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *24*(2), 270-298.

Melotti, M., Ruspini, E., & Marra, E. (2018). Migration, tourism and peace: Lampedusa as a social laboratory. *Anatolia*, *29*(2), 215-224.

Melubo, K., & Carr, A. (2019). Developing indigenous tourism in the bomas: critiquing issues from within the Maasai community in Tanzania. *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, *14*(3), 219-232.

Mensah, I. (2016). Effects of socio-demographic characteristics and perceived benefits of tourism on community participation in tourism in the Mesomagor Area of the Kakum National Park, Ghana. *Athens Journal of Tourism*, *3*(3), 211-230.

Mensah, I. (2017). Benefits and challenges of community-based ecotourism in Park-fringe communities: The case of mesomagor of Kakum National Park, Ghana. *Tourism Review International*, *21*(1), 81-98.

Mensah, S. O., & Amoah, S. T. (2013). Co-Managing Ecosystem Services in Forest Reserves in Ghana: The Case of the Bobiri Forest Reserve (Bfr) in Kubease in the Ashanti Region of Ghana.

Midgley, J., Hall, A., Hardiman, M., & Narine, D. (1986). *Community participation, social development and the state*. Methuen.

Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2018). *Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook*. Sage publications.

Mitchell, J. (2010). *Tourism and poverty reduction : pathways to prosperity*. London Sterling, VA : Earthscan.

Mitchell, M., & Hall, D. (2005). Rural tourism as sustainable business: key themes and issues. *Rural tourism and sustainable business*, 3-14.

Moayerian, N., McGehee, N. G., & Stephenson, M. O. (2022). Community cultural development: Exploring the connections between collective art making, capacity building and sustainable community-based tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *93*, Article 103355. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2022.103355

Mogey, J. (1975). 11. Society, Man, And Environment. *Readings in Social Geography*, 168.

Moghavvemi, S., Woosnam, K. M., Paramanathan, T., Musa, G., & Hamzah, A. (2017). The effect of residents' personality, emotional solidarity, and community commitment on support for tourism development. *Tourism Management*, *63*, 242-254.

Mojo, D., Oduor, A. M., Fu, C., Bai, Y., Long, H., Wang, G., & Zhang, L. (2020). Effects of protected areas on welfare of local households: The case of Maasai Mara National Reserve in Kenya. *People and Nature*, *2*(3), 856-867.

Molm, L. D., Takahashi, N., & Peterson, G. (2000). Risk and trust in social exchange: An experimental test of a classical proposition. *American Journal of Sociology*, *105*(5), 1396-1427.

Montero, C. G. (2020). Women Sustaining Community: The Politics of Agro-Ecology in Quilombo Tourism in Southern Brazil. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, *39*(2), 191-207.

Montesanti, S. R., Abelson, J., Lavis, J. N., & Dunn, J. R. (2017). Enabling the participation of marginalized populations: case studies from a health service organization in Ontario, Canada. *Health promotion international*, *32*(4), 636-649.

Morse, S., & McNamara, N. (2013). *Sustainable livelihood approach: A critique of theory and practice*. Springer Science & Business Media.

Moser, A., & Korstjens, I. (2018). Series: Practical guidance to qualitative research. Part 3: Sampling, data collection and analysis. *European journal of general practice*, *24*(1), 9-18.

Moswete, N., & Lacey, G. (2015). "Women cannot lead": empowering women through cultural tourism in Botswana. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *23*(4), 600-617.

Mottiar, Z., Boluk, K., & Kline, C. (2018). The roles of social entrepreneurs in rural destination development. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *68*, 77-88.

Mowforth, M., & Munt, I. (2015). *Tourism and sustainability: Development, globalisation and new tourism in the third world*. routledge.

Mrema, A. A. (2015). Tourism and women empowerment in monduli district, arusha-Tanzania. *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure*, *4*(2), 1-14.

Mtapuri, O., & Giampiccoli, A. (2013). Interrogating the role of the state and nonstate actors in community-based tourism ventures: Toward a model for spreading the benefits to the wider community. *South African Geographical Journal= Suid-Afrikaanse Geografiese Tydskrif*, *95*(1), 1-15.

Mtapuri, O., & Giampiccoli, A. (2016). Towards a comprehensive model of community-based tourism development. *South African Geographical Journal*, *98*(1), 154-168.

Mtapuri, O., & Giampiccoli, A. (2019). Tourism, community-based tourism and ecotourism: a definitional problematic. *South African Geographical Journal*, *101*(1), 22-35.

Muganda, M., Sahli, M., & A Smith, K. (2010). Tourism's contribution to poverty alleviation: A community perspective from Tanzania. *Development Southern Africa*, *27*(5), 629-646.

Mugizi, F., Ayorekire, J., & Obua, J. (2017). Factors that Influence local community participation in tourism in murchison falls conservation area. *Journal of Environmental Science and Engineering A*, *6*(4).

Mujuni, C., Nicholson, K., van de Kop, P., Baldascini, A., & Grouwels, S. (2003). Community-based forest enterprise development for improved livelihoods and biodiversity

conservation: a case study from Bwindi World Heritage Site, Uganda. *XII World Foresty Congress, Québec City, Canada,*

Mukasa, N. (2014). The Batwa indigenous people of Uganda and their traditional forest land: Eviction, non-collaboration and unfulfilled needs. *Indigenous Policy Journal*, *24*(4).

Mukasa, N. (2017). The Batwa indigenous people in Uganda and their detachment from forest livelihood: Land eviction and social plight. *Deusto Journal of Human Rights*(10), 71-84.

Mullaly, R. P. (2010). *Challenging oppression and confronting privilege : a critical social work approach* (2nd . ed.). Don Mills, Ont. : Oxford University Press.

Mullaly, R. P. (2010). *Challenging oppression and confronting privilege: A critical social work approach*. Oxford University Press, USA.

Munanura, I. E., Backman, K. F., Sabuhoro, E., & Bernhard, K. P. (2020). The potential of tourism benefits to reduce forest dependence behavior of impoverished residents adjacent to Volcanoes National Park in Rwanda. *Tourism Planning & Development*, *17*(5), 475-496.

Murchison, J. (2010). *Ethnography essentials: Designing, conducting, and presenting your research* (Vol. 25). John Wiley & Sons.

Murphy, P. E. (1983). Tourism as a community industry—an ecological model of tourism development. *Tourism Management*, *4*(3), 180-193.

Murphy, P. E. (2013). *Tourism: A community approach (RLE Tourism)*. Routledge.

Mustapha, N. A., & Azman, I. (2013). Barriers to community participation in tourism development in island destination. *Journal of Tourism, Hospitality & Culinary Arts (JTHCA)*, *5*(1), 102-124.

Mutebi, J. (2003). Co-managed protected areas. From conflict to collaboration: Experience in Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, Uganda. *CARE Uganda, September*.

Nair, V., Hussain, K., Ramachandran, S., Jaafar, M., Kayat, K., Tangit, T. M., & Yacob, M. F. (2013). Nature-based rural tourism and its economic benefits: a case study of Kinabalu National Park. *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*.

Namara, A. (2006). From paternalism to real partnership with local communities? Experiences from Bwindi Impenetrable National Park (Uganda). *Africa Development*, *31*(2), 37–66.

Nana, D. (2014). The impacts of event tourism on the host communities: The Northwest region of Cameroon.

Nault, S., & Stapleton, P. (2011). The community participation process in ecotourism development: A case study of the community of Sogoog, Bayan-Ulgii, Mongolia. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *19*(6), 695-712.

Nayak, P. K., Oliveira, L. E., & Berkes, F. (2014). Resource degradation, marginalization, and poverty in small-scale fisheries: threats to social-ecological resilience in India and Brazil. *Ecology and Society*, *19*(2).

Ngo, T., Lohmann, G., & Hales, R. (2020). Integrating the third way and third space approaches in a post-colonial world: marketing strategies for the business sustainability of community-based tourism enterprises in Vietnam. *Current Issues in Tourism*, *23*(15), 1914-1932.

Nguyen, D. T. N., d'Hauteserre, A.-M., & Serrao-Neumann, S. (2022). Intrinsic barriers to and opportunities for community empowerment in community-based tourism development in Thai Nguyen province, Vietnam. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, *30*(4), 723-741.

Nguyen, N. T. H., Suwanno, S., Thongma, W., & Visuthismajarn, P. (2018). The attitudes of residents towards agro-tourism impacts and its effects on participation in agro-tourism development: The case study of Vietnam [Article]. *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure*, *7*(4). https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-85056508612&partnerID=40&md5=c0bb9ec9b771975b60a360e6fd4954e1

Nielsen, N., & Wilson, E. (2012). From invisible to indigenous-driven: A critical typology of research in indigenous tourism. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management*, *19*(1), 67-75.

Nixon, A., & Odoyo, C. O. (2020). Ethnography, Its Strengths, Weaknesses and Its Application in Information Technology and Communication as a Research Design.

Nordin, A. O. S., Lonik, K. A. T., & Jaafar, M. (2014). Empowering local communities through tourism entrepreneurship: The case of micro tourism entrepreneurs in Langkawi Island. SHS Web of Conferences,

Novelli, M., & Gebhardt, K. (2007). Community based tourism in Namibia:'Reality show'or 'window dressing'? *Current Issues in Tourism*, *10*(5), 443-479.

Nowak, R. (1995). Gorillas killed in Ugandan park. *Science*, *268*(5207), 25.

Ntozi, J. P. (1997). Widowhood, remarriage and migration during the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Uganda. *Health Transition Review*, 125-144.

Nunkoo, R. (2016). Toward a more comprehensive use of social exchange theory to study residents' attitudes to tourism. *Procedia Economics and Finance*, *39*(588), 30303-30303.

Nunkoo, R., & Ramkissoon, H. (2012). Power, trust, social exchange and community support. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *39*(2), 997-1023.

Nunkoo, R., & So, K. K. F. (2016). Residents' support for tourism: Testing alternative structural models. *Journal of travel research*, *55*(7), 847-861.

Nutsugbodo, R. Y., & Adjei Mensah, C. (2020). Benefits and barriers to women's participation in ecotourism development within the Kakum Conservation Area (Ghana): Implications for community planning. *Community Development*, *51*(5), 685-702.

Nutsugbodo, R. Y., Adjei Mensah, C., Amenumey, E. K., & Ansah Owusu, C. (2020). Women's Participation in Ecotourism Development Within the Kakum Conservation Area, Ghana: Implications for Community Planning. *Tourism Planning & Development*, 1-18.

Nyanjom, J., Boxall, K., & Slaven, J. (2018). Towards inclusive tourism? Stakeholder collaboration in the development of accessible tourism. *Tourism Geographies*, *20*(4), 675-697.

Nyaupane, G. P., & Poudel, S. (2011). Linkages among biodiversity, livelihood, and tourism. *Annals of tourism research*, *38*(4), 1344-1366.

Oakley, P. (1991). The concept of participation in development. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, *20*(1-3), 115-122.

Oakley, P., & Marsden, D. (1984). *Approaches to participation in rural development*. International labour office.

Obrist, B., Pfeiffer, C., & Henley, R. (2010). Multi-layered social resilience: A new approach in mitigation research. *Progress in Development Studies*, *10*(4), 283-293.

Okazaki, E. (2008). A community-based tourism model: Its conception and use. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, *16*(5), 511-529.

Olaniyi, O. E., Akinsorotan, O. A., Agboola, O. P., Ajayi, G., & Ogunjemite, B. G. (2020). Degree and socio-demographic predictors of residents' willingness to participate in mountain tourism: The case of ado-awaye suspended Lake, Nigeria [Article]. *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure*, *9*(3), 183-198, Article 12. https://doi.org/10.46222/AJHTL.19770720-12

Olesen, H. S., & Fragoso, A. (2017). social economy and learning for a political economy of solidarity. *European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults*, *8*(2), 171-178.

Otto, J., Zerner, C., Robinson, J., Donovan, R., Lavelle, M., Villarreal, R., Salafsky, N., Alcorn, J., Seymour, F., & Kleyneyer, C. (2013). *Natural connections: perspectives in community-based conservation*. Island Press.

Oviedo-García, M. Á., González-Rodríguez, M. R., & Vega-Vázquez, M. (2019). Does sun-and-sea all-inclusive tourism contribute to poverty alleviation and/or income inequality reduction? The case of the Dominican Republic. *Journal of travel research*, *58*(6), 995-1013.

Oxoby, R. (2009). Understanding social inclusion, social cohesion, and social capital. *International Journal of social economics*.

Özel, Ç. H., & Kozak, N. (2017). An exploratory study of resident perceptions toward the tourism industry in Cappadocia: a Social Exchange Theory approach. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, *22*(3), 284-300.

Pasanchay, K., & Schott, C. (2021). Community-based tourism homestays' capacity to advance the Sustainable Development Goals: A holistic sustainable livelihood perspective. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, *37*, 100784.

Pascual, U., Phelps, J., Garmendia, E., Brown, K., Corbera, E., Martin, A., Gomez-Baggethun, E., & Muradian, R. (2014). Social equity matters in payments for ecosystem services. *Bioscience*, *64*(11), 1027-1036.

Patel, J., Nielsen, F., Badiani, A., Assi, S., Unadkat, V., Patel, B., Ravindrane, R., & Wardle, H. (2020). Poverty, inequality and COVID-19: the forgotten vulnerable. *Public health*, *183*, 110.

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.. ed.). Thousand Oaks, Calif. : Sage Publications.

Paul, S. (1987). *Community participation in development projects*. World Bank Washington, DC.

Pendall, R., Theodos, B., & Franks, K. (2012). Vulnerable people, precarious housing, and regional resilience: an exploratory analysis. *Housing Policy Debate*, *22*(2), 271-296. https://doi.org/10.1080/10511482.2011.648208

Pereira, E. M., & Mykletun, R. J. (2012). Guides as contributors to sustainable tourism? A case study from the Amazon. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, *12*(1), 74-94.

Peroff, D. M., Morais, D. B., Wallace, T., & Sills, E. (2021). Tourism Microentrepreneurship and Land Stewardship In a Tz'utujil Mayan Coffee Community. *Tourism Review International*, *25*(4), 293-310.

Peroni, L., & Timmer, A. (2013). Vulnerable groups: The promise of an emerging concept in European Human Rights Convention law. *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, *11*(4), 1056-1085.

Phi, G. T. (2021). Development-Tourism and Poverty Alleviation: Towards an Integrative Framework. In *Handbook of Research on the Role of Tourism in Achieving Sustainable Development Goals* (pp. 20-41). IGI Global.

Phil, F., & Twinamatsiko, M. (2017). Lessons learnt from 20 years of revenue sharing at Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, Uganda.

Phillips, G. A., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2017). Introducing veteran critical theory. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *30*(7), 656-668.

Phillips, R., Freeman, R. E., & Wicks, A. C. (2003). What stakeholder theory is not. *Business ethics quarterly*, *13*(4), 479-502.

Phillips, R., & Pittman, R. H. (2009). A framework for community and economic development. *An introduction to community development*, 3-19.

Phommavong, S., & Sörensson, E. (2014). Ethnic tourism in Lao PDR: Gendered divisions of labour in community-based tourism for poverty reduction. *Current Issues in Tourism*, *17*(4), 350-362.

Piachaud, D. (1987). Problems in the Definition and Measurement of Poverty. *Journal of Social Policy*, *16*(2), 147-164.

Piga, C. A. (2003). Territorial planning and tourism development tax. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *30*(4), 886-905.

Piggott-McKellar, A. E., & McNamara, K. E. (2017). Last chance tourism and the Great Barrier Reef. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, *25*(3), 397-415.

Poon, A. (1993). *Tourism, technology and competitive strategies*. CAB international.

Powell, R. B., Kellert, S. R., & Ham, S. H. (2008). Antarctic tourists: ambassadors or consumers? *Polar Record*, *44*(3), 233-241.

Pratt, S. (2022). Can Tourism contribute to the Sustainable Development Goals? Evidence from Pacific Island Countries & Territories. *International Marketing Journal of Culture and Tourism (IMJCT)*

Pratt, S., & Liu, A. (2016). Does tourism really lead to peace? A global view. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, *18*(1), 82-90.

Pratt, S., Suntikul, W., & Dorji, U. (2018). Economic sustainability? Examining the linkages and leakages between agriculture and hotels in B hutan. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, *20*(5), 626-636.

Preston-Shoot, M. (1995). Assessing anti-oppressive practice. *Social Work Education*, *14*(2), 11-29.

Pritchard, A., & Morgan, N. (2016). Gender. In J. Jafari & H. Xiao (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Tourism* (pp. 381-383). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-01384-8_261

Provia, K., Ronald, K., & Michelle, K. (2017). Community Capacity Building, Local Community Involvement in Tourism Activities and Community Welfare in Uganda. *Journal of Tourism, Hospitality and Sports*, *27*, 2312-5187.

Puja, I. B. P., & Aryasih, P. A. (2020). Tourism and Community. A Study of Community Based Tourism in Mandala Wisata Wanara Wana Ubud. *Journal of Business on Hospitality and Tourism*, *6*(1), 122-131.

Putra, R. R., Khadijah, U. L. S., Rakhman, C. U., & Novianti, E. (2021). Development of community-based tourism: Study in Kertayasa Village, Pangandaran Districts, West Java. *Masyarakat, Kebudayaan dan Politik*, *34*(2), 196-208.

Qu, C., Zhang, C., Shen, S., & Olsen, D. H. (2021). Heritage conservation and communities' sense of deprivation in tourism: the case of the Hani community in Yunnan, China. *Tourism Geographies*, 1-18.

Rahaman, A., & Saha, S. (2020). Negative Emotions in Fieldwork: A Narrative Inquiry of Three EFL Researchers' Lived Experiences. *The qualitative report*, *25*(12), 4182-4208.

Rahman, M. S.-U.-., Simmons, D., Shone, M. C., & Ratna, N. N. (2021). Social and cultural capitals in tourism resource governance: The essential lenses for community focussed co-management. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, 1-21.

Rantšo, T. A. (2016). Factors affecting performance/success of small-scale rural non-farm enterprises in Lesotho. *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy*.

Rasoolimanesh, S. M., Jaafar, M., Ahmad, A. G., & Barghi, R. (2017). Community participation in World Heritage Site conservation and tourism development. *Tourism Management*, *58*, 142-153.

Rasoolimanesh, S. M., Jaafar, M., Kock, N., & Ramayah, T. (2015). A revised framework of social exchange theory to investigate the factors influencing residents' perceptions. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, *16*, 335-345.

Reggers, A., Grabowski, S., Wearing, S. L., Chatterton, P., & Schweinsberg, S. (2016). Exploring outcomes of community-based tourism on the Kokoda Track, Papua New Guinea: a longitudinal study of Participatory Rural Appraisal techniques. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, *24*(8-9), 1139-1155.

Reid, I. S., & Crompton, J. L. (1993). A taxonomy of leisure purchase decision paradigms based on level of involvement. *Journal of Leisure Research*, *25*(2), 182-202.

Rogerson, C. M. (2019). In Search of Inclusive Tourism in South Africa: Some Lessons. *New Directions in South African Tourism Geographies*, 147.

Rogerson, C. M., & Saarinen, J. (2018). Tourism for poverty alleviation: issues and debates in the global south. *The SAGE Handbook of Tourism Management: Applications of Theories and Concepts to Tourism. London: SAGE Publications*, 22-37.

Ross, S., & Wall, G. (1999). Evaluating ecotourism: the case of North Sulawesi, Indonesia. *Tourism management*, *20*(6), 673-682.

Rua, S. V. (2020). Perceptions of tourism: a study of residents' attitudes towards tourism in the city of Girona. *Journal of Tourism Analysis: Revista de Análisis Turístico*.

Ruhanen, L., & Whitford, M. (2019). Cultural heritage and Indigenous tourism. In (Vol. 14, pp. 179-191): Taylor & Francis.

Ryu, K., Roy, P. A., Kim, H., & Ryu, H. B. (2020). The resident participation in endogenous rural tourism projects: a case study of Kumbalangi in Kerala, India. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, *37*(1), 1-14.

Saarinen, J., Rogerson, C., & Manwa, H. (2011). Tourism and Millennium Development Goals: tourism for global development? In: Taylor & Francis.

Saarinen, J., & Rogerson, C. M. (2014). Tourism and the millennium development goals: Perspectives beyond 2015. *Tourism Geographies*, *16*(1), 23-30.

Saayman, M., & Giampiccoli, A. (2016). Community-based and pro-poor tourism: Initial assessment of their relation to community development. *European journal of tourism research (Online)*.

Sabuhoro, E., Wright, B. A., Munanura, I. E., Powell, R. B., Hallo, J. C., & Layton, P. A. (2021). Exploring the Impact of Community Conservation Enterprises on Household Livelihoods Around Two Wildlife Areas in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Human Dimensions of Wildlife*, 1-18.

Safari, J., Gowele, V., & Lwelamira, J. (2015). Involvement in tourism activities and perceived benefits in communities around Udzungwa Mountain National Park in Tanzania. *American Journal of Environmental Protection*, *4*(3), 120-126.

Sailor, L. E. (2010). Conditioning community: Power and decision-making in transitioning an industry-based community.

Saito, H., & Ruhanen, L. (2017). Power in tourism stakeholder collaborations: Power types and power holders. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management*, *31*, 189-196.

Salancik, G. R., & Pfeffer, J. (1978). *The external control of organizations: A resource dependence perspective*. New York: Harper & Row.

Salazar, N. B. (2012). Community-based cultural tourism: issues, threats and opportunities. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, *20*(1), 9-22.

Saldaña, J. (2021). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. sage.

Sallu, S. M., Twyman, C., & Stringer, L. C. (2010). Resilient or vulnerable livelihoods? Assessing livelihood dynamics and trajectories in rural Botswana. *Ecology and society*, *15*(4).

Sandbrook, C., & Adams, W. M. (2012). Accessing the impenetrable: The nature and distribution of tourism benefits at a Ugandan National Park. *Society & Natural Resources*, *25*(9), 915-932.

Sandbrook, C., & Semple, S. (2006). The rules and the reality of mountain gorilla Gorilla beringei beringei tracking: how close do tourists get? *Oryx*, *40*(4), 428-433.

Sanders, J., & Munford, R. (2017). Hidden in plain view: finding and enhancing the participation of marginalized young people in research. *International journal of qualitative methods*, *16*(1), 1609406917704765.

Satyal, P., Byskov, M. F., & Hyams, K. (2020). Addressing multi-dimensional injustice in indigenous adaptation: the case of Uganda's Batwa community. *Climate and Development*, 1-14.

Saufi, A., O'Brien, D., & Wilkins, H. (2014). Inhibitors to host community participation in sustainable tourism development in developing countries. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, *22*(5), 801-820.

Sautter, E. T., & Leisen, B. (1999). Managing stakeholders a tourism planning model. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *26*(2), 312-328.

Savage, M., & Warde, A. (1993). *Urban sociology, capitalism and modernity*. Macmillan International Higher Education.

Saville, N. M. (2001). Practical strategies for pro-poor tourism: case study of pro-poor tourism and SNV in Humla District, West Nepal.

Savin-Baden, M., & Major, C.-H. (2013). Qualititaive Research: The Essential Guide to Theory and Practice. *Qualitative Research: The Essential Guide to Theory and Practice Routledge*, *10*, 11.

Scambler, G. (2009). Health-related stigma. *Sociology of health & illness*, *31*(3), 441-455.

Schafft, K. A., & Greenwood, D. J. (2003). Promises and dilemmas of participation: Action research, search conference methodology, and community development. *Community Development*, *34*(1), 18-35.

Scheyvens, R. (1998). Subtle strategies for women's empowerment: Planning for effective grassroots development. *Third World Planning Review*, *20*(3), 235.

Scheyvens, R. (1999). Ecotourism and the empowerment of local communities. *Tourism Management*, *20*(2), 245-249.

Scheyvens, R. (2000). Promoting women's empowerment through involvement in ecotourism: Experiences from the Third World. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, *8*(3), 232-249.

Scheyvens, R. (2002). *Tourism for development: Empowering communities*. Pearson Education.

Scheyvens, R. (2012). *Tourism and poverty* (Vol. 23). Routledge.

Scheyvens, R., & Biddulph, R. (2018). Inclusive tourism development. *Tourism Geographies*, *20*(4), 589-609.

Scheyvens, R., & Hughes, E. (2019). Can tourism help to "end poverty in all its forms everywhere"? The challenge of tourism addressing SDG1. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, *27*(7), 1061-1079.

Scheyvens, R., & Momsen, J. H. (2008). Tourism and Poverty Reduction: Issues for Small Island States. *Tourism Geographies*, *10*(1), 22-41. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616680701825115

Scheyvens, R., & Russell, M. (2012). Tourism and poverty alleviation in Fiji: Comparing the impacts of small-and large-scale tourism enterprises. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, *20*(3), 417-436.

Schott, C., & Nhem, S. (2018). Paths to the market: analysing tourism distribution channels for community-based tourism. *Tourism Recreation Research*, *43*(3), 356-371.

Schreckenberg, K., Franks, P., Martin, A., & Lang, B. (2016). Unpacking equity for protected area conservation. *PARKS*, *22*(2), 11-26.

Scoones, I. (1998). Sustainable rural livelihoods: a framework for analysis.

Sebele, L. S. (2010). Community-based tourism ventures, benefits and challenges: Khama rhino sanctuary trust, central district, Botswana. *Tourism Management*, *31*(1), 136-146.

Sen, A. (1988). *The standard of living*. Cambridge University Press.

Setokoe, T. J. (2021). Community-based tourism: A panacea for community development in Nqileni Village, Eastern Cape, South Africa. *Geo Journal of Tourism and Geosites*, *34*(1), 28-32.

Setokoe, T. J., & Ramukumba, T. (2020). Challenges of community participation in community-based tourism in rural areas. *WIT Transactions on Ecology and the Environment*, *248*, 13-22.

Shabbir, M. S., Shariff, M. N. M., & Shahzad, A. (2016). Mediating role of perceived behavioral control and stakeholders' support system on the relationship between

entreprenurial personal skills and entrepreneurial intentions of it employees in Pakistan. *International Business Management*, *10*(9), 1745-1755.

Shah, C., Shah, S., & Gibson, D. (2021). Demystifying agritourism development in Fiji: Inclusive growth for smallholders. *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 14673584211005169.

Sharpley, R., & Naidoo, P. (2010). Tourism and poverty reduction: The case of Mauritius. *Tourism and Hospitality Planning & Development*, *7*(2), 145-162.

Sica, E., Sisto, R., Bianchi, P., & Cappelletti, G. (2020). Inclusivity and responsible tourism: Designing a trademark for a national park area. *Sustainability*, *13*(1), 13.

Silk, J. (1999). The dynamics of community, place, and identity. In: SAGE Publications Sage UK: London, England.

Simmons, D. G. (1994). Community participation in tourism planning. *Tourism Management*, *15*(2), 98-108.

Simpson, M. C. (2008). Community benefit tourism initiatives—A conceptual oxymoron? *Tourism Management*, *29*(1), 1-18.

Simpson Reeves, L., Parsell, C., & Liu, S. (2020). Towards a phenomenology of poverty: Defining poverty through the lived experiences of the 'poor'. *Journal of Sociology*, *56*(3), 439-454.

Singh, S., Timothy, D. J., & Dowling, R. K. (2003). *Tourism in destination communities*. Cabi.

Singh, T. V. (2003). Tourism and development: not an easy alliance. *Tourism and economic development: Case studies from the Indian Ocean region*, 30-41.

Sirivongs, K., & Tsuchiya, T. (2012). Relationship between local residents' perceptions, attitudes and participation towards national protected areas: A case study of Phou Khao Khouay National Protected Area, central Lao PDR. *Forest Policy and Economics*, *21*, 92-100.

Smith, N., Suthitakon, N., Gulthawatvichai, T., & Karnjanakit, S. (2019). Creating a coffee tourism network in the North of Thailand. *Local economy*, *34*(7), 718-729.

Sood, J., Lynch, P., & Anastasiadou, C. (2017). Community non-participation in homestays in Kullu, Himachal Pradesh, India. *Tourism Management*, *60*, 332-347.

Spenceley, A. (2001). Local community benefit systems at two nature-based tourism operations in South Africa. *Industry and Environment*, *24*(3), 50-53.

Spicker, P. (2020). *The poverty of nations: A relational perspective*. Policy Press.

Spradley, J. P. (2016). *Participant observation*. Waveland Press.

Stokowski, P. A. (1994). *Leisure in society: a network structural perspective*. Mansell Publishing, Cassell plc.

Stone, L. S., & Nyaupane, G. P. (2020). Local residents' pride, tourists' playground: The misrepresentation and exclusion of local residents in tourism. *Current Issues in Tourism*, *23*(11), 1426-1442.

Stone, L. S., & Stone, T. M. (2011). Community-based tourism enterprises: challenges and prospects for community participation; Khama Rhino Sanctuary Trust, Botswana. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, *19*(1), 97-114.

Strickland-Munro, J., & Moore, S. (2013). Indigenous involvement and benefits from tourism in protected areas: A study of Purnululu National Park and Warmun Community,

Australia. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, *21*(1), 26-41. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2012.680466

Strydom, A. J., Mangope, D., & Henama, U. S. (2020). Successful Community-Based Tourism In Africa. *The Routledge Handbook of Community Based Tourism Management: Concepts, Issues & Implications*.

Strzelecka, M., & Wicks, B. E. (2015). Community participation and empowerment in rural post-communist societies: Lessons from the leader approach in Pomerania, Poland. *Tourism Planning & Development*, *12*(4), 381-397.

Su, M. M., & Wall, G. (2014). Community participation in tourism at a world heritage site: Mutianyu Great Wall, Beijing, China. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, *16*(2), 146-156.

Su, M. M., Wall, G., & Wang, Y. (2019). Integrating tea and tourism: a sustainable livelihoods approach. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *27*(10), 1591-1608.

Suansri, P. (2003). *Community based tourism handbook*. Responsible Ecological Social Tour-REST Bangkok.

Sutton, S., & Kemp, S. (2011). *The paradox of urban space: Inequality and transformation in marginalized communities*. Springer.

Swarbrooke, J. (1999). *Sustainable tourism management*. Cabi.

Tanwir, M., & Safdar, T. (2013). The rural woman's constraints to participation in rural organizations. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, *14*, 210-229.

Tao, T. C., & Wall, G. (2009a). A livelihood approach to sustainability. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, *14*(2), 137-152.

Tao, T. C., & Wall, G. (2009b). Tourism as a sustainable livelihood strategy. *Tourism Management*, *30*(1), 90-98.

Tasci, A. D., Croes, R., & Villanueva, J. B. (2014). Rise and fall of community-based tourism–facilitators, inhibitors and outcomes. *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*.

Taylor, S. R. (2017). Issues in measuring success in community-based Indigenous tourism: elites, kin groups, social capital, gender dynamics and income flows. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, *25*(3), 433-449. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2016.1217871

Teressa, D. K. (2015). Inside the commons of ecotourism development in Ethiopia: Strategic communal empowerment or marginalization? Evidence from Wenchi community based ecotourism. *International Journal of Biodiversity and Conservation*, *7*(11), 429-434.

Thetsane, R. M. (2019). Local community participation in tourism development: The case of Katse Villages in Lesotho. *Athens Journal of Tourism*, *6*(2), 123-140.

Thomas, C. D., Cameron, A., Green, R. E., Bakkenes, M., Beaumont, L. J., Collingham, Y. C., Erasmus, B. F., De Siqueira, M. F., Grainger, A., & Hannah, L. (2004). Extinction risk from climate change. *Nature*, *427*(6970), 145-148.

Thompson, N. (2017). *Promoting equality: Working with diversity and difference*. Macmillan International Higher Education.

Tian, B., Stoffelen, A., & Vanclay, F. (2021). Ethnic tourism in China: tourism-related (dis)empowerment of Miao villages in Hunan province. *Tourism Geographies*. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2021.1938657

Timothy, D. J. (1999). Participatory planningA view of tourism in Indonesia. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *26*(2), 371-391.

Timothy, D. J. (2007). Empowerment and stakeholder participation in tourism destination communities. *Tourism, power and space*, 199-216.

Timothy, D. J., & Tosun, C. (2003). Arguments for community participation in the tourism development process. *Journal of Tourism Studies*, *14*(2), 2.

Toffin, G. (2014). The inclusive state: A philosophy and sociology of social inclusion. *PersPectives on social inclusion and exclusion in nePal*, *218*.

Tolkach, D., & King, B. (2015). Strengthening community-based tourism in a new resource-based island nation: Why and how? *Tourism Management*, *48*, 386-398.

Tolkach, D., King, B., & Pearlman, M. (2013). An attribute-based approach to classifying community-based tourism networks. *Tourism Planning & Development*, *10*(3), 319-337.

Tolkach, D., Pearlman, M., & King, B. (2012). Key implementation factors in pro-poor tourism. *Tourism Recreation Research*, *37*(1), 3-13.

Tosun, C. (1999). Towards a typology of community participation in the tourism development process. *Anatolia*, *10*(2), 113-134.

Tosun, C. (2000). Limits to community participation in the tourism development process in developing countries. *Tourism Management*, *21*(6), 613-633.

Tosun, C. (2002). Host perceptions of impacts: A comparative tourism study. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *29*(1), 231-253.

Tosun, C. (2006). Expected nature of community participation in tourism development. *Tourism Management*, *27*(3), 493-504.

Tran, L., & Walter, P. (2014). Ecotourism, gender and development in northern Vietnam. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *44*, 116-130.

Travel, W., & Council, T. (2018). Travel & Tourism-Economic Impact 2018-World. In: WTTC United Kingdom.

Trejos, B., & Chiang, L. H. N. (2009). Local economic linkages to community-based tourism in rural Costa Rica. *Singapore journal of tropical geography*, *30*(3), 373-387.

Tribe, J., & Liburd, J. J. (2016). The tourism knowledge system. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *57*, 44-61.

Truong, V. D., Hall, C. M., & Garry, T. (2014). Tourism and poverty alleviation: Perceptions and experiences of poor people in Sapa, Vietnam. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, *22*(7), 1071-1089.

Tu, J., & Zhang, D. (2020). Does tourism promote economic growth in Chinese ethnic minority areas? A nonlinear perspective [Article]. *Journal of Destination Marketing and Management*, *18*, Article 100473. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdmm.2020.100473

Tucker, H., & Boonabaana, B. (2012). A critical analysis of tourism, gender and poverty reduction. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, *20*(3), 437-455.

Tumusiime, D. M., Bitariho, R., & Sandbrook, C. (2018). Bwindi Impenetrable National Park. *Conservation and Development in Uganda*.

Tumwesigye, S., Hemerijckx, L.-M., Opio, A., Poesen, J., Vanmaercke, M., Twongyirwe, R., & Van Rompaey, A. (2021). Who and Why? Understanding Rural Out-Migration in Uganda. *Geographies*, *1*(2), 104-123.

Twinamatsiko, M., Baker, J., Harrison, M., Shirkhorshidi, M., Bitariho, R., Wieland, M., Asuma, S., Milner-Gulland, E., Franks, P., & Roe, D. (2014). Linking conservation,

equity and poverty alleviation. In: Understanding the Profiles and Motivations of Resource Users and Local ….

Twinamatsiko, M., Nizette, P., Baker, J., Mutabaazi, H., Masozera, A., & Roe, D. (2019). Beyond gorillas: local economic development through tourism at Bwindi Impenetrable National Park. *Beyond gorillas: local economic development through tourism at Bwindi Impenetrable National Park.*

Twinamatsiko, M., Nizette, P., Baker, J., Mutabaazi, H., Masozera, A. B., & Roe, D. (2019). *Beyond gorillas: Local economic development through tourism at Bwindi Impenetrable National Park BMCT.*

UNWTO, U. (2014). UNWTO tourism highlights. In: UNWTO Madrid.

UNWTO, U. (2017). Tourism and the sustainable development goals–Journey to 2030. *Highlights. Madrid.*

van der Duim, R., Ampumuza, C., & Ahebwa, W. M. (2014). Gorilla tourism in Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, Uganda: an actor-network perspective. *Society & Natural Resources*, *27*(6), 588-601.

Van Dooren, T. (2016). The Unwelcome Crows: hospitality in the anthropocene. *Angelaki*, *21*(2), 193-212.

Van Nguyen, H., Diane, L., & Newsome, D. (2020). Kinh and ethnic tourism stakeholder participation and collaboration in tourism planning in Sapa, Vietnam. *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research.*

Vargas-Sánchez, A., do Valle, P. O., da Costa Mendes, J., & Silva, J. A. (2015). Residents' attitude and level of destination development: An international comparison. *Tourism Management*, *48*, 199-210.

Vargas-Sanchez, A., Porras-Bueno, N., & de los Ángeles Plaza-Mejía, M. (2011). Explaining residents' attitudes to tourism: Is a universal model possible? *Annals of Tourism Research*, *38*(2), 460-480.

Von Braun, J., & Gatzweiler, F. W. (2014). *Marginality: Addressing the nexus of poverty, exclusion and ecology*. Springer Nature.

Vukovic, D. B., Petrovic, M., Maiti, M., & Vujko, A. (2021). Tourism development, entrepreneurship and women's empowerment–Focus on Serbian countryside. *Journal of Tourism Futures.*

Walpole, M. J., & Goodwin, H. J. (2000). Local economic impacts of dragon tourism in Indonesia. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *27*(3), 559-576.

Walter, P., Regmi, K. D., & Khanal, P. R. (2018). Host learning in community-based ecotourism in Nepal: The case of Sirubari and Ghalegaun homestays. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, *26*, 49-58.

Wang, H., Yang, Z., Chen, L., Yang, J., & Li, R. (2010). Minority community participation in tourism: A case of Kanas Tuva villages in Xinjiang, China. *Tourism Management*, *31*(6), 759-764.

Wang, Y., & Pfister, R. E. (2008). Residents' attitudes toward tourism and perceived personal benefits in a rural community. *Journal of Travel Research*, *47*(1), 84-93.

Ward, C., & Berno, T. (2011). Beyond social exchange theory: Attitudes toward tourists. *Annals of tourism research*, *38*(4), 1556-1569.

Wasudawan, K., & Ab-Rahim, R. (2018). Pro-Poor Tourism and Poverty Alleviation in Sarawak. *International Journal of Asian Social Science*, *8*(10), 929-937.

Weaver, D. (2010). Indigenous tourism stages and their implications for sustainability. *Journal of sustainable tourism*, *18*(1), 43-60.

Wei, S., Xueyi, X., Yali, W., & Xinggui, W. (2012). Influencing factors of community participation in tourism development: A case study of Xingwen world Geopark. *Journal of Geography and Regional Planning*, *5*(7), 207-211.

Wema, C. F., Brouwers, R., & Kurian, R. (2010). *Women Participation In Project Planning And Implementation: A Case Of Tasaf Project In Rufiji District-Tanzania* Master's thesis, Institute of Social Studies].

West, P. (2006). *Conservation is our government now: the politics of ecology in Papua New Guinea*. Duke University Press.

Wild, R., & Mutebi, J. (1996). Conservation through community use of plant resources. *People and Plants working paper*, *5*.

Wilkinson, S. (2000). Women with breast cancer talking causes: Comparing content, biographical and discursive analyses. *Feminism & Psychology*, *10*(4), 431-460.

Williams, E., White, A., & Spenceley, A. (2001). UCOTA–the Uganda Community Tourism Association: a comparison with NACOBTA. *Pro-Poor tourism working paper*, *5*.

Wisner, B., Gaillard, J. C., & Kelman, I. (2012). Framing disaster: theories and stories seeking to understand hazards, vulnerability and risk. In *Handbook of hazards and disaster risk reduction* (pp. 47-62). Routledge.

Wolfe, D. M. (1959). Power and authority in the family. *Studies in social power*, *6*, 99.

Wolfe, R. J., & McGinn, K. L. (2005). Perceived relative power and its influence on negotiations. *Group Decision and Negotiation*, *14*(1), 3-20.

Wondirad, A., Bogale, D., & Li, Y. (2021). Practices and challenges of developing handicrafts as a core tourism product in Chencha and Konso, southern Ethiopia. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 1-21.

Wondirad, A., & Ewnetu, B. (2019). Community participation in tourism development as a tool to foster sustainable land and resource use practices in a national park milieu. *Land use policy*, *88*, 104155.

Wondirad, A., Tolkach, D., & King, B. (2020). Stakeholder collaboration as a major factor for sustainable ecotourism development in developing countries. *Tourism Management*, *78*, 104024.

Woosnam, K. M., & Aleshinloye, K. D. (2018). Residents' emotional solidarity with tourists: Explaining perceived impacts of a cultural heritage festival. *Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Research*, *42*(4), 587-605.

Woyesa, T., & Kumar, S. (2021). Potential of coffee tourism for rural development in Ethiopia: a sustainable livelihood approach. *Environment, Development and Sustainability*, *23*(1), 815-832.

Wu, M.-Y., & Pearce, P. L. (2017). A tale of two parks: Tibetan youths' preferences for tourism community futures. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, *15*(4), 359-379.

Xia, J. (2011). An anthropological emic-etic perspective on open access practices. *Journal of Documentation*.

Xie, J. (2020). The economic determinants of tourism seasonality: A case study of the Norwegian tourism industry. *Cogent Business & Management*, *7*(1), 1732111. https://doi.org/10.1080/23311975.2020.1732111

Xu, S., Zuo, Y., Law, R., & Zhang, M. (2022). Impact of farmers' participation in tourism on sustainable livelihood outcomes in border tourism areas. *International Sociology*, 02685809211024019.

Yang, J., Wang, J., Zhang, L., & Xiao, X. (2020). How to Promote Ethnic Village Residents' Behavior Participating in Tourism Poverty Alleviation: A Tourism Empowerment Perspective. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *11*, 2064.

Yang, L., Jiang, C., Ren, X., Walker, R., Xie, J., & Zhao, Y. (2020). Determining dimensions of poverty applicable in China: A qualitative study in Guizhou. *Journal of Social Service Research*, 1-18.

Yau, M. K.-s., McKercher, B., & Packer, T. L. (2004). Traveling with a disability: More than an access issue. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *31*(4), 946-960.

Yergeau, M.-E. (2020). Tourism and local welfare: A multilevel analysis in Nepal's protected areas. *World development*, *127*, 104744.

Yoopetch, C., & Kongarchapatara, B. (2021). Sustainable livelihood and revisit intention for tea tourism destinations: an application of theory of reasoned action. Academy of Entrepreneurship Journal, 27, 1-13.

Young, I. M. (1990a). Chapter 2: Five faces of oppression. *Justice and the politics of difference*, 39-65.

Young, I. M. (1990b). *Justice and the politics of difference*. Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press.

Yuksel, F., Bramwell, B., & Yuksel, A. (1999). Stakeholder interviews and tourism planning at Pamukkale, Turkey. *Tourism Management*, *20*(3), 351-360.

Yunus, M. (2007). Credit for the poor: Poverty as distant history. *Harvard International Review*, *29*(3), 20.

Yusuf, A. B. (1998). Small business development and survival in the South Pacific: Barriers and strategic responses. *The Journal of Entrepreneurship*, *7*(1), 49-65.

Zakour, M. J., & Swager, C. M. (2018). Vulnerability-plus theory: the integration of community disaster vulnerability and resiliency theories. In *Creating Katrina, Rebuilding Resilience* (pp. 45-78). Elsevier.

Zakus, J. D. L., & Lysack, C. L. (1998). Revisiting community participation. *Health policy and planning*, *13*(1), 1-12.

Zamani-Farahani, H., & Musa, G. (2012). The relationship between Islamic religiosity and residents' perceptions of socio-cultural impacts of tourism in Iran: Case studies of Sare'in and Masooleh. *Tourism Management*, *33*(4), 802-814.

Zander, K. K., Austin, B. J., & Garnett, S. T. (2014). Indigenous peoples' interest in wildlife-based enterprises in the Northern Territory, Australia. *Human Ecology*, *42*(1), 115-126.

Zapata, M. J., Hall, C. M., Lindo, P., & Vanderschaeghe, M. (2011). Can community-based tourism contribute to development and poverty alleviation? Lessons from Nicaragua. *Current Issues in Tourism*, *14*(8), 725-749.

Zhang, A., & Zhao, L. (2019). Influence of perceived value on the willingness of residents to participate in the construction of a tourism town: taking Zhejiang Moganshan tourism

town as an example. *Tourism Tribune*, *34*(4), 119-131. http://www.lyxk.com.cn/EN/Y2019/V34/I4/119#

https://www.cabdirect.org/cabdirect/abstract/20193333947

Zhang, K., Douglas, B. C., & Leatherman, S. P. (2004). Global warming and coastal erosion. *Climatic change*, *64*(1-2), 41.

Zhao, W., & Ritchie, J. B. (2007). Tourism and poverty alleviation: An integrative research framework. *Current Issues in Tourism*, *10*(2-3), 119-143.

Zhou, J., Saha, K., Lopez Carron, I. M., Yoo, D. W., Deeter, C. R., De Choudhury, M., & Arriaga, R. I. (2022). Veteran Critical Theory as a Lens to Understand Veterans' Needs and Support on Social Media. *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction*, *6*(CSCW1), Article 133. https://doi.org/10.1145/3512980

Zielinski, S., Jeong, Y., & Milanés, C. B. (2020). Factors that influence community-based tourism (CBT) in developing and developed countries. *Tourism Geographies*, 1-33. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2020.1786156

Zielinski, S., Kim, S.-i., Botero, C., & Yanes, A. (2020). Factors that facilitate and inhibit community-based tourism initiatives in developing countries. *Current Issues in Tourism*, *23*(6), 723-739.

Zwolinski, M. (2012). Structural exploitation. *Social Philosophy and Policy*, *29*(1), 154-179.

Zwolinski, M. (2016). Exploitation and Freedom. *The Oxford Handbook of Freedom*, 421-436.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Data collection plan

Plan for data collection March 2021- July 2021

Stage	Purpose	Research activities
Stage 0- March 2021	Getting information about the villages in Mukono parish (Buhoma sector). To assess the environment and what takes place	Preliminary visit to the study villages, passive observer
Village entry	Selected villages of Buhoma sector (Mukono Parish) Get in touch with chiefs and elders-To gain trust	Pre-contact of village chiefs and elders
Stage One- April 2021- May 2021 Getting into villages In preparing for co-learning exercise with the researched	Preliminary visits to gain acceptance of villages and to gain background information of the villages e.g economic activities that take place in those villages	Assess the situation to gain access To the study sites, passive observation continues. Initial and informal conversations or dialogues with local residents. Passive observation and reflexive journaling
Stage two- Late May 2021- July 2021 Getting along with the community, learning and integration	In-depth begins	In-depth interviews, active participation in community activities, active observation informal conversations and Reflexive journaling

| Stage three- Late July 2021 Getting out of the villages/ study site Withdrawing from the community and the researched Getting ready to embark to my academic and theoretical explorations | Reporting the findings to the fragile collectives and leaving the community | Discussing findings with the fragile collectives, village chiefs and elders |

Appendix 2: Guide questions for interviews

Dear Sir/Madam,

The main aim of this study is to investigate participation of fragile collectives in community-based tourism in communities surrounding Bwindi I penetrable National Park in Southern Western Uganda. The purpose of the study is to understand the forms of participation, the benefits derived from participation, enablers to participation, barriers to participation and how the barriers to participation can be addressed so that a meaningful and inclusive participation framework can be established. To achieve the purpose of this study, your honest views and opinions are highly valued. I acknowledge your insightful contribution in this study, and I assure that your responses will be given strict confidentiality and are for academic purposes only. Your privacy will be concealed and feel free to express your views. The interview is not restricted to time if all the important aspects are fully covered and exhausted. If you feel coerced or uncomfortable, you can stop the interview at any time. Once again, thank you so much for your time and insightful and valuable ideas.

Kind Regards,

PROVIA Kesande

 Ph.D. Student, School of Hotel and Tourism Management

 The Honk Kong Polytechnic University 17 Science Museum Road, TST East, Kowloon,

Phone:(+852) 5446   Mobile: (+256) 70371   Email: provia.kesande@   .

1. In-depth Interview (These questions were translated from English to Rukiga language. Rukiga is a local dialect spoken in the study area.

   A. Socio-demographic Profiles of Fragile Collectives in indirect and direct forms of participation in CBT

   1. Marital status:

   ☐Single ☐Married ☐Widowed ☐Divorced/Separated

   2. Gender:

   Male ☐Female

   3. Tribe

   • Mukiga ☐Mutwa ☐others

   4. Occupation

   ☐Representative ☐Employee ☐Farmer ☐Business Other (kindly specify) ………

   5. Highest education attained

   Primary level ☐Secondary level☐ Certificate ☐Diploma☐University level☐others

   6. Number of household/family members:

   7. Are you a native? How long have you lived here? Yes☐ No☐

   8. Average monthly income

   Less than 100000 ☐ 100000-200000 ☐ Above

B.   Interview guide questions

Question One: *What are the fragile collective forms of participation in community-based tourism?*

1) What do you do to earn a living?

2) What is your source of income?

3) What activities do you engage in to earn a living?

Question Two: *What are the benefits derived from participation in community-based tourism?*

1) How long have you been in this occupation?

2) What benefits have you derived from this occupation?

Question Three: *What are the enablers to participation in community-based tourism?*

1) What enabled/ influenced you to engage in this activity?

2) What enables you to participate in this activity?

3) What are the factors that influence your participation in this activity?

Question Four: *What are the barriers to participation in community-based tourism?*

1) What are the challenges do you face in your job/occupation/activity?

2) What hinders your participation in CBT?

Question Five: *What are the solutions to the identified barriers to participation in community-based tourism?*

1) How have you handled the identified barriers to participation?

2) What do you think can be done to the identified barriers to participation?

3) How would you want the identified barriers to be solved?

A. Socio-demographic Profiles of Fragile Collectives not participating in CBT

1. Marital status:

◻Single ◻Married ◻Widowed ◻Divorced/Separated

Gender:

2. Male ◻Female

3. Tribe

• Mukiga ◻Mutwa ◻others

4. Occupation

◻Representative ◻Employee ◻Farmer ◻Business Other (kindly specify) ………

5. Highest education attained

Primary level ◻Secondary level◻ Certificate ◻Diploma◻University level◻others

6. Number of household/family members:

7. Are you a native? How long have you lived here? Yes ◻ No◻

8. Average monthly income

Less than 100000 ◻ 100000-200000 ◻ Above

B. **Interview guide questions**

Question One: *What are the fragile collective forms of participation in community-based tourism?*

1) What are forms of participation in CBT do you know?

2) What do you do to earn a living?

3) What is your source of income?

4) What activities do you engage in to earn a living?

Question Two: *What are the benefits of participation in community-based tourism?*

1) What are the benefits of participating in CBT

Question Three: *What are the enablers to participation in community-based tourism?*

1) What enables/favors participation in CBT

Question Four: *What are the barriers to participation in community-based tourism?*

1) What hinders participation in CBT?

2) What limits your participation in CBT

Question Five: *What are the solutions to the identified barriers to participation in community-based tourism?*

1) What do you think can be done to the identified barriers to participation?

2) How would you want the identified barriers to participation to be solved?

3) If the barriers identified are solved, would you be willing to participate in CBT?

4) What kind of activity would you engage in?

Tourism related facilities in the area

- Access/ location
- Accommodation
- Ancillary services

Tourism-related livelihood activities

- Gorilla tracking
- Birding
- Handcrafts
- Village walks
- Guiding
- Support services (Porterage
- Food and beverage operations
- Accommodation facilities
- Entertainment groups
- Washing bay services
- Agritourism (small scale)

Other livelihood activities in the community

Small holder farming e.g Tea

Retail business

Boda boda (motorist services)

Appendix 4: Building Rapport activities and village life

Tea growing is a popular cash crop grown in Bwindi by local communities. Most fragile collectives derive their livelihoods from picking tea in the gardens and taking on the collection centres. On the left, I am helping an elderly to pack tea in the sack, in the middle, I am going to weigh the kilograms, and, on the right, I am putting sack of tea in the truck to be taken to the factory (Source: Authors compilations-2021)

The figure depicts the conditions in which fragile collectives live. On the left, the locals helping me to remove a tropical jigger which made my legs swell. Tropical jiggers in Uganda are associated with poor hygiene and poor living conditions. On the right, an old woman is helping me to massage my legs with local herbs. The picture confirms that fragile collectives still languish in poverty and live in poor housing conditions despite the intended benefits from CBT in the area.

On the left, Me and a family of a Mutwa standing in front of his house. The small house accommodates over ten members. I paid a courtesy to the family and shared a meal with them. On the right, I am sharing a cake with village children on my birthday 24th July 2021 in two remote villages of Kabumba and Sarugyera. The children walk over 14 kilometres to go to school (*Source*: Field photos compiled by the researcher-2021).

The pictures above show the various activities I participate in and how I related with people. (Source: Authors complilation-2021)

I participated in the clean-up of Buhoma trading center as part of the World Rangers Day. *(*Source: Authors complilation-2021)

Appendix 5: List of Non-Governmental Organizations operational in Bwindi – Buhoma communities between 1993-2021

No	Name of Institution	Status	Year
1	Buhoma Mukono Community Development Association	Community	1993
2	Bwindi Mgahinga Conservation Trust	NGO	1994
3	Abercrombie and Kent Philanthropy	INGO	2000
4	Bwindi Community Hospital	NGO	2002
5	Batwa Development Program	NGO	2007
6	Community Initiative for Biodiversity Conservation	NGO	2008
7	Bwindi Amagra Program	NGO	2008
8	Ride for A woman	NGO	2009

9	Omushana	NGO	2010
10	Kamukama Foundation	NGO	2012
11	Educate Bwindi	NGO	2012
12	Volcanoes Partnership Trust	INGO	2012
13	Bwindi Community Program	NGO	2012
14	Rescue Africa	NGO	2013
15	Bwindi Development Network	NGO	2014
16	Bwindi Community Orphans and Vulnerable children Centre	NGO	2014
17	Gorilla Conservation Coffee	NGO	2015
18	Rafiki Memorial Wild Life Conservation Initiative	NGO	2019

Source: Compilations from Observations and interactions with founders (2021)

Appendix 6: List of Community Based Organizations operational in Bwindi – Buhoma communities between years 1993-2021

No	Name of Institution	Status	Year
1	Bwindi Progressive Women Association	CBO	1998
2	Bwindi Orphans Development Centre	CBO	2000
3	Bwindi Porters Association	CBO	2000
4	Conservation Through Public Health	CBO	2002
5	Bwindi Bird Guides Association	CBO	2006
6	Bwindi Buhoma Orphans Group	CBO	2008
7	Nyamishamba Porters' Association	CBO	2010
8	Bwindi Reformed Poachers Association	CBO	2011
9	Bwindi Nature walking safaris	CBO	2013

10	Bwindi Batwa Rock's &Cave Association	CBO	2014
11	Batwa Empowerment Village	CBO	2015
12	Buhoma Village Tour	CBO	2015
13	Bwindi Development walk	CBO	2015
14	Bwindi Youth Piggery Association	CBO	2015
15	Bwindi Guides Association	CBO	2016
16	Redemption Song Foundation	CBO	2016
17	Bwindi Retired Rangers Association	CBO	2017
18	Bwindi Specialist Guides Association	CBO	2019
19	Batwa Rock and Cave Settlement Walk	CBO	2020
20	Bwindi Community Guides Association	CBO	2020
21	Buhoma Art With Passion	CBO	2021
22	Mothers in Motion	CBO	2021
23	Children empowerment	CBO	2022
24	Kanyashande Bwindi community project	CBO	-
25	Comforter of the voiceless orphanage	CBO	-

Source: Compilations from Observations and interactions with founders (2021)

Appendix 7: List of accommodation facilities operating around Bwindi Impenetrable National Park

No.	Name of the Facility	Nature of Facility	Ownership
1	Buhoma Community Rest camp (BCRC)	Community enterprise	Community
2	Havens Lodge	Community enterprise	Community
3	Gorilla Forest Camp (GFC)	Private enterprise	Non-local
4	Buhoma Lodge	Private enterprise	Non-local

5	Silverback Lodge	Private enterprise	Non-local
6	Bwindi View Lodge	Private enterprise	Local
7	KFC-MUST	Private enterprise	Non-local
8	Gorilla Conservation Camp-CTPC	Private enterprise	Non-local
9	Volcanoes Bwindi Lodge	Private enterprise	Non-local
10	Tracker Safari Lodge	Private enterprise	Non-local
11	Bwindi Forest Lodge	Private enterprise	Non-local
12	Monkey Guest house	Private enterprise	Non-local
13	Engagi Lodge	Private enterprise	Non-local
14	Mahogany Spring	Private enterprise	Non-local
15	Ride 4 a Woman	Private enterprise	Local
16	Crested Crane hotel	Private enterprise	Non-local
17	Gorilla Friends	Private enterprise	Local
18	Ruhondeza Gorilla Lodge	Private enterprise	Local
19	Mist Lodge	Private enterprise	Local

Source: Tourism Department Bwindi Impenetrable National Park-2021