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Laeis, G. and Lemke, S.

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Title

Social entrepreneurship in tourism: applying Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches

Abstract

Purpose: Social entrepreneurs (SEs) in tourism are regarded as drivers for linking destination communities with enterprises, aiming to create economic benefits and livelihoods. This paper investigates whether the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) enables an analysis of the complex interrelations and interdependencies between SEs, destination communities' livelihood assets, and related transforming structures and processes.

Design/methodology/approach: Data was gathered through participatory action research at a tourism lodge and its foundation, which facilitated agricultural training, and by conducting in-depth interviews with ten key stakeholders. The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) served as the theoretical framework.

Findings: The SLA enables an analysis of interrelations and interdependencies between various stakeholders and to visualise the way SEs forge the impacts tourism has on livelihoods. The agricultural project did not reach its full potential due to, amongst other factors, competing aims between the profit and non-profit business, resulting in the lack of a clear vision and strategy. Additional challenges were dependency on external funding and a lack of reciprocal communication between the stakeholders involved.

Research limitations/implications: This research is based on one case study and findings cannot be generalised. Future studies should develop the SLF further, possibly through adaptation and integration of other tools.

Practical implications: The SLF enables researchers to integrate local knowledge and participatory research methods, thus facilitating engagement and learning between different stakeholders.

Originality/value: Through empirical research, this paper adds valuable insights into the applicability of the SLF in the context of social entrepreneurship in tourism.

Keywords: Sustainable livelihoods, social entrepreneurship, tourism, rural development, participatory action research, local food systems, sustainability, South Africa, capacity building, hospitality management

Paper Type: Research paper

Introduction

A number of researchers argue that sustainably managed tourism, including the hospitality industry, has the potential to provide employment opportunities, infrastructure, and financial gains to marginalised rural communities in developing countries (Sloan *et al.*, 2014; Butler and Hinch, 2007; Zeppel, 2006; Torres and Momsen, 2004). Increasing attention is directed towards

social entrepreneurs (SEs) and their importance in leveraging such positive effects for communities in developing countries (Sloan *et al.*, 2014; Kokkranikal and Morrison, 2011). As has been emphasised in the context of appraising the building of capacity for rural tourism development, a comprehensive framework is needed in order to analyse the overall impact tourism might have on the sustainability of livelihoods (Bennett *et al.*, 2012). We argue that this also holds true for related social entrepreneurship in tourism. Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches (SLAs), which have developed since the 1980s, enable to analyse the sustainability of livelihoods holistically (Bennett *et al.*, 2012; Scoones, 2009; Scoones, 1998; Chambers and Conway, 1991), and to draw conclusions for short-term actions and long-term policy developments. A livelihood “comprises the capabilities, assets [...] and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintains or enhances its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base” (Scoones, 1998, p. 5). Literature on the applicability of the SLA in a tourism context is limited, however. Therefore, the authors have tried to contribute to the limited body of knowledge within the scope of a South African case study.

Even though South Africa has stepped up from being a developing country to an upper middle income country (World Bank, 2014), the republic suffers from severe income inequality (Gini coefficient: 0.69) and poverty, as about a third of the population lives on less than ZAR 416 (\approx 40 US\$) per month (lower-bound poverty line) (Republic of South Africa, 2013). About a quarter of the population experiences food insecurity and even more are at risk of hunger (Labadarios *et al.*, 2011). The tourism industry plays an important role in the economy of South Africa, and arguably may meliorate this severe situation, or, more specifically, may contribute to converting income from tourism directly into livelihood assets for rural and marginalised communities. This paper investigates, through empirical research and employing a case study method as a strategy of inquiry, whether the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF), applied in and adapted to a social entrepreneur and tourism business in South Africa, enables researchers and practitioners to map and analyse the complex interrelations and interdependencies between SEs, destination communities’ livelihood assets, and related institutions and organisations. We consider our findings in the context of other studies that have applied the SLA in a social entrepreneurship and tourism context, and discuss how far this approach might be helpful for enhancing positive effects for all stakeholders involved, especially for marginalised communities. This research builds on a previous study that explored the prospects of smallholder agricultural programmes targeted at women for establishing sustainable livelihoods (Lemke *et al.*, 2012), with the tourism business reported here as being one of the organisations facilitating these programmes. Previous studies brought to the fore that there is a need to place more emphasis on institutional structures and transforming processes as crucial components of the SLF, as is addressed by the research presented here.

Background: The role of tourism and social entrepreneurship for rural development in South Africa

The 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development tourism was noted as an important driver in economic and social development of communities (Frey and George, 2010).

Tourism currently contributes nine percent to global GDP (US\$ 6.6 trillion), generates one out of eleven jobs, and is the fastest growing industry worldwide (WTTC, 2013). Yet, for a number of years the tourism sector has been criticised for its negative environmental and socio-cultural impacts (Wearing and Neil, 2009; Spenceley, 2005; Sinclair, 1997). In this regard, decisive questions are, how “to enhance the many positive impacts [tourism] can have and [how to] reduce the costs it can place on the poor” (Roe and Urquhart, 2001, p. 2). The Tourism Action Plan of the New Partnership for Africa’s Development states that, out of the various economic sectors, tourism has probably the greatest potential to contribute towards the economic development of the African continent, especially through the diversification of economies (Frey and George, 2010). In South Africa, tourism in 2011 contributed 8.6 percent to the country’s GDP and was responsible for 9 percent of total employment with positive growth forecasts until 2022 (WTTC, 2012). With concerns for sustainability triggered by the 1980’s Brundtland Report (WCED, 1987), the South African government published a White Paper in 1996 stating that the tourism industry should act responsibly, with a focus on protecting the environment and the country’s natural beauty, as well as respecting and developing local cultures and communities (Government of South Africa, 1996). Both areas are critical as they form the basis of South Africa’s attractiveness for tourism and, thus, both may benefit from responsible tourism management. From the environmental point of view, Spenceley (2005) concludes that tourism in South Africa can have detrimental impacts on air, water, geology, soil, landscapes, habitats and wildlife if not managed responsibly, stressing that tourism enterprises need to be assessed carefully and thoroughly before being labelled as ‘sustainable’ or ‘unsustainable’. Rogerson and Rogerson (2010) note that “[i]mproving the product base for leisure tourism and business tourism were important LED [local economic development] strategies pursued in South Africa’s leading cities to maximise the benefits from attracting both domestic and long-haul international tourists” (p. 472). LED, in this case, is described as a place-based, decentralised, and bottom-up approach of economic development. Such an approach can help transform the tourism sector to accommodate for more small-scale entrepreneurial businesses, which, in turn, foster more social equity (Roe and Urquhart, 2001). Further, tourism has the vigour to improve the depressed economy of rural areas if managed in the form of responsible and particularly pro-poor tourism (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2010). To this end, Singh (2003, p. 39) emphasises that “no tourism development however ingeniously conceived can foster sustainability if it fails to respect the needs and aspirations of the local people. It has to be a community industry to become viable, sustainable and self-perpetuating.” This points towards the importance of individuals and their initiatives in the process of sustainable tourism development, rather than reliance on government policies and institutions.

Whether tourism can be facilitated as a bottom-up approach to LED depends on the initiative of SEs. As opposed to ‘traditional’ entrepreneurs, who aim to create profit by anticipating and serving markets, SEs find value in forming positive “transformational benefit” to tackle pressing social problems (Ergul and Johnson, 2011, p. 41). It is important to note that traditional and social entrepreneurship are not necessarily mutually exclusive concepts. According to Johnson (2000,), “social entrepreneurial activities blur the traditional boundaries between the public, private and non-profit sector, and emphasise hybrid models of for-profit and non-profit activities” (p. 1). As argued by Mair and Marti (2006), generating profit is secondary to the creation of social value, through exploring and exploiting opportunities that meet a social need in a

sustainable manner. After all, “significant opportunity resides in a better understanding of the distinctive nature of the mission, process, and resources leveraged in a social entrepreneurial context” (Dacin *et al.*, 2010, p. 53). While research on social entrepreneurship is very limited within the field of hospitality management (Li, 2008), with respect to social sustainability in tourism, Edgal (2006) stresses that participatory planning and management, as well as directing a substantial share of profits to the host communities, should be part of any socially equitable tourism organisation. Several authors have highlighted the need for a framework that helps to design research on pro-poor tourism, and that can be applied to map and appraise the impact of tourism on the host community. For example, Zhao and Ritchie (2007) developed a framework which “attempts to specify the principles and mechanisms of the tourism-based approach to poverty alleviation” on a meso to macro level (p. 137). The framework focuses, however, on broader themes and determinants of poverty alleviation through tourism and not on the livelihoods of the poor and their ability to cope. Other authors have based their ideas on the SLA and the related SLF, as conceived by Chambers and Conway (1991), which is still widely being used in rural development research (compare Bennett *et al.*, 2012; Tao and Wall, 2009; Shen *et al.*, 2008). The strength of the SLA lies in its applicability at household (micro) and community (meso) level, while taking into account the macro level context. This provides an illustration of the impact of tourism on livelihoods of households against the backdrop of a broader context, providing a suitable approach to analyse social entrepreneurship in hospitality as will be shown in this paper.

Methodology

Research approach

This study is based on the paradigm of social constructionism, assuming that “people create social reality(ies) through individual and collective actions” and exploring “what people at a particular time and place take as real, how they construct their views and actions, when different constructions arise, whose constructions become definitive, and how the process ensues” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 189). A qualitative approach, as is being applied here, is particularly useful in circumstances where a detailed understanding of a given issue is required, where extensive information about processes, experiences, and stakeholders is of interest, and where mostly non-numerical information is available (Bazeley, 2007). Qualitative research has three main goals: to understand subjective meanings of actions and actors, to explore the context of actions, and to reconstruct the frameworks and structures that generate actions and meanings (Lüders & Reicherts, 1986). Due to these focal points, Löblich and Pfaff-Rüdiger (2011) argue that a qualitative methodology is particularly applicable to network-related questions, as it enables researchers to analyse three dimensions of a network: “(1) the actors themselves and their subjective perspective [...], (2) the relations between the actors while disclosing the patterns of relations as structures and (3) the context of each network since qualitative research always includes the context of acting” (p. 636). As this research explores complex interrelations and interdependencies between SEs, destination communities’ livelihood assets, as well as related transforming structures and processes, these can be considered network-related questions. The research further follows an inductive paradigm, with the intention of inducing new theory (Charmaz, 2006; Lamnek, 2010). This is reflected in the adaptation of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework to the context researched here (see Figure 2).

In addition, this research employs a case study as method of inquiry. According to Lamnek (2010), a case study elaborates on social elements, such as people, groups, institutions, or organisations, as is the focus of this paper. It further strives to allow for deeper insights into the interplay of several factors, highlighting typical procedures or processes, and allowing for a holistic and reality-based research. As Lamnek (2010) notes, a case study within a qualitative approach has two distinct advantages: 1) it is capable of depicting concrete realities and the perception of real people of such realities and thus has an advantage over highly aggregated data sets that may only show averages and tendencies; 2) it prevents rash stereotyping and categorising of data as it is bound to the complexity of each individual case. While the case study approach lacks the power of quantifiable data to be used for generalisation, it becomes relevant for the exploration of new theories. The case study approach employed here allowed not only for in-depth investigation of a contemporary phenomenon within a real life context, but also for different data sets to be merged in a triangulation fashion (Yin, 2014), as will be elaborated in more detail below.

Research Framework: Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (Department for International Development, 1999) was adapted to the social entrepreneurship and tourism business observed here, serving as a tool to map and analyse the interrelations and interdependencies between the different actors and entities. At the household and community level, livelihood assets play an essential role for households and individuals in pursuing livelihood strategies, with the aim of achieving desired livelihood outcomes which, in turn, impact again on livelihood assets. Livelihood assets are divided into the following five sub-categories: 1) physical assets consist, for example, of infrastructure such as roads or machinery and also housing; 2) natural assets comprise, for example, of access to land for agricultural or other purposes, or access to other natural resources; 3) financial assets can be derived through income from formal or informal employment, but also through social government grants or remittances from relatives; 4) social assets often take the form of social networks; and 5) human assets comprise, for example, of education, capacity building and training. National-, provincial- and local-scale institutional structures and processes influence the capability to amass and orchestrate livelihood assets and livelihood strategies. This directly shapes the vulnerability context of individuals and groups. The different elements of the sustainable livelihoods framework in the context investigated here are illustrated in Figure 2.

Research setting

Research was carried out at the Grootbos Foundation (GF), a non-profit organisation set within a private nature reserve, located next to the town of Gansbaai, southeast of Cape Town, in the Western Cape Province of South Africa (location shown in Figure 1). The nature reserve, as well as its surrounding area, is part of a so-called floral kingdom, one of seven in the world, which is home to the biome of Fynbos, a shrub land, thicket and forest area with a high floral biodiversity. Fynbos thrives on coarse-grained sand-, lime-, and quartzitic soils, which are well aerated, low in nutrients (especially nitrogen and phosphorous), and prone to nutrient leaching (Privett and Lutzeyer, 2010). The owners of the nature reserve established a five-star eco-lodge in the 1990s, while the foundation was initiated in 2004. Its mission is “[t]he conservation of biodiversity of Grootbos and its surrounds and development of sustainable nature based livelihoods through ecotourism, research, management and education” (Grootbos, 2010). The “Growing The Future”

(GTF) agricultural and life skills training project facilitated by the foundation was established in 2009, with the aim of educating marginalised women in agriculture and other skills, and, at the same time, producing organic food for the tourism lodge to cater to an increasingly eco-minded clientele. This research was situated within the previously mentioned larger project that investigated the prospects of smallholder agricultural programmes targeted at women for establishing sustainable livelihoods (Lemke *et al.*, 2012). This specific case study was selected as it presented an interesting example of a tourism business that engaged in social entrepreneurship, aiming to establish development-oriented agricultural training and organic food production. Furthermore, this setting enabled the researchers to build on previously established relationships of trust, which are a condition for obtaining in-depth insights and reliable data.



Figure 1: Research setting at Western Cape Province, South Africa

Data collection

For a case study approach, three methods of data collection are suggested: open and narrative interviews, participatory research, and the analysis of files and documents (Lamnek, 2010; Creswell, 2009). Field research was carried out by the first author over a period of three months from March to June 2012, in collaboration with and upon invitation of the GF. Access was facilitated through the ongoing research project that had started in 2009, enabling the authors to build on existing relationships. Participatory action research was applied with the objective to actively engage with the people working at Grootbos (i.e., the GF, the GTF project, and the lodge) within their natural environment, experiencing their everyday lives, building up trustful relationships, and gathering information about their behaviour, activities, personal perceptions,

and the power dynamics amongst them. The first author participated regularly in farm work at GTF, the GF's weekly management meetings, and food preparation and service at the lodge's restaurant kitchen. The distinct goal was not only to observe individuals, but to actively engage with them and to make them part of the knowledge generation process. Moreover, this method enabled the researcher to present himself in ways that are nonthreatening and that allowed him to cross the border from an outsider to being an insider (Rubin and Rubin, 2005), which is highly conducive to the quality of interviews. The fact that the first author of this paper has both solid practical and theoretical experience in hospitality management and organic agriculture further enhanced acceptance by research participants. In line with the participatory approach, during all phases of field research participants were encouraged to share their thoughts and make suggestions on any operational or management issues that needed to be resolved. In addition, structured open-ended interviews were carried out with different key stakeholders of the GF and the lodge. Interviewees (n=10) were chosen according to their position within the organisation, their role, and their perceived importance for the initial research question. GF interviews were conducted with the owner and founder of the GF and the lodge, the foundation's director, and the GTF project coordinator. This proved to be all of the GF who were concerned with the GTF project. Furthermore, the GTF project interviews were conducted with the head farmer, the head teacher and two external teachers that held classes at GTF. Thus, apart from a farm supervisor, all members of the management staff of GTF were interviewed. The participating women, who were inevitably to be part of the participatory action research, were not interviewed here as they had already been part of an earlier study (cf. Lemke *et al.* 2012). With respect to the Grootbos lodge, the head chef and the assistant hotel manager were interviewed. Overall, the lodge employed 14 members of the kitchen personnel and about 30 members of the hotel personnel. Lastly, a former GTF head farmer was interviewed to obtain information regarding the initial stages and the development of the GF and GTF. A field book was kept to record observations, arising questions, and other meaningful information. The content was transcribed daily into a reflective diary. The descriptions were amended with reflective notes and particular emphasis on present processes, and personal attitudes and feelings that the observations evoked so as to reveal possible bias on behalf of the researcher.

Data analysis

Content analysis was performed following the analysis of narrative data as suggested by Taylor-Powell and Renner (2003). Upon completion of data collection, all materials stemming from open-ended interviews, observations, staff meeting protocols, and the reflective diary were sorted according to source and checked for emerging codes. Coding was guided by the SLF while still allowing for new concepts to emerge. The codes were tested for applicability within each document and with respect to the research questions. After initial exploration of all documents, codes were revised, bundled or further refined, finally put into a code book, and provided with a brief definition to safeguard reliability of the results, as suggested by Creswell (2009). Every document was then coded again. Due to the relatively small number of interviews and documents this process was done manually instead of using software for qualitative data analysis. Coding continued until no new themes emerged. The codes were then sorted into coherent categories that had emerged from the revision of codes. Emerging categories were bundled under leading categories or further refined into subcategories if necessary. This formed the basis for interpretation of the findings.

Using a variety of research strategies, such as interviews, attending staff meetings, and participant observation, enabled triangulation of information from various sources and the establishment of a coherent justification for themes, thus providing comprehensive analysis and validity of findings (Creswell, 2009; Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). To further strengthen validity, regular feedback was provided by the principal investigator of the larger project. Additionally, several research seminars within the larger research team during the preparatory phase and during the field research in South Africa enabled the team to discuss and reflect on topics such as conducting and analysing interviews and observations, and to address ethical issues, potential bias and challenges occurring during field research, thus ensuring trustworthiness and credibility of data.

Findings: Interaction and Interdependency of Tourism, Livelihood Assets and Institutional Structures and Processes

Vulnerability Context: history of South Africa, marginalisation and agriculture

The black^[1] South African population had lost access to land with the Natives Land Act in 1913, which also formed a cornerstone of the segregation legislation and paved the way for the era of apartheid that was formally established in 1948 (Thompson, 2001). Ensuing diminishing options of livelihood strategies led large parts of the black and coloured population into virtual enslavement on white-owned commercial farms. The once present integrity of small-scale subsistent farming within the black society vanished, resulting in the loss of livelihoods (Van Onselen, 1996). With respect to agricultural labour the repercussions of this history are still present in today's South African rural black population. Farm workers are among the most marginalised and deprived population groups (Atkinson, 2007; Du Toit, 2005), resulting in negative perceptions with regard to agricultural labour in general. The GTF project aimed at addressing these risks by offering an integrated concept that could provide a sustainable livelihood option for participants in the future. However, the prospects of establishing livelihoods in agriculture, for example, by starting one's own farming operation, are very limited due to a general lack of access to productive resources, amongst other reasons. In the context of this specific case study, this resulted in women not engaging as actively in the agricultural training programme as the foundation's facilitators had hoped. This was frequently shown by codes emerging from the data referring to main challenges of the GTF project, as will be illustrated below, and participant observation in conjunction with findings from previous research (Lemke *et al.*, 2012). The participating women had little to no formal education, were jobless and lived in the neighbouring townships in small houses provided by the government or in squatter camps. All of them had migrated from the Eastern Cape in search of employment, with most of them having lost their jobs during the economic crisis 2007/2008. While some of the women had access to land in the Eastern Cape, pursuing agriculture as a sustainable livelihood strategy was not an option, mainly due to a lack of access to resources and farm inputs, infrastructure and markets. Due to their low economic and educational status, these women were affected by poor nutrition as, on the one hand, they had little income to spend on food and, on the other hand, they had almost no knowledge about what resembles healthy nutrition. This resulted in poor health conditions, such as being overweight, an absence of monthly period, and fatigue (cf. Lemke *et al.*, 2012).

Livelihood Assets

'Impact of the GTF project on the participating women's livelihood assets' emerged as a leading category from the data analysis. The income earned by the Grootbos Lodge as a tourism business, cascading down through the Foundation and into the GTF project, was able to bestow GTF's participating women with various livelihood assets. In the form of natural assets came access to seed material and individual trial garden plots on the farm where the women cultivated food for their own consumption or sale, leading to improved food security or additional income. Additionally, they received a daily stipend of 44 ZAR (about US\$ 5.44; according to exchange rates on 1 March, 2012, at: www.xe.com), which, in most cases, was their only income and contribution to their financial asset. Human assets, in the form of education, were provided by the agricultural and life-skills training. However, the emerging sub-category of 'impaired knowledge transfer' also appeared important as there was, indeed, little evidence of knowledge transfer between lessons learned at GTF and women's own agricultural activities, both at the farm and at their township premises. The participating women further enhanced their social assets by networking with other women and the facilitators of GTF and the Foundation. Conducive social exchange amongst the women and a black farm supervisor was observable and proved the utility of this capital. Yet, instances of social exclusion within the group of women also occurred due to different levels of engagement and instances of jealousy, which led to tensions within the group. Finally, shelter, work wear, learning materials, access to computers and internet, and, sometimes, free lunches were provided at the farm, encompassing, amongst others, physical assets (for a more detailed description see Lemke *et al.*, 2012). It is important to note that the income derived from tourism did not directly affect the entire local community but indirectly, through the women who participated in the GTF project. Nevertheless, those households connected to the women benefitted from the monthly stipend provided by the project, which was often the only income of the household, as well as from other assets gained through the project.

Transforming Structures and Processes

Within the scope of this research, transforming structures and processes are shaped by the Grootbos Lodge, the GF with its GTF project, tourism activity in and around the Grootbos lodge, external donors, and external know-how. These were the determining factors for creating livelihood assets for women participating in the GTF project. By what can be framed as social entrepreneurship, the owner of the lodge set up a non-profit foundation that was equally financed by income from the lodge's tourism business and by donations from third party funds, e.g., the German Investment and Development Company (DEG). Through the foundation, the money was channelled into training projects such as GTF. What first seemed to be a winning strategy emerged as a highly problematic issue, characterised by the leading category 'project sustainability' from the data analysis. Originally, after a start-up phase, GTF was supposed to be financially self-sustaining by selling its produce to the lodge or other potential buyers and so covering at least its operating costs. However, this status was never achieved, and GTF remained dependent on external funding, as will be elaborated on in more detail below. There was also a dependency of the project on external know-how and training capacity. This was sourced in the form of training from facilitators of a permacultural farming project nearby. Another aspect was that organic fertiliser had to be bought, as the soil lacked nutrients. In sum, these dependencies resulted in the project not being sustainable.

Another set of codes emerging from the data eventually gave way to the leading category of ‘conflicting aims of the GTF project’. GTF had a twofold vision: on the one hand, it was a training project for unemployed women to establish more sustainable livelihoods in the longer term; on the other hand, local organic food should be supplied to a professionally run hospitality business. The social entrepreneur, being both the owner and founder of the for-profit tourism business Grootbos Lodge, believed that this project could be beneficial, both at for-profit and non-profit levels. These intended synergies, however, proved to result in conflicting aims. GTF’s link to the lodge was primarily a business relationship. On a weekly basis and upon order from the lodge, GTF planted, harvested and delivered fresh produce. In return, the lodge paid food prices almost at the rate of organic certified products, covering about 23 percent of GTF’s overall operating costs and thus only half of its solely farming-related costs. The remaining expenses had to be covered by external donations. Besides sourcing food from GTF, the lodge included GTF in its marketing communication tools and within a guided ‘social responsibility tour’ for its guests to add a sustainability aspect to the lodge’s marketing positioning.

The above mentioned leading category of ‘conflicting aims’ was the result of three underlying issues, summarised in the following sub-categories. First, ‘productivity’: the farm was conceptualised and built neither strictly as a training facility nor as a fully efficient food production unit. Thus, the organisation was rather inefficient: production unit costs were high and productive output low. At the same time, teaching and training capacities had to be built from scratch, requiring some years to be fully established. Second, the sub-category of ‘weak (or even disrupted reciprocal) communication’ was ever-present within the data gathered. Communication between farm and lodge was problematic, as the head chef of the lodge felt pressurised by the lodge’s owner into sourcing as much of GTF’s produce as possible, while in general, GTF and the kitchen found a major challenge in coordinating amongst each other the cultivation of the right type of food in the right quantity, delivering it in the right stage of ripeness, and harvested in a suitable way. Third, ‘missing structural support for the GTF project’ emerged as another sub-category. Besides the twofold vision mentioned above, there were a lack of clear job descriptions, coherent management strategies, and solid financial planning and controlling. Figure 2 illustrates the application of the SLF to the case study presented here, integrating the various stakeholders with their connections and interdependencies.

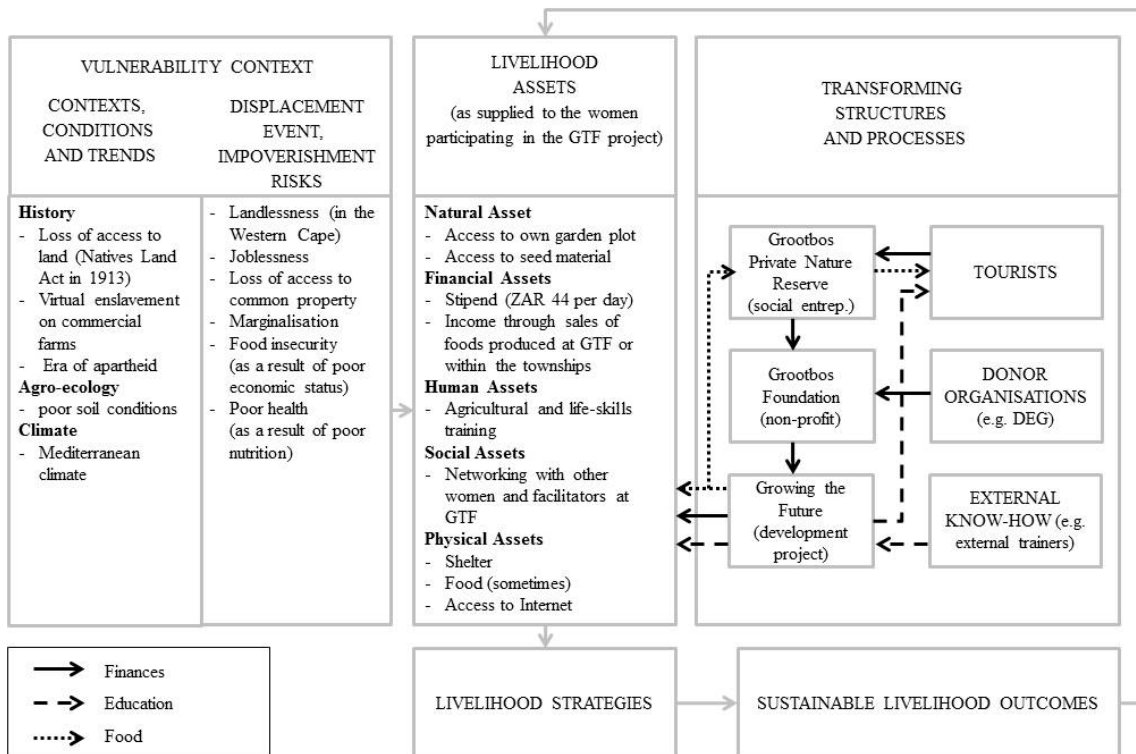


Figure 2: The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework applied to the GTF case study, adapted from Scoones (1998), DFID (1999), and Lemke *et al.* (2012)

Discussion

So far, researchers have mostly either elaborated on the connections between SLA and tourism (cf. Bennett *et al.*, 2012; Newton and Franklin, 2011; Tao and Wall, 2009; Shen *et al.*, 2008; Simpson, 2007), or on the role of social entrepreneurship in tourism (cf. Sloan *et al.*, 2014; Ergul and Johnson, 2011; Tucker, 2010). However, Kokkranikal and Morrison (2011), in their research on “the role of entrepreneurial innovation in tourism development through the facilitation of community networks” (p. 151), have used the concept of SLA to discuss if and how a social entrepreneur can affect livelihoods in general, but without providing details how this could relate to the various elements of the SLF. In contrast, the study presented here has focused on how the entire SLF can be used in a specific context, while taking into account the broader historical perspective and the general living conditions and vulnerability context of the women participating in the agricultural programme of GTF. With respect to livelihood assets we confined the research to those induced or affected by the social entrepreneur, allowing us to focus on the interrelationships between the affected households of participating women and the social entrepreneurial structures. This approach is more in line with Shen *et al.* (2008), who have proposed a SLF for tourism, adding tourism as an influencing factor around the entire framework and replacing the physical livelihood asset (compare DFID, 1999 for the original SLF) with an

institutional asset that provides for “people’s access to tourism markets, tourism benefits sharing, and access and participation in the policy-making process” (Shen *et al.*, 2008, p. 27). This specific SLF configuration may be very well applicable to frame contexts in which a community directly participates in tourism activities through their own entrepreneurial actions (cf. Kokkranikal and Morrison, 2011). However, within the Grootbos context this is not the case. We argue that depicting the detailed relationships between tourists, the social entrepreneur, and livelihood assets, including physical assets, is primordial to a thorough analysis of the transforming structures and processes, which should be of particular interest as they influence the households’ access to assets and thus mediate the ability of households to pursue (or not) certain livelihoods strategies, as Scoones (1998) argues. Furthermore, using tourism as an overall influencing factor on the entire SLF, as Shen *et al.* (2008) suggest, does not necessarily provide a differentiated view on the given context, because tourism may only influence particular parts of the SLF. Overall, the application and amendment of the SLF to a tourism and social entrepreneurial context proves to be a sensible, yet, so far, rather rare approach.

With respect to the actual utility of this approach for SEs, and most probably not only those in tourism and hospitality, we argue that it is here where the application of SLA and the SLF has great potential. As our case study shows, a thorough analysis of the larger context, including the vulnerability context as illustrated in the SLF in Figure 2, is needed before engaging in development-oriented projects. Applying the SLF urges its user to take on a holistic view and consider factors that otherwise may be omitted. For example, had the Grootbos Foundation’s management been more aware of the negative perceptions with regard to agricultural labour and the limited prospect of establishing one’s own farming business, they might have amended the GTF project or designed it differently from the outset. The SLF further serves to map and analyse the interconnectedness and interdependency of the transforming structures and processes, and their influence on livelihood assets. To this end, we highlight the importance of not only focussing on the SE’s ability to channel monetary gains from a tourism business into the community, but also on the power to influence development, as this is a direct result of controlling financial flows. Using the SLF shows how, where, and through which process the income from tourism has its effect on the provision of and access to assets, and not only in terms of financial assets. Therefore, the SLF reveals whether SEs actually meliorate the socio-economic situation of marginalised rural communities in developing countries, as some researchers suggest (Sloan *et al.*, 2014; Kokkranikal and Morrison, 2011). A comprehensive SLF analysis can also assist in mapping the relationships within the transforming structures. As this case study shows, even though the SE sets up separate organisational structures, such as a foundation with various projects, a conflict of interest may arise between the overall vision of the non-profit projects on the one hand, and the vision of the for-profit business on the other hand. This conflict will impact the allocation of scarce resources. In this case study, there are the tourists’ interests in and their willingness to pay for a particular service experience, the social entrepreneur’s for-profit business interests, and the aims and needs of the people engaged in the development project. For example, tourists that visit a luxury lodge usually demand a certain quality, quantity, and continuous availability of food. This demand may, however, not be satisfied by a small farm based on poor soils. Moreover, growing this type of food may not be suitable for local communities as it may not match their preferences for food or might not be the best option to be grown on the type of land available. Hence, if a common profit-oriented entrepreneurship (the lodge) feeds into social

entrepreneurship (the foundation and its projects), the visions and strategies of both entities must be thoroughly analysed and well-aligned. This is especially the case if the social projects are not separable from the for-profit business. As Johnson (2000) notes, these “hybrid models” of non- and for-profit businesses are commonplace in social entrepreneurship (p. 1). It is, therefore, even more important for such models to respect the needs of the local people, or it may fail to reach its pro-poor aims (Singh, 2003). In fact, it has to be questioned whether SEs should ‘blur the lines’ of for- and non-profit businesses at all, as Johnson (2000) suggests they often do. Either way, a SLF analysis is a suitable tool to assess an enterprise and its impact on given beneficiaries accordingly.

Simpson (2007) has stated that applying the SLA is demanding on resources, especially time, human resources and financial support, in order to conduct a thorough assessment. Lemke and Bellows (2011) have argued in a similar way, but emphasising that the SLA reveals underlying and structural issues, which might ultimately be a more cost effective approach as it provides the much needed insights before the start of development-oriented projects. Furthermore, it could be argued that the SLF is a rather static tool, as it provides a snapshot of a specific setting at a specific time. Yet, multiple revisits and the documentation of changes over time enable researchers to analyse and reflect on change agents within the transforming structures and processes, and their impact on the access to and development of livelihood resources and thus on the evolving livelihood strategies of affected individuals or communities, as has been demonstrated by this and previous research (Lemke *et al.*, 2012). Based on information from the foundation that was obtained through follow up enquiries during 2013 and 2014, due to a lack of consistent funding from external donors, and also as a result of recommendations from this and previous research, the foundation had adapted the GTF concept and transferred it from the farm into the neighbouring township. The previous agricultural training facility is still being operated as an organic farm, now with the sole purpose of supplying local produce to the lodge.

Conclusion

This paper presents a rather unique case study as it covers the following key issues: the backdrop of extreme socio-economic inequality in South Africa, encompassing a wide gap between rich and poor and the legacy of apartheid with its persisting influence on the socio-cultural conditions of black and coloured communities and its difficult implications for any developmental project to target but a few of the most urgent issues. In our case, the SE was aware that the local community had only limited access to food and employment, and one main intention was to assist women living in deprived conditions become more self-reliant in food production through hands-on training. Yet, at the same time, the SE had the aim to bestow the hospitality business with a competitive ‘green edge’ in the form of a sustainable local food production unit.

The initiative failed because it was largely dependent on external funding instead of becoming financially self-sustainable, as was the initial aim when the project was started. Equally important, organisational relationships and processes of decision-making between all stakeholders were negatively impacted by contradicting visions of the for-profit (lodge business) and non-profit (foundation) parties involved, which might have partly been influenced by the aforementioned financial insecurity. Additional challenges were unequal power dynamics and

weak reciprocal communication between the various stakeholders involved in this programme. Practitioners in the field of hospitality management that wish to become SEs should therefore very carefully analyse these two issues: the local socio-cultural conditions of the beneficiaries and, should their own for-profit hospitality business partake in any way, the visions of all parties involved and whether they can be sensibly aligned.

With respect to the SLF, this paper provides a detailed description of how it can be adapted to a tourism and hospitality context, illustrating that this framework is suitable to map and analyse the interrelations and interdependencies between a SE and the destination communities, for whose benefit the respective social venture ultimately has been established. The SLF can help visualise the way social entrepreneurship forges the impacts tourism has in transforming income earned from a hospitality business into livelihood assets of local communities. Applying SLA enabled us to integrate local knowledge and participatory research methods, thus facilitating engagement and learning between different stakeholders. We contend that future research should be carried out within other scenarios of social entrepreneurship in the tourism sector using the SLF to guide analyses. For instance, Lapeyre (2010) found counter evidence to the notion that community-based tourism enterprises lead to poverty alleviation and empowerment. This can be a starting point for future SLF application. Researchers are encouraged to develop the SLF and its various elements further, possibly through adaptation and integration of other tools from the fields of (social) entrepreneurship and community development.

Finally, it must be noted that this paper only reports on one case, and the findings are, therefore, not generalisable. It is expected, however, that this case study will provide valuable insights for future research on SEs that aims at shedding light on institutional and structural issues, and on the interrelations and interdependencies between the SE and the destination communities.

Notes

1: The apartheid laws intended for “racial classification” designed a social hierarchy, attempting the imposition of “race groups,” mainly White, Coloured, Black and Indian. As this categorisation is still being used in South Africa, we also refer to these categories here.

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