

THE AUSTRALASIAN REVIEW OF AFRICAN STUDIES
VOLUME 35 NUMBER 2 DECEMBER 2014

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ARTICLES

Tourism as a Means for Development in Livingstone, Zambia: Impacts among Local Stakeholders

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Abstract

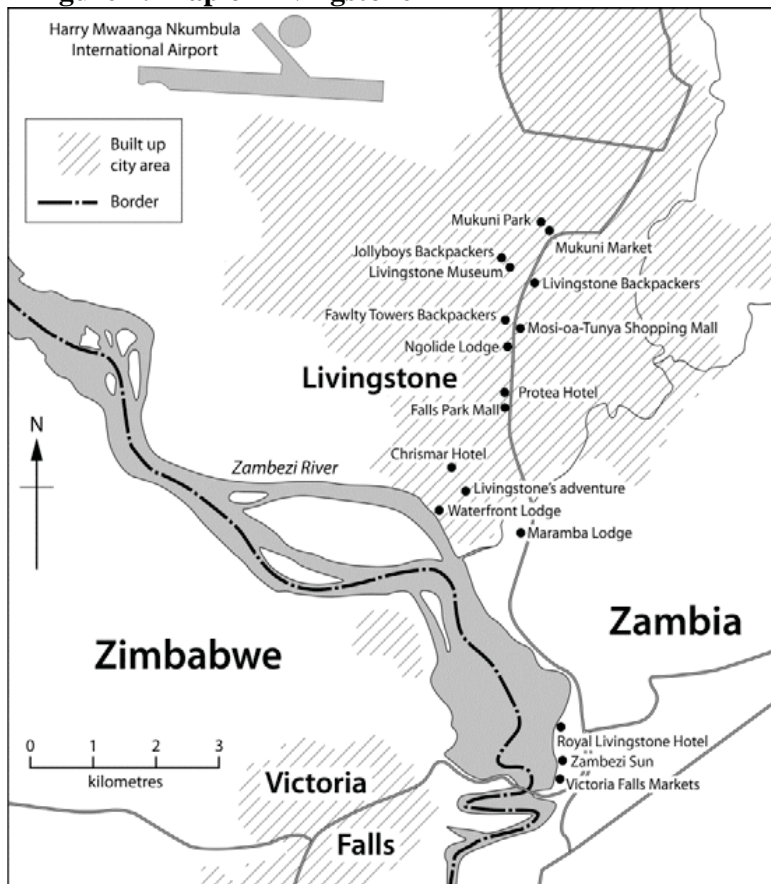
As the Zambian government has attempted to diversify the national economy following the collapse of the copper price in the 1980s, tourism has become an essential focus. Livingstone, undeniably Zambia's tourism capital, has experienced rapid growth both economically and socially, becoming a tourism hotspot within the Southern African region. With this growth has come the opportunity for local people to become involved in the tourism industry, giving tourism the potential to become an industry that is both socially and economically sustainable. Whilst a number of recent reports, policies and external comments focus strongly on tourism's economic potential, many have failed to include the perspectives of local industry stakeholders. This article addresses three key local stakeholder groups: workers in the craft industry, tourism-based employees, and guesthouse and lodge operators, in order to gain understanding of the current impact of tourism at the grassroots level, and to identify possible future pathways with the potential to ensure that tourism in Livingstone contributes to positive livelihood development.

Introduction

The area surrounding the Victoria Falls has been synonymous with tourism since the initial European exploration of the region by David Livingstone in 1855. Livingstone proclaimed of the Falls, "scenes so lovely [they] must have been gazed upon by the angels in their flight" (Zambia Tourism Board, 2011, p. 1), subsequently naming them in honour of his Queen, Victoria. Such awe of this natural wonder remains today, and the Victoria Falls have become a pre-eminent tourism attraction in the Southern African region, drawing tourists from across the world. The Victoria Falls form a border between two nations—

Zimbabwe and Zambia—offering the possibility for tourism to positively impact upon both (see Figure 1). Historically, Zimbabwe has dominated this relationship, receiving the majority of tourists throughout the 20th century. However, persistent political turmoil throughout the 1990s and 2000s has resulted in Zimbabwe’s rapid economic decline, which has led to a rise in tourism development across the border in the city of Livingstone, Zambia. Tourism is still considered to be in its infancy in Zambia, in comparison with other Southern African nations, but the impact of significant tourism development over the last 20 years is undeniable, particularly in Livingstone. Such growth has seen an impressive range of infrastructural development within the city, as tourism has simultaneously become a focus for national economic and social development.

Figure 1: Map of Livingstone



(Source: McLachlan & Binns, 2014, p. 103)

Debate around tourism growth in Livingstone has evolved alongside the development of the tourism industry, as external commentators and local authorities have examined the main factors for tourism growth and the inhibitors that have continued to limit its progression. Debate mainly focuses on the economic issues that relate to tourism development, but has also extended into issues surrounding community-based tourism (Dixey, 2005, 2008), pro-poor tourism (McGowan, 2007) and aspects of sustainability (Rogerson, 2005). What is lacking, however, is a detailed analysis of the impact of tourism on specific local stakeholders in Livingstone. This article, which is based on field research, seeks to examine the impact of tourism upon local community members in Livingstone and identify possible future pathways with the potential to make the industry more sustainable and appropriate for supporting those local individuals reliant on tourism for their livelihoods.

Changes in tourism development

The development of the tourism industry in many of the world's poorer nations has become a notable feature throughout the increasingly globalised world that has evolved in the last two centuries. An increase in disposable incomes in developed nations, and the rapid growth and development of air travel, have made holidaying overseas increasingly possible for a larger proportion of the global population (Harrison, 1992). A growth in individualistic and participatory styles of travel has also contributed to the rise of tourism in developing nations, as tourists look for more fulfilling tourism experiences outside of traditional travel destinations (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008). As the propensity for travel has grown throughout the world, with international tourist arrivals surpassing one billion people for the first time in history in 2012 (World Tourism Organisation, 2013), more nations have incorporated tourism as a focal point within their economic and social agendas. Throughout the developing world in particular, tourism growth has been rapid as many nations have continued to encourage tourism development to the point where the industry has become a key revenue and employment generator. Sofield, Bauer, De Lacy, Lipman and Daugherty (2004) argue that tourism can contribute up to 40 per cent of GDP in developing nations, as opposed to ten per cent in developed nations.

The notion of tourism as a factor within economic and social development policy in developing countries came of age during the 1950s push for modernisation—the 'advocacy' period of tourism development — where emphasis was placed on economic growth measured through key economic indices such as income and

employment generation (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008). Mowforth and Munt (2009) argue that following modernist principles of tourism growth, however, helped to create a number of uneven and unequal relationships in tourism between developed and developing nations. Drivers of tourism growth from developed countries, including the Bretton Woods institutions and private investors, are argued to have established relationships of power between developed and developing nations through their development policies at the time (Mowforth & Munt, 2009).

Unbalanced relations became further entrenched through neo-liberal development agendas formulated in the 1980s. *Laissez-faire* free market growth, privatisation and structural adjustment lending programmes introduced into developing countries exacerbated global inequalities further, limiting the benefits of tourism for national bodies and local stakeholders, and allowing foreign private entrepreneurs to capitalise on investment opportunities (Potter, Binns, Elliot & Smith, 2008). Common shortfalls in neo-liberal tourism growth include: extensive foreign ownership; earnings ‘leakages’; loss of control over local resources; inequality and the alienation of local people, which together have limited the potential impact of tourism in poorer communities (Brohman, 1996).

Alternative forms of tourism development have become popular since the 1970s, as an attempt to “...meet the basic needs of the people”, and overcome the previous imbalances of ‘top-down’ development (Potter *et al*, 2008, p. 114). Sustainability and participation in tourism have progressively become integral elements of development strategies as global attitudes towards quality of life, equality and environmental protection have shifted. Such changes have been mirrored in tourism practice since the 1980s and numerous variants have emerged, such as conservation tourism, community-based tourism (see Spenceley, 2008b; Dixey, 2005, 2008), eco-tourism, pro-poor tourism (see Overseas Development Institute, 2007a, 2007b; Roe, Ashley, Page & Meyer, 2004; Holden, 2013), responsible tourism (see Goodwin, 2011), sustainable tourism (see Telfer & Sharpley, 2008; Fusco-Girard & Nijkamp, 2009; Mundt, 2011), as well as an emphasis on empowerment at the ‘grassroots’ level. These alternative approaches represent a significant change from traditional ‘top-down’ economic-focused models, as ‘bottom-up’ styles of tourism development attempt to encourage “...appropriately scaled, locally owned and controlled development, with the community as the primary instigators and beneficiaries of tourism” (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008, p. 27). These

alternative forms of tourism development seek to promote empowerment at the local level and incorporate local stakeholders more effectively into the tourism industry, and thus attempt to reduce “...uneven and inequitable socio-economic and spatial development” (Scheyvens, 2008, p. 23).

The Zambian context

Zambia as a developing nation has felt the impact of economic changes throughout the latter part of the 20th century. Following independence in 1964, the First and Second Republic governments predominantly focused on developing the mining and manufacturing sectors, leaving other economic sectors relatively underdeveloped. In particular, copper mining became almost a ‘mono-economy’ for Zambia (see Rogerson, 2004, 2005; Husbands, 1989; Dixey, 2008), contributing 15 per cent of employment and 32 per cent of GNP in 1974 (Teye, 1986). Global copper prices became unstable, however, toward the end of the 1980s, as world price fluctuations caused ripple effects throughout every sector of Zambia’s economy (Teye, 1988). In an attempt to diversify and rejuvenate the reeling Zambian economy, the Third Republic of Zambia in 1991 initiated neo-liberal economic liberalisation and structural adjustment programmes which culminated in severe economic depression and rapid foreign investment, negatively impacting upon the quality of life for the majority of Zambia’s population (McGowan, 2007).

The focus on tourism development as a strategy for strengthening both economic and social recovery followed initial neo-liberal reforms. Tourism was promoted as an ‘economic’ category instead of a ‘social’ category for the first time in Zambia in 1996 (Rogerson, 2003). Increasing efforts in promoting and investing in tourism development have progressively integrated tourism into the national economic system and have revitalised the city of Livingstone, which is now one of the top tourism destinations in both Zambia and Africa. Since the early 1990s, and until the present day, positive and negative aspects that have influenced tourism growth in Zambia, and in particular Livingstone, have been well documented by various commentators. These are summarised below in Table 1.

Over the past twenty years, writers have extended their coverage beyond the economic impacts of tourism growth in Livingstone, to consider the key sociocultural aspects associated with tourism development. Husbands’ research represents one of the earliest studies around the perceptions of tourism at the local Livingstone level,

**Table 1:
Factors influencing tourism growth in Zambia and Livingstone**

Positive	Negative
Number of wildlife parks in Zambia	A lack of affordable finance for long-term development
Key geographical attractions, namely the Victoria Falls	Inadequate marketing budgets
Diversification of the tourism product	Poor tourism service standards
Investment of private enterprise, e.g.: Sun International	Heavy licence fees and taxes for new investors
Improvement in tourism infrastructure	Low skill-base of employees
Successful marketing campaigns, namely 'Zambia: The Real Africa' campaign	High cost of local participation in tourism
Formation of the first national tourism policy and tourism development framework in 1999	Over-dependence on air transport
Five-year Tourism Plan (2005 to 2010) in association with the World Bank Support for Economic Expansion and Diversification (SEED) project	
The demise of tourism in neighbouring Zimbabwe (circa 2005)	

(Sources: Teye, 1988; Rogerson, 2003, 2004, 2005; Myles, 2002; Arrington, 2010; McGowan, 2007; Dixey, 2005, 2008; DCDM Consulting, 2006; World Trade Organisation, 2006; Pope, 2009; Husbands, 1989; Nkombo, 2006, Hamilton & Pavy, 2010)

exploring the relationships between social class and the impact of tourism. Different social classes within Livingstone were depicted as having varying interests in tourism, focusing around their own specific needs. For example, urban workers were primarily interested in employment opportunities, and managerial classes were more interested in tourism's influence on business activity (Husbands, 1989; Husbands & Thompson, 1990). More recently, studies around community-based tourism in Zambia by Dixey (2005, 2008), and around pro-poor tourism and policy analysis in Livingstone by McGowan (2007), have made strong recommendations to further support local involvement and poverty reduction in the area. Common suggestions for future strategies centre around strengthening the relationships between business and local communities, developing support networks for local people involved in smaller tourism-related businesses, and improving capacity building for local people (see McGowan, 2007; Dixey, 2005).

The literature concerning the impacts of tourism on the local community, and ideas of pro-poor tourism initiatives in Livingstone, highlights certain social issues regarding ineffective links between the local community and the private sector, and a lack of support networks for local business people. There is paucity, however, in knowledge that is supported by detailed consultation with local stakeholders. This article examines local perspectives on the issues faced by local stakeholders, which provides a more sympathetic and direct understanding of the economic and social impacts of the Livingstone tourism industry on the local community. Aref, Sarjit and Aref (2009) argue that local communities should be 'eager participants' in tourism decision making processes. It is suggested here that without an understanding of local perspectives, the potential to implement appropriate strategies that actually benefit the local community is severely constrained.

Field-based research

In order to gain a first-hand understanding of the impacts of tourism on various local stakeholders within the Livingstone community, fieldwork was conducted over a seven-week period in November and December 2011. A total of 127 key informants were consulted during this time through direct interviews, questionnaires, focus groups and transect trips through local community projects (beekeeping, worm-farming, fish-farming, and vegetable growing). Seventy-seven key informants from hotels, activity businesses, resorts, local government, backpackers' hostels and restaurants, as well as shop owners, employees

and local artists were engaged in semi-structured interviews. A further 50 interviews were undertaken with local curio market sellers. Additionally, 35 questionnaires were administered to tourists, to gain both an understanding of their perceptions of Livingstone as a tourist destination, and also possible suggestions that could improve Livingstone as a tourist destination. One focus group was also held with nine employees from a local hotel. By utilising a variety of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies, a wide range of data was collected around the common issues and problems affecting the three main groups of local stakeholders.

Impacts among local stakeholders

Local livelihoods have changed considerably as more people have become involved in Livingstone's wide range of tourism activities. From the field-based research, three major local community stakeholder groups were identified, which are significantly dependent on the tourism industry in Livingstone, namely: craftspeople in the curio industry, employees within tourism-related businesses, and owners of guesthouses and lodges.

The curio industry

Curio selling has been associated with the tourism industry in Livingstone throughout its history, dating as far back as 1910 according to published literature (see McGregor, 2003). As progressive steps were taken in the 1990s to liberalise the Zambian economy and develop its tourism industry, trading and selling crafts became a more prominent aspect of Livingstone's informal economic sector. The Overseas Development Institute (2007a) notes that a much higher proportion of discretionary spending on 'small ticket' items such as curios usually reaches the poor than spending on 'big ticket' items, such as accommodation, tours and international travel. Industries such as craft selling have grown extensively in Livingstone, with increasing numbers of people becoming involved as sellers, producers and traders.

Field-based research revealed that the craft industry grew steadily throughout the late 1990s, peaking around 2005 and 2006 when tourism growth was also at its peak in Livingstone. Two curio stalls stated that during this peak they were earning on average ZMK five million (US\$934) per month during the busy wet season, from April to August (when Victoria Falls is in flood). During the same period, the curio sellers interviewed averaged monthly turnovers of ZMK 2.3 million (US\$429). Mowforth, Charlton and Munt (2008) argue that "...while in

absolute terms the scale of benefits may appear small, they can be relatively... significant when viewed from the perspectives of the beneficiary groups” (p. 63). The majority of participants stated that their standard of living had improved considerably as tourism had expanded, placing them in a stronger position to support their families and improve their livelihoods. Increased incomes enabled participants to send their children to school, and to more comfortably provide basic family necessities such as food and clothing.

Another positive aspect within the craft and curio industry is the fact that the majority of craft stalls are family businesses. Healy (1994) describes handicrafts as being “episodic” (p. 141), as they can be made in people’s spare time and can involve everyone in society, including women, children, the handicapped and the elderly. Out of the 50 curio sellers interviewed, there were only four craft stalls that were run by an individual person rather than a family. The other stalls were run by either parents or children, or collectively by a larger extended family, with the largest extended family stall employing 15 family members (Key Informant interview). Extended family stalls involve family members contributing to different aspects of the business, with the profits divided among those involved. Craft profits then have the potential to be filtered widely throughout the local community.

Over the last five years, a number of factors have contributed to a decline in tourism development in Livingstone, with craft stall owners and curio sellers significantly affected by this decline. Two main issues were frequently identified, namely: increased competition from hotels and shops, and the Global Financial Crisis (GFC). The GFC had a significant impact across the whole tourism industry in Livingstone. Fewer tourists were visiting the craft markets, and tourists who were continuing to visit the city were reportedly less willing to spend money on bigger and more expensive items. Collectively, all informants stated that their profit margins had fallen by approximately 75 per cent, compared with the mid 2000s when tourism was flourishing. Average monthly wages for craft stalls in the growth period were reported to be around ZMK 2.3million (US\$429), compared with ZMK 500,000 (US\$94) between 2008 to 2010 when the peak effects of the GFC were being felt. This impacted upon the livelihoods of many stall owners and craftsmen, who were unable to depend solely on their crafts and stalls for income and, therefore, were unable to support their families in a similar capacity as before the GFC. Some informants were forced to diversify their income sources, depending on agricultural labouring and

vegetable harvesting as their main means of maintaining family livelihoods.

Coupled with the impact of the GFC has been the increased number of curio shops located within shopping malls and private hotels. Twenty-four informants expressed their dissatisfaction with the growth of curio shops located in hotels and other places in the city, such as the airport. Many argued that these businesses were creating unfair competition that the curio markets could not compete with, as the former could develop stronger relationships with tourists, who were actually residing within their hotels, even though they were selling goods at slightly higher prices than in the curio markets. Furthermore, accommodation businesses were seen to be increasingly capturing tourist expenditure, even fabricating perceptions of crime and a lack of safety within the local craft markets to discourage tourists from visiting (Key Informant interview).

Larger businesses were also able to market more effectively whereas “local communities... reap few benefits of tourism because they... cannot match [the] financial resources available to external investors” (Mowforth & Munt, 2009, p. 224), thereby adding to the challenges faced by local traders and curio sellers. This led one informant to question “when is a common Zambian going to sell?” (Key Informant interview). Despite these issues, many local craftworkers and sellers were positively looking towards the future, stating that business was showing small signs of improvement in 2011 as tourist numbers were gradually rising, while the Zimbabwe side of the Falls continued to be affected by ongoing political issues.

Local employment

Another area where the growth of tourism has had a major impact is in terms of employment, where local people have been able to gain positions within accommodation and other tourism-related businesses, contributing to the growth and development of the local community. There has been considerable debate in the literature concerning the types of employment opportunities that tourism creates. Harrison (1992) offers a rather pessimistic view, arguing that employment for local people is often poorly remunerated, with a tendency for better paid senior and administrative positions to be held by ‘outsiders’. Local people are often limited to service-type roles, such as waiters, receptionists, cleaners and kitchen helpers, which are not as well remunerated as higher positions (Ankomah & Crompton, 1990).

There are, however, a number of writers who are more optimistic than Harrison, suggesting that the benefits of tourism employment are far reaching. Mowforth *et al* (2008), for example, believe it is undeniable that such employment within the industry brings into local communities "...income that would not otherwise be there" (p. 82). There is evidence that in Southern Africa, in particular, formal sector wage income accounts for 70 per cent of tourism earnings for the local poor, whereas in other parts of the world it can be as low as 20 per cent (Overseas Development Institute, 2007b). In Livingstone, it was estimated in 2007 that around 16,000 formal jobs had been created in the tourism sector. The Livingstone Tourism Association (LTA) estimated that approximately a quarter of Livingstone's population had benefitted economically from tourism development in the city (Standish & Boting, 2007).

Participants in this field-based research stated that the tourism industry had indeed provided the local community with increased employment opportunities and the capacity to benefit economically. They revealed that there had been a significant improvement in local housing, the number of vehicles owned by local people, and the number of hotels being constructed and employing local community members (Key Informant interviews). Local employees interviewed were overwhelmingly positive about the situation, with many believing that tourism had created numerous positive effects for not only themselves and their families, but also for the city as a whole. Such increased opportunities stand in stark contrast to the 1990s, when Livingstone experienced mass industrial closures, losing 50 industries and 46,000 formal sector jobs (Lee, 2001). The significant decline in formal employment during the 1990s has slowly been replaced by the developing tourism industry. Tourism is now considered to be 'our industry' by many employees from the local community (Focus Group interview).

Coupled with the direct job opportunities that tourism has created in recent years are the many and varied indirect opportunities. It has been argued that indirect impacts can boost the economic impact of tourism by 50 to 90 per cent (Overseas Development Institute, 2007b). The rapid growth of service-type industries in Livingstone has occurred alongside tourism growth. This development includes: two shopping malls; an expanding automotive industry; the international airport; an expanding taxi industry; and an increase in local food production from local farms. Rogerson (2005) notes further 'tourism-led' indirect businesses which have opened alongside tourism growth, such as dairy product suppliers,

petrol filling stations and a brewery, and have created further employment opportunities for local people. Such industries now play a significant role in the city's economy, partly because they require a substantial labour force to cater for the increased demand that tourism has created. As many business owners commented during the interviews, the opportunity for local economic development increases as more businesses seek to source locally, thus, in turn, improving the livelihoods of involved individuals and their families.

The tourism industry is considered to create 'good jobs,' meaning positions that can provide healthy work environments as compared to industries such as mining and agriculture, with the prospect of educational up-skilling on-site when working in places like hotels (Christie & Crompton, 2001). Developing skills at the lower level creates the opportunity for local people to have a chance to gain higher positions within the tourism industry. Previous academic writers have argued that tourism provides only low-level employment for local people, who have limited chances of subsequently gaining higher managerial positions (see Harrison, 1992; McGowan, 2007; Myles, 2002; Spenceley, 2008a). Certain owners and business managers within Livingstone, however, stated that a number of their employees had, over time, become better qualified and had gained higher-ranking positions within their companies (Key Informant interview).

Myles (2002) argues that, in Zambia, it is accepted that every one person with a job probably supports "at least ten others" (p. 20). This assertion was corroborated by a majority of business owners interviewed, who stated that the impact of employing one person within the tourism industry was considerable, suggesting that the benefits to the employee's wider family were far greater when compared with tourism employees from developed nations. In Livingstone, this has enabled the economic benefits gained by tourism employees to be disseminated throughout the wider community.

Local guesthouses and lodges

The growth of the tourism industry in Livingstone has created opportunities for local people to develop businesses both directly, in terms of activities and accommodation facilities, and indirectly, by opening businesses such as restaurants and other service industries that support the tourism industry. Rogerson (2003) states that in the late 1990s, the Zambian national government attempted to "...redistribute opportunities for participation" through its first national tourism policy, which was aimed at assisting Zambians to "own, manage hotels, lodges

and other tourist facilities” (p. 51). Myles (2002), however, was critical of the resulting impact, stating that during the early 2000s there was, “...little evidence of local Zambians getting involved as owners and managers” (p. 15). However, as tourism has expanded since that period, local ownership has increased. One of the most noticeable areas where local people have become prominent is through the ownership of guesthouses and lodges. In the 1990s, Rogerson (2005) noted a steady growth in small tourism accommodation establishments such as lodges, backpackers’ hostels, and bed and breakfast establishments. This growth continued during the early to mid-2000s, and growth in the industry is still evident, albeit at a slower pace due to the effects of the GFC. It now seems likely that over 300 local guesthouses exist within Livingstone, the majority being Zambian owned and operated (Key Informant interview). Research participants stated that guesthouses are significantly cheaper to establish and manage compared with larger hotels, and they provide a more feasible opportunity for local people to become involved. The guesthouse industry in Livingstone attracts a significant proportion of the domestic tourism market, due to the lower room rates that are available when compared with larger hotels and resorts. During the peak of tourism growth, from 2004 to 2008, many guesthouses were performing well. In 2005, in particular, Standish and Boting (2007) reported that over 25,000 visitors to Livingstone stayed in guesthouses. Guesthouses also create employment opportunities for the wider population, reaching deeper into the local community than larger hotels albeit on a smaller economic scale.

While the guesthouse industry has grown and created many opportunities for local people, there are still certain issues that are preventing it from achieving its full potential. Competition has now become problematic as impacts like the GFC have created a decline in tourist numbers. Oversupply now exists during the slack seasons when the Victoria Falls are dry (October to March). The World Bank (2011) states that many locally-owned businesses suffer without access to credit, and grow at a “...slow pace supported by cash flow from operators” (p. 7). As Zambia is still a desperately poor nation, (ranked 150 out of 169 nations on the Human Development Index in 2013 [UNICEF, 2013]), many people do not have access to funds to become involved in the guesthouse industry. Commercial bank interest rates were 300 per cent higher than the inflation rate in 2011 (Chikwanda, 2011), making it unrealistic for local people to borrow. Other funding options do exist, for example the Tourism Development Credit Facility supported by the Zambian Government, but this also has interest rates

that are not affordable for many local people (Dixey, 2005; Key Informant interviews). Another aspect which impacts upon funding are the high license and taxation costs involved in establishing tourism-related businesses in Zambia. This, coupled with limited access to credit, limits the potential for Zambians to enter into the industry, or improve business capacity and expand their operations. Kasongo and Moono (2010) are critical of guesthouse industry standards, stating that, “in areas where local people have invested, it is clear that no efforts have been put in place to improve quality standards” (p. 70). The ability to improve standards, however, is not possible without access to credit. Overall, whilst there are issues within the guesthouse and lodge sector, there has still been significant growth in this sector as tourism has grown. This growth has injected money into the local community, furthering employment opportunities for local people.

Future pathways for local stakeholders

Issues like fluctuations in the number of tourists due to the GFC and other reasons such as oversaturation, raise concerns surrounding sustainability in the craft and guesthouse sectors and whether local people can actually support long-term livelihoods within these two sectors. The tourism industry can always be considered an unstable industry, since so many uncontrollable factors can quickly influence the number of visitors and demand for the destination and create serious problems for local hosts. During the time of this field-based research, it was evident that a number of local stakeholders involved in the tourism industry, especially those engaged in informal trading, were beginning to feel the effects of the downturn in tourist numbers. Whilst issues such as the GFC have long-lasting effects, and are not simply reversed by implementing policies at the local level, this article will now offer two recommendations which support the opinions of local stakeholders, and could possibly be put into place for future tourism development in Livingstone.

Giving a greater voice to all local stakeholders could be a major step to ensuring livelihood sustainability. Currently, the informal sector is significantly underrepresented within any type of marketing campaign or tourism body (also supported by McGowan, 2007). Whilst minor associations exist which support individual stakeholders, such as a guesthouse association (LILOGHA) and smaller market associations (such as the Mukuni Park Market Association), their relationship with larger bodies such as the LTA, the City Council, or even with local ministerial bodies such as the Ministry of Tourism, is minimal. Local

people involved in crafts and guesthouses need greater representation among larger tourism bodies, and should have the opportunity to elect a representative who can address local issues within such bodies. If these larger tourism bodies can foster stronger relations with central government, it could go a long way to ensuring that the informal sector and smaller business owners become more formalised, 'engaging' with the wider tourism industry (McGowan, 2007). This will hopefully lead to more effective communication, which can enable businesses and smaller associations within larger representative associations like the LTA to have stronger rapport with one another, and hopefully solve issues through collaboration.

Achieving greater 'industry unity' was considered to be one of the five main drivers of the LTA within its three-year plan from 2009 to 2012 (Livingstone Tourism Association, 2009), but at the time of research this plan was still underdeveloped. Hamilton *et al* (2007) stress that a greater share of tourism profits must remain within the communities and reach their poorer members. By becoming more active in wider tourism associations, craft industries and guesthouse owners could then express their concerns through a more united and powerful body. In doing this, issues facing local stakeholders, such as the high cost of tourism licensing and taxation, the issues around local craftworkers competing with larger hotels and businesses, and the lack of attainable financing options for starting tourism businesses, could be addressed with the support of a larger and stronger unified body.

Greater cohesion between the public and private sectors would also appear to help support the interests of local stakeholders within the Livingstone tourism industry (supported by Myles, 2002). Not only is it important to link all local stakeholders within associations like the LTA and LILOGHA, but such associations must also have stronger rapport with the public sector. Since its introduction, the LTA has developed into a powerful body that has the potential to further develop and represent the private sector as a 'mouthpiece' for the Livingstone tourism industry, conveying industry concerns to the government (Livingstone Tourism Association, 2009). At the time of research, there were a number of shortfalls in communication between the public and private sector that placed pressure on local businesses. For example, the sudden reinstatement of VAT (Value Added Tax) charges on the accommodation industry in the mid-2000s, had major financial impacts for both foreign and local stakeholders. A number of other 'double dipping' governmental charges, such as high corporate taxes on the tourism industry (35%) and duty charged on imported goods, wine for

example (120%), significantly increase operating costs (Government Liaison Task Force of the LTA, 2010). This has led to two reports (see World Bank, 2011; Government Liaison Task Force of the LTA, 2010), emphasising the importance of eliminating sudden cost changes within the enabling environment of the tourism industry, since such sudden changes impact upon business returns and bookings made in advance as prices cannot be easily adjusted to accommodate the sudden shift in fees.

The private sector also has to undertake much of the marketing of Livingstone as a destination (World Bank, 2011), where there is significant confusion surrounding the expectations and outputs of the private and public sectors in such areas as marketing and promotion. It is, therefore, crucial for the private sector to build a stronger relationship with national government to avoid such damaging implications. Currently, the new government is looking at decentralising power to locally-based authorities, which is a step in the right direction. However, for this to be completely effective, a single officiating tourism body in Zambia must be established, as it has been suggested that a lack of effective links between government departments is partly the reason for such poor communication and sudden changes in business costs (see World Bank, 2011). With a single authority, the relationship between the private and public sector would be improved, further empowering local stakeholders. The private sector, ideally represented through the LTA, would then need to engage with the public sector regularly, formulating appropriate policies and laws that allow growth to occur in a sustainable, development-orientated and cost-appropriate manner that supports the interests of all stakeholders.

Conclusion

The growth of tourism within Livingstone has brought with it substantial expansion and development for a city that was described as a “ghost town” in the 1990s (Key Informant interview). This growth, and the subsequent impacts that have derived from tourism, have been well documented from an economic perspective, and explored to a limited extent from a sociocultural perspective. However, one aspect that has received little attention in sociocultural research, are the opinions and perspectives from various local stakeholder groups involved in the Livingstone tourism industry. Currently, there is a substantial proportion of Livingstone’s population involved in informal sector trading and craft selling, formal employment, and small-to-medium-sized guesthouse and lodge accommodation. Such issues and impacts that are experienced by

these local stakeholders are often neglected within reports and policies that address the broader economic successes and inhibitors of tourism development. This article, supported by field-based research, has highlighted the current issues and impacts that tourism is having among local stakeholders, suggesting future pathways that could possibly incorporate local stakeholders more effectively within wider tourism associations. By addressing these perspectives, it is hoped that the needs of local stakeholders might be better articulated in broader discussions concerning the future sustainable development of Livingstone's tourism industry.

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