

Lessons from Africa: Social-economic impacts of enclave tourism in Livingstone, Zambia

Lecciones desde África: Impacto socioeconómico del enclave turístico en Livingstone, Zambia

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Abstract

This paper employs dependency paradigm to illustrate the social-economic impacts of enclave tourism on developing countries using Livingstone town in Zambia, Africa as a case study. Utilising both primary and secondary data sources, the study finds that, foreign investors and international tourists primarily dominate the tourism industry in Livingstone. The domination of the sector by foreign investors has resulted in dependency paradigm tourism development and failure by tourism to significantly contribute to social-economic development Livingstone town. Despite being credited as a significant sector that contributes to the social-economic development and poverty alleviation, dependency paradigm approach to tourism development in Livingstone has led to weaker linkages with domestic economy resulting in minimal impact on the overall economic growth of the town. Additionally, tourism in Livingstone has been rendered uncompetitive from a business perspective due to dominance by foreign ownership of key tourism enterprises who have created cartels in the business, thereby creating barriers for local businesses to compete effectively. Because of its nature, the tourism sector in Livingstone cannot be pronounced as sustainable. To, address problems of enclave tourism and promote more inclusive and beneficial tourism development in Livingstone and other tourism destinations in developing countries, there is need to adopt policies and strategies that ensure full involvement of local communities and the return of significant earnings from tourism. The strategies must also ensure that tourism development has strong linkages with the rest of the local social-economic activities.

Resumen

El presente artículo emplea el paradigma de dependencia para ilustrar los impactos socioeconómicos del turismo de enclave en países en desarrollo utilizando la ciudad de Livingstone en Zambia (África) como caso de estudio. Utilizando fuentes primarias y secundarias, este estudio revela que los inversionistas extranjeros y los turistas internacionales dominan principalmente la industria del turismo en Livingstone. El dominio del sector por parte de inversionistas extranjeros ha resultado en el desarrollo de un paradigma de dependencia de la actividad turística para contribuir significativamente al desarrollo socioeconómico de la ciudad de Livingstone. A pesar de ser acreditado como un sector importante que contribuye al desarrollo socioeconómico y al alivio de la pobreza, el enfoque del paradigma de dependencia del desarrollo turístico en Livingstone ha conducido a vínculos más débiles con la economía doméstica, lo que ha tenido un impacto mínimo en el crecimiento económico general de la ciudad. Además, el turismo en Livingstone se ha vuelto poco competitivo desde una perspectiva comercial debido al dominio de la propiedad extranjera de las principales empresas turísticas que han creado carteles y oligopolios en el negocio, creando así barreras para que las empresas locales compitan efectivamente. Debido a su naturaleza, el sector turístico en Livingstone no se puede declarar como sostenible. Para abordar los problemas del turismo de enclave y promover un desarrollo turístico más inclusivo y beneficioso en Livingstone y en otros destinos turísticos de países en desarrollo, es necesario adoptar políticas y estrategias que garanticen la plena participación de las comunidades locales y un retorno doméstico de las significativas ganancias del turismo. Las estrategias también deben garantizar que el desarrollo turístico tenga fuertes vínculos con el resto de actividades socioeconómicas locales.

Keywords | palabras clave

Enclave tourism, sustainable tourism development, developing countries, Livingstone, Zambia.
Turismo de enclave, desarrollo de turismo sostenible, países en desarrollo, Livingstone, Zambia.

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1. Introduction

This paper draws on the dependency paradigm to illustrate the social-economic impacts of enclave tourism on developing countries using the town of Livingstone in Zambia, Africa as a case study (figure 1).

Figure 1. Map of Zambia showing the location of Livingstone City



Source: map-states.bid

Arguably, tourism has become one of the 21st-century world's largest and fastest growing industry. Tribe John, and Colin Michael Hall in their book *Tourism and Public Policy* published in 1995, acknowledge and predicted the continued growth of the tourism industry by stating that "Tourism is the world's largest industry and is expected to continue to grow and maintain that status well into the twenty-first century," (Tribe and Hall, 1995:1). Two decades after Hall and Tribe made this prediction the world has indeed witnessed the growth of the tourism industry, arguably to unprecedented levels.

According to World Tourism and Travel Council (WTTC, 2017), the travel and tourism industry has become a critical sector for economic development and job creation throughout the world. The industry's direct contribution to the world economy and job creation in 2016 alone accounted for US\$2.3 trillion and 109 million jobs worldwide. The sector contributed US\$7.6 trillion to the global economy and supported 292 million jobs in 2016, taking into account its broader indirect and induced impacts. The contribution was equal to 10.2% of the world's GDP, and approximately 1 in 10 of all jobs (WTTC, 2017).

Accordingly, the World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) notes that; international tourism and travel has grown spectacularly since the 1970s. This is despite wars, political turmoil, natural disasters, medical scares, terrorist attacks, economic and energy crises in various parts of the world (UNWTO, 2013a).

Additionally, the UNWTO reports and records indicate that global tourism has continued to experience growth and extended diversification over the decades to become one of the fastest growing industry in the world (UNWTO, 2015). Modern tourism growth has been diligently linked to development and includes an increasing number of new destinations. These dynamics have turned tourism into a key driver for social-economic progress. Notwithstanding, random shocks, international tourist arrivals have shown virtually constant growth from 25 million in 1950 to 278 million in 1980, 528 million in 1995, and 1,035 billion in 2012.

In terms of the long-term outlook, UNWTO has focused that international tourist arrivals worldwide will increase by 3.3% a year from 2010 to 2030 to reach 1.8 billion by 2030. Between 2010 and 2030, arrivals in emerging destinations (+4.4% a year) are expected to increase at double the pace of that in advanced economies (+2.2% a year) (UNWTO Highlights, 2013b).

Li and Guo (2017) note that, in developing countries, regions, towns and cities, tourism is considered as a catalyst for development. Therefore, governments in developing countries view tourism as a fast track to development and principal contributor to national social-economic development. This is because of the sector's ability to bring in the much needed foreign income, create employment opportunities, provide balance of payments advantages and essentially contribute to infrastructure developments that benefit both locals and visitors (Akama and Kieti, 2007).

In Zambia, tourism was almost non-existent at the time the country was gaining independence from Britain in 1964. Scholars such as Teye (1986) state that, tourism was not recognised as a sector worthy of development in Zambia until 1965 after the southern African country gained her independence. Arthur (1968), affirms that in 1965 Zambia developed the first National Development Plan; in that plan it projected 155,000 foreign visitors and US\$6 million receipts by 1970, basing its estimation on tourist arrivals and revenue during the early 1960s. Ngwira and Musinguzi, (2011a), document that "since independence, up until 1996, Zambia's tourism industry was just classified as a social sector". However, in 1996 the Zambian government reclassified the tourism sector from a social one to an economic one. This was done in recognition of the sector's potential to contribute to economic development in terms of, inter alia, foreign exchange earnings, employment and income generation, contribution to Government revenues, promotion of rural development and as well as perform the role of a sustain-

able development catalyst. By the year 2016, Zambia's tourism industry debatably had grown to be the second largest economic sector in the country contributing 4% to the country's Gross Domestic Product (Ministry of Tourism and Arts 2015; 2016).

The considerable share of international tourists who come to Zambia visit Livingstone because of the Victoria Falls / Mosi-oa-Tunya one of the seven natural wonders of the world and a United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) inscribed world heritage site. The Victoria Falls is a shared tourism product between Zambia and Zimbabwe which was inscribed as a UNESCO world heritage site in 1989. The other tourist pull factors to Livingstone are the many adrenaline activities that the destination offers, the rich cultural, historical heritage complemented with wildlife habitat in the Mosi-oa-tunya national park.

Zambia Tourism Agency the government tourism marketing wing intimates that in the past decade Livingstone has received more than a quarter of a million tourists, almost double the number of the previous decade. On average, almost half of the total tourists to Zambia visit Livingstone. The growth of tourism in Livingstone has stirred up the development of a diversity of associated infrastructure and facilities, such as hotels, lodges, safari camps and guest houses, the only airport in Livingstone has been upgraded and the runway extended to be able land bigger aircrafts.

Though Livingstone town has received its fair share of tourism and infrastructure development in the past decade and attracted many foreign tourism investors, arguably; the whole business in Livingstone is largely in the hands of the foreigners. Scholars such as Mbaiwa (2002) refers to such developments as developments that lead a booming tourist economy built around what is perceived internationally as a "new" and "exotic" destination. Ahn, Lee, and Shafer (2002) state that tourism facilities and programs are developed to create changes such as increased personal income or tax revenues to a host region. However, tourism as with any development can also produce changes that remove opportunity or threaten the quality of life, which is the case of Livingstone town in Zambia.

Previous studies on tourism development in Zambia and Livingstone in particular (Teye, 1988; Husbands, 1989; Rakner, 2003; and Muuka et al 2006) focused on positive economic impacts of tourism such as, foreign exchange earnings, employment creation and infrastructure development without necessarily extending their research into issues of poverty alleviation and the social-economic implications of tourism on the destination or investigating the equitable sharing and distribution of tourism benefits by stakeholders. The current growth and development of tourism in Livingstone, therefore, raises questions of sustainability in relation to social-economic benefits.

Wall (1997) explains that sustainable development provides for tourism to be economically viable, culturally appropriate and ecologically sensitive. The dependency paradigm approach to social-economic development in Livingstone presents an interesting matter of debate among economists and tourism scholars. Ngwira and Musinguzi, (2011b) contend that despite attracting so many foreign investors in the tourism sector, Livingstone remains among many towns with high poverty levels in Zambia.

The dependency paradigm is one of the frameworks that has been used to describe tourism in developing countries (Meyer, 2013). The dependency paradigm concept is based on the belief that resources flow from a «periphery» of poor and

underdeveloped states to a «core» of wealthy states, enriching the latter at the expense of the former. In the context of tourism the framework is grounded on the understanding that tourism in developing countries primarily relies on demand from, and is organised from developed countries. This scenario creates a type of tourism known as enclave tourism (Mbaiwa 2003, Mbaiwa, 2005). Consequently, the resolve of this paper is to use the dependency paradigm in explaining the social-economic impact of enclave tourism development in developing countries using destination Livingstone in Zambia as a case in point. The paper also uses the concept of sustainable development to assess the sustainability of tourism in Livingstone.

2. Sustainable Tourism Development

The concept of sustainable development result from a worldview which sees the survival, progress, and continued maintenance of the human community as dependent on the continued health and viability of the earth's life support systems (Keiner, 2005). Sustainable development implies processes of fundamental change in our social system institutions and individual actions. The drive of this change relates to addressing the challenges embedded in the 21st - century global awareness that the earth is finite, and all of the planet's life support systems including social and economic systems are globally interconnected and interdependent.

The publication of the 1987 Brundtland report, widely criticised in some circles as lacking specifics, «Our Common Future» marked a breakpoint in thinking on environment, development, and governance. The UN-sponsored World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), led by Gro Harlem Brundtland, issued a bold call to recalibrate institutional mechanisms at global, national and local levels to promote economic development that would guarantee the security, well-being, and very survival of the planet (WCED, 1987: 23). Sneddon et al., (2006) emphasizes that the call for sustainable development was a redirection of the enlightenment project, a pragmatic response to the problems of the times.

The Brundtland report also provided the widely accepted definition of sustainable development which is that "Sustainable development is a development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." The World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO, 1998) documents that, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, popularly known as the Earth Summit held in 1992 in Brazil Rio de Janeiro further stimulated the need for sustainable tourism development and was expressed in agenda 21 that was adopted by the conference.

After the Rio conference, many nations' organisations and governments began adopting sustainability as a fundamental development policy. The UNWTO was one of the first international organisations that adopted the sustainable approach to tourism development and preaches sustainable principles in all of its tourism planning and development guidelines. Hunt (1992: 2) suggested that the concept of sustainable tourism development is "one of the healthiest insights of tourism". However, the concept is not easily understood and - as policy - certainly not easily implemented (Haider and Johnston, 1992, Burr and Walsh, 1994). Butler (1993) suggested that a working defini-

tion of sustainable development in the context of tourism could be taken as tourism which remains viable over an indefinite period and does not degrade or alter the environment (human and physical) in which it exists to such a degree that it prohibits the successful development and well-being of other activities and processes. In line with Butler's suggestion, UNWTO has defined «sustainable tourism» as “tourism development that meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future.” It is envisaged as leading to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity, and life support systems (World Tourism Organisation 1998).

3. Methodology

This paper utilised qualitative research design, basing results on data collected through interviews by the author between January 2017 and July 2017. While the scholarship relied on information obtained from both primary and secondary sources, the study mainly focused and relied on secondary data. Secondary data collection centred on the use of information obtained through the literatures collected from government policy documents, reports and in any other published and unpublished documents on tourism in Livingstone and Zambia. Primary data collection involved the administration of structured, semi-structured interviews with a complement of questionnaires to 35 tourism stakeholders in Livingstone. Structured and semi-structured interviews were administered to both foreign and local tourism investors, local residents and to domestic employees working in diverse tourism enterprises.

Furthermore primary data collection was supplemented with formal discussions held with the central and local government officials in Livingstone. These officials were randomly selected from such institutions as Ministry of Tourism and Arts Regional Office based, Livingstone Livingstone City Council, Ministry of Labour District Labour Office, Office of the District Commissioner, Zambia Tourism Agency office in Livingstone and Livingstone Tourism Association, a membership association for tourism operators based in Livingstone.

Interviews with tourism operators and local residents centred on issues of ownership of tourism facilities, employment opportunities, salary benefits and the impacts of tourism on their social life. While formal interviews and questionnaires administered to central and local government officials in Livingstone focused on matters of policies, labour laws, investment laws, equal sharing of benefits derived from tourism, the involvement of local community in tourism planning and development in Livingstone.

4. Results

The Socio-economic impacts of enclave tourism in Livingstone is not a unique case from other tourist destination in many developing countries around the world (Shaw and Shaw; 1999, Mbaiwa, 2005, Anderson, 2011; Naidoo and Sharpley; 2016). Once the capital city of Zambia, Livingstone city has grown from a small settler at Old Drift in 1905 (Arrington, 2010) to a bustling modern African city with a population of 139, 509 inhabitants and a population density of 201 persons per square kilometre

(CSO, 2010). Regarding social-economic development, the city of Livingstone has arguably undergone a vacillating transformation from a once-thriving industrial city combined with booming tourism industry to become one of the most economically disadvantaged towns in the country with high unemployment rates.

Historically, Livingstone was once upon a time a thriving town in Zambia, all the rich and famous people lived in Livingstone and apart from being the capital city of Zambia and a the core tourist destination, Livingstone was once an industrial town with one of the best motor assemblies in the country (Rogerson, 2005). However, the town started losing its economic power after the capital was moved to Lusaka augmented with the national economic collapse in the 1980s seemed to have put the last nail on the once economically thriving town in Zambia.

Since Zambia's 1980s economic downturn, Livingstone town has struggled to recover and overall the city's economy, like the national economy, has depended much on the informal sector for economic development. Shah, (2012a) observes "one of Zambia's main economic challenges is an ever-growing informal sector." Gerxhani, (2004) points out that, this sector is typically characterised by its ease of entry (anybody can start a business whenever they feel like) low levels of skills, labour intensive technology, and small-sized firms. However, the real value contribution to the economy is very low.

The informal sector in Zambia employs 90% of the labour force and has proliferated in recent years reaching approximately more than a million informal businesses, which mostly are rural based; involving agricultural activities done by farmers with low skills and generating low revenues (Shah, 2012b). As rightly observed by Shah, small-scale businesses and the informal economy are the prime economic activities in Livingstone. Much of the informal economy in Livingstone involves; cross-border trading, stone quarrying, selling of curios and handicrafts, small shops, street hawkers or vending. While other Livingstone residents are engaged in small-scale farming producing and selling various farm products ranging from vegetables to rearing cattle, chickens and goats.

Accordingly, the Livingstone Chamber of Commerce, asserts that this high percentage of businesses operate outside the scope of government / council levies and cost recovery systems. Therefore, not contributing to government revenue generation systems.

In terms of tourism development, contently Livingstone has witnessed steady growth in tourism development in the last two decades. However, this level of development has arguably been at a snail's pace compared to other tourist towns in the same region such as South Africa, Botswana and even the border town of Victoria falls across the Zambezi river in Zimbabwe. As advocated by McLachlan and Binns, (2014) "Livingstone, Zambia's tourism capital has experienced rapid growth both economically and socially, becoming a tourism hotspot within the southern African block. According to the records from the Patents and Companies Registration Agency (PACRA) a semi-autonomous executive agency of the Zambian Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Industry for the first quarter of 2014 only, more than 157 tourism business had been registered in Livingstone alone.

The government claims that the significant tourism development in Livingstone over the past two decades is arguably unquestionable (Ministry of Tourism and Arts, Department of Tourism, 2016). The town received massive government support in

infrastructure development towards the run-up to co-host the 2013 UNWTO General Assembly. Funds were made available for upgrades of the township roads, expansion of the runway on Livingstone international airport capable of landing such big planes as Boeing 777 and Airbus A380. Furthermore; the airport received funds for a brand new international terminal (Lusaka Times, 2011). The Livingstone Central Business District market was upgraded, and a new bus terminus constructed. Such unprecedented range of infrastructural development within the city has seen tourism become a focus not only for Livingstone but at the national level for economic and social development (Ministry of Tourism and Arts Department of Tourism, 2015).

Livingstone has also witnessed unparalleled development in the area of tourist's accommodation many players both local and foreign have come on board to set up quality accommodation facility in the city. Arguably the coming of Sun International Resort Hotel signified the start of modern tourism development in Livingstone.

The Zambian government view all these development in Livingstone as an opportunity for local people to be directly involved in the tourism businesses, giving the sector the potential to become an industry that is both socially and economically sustainable.

Tourism in Zambia is possibly all about Livingstone, and for quite some time now Livingstone has remained a must visit destination in the country for both local and international tourists. Table (1) below shows the international tourist arrivals by origin into Livingstone town for a period between 2012 to 2016. Tourism in Livingstone and Zambia as a whole is mainly dependant on foreign tourists. Domestic tourism in the country is still in its infancy.

Table 1. Tourist arrivals into Livingstone by origin 2012-2016

ORIGIN	YEAR				
	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
South Africa	54,701	60,192	79,120	66,021	88,933
East Africa	40,644	42,937	45,735	48,533	51,331
North Africa	568	606	652	598	844
West Africa	1,028	1,508	1,608	705	1,608
Central Africa	34,251	45,428	51,271	58,913	65,500
Europe	65,087	70,595	69,757	55,919	134,081
America	20,682	26,638	29,250	21,413	43,801
Asia & Ocean	27,956	30,097	32,710	35,323	57,936
Total	244,917	278,001	310,103	287,425	444,034

Source: Ministry of Tourism and Arts (2016)

In terms of receipts, Livingstone is also considered to be the main contributor to revenue earned from the tourism sector. Between 2012 and 2016 the city of Livingstone total yearly direct revenue earned from various tourism enterprises ranged between

148,841,075 to 188,000,000 respectively. Table (2) shows a five-year period increase in revenue generation from tourism subsectors for the years 2012 to 2016.

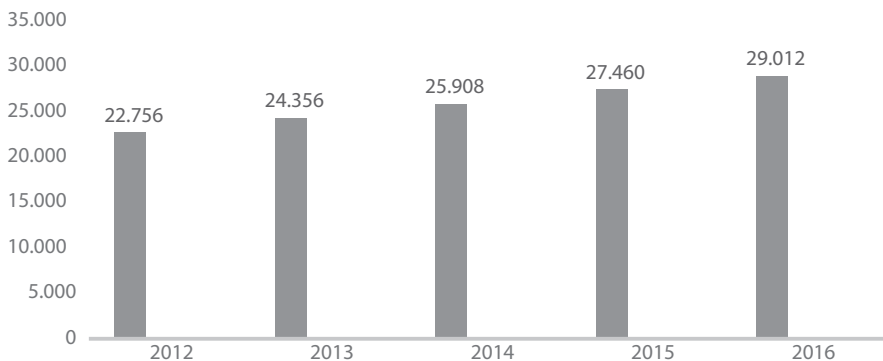
Table 2. Livingstone tourism receipts 2012-2016

SUB-SECTOR	YEAR AND AMOUNTS IN USD				
	2012 USD	2013 USD	2014 USD	2015 USD	2016 USD
Accommodation	561,321,00	60,571,624	62,150,653	66,638,473	70,900,017
Travel	44,174,611	47,668,409	48,911,068	52,442,874	55,796,606
Tours	25,953,158	28,005,810	28,735,888	30,810,870	32,781,231
Car Hire	14,726,759	15,891,508	16,305,781	17,483,201	18,601,255
Other	7,854,445	8,475,658	8,696,608	9,324,579	9,920,888
Total	148,841,075	160,613,011	164,800,000	176,700,000	188,000,000

Source: Ministry of Tourism and Arts (2016)

In relation to employment, the city of Livingstone has the highest workforce employed in the tourism sector in Zambia. One in three employees that you will meet in Livingstone work for the tourism enterprise or tourism-related business. Figure (2) below shows a five-year period 2012 to 2016 of the number of jobs or employment created by the tourism sector in Livingstone.

Figure 2. Tourism employment status in Livingstone 2012-2016



Source: Ministry of Tourism and Arts (2016)

The mainstay of tourism in Livingstone is debatably the Musi-ao-tunya / Victoria Falls, a world heritage tourism product shared with Zimbabwe. Situated about 10km from the city of Livingstone the Victoria Falls is one of the most visited tourism product in Zambia; it is one of the must must-see tourist attraction in Africa. Table (3) below

shows both local and foreign tourist visitor numbers to Victoria Falls World Heritage site for the period 2005 to 2010.

Table 3. Local and Foreign visitors to Victoria Falls 2005-2010

YEAR	LOCAL VISITORS	FOREIGN VISITORS	TOTAL
2010	79,162	41,038	120,200
2011	68,734	40,690	109,424
2012	82,224	44,267	126,491
2013	178,580	68,234	246,814
2014	110,790	71,980	182,770
2015	158,778	88,986	147,764
Total	678,268	355,195	1,033,463

Source: NHCC (2016)

Although local tourists surpass international tourist's numbers visiting the Victoria falls, in terms of revenue, more income is generated from foreign tourists as many local tourists to Victoria Falls are school going children who visit the world heritage site on complementary, nonetheless, are captured under domestic tourists statistics.

An assessment of tourism's contribution to social-economic development requires an investigation into the backward and forward linkages between tourism and other sectors, an understanding of the spatial location of tourism activities, and identification of the beneficiaries of its economic and other impacts (Briedenhann and Eugenia 2004). Therefore, the primary concern of any tourism destination in developing country is its ability to have strong linkages with the domestic social-economic sectors such as agriculture, manufacturing, construction, wholesale and retail trade, accommodation facilities and restaurants, transport, banking and insurance services, water and electricity, and social and personal services.

5. Discussions

Results from this study as illustrated by primary data from field interviews conducted by the author in Livingstone and backed by secondary data, indicates that; due to the nature of the Zambian (Livingstone) tourism industry (external control and management of tourism enterprises, weaker government labour and investment laws, limited involvement of the local community, high leakage rates and weaker linkages with the domestic economy), the tourism sector has not played a useful role in contributing to local socio-economic development.

Furthermore, collected and analysed data reveals that Zambia's tourism contribution to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is still minimal, primarily because of the weaker forward and backward linkages and heavy reliance on foreign feeds. For example, the Ministry of Tourism and Arts, Department of Tourism (2016) produced a report demonstrating the impact of tourism on Zambia's economy; the report indicates that

tourism contributed 3.4% to GDP in 2015. Meanwhile, the 7th National Development plan has only captured some selected sectors from the whole tourism industry and records 1.4% (Hotel and Restaurants) as a contribution to National Gross Domestic Product. Despite the unreliable data on the real contribution of tourism to Zambia's GDP, interviews with officials from the Ministry of Tourism confirms that Zambia's tourism industry is not performing and contribute to government revenue as expected, citing its weaker linkages with the rest of the domestic economy coupled with some weaker regulations.

On who benefits more from tourism investment and tourism businesses in Livingstone it was found that the community felt left out as they accused foreign investors and the state of being the principal beneficiaries of the proceeds from the tourism industry. They wished they could benefit more at the household level.

Regarding investment, findings indicate that Zambia had very ambitious investment policies. However, it had some shortcomings; for instance, the Zambia Development Agency Act provides for all foreign investors to bring in at least five top management to work in their business, this kind of policy does not favour the local professional. The investment policies also lacked clear direction on the foreign tourism investors contribution to the development of the local economy in areas where they invest; this has just been left at the discretion of the investors. Furthermore, it was found that foreign tourism investors had been given too many incentives which have led to misconceptions among the local people.

Additionally; data available from the company registration authority PACRA shows that in Livingstone 80% of the tourism enterprise are foreign owned, citizens own 18% and 2% is jointly owned by citizens and non-citizens. This suggests that foreign companies and investors have an influence of about 80% of the tourism business in Livingstone. Earlier and similar studies were done by Rogerson (2011) confirm that foreign companies and investors mostly dominate the tourism industry in Livingstone and Zambia. This situation has a created negative social-economic impact on the host destination. This state of affairs is not in line with the principles of sustainable development which emphasises equal access and participation in by local people in the use of tourism resources. Therefore, a sustainable tourism industry should be sensitive to the needs and aspirations of the host population and provide them with the opportunity to participate in business ventures (Liu, 2003).

With regards to labour laws, findings indicate that in Zambia labour laws are somehow weak especially when it comes to protecting local professionals. This study found that one role foreign tourism investors can play in Livingstone is by contributing to poverty alleviation through offering job opportunities to local people. However, foreign tourism investors were criticised for offering low paying jobs such as gardeners, room attendants, waiters, drivers, receptionists as well as porters and cooks to the majority of local employees while management jobs are given to foreigners. It was argued that these jobs given to local's people do not have a high monetary value that would contribute to poverty alleviation and sustainable economic development in Livingstone. For example, Zambia's minimum wage for the tourism industry workers was found to be too way below the average living standard of the local people.

Apart from tourism contributing to national Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and offering employment opportunities to the local people, the other tourism value factor related to the social-economic impact of tourism in developing countries is ownership of tourism enterprises. This study found that in Livingstone, most tourist enterprises are owned by foreign investors, a situation that seems to have perpetuated «enclave tourism» or «captured tourism». Captured tourism in the sense that, these foreign-owned companies have created business cartels (Connor, and Lande, 2012) that have resulted in the few local investors from fully participating or efficiently competing with their fellow foreign investors.

Furthermore, this study found that because of the type of tourism development in Livingstone the sector had negative impacts on revenue generation as much of the revenue generated from tourism in Livingstone is repatriated outside the country, and many foreign-owned tourism businesses operate through packaged tours which allow their clients to pay for their services in the origin country thereby reducing the trick-down effect.

The study also found that domination of foreign tourists or visitors in Livingstone has brought about negativity in the social behaviour of local people especially the young people. Primary data from interviews indicate that many local people in Livingstone were involved in negative social behaviour such as abuse of alcohol and engaging in sexual activities that had resulted in increased sexually transmitted diseases like HIV/AIDS.

6. Conclusion

This paper has looked at issues surrounding sustainable tourism as a tool for local socio-economic development in developing countries, using the case study of Livingstone, a town in Zambia. Demonstrated by primary data from field interviews conducted in Livingstone, and supported by secondary data. The present scholarship found that due to the nature of the tourism industry in Livingstone which is characterised by external control and management of tourism enterprises, weaker government labour and investment laws, limited involvement of the local community, high leakage rates and weaker linkages with the domestic economy. The present study concludes that the tourism industry has not played an effective role in local socio-economic development in Livingstone.

Although there are the more negative social-economic impacts of enclave tourism on Livingstone, it, however, has some advantages as well, though quite difficult to validate. The growth of tourism in the last two decades in Livingstone has stimulated the development of a varied allied infrastructure and facilities. Including building of shopping malls, tarring and upgrading of the township roads and communication facilities, expansion of the runway at Livingstone international airport building of a brand new international terminal, upgrade of Livingstone Central Business District market, construction of new bus terminus. Livingstone has also witnessed the development of more accommodation facilities of different ranges. Through its backward linkages, wholesale and retail businesses have also been established to offer various goods and services to the tourism industry. Tourism in Zambia has become the third most important sector in the country after mining and agriculture. Despite the posi-

tive socio-economic impacts of enclave tourism in Livingstone, the industry has been unable to promote sustainable economic development and poverty alleviation in most parts of the city.

Since tourism in Livingstone is mostly dependent on both foreign investors and tourists, domestic tourism and citizen participation in tourism are very low. The industry is also characterised by the repatriation of revenue from out of the country and weak linkages with the domestic economy. Because negative impacts outweigh positives, one's tourism in Livingstone could be described as 'captured tourism' or enclave tourism which is largely controlled by foreign business and tourists.

To address problems of enclave tourism and promote more inclusive and beneficial tourism development in Livingstone and other developing countries, there is need to adopt policies and strategies that ensure full involvement of local communities and the return of substantial earnings from tourism. The strategies must also ensure that tourism development has strong linkages with the rest of the economic activities.

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