

**EVALUATING TOURISM-AGRICULTURE LINKAGES FOR INCLUSIVE
GROWTH IN ZAMBIA**

By

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I declare that the above thesis is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

____X_____
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ABSTRACT

Tourism-agriculture linkages are considered to be a pro-poor tourism strategy with potential to maximise the developmental impact of tourism through supply-chain linkages with the agriculture sector. Strong and sustainable tourism-agriculture linkages have the potential to create opportunities for local smallholder farmers to participate and benefit from a growing tourism economy through the supply of food products to the accommodation sub-sector. However, although tourism-agriculture linkages are possible, they are also challenging. Within the theoretical context of pro-poor tourism and inclusive tourism growth, the purpose of this study was to evaluate whether market linkages between the accommodation sub-sector and smallholder farmers in Livingstone, Zambia, contribute to inclusive growth and how the market linkage can be strengthened to foster inclusive growth. Using a mixed methods approach, qualitative and quantitative data were collected and analysed using content analysis and Wilcoxon signed-rank test respectively. The study found that the tourism-agriculture linkage in Livingstone represents a pro-poor relationship in as far as local procurement is more dominant and inclusive of smallholder farmers. However, the extent and strength of the integration of smallholder producers into the tourism value chain is constrained by supply, demand and marketing challenges resulting in low inclusive growth outcomes. The role of the government is vital in creating policies that foster pro-poor sourcing and in attending to practices, dynamics and challenges that form and shape the quality of market linkages. The state ought to strengthen localised strategic partnerships, engagement and collaboration between existing tourism organisations and farmer cooperatives in implementing and monitoring policy and practical strategies for optimal tourism-led inclusive growth impact. The study highlights the importance of identifying enablers and barriers to strong tourism-agriculture linkages from a perspective of the accommodation sub-sector and smallholder farmers with the advantage of a holistic representation of converging or conflicting experiences in the market linkage. The study adds to wider debates in Sub-Saharan Africa on tourism-agriculture linkages as a pro-poor tourism strategy and contributes to emerging theorisation of inclusive growth in the global tourism development context.

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DEFINITION OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	Meaning
ASNAP	American Samoa Nutrition Assistance Program
CSA	Climate Smart Agriculture
DFID	UK Department for International Development
FISP	Farmer Input Support Programme
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GiG	The Gambia is Good
HVLV	High Value Low Volume
IDP	Integrated Development Plans
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LEDC	Less Economically Developed Countries
LILOGA	Livingstone Lodges and Guest Houses Association
LTA	Livingstone Tourism Association
MoA	Ministry of Agriculture
MoTA	Ministry of Tourism and Arts
MSMEs	Micro, Small and Medium-sized Enterprises
NAP	National Agriculture Policy
NGOs	None Governmental Organisations
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
PPG	Pro-Poor Growth
PPT	Pro-poor Tourism
RETOSA	Regional Tourism Organisation of Southern Africa
SILC	Savings and Internal Lending Community
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
SVN	Netherlands Development Organisation
RETOSA	Regional Tourism Organisation of Southern Africa
TDIGD	Tourism-Driven Inclusive Growth Diagnostic
T&T	Travel and Tourism
TNCs	Trans National Cooperations
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
WEF	World Economic Forum

ZCF

Zambia Corporative Federation

ZTMP

Zambia Tourism Master Plan

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The tourism industry has been widely considered as one of the largest and fastest growing economic sectors in the world (UNWTO, 2020). However, the outbreak of the coronavirus (COVID-19) has had an unprecedented impact on the global tourism sector. Compared to the previous crises in the recent past, such as the September 11 terrorist attacks in 2001, the financial crises in 2008/2009, and the severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) epidemic in 2003, the current pandemic has had a dramatic impact on tourism destinations (Gössling et al., 2020; Dolnicar & Zare, 2020). Indeed, the COVID-19 pandemic can be viewed as a watershed moment (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2020) resulting in local, regional and international travel bans and restrictions (Rogerson & Baum, 2020; UNWTO, 2021). As a consequence, compared to the preceding year, there was a 74% decline in international tourist arrivals in 2020 (UNWTO, 2021). However, the World Tourism Organisation the (UNWTO, 2020) predicts a rebound during the period 2021-2024 and Gössling et al., (2020) point out that there is cautious optimism of a more resilient tourism system post the current pandemic which may result in more aggressive growth outcomes.

Nonetheless, prior to the pandemic, international tourism has been in a consistent growth path although the sector experienced shocks, indicating its strength and resilience (UNWTO, 2020).

In 2019, there were 1,460 million international tourist arrivals, a 4% increase though this was slightly lower than growth recorded in 2017 (7%) and 2018 (6%). Similarly, over this period, there was upward growth in tourism receipts and in 2019, international tourism receipts increased by 3% to USD1, 481 billion (UNWTO, International Tourism Highlights, 2020). The strongest growth in international arrivals and tourism receipts in 2019 was led by the Middle East. With a 5% share of international tourist arrivals and 3% share of international tourism receipts, Africa had a 2% increase (70 million) in international tourist arrivals and USD38 billion (1% growth) in international tourism receipts. Growth was largely led by Tunisia and Morocco and in SSA, South Africa had the highest number of international tourist arrivals (10,229 million) and tourism earnings amounting to USD8.384 million (UNWTO, International Tourism Highlights, 2020). In this same year, travel and tourism contributed 7.0% (USD1, 701.1 million) to the Zambian economy and international visitors spent USD849.4 million, representing 10% of Zambia's total exports (WTTC, 2020). During the period 2010 and 2030, increased growth of international tourist arrivals was expected to rise by 3.3% per year, projected to reach 1.8 billion by 2030. While international tourist arrivals in advanced economies of the world remained higher (+5%); in emerging economies, international tourist arrivals have significantly increased. The projection for international tourist arrivals in emerging economies was predicted to increase at twice the rate, with the expectation that the market share of economies such as Zambia, would have increased from 30% in 1980 to 45% in 2016, to reach 57% by 2030 and in excess of one billion international tourist arrivals (UNWTO 2016).

In countries of the Global South, including those in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), the tourism industry is recognised as an important agent of socio-economic growth through increasing employment, infrastructure expansion, enterprises development, promoting economic independence, foreign exchange earnings, increase in tax revenue, attracting development capital, international investment; and stimulation of small and medium sized enterprises (World Bank, 2013; Spencer et al., 2014; Scheyvens & Hughes, 2019). Despite the tourism sector's growth in arrivals and receipts and the recognition of its developmental capabilities, in the African context, inequality and poverty in tourism destinations persist. Tourism's potential contribution to economic development in relation to poverty reduction and improvement of livelihoods is largely underestimated and mostly overlooked (Spencer et al., 2014:570). Even though the potential for tourism to contribute to poverty reduction in emerging

economies is well debated in the tourism literature, the huge inflow of international tourists to low- and middle-income countries yields greater spending than development agencies.

Ashley and Mitchell (2005) articulate this in their assertion that, in 2007 US\$295 billion was spent in emerging economies by international tourists estimated to be three times more than the official amount provided by development agencies. It is therefore not surprising that the tourism industry has long been considered a pro-poor development strategy (Ashley, 2002; Goodwin & Francis, 2003, Torres & Momsen, 2004; Harrison, 2008; Gascon, 2015). As an economic sector, tourism is acknowledged to be well positioned in providing sustainable livelihoods, assist to protect the environment, foster peace and inclusive socio-economic growth (Hampton & Jeyacheya, 2013; Butler & Rogerson, 2016) and stimulate local economies through supply-chain linkages with other sectors including the agriculture sector (Pillay & Rogerson, 2013; Hampton & Jeyacheya, 2015; Hampton et al., 2018; Njoya & Nikitas, 2019). Recognised as an important tool for development, tourism features explicitly in three targets (8, 12 and 14) that are part of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) for the UN 2030 agenda and even though there has previously only been a few tourism scholars on issues related to SDGs (Scheyvens, 2018), a few more tourism scholars have been researching on SDGs in tourism (Saarinen, 2018, 2021).

The formation of backward and forward linkages with other economic sectors in a local economy is vital for tourism to contribute to sustainable development as linkages maximise and extend tourism benefits to wider community, thereby reducing inequalities (Torres, 2003; Pillay & Rogerson, 2013). Among African tourism scholars, there has been an increase in research that seeks to establish the existent and socio-economic contribution of tourism linkages with other economic sectors in tourism destinations (Hunt et al., 2012; Mitchell & Faal, 2007; Rogerson, 2013; Anderson, 2018; Welteji and Zerihun, 2018; Njoya & Nikitas, 2019) and internationally considered a key element to support sustainable growth (UNWTO 2018). As a service industry, tourism relies on other economic sectors to produce tourism commodities including food which is a necessity for all tourists, in all destinations and considered an important part of tourism development and experience e.g., in culinary tourism accounting for a large part of tourist expenditure (OECD studies on tourism, 2012:14-15).

Food is an integral element of tourism as it presents opportunities to fortify the overall performance of the sector through enhancing visitors' satisfaction and total experience (Degarege & Lovelock, 2021). The contribution of food expenditure to the total tourist spend

has long been acknowledged and it is estimated that food costs make up 30% of tourist expenses (Belisle, 1983; Torres, 2003). This is an indication that the tourism industry can be linked to local food producers and suppliers in tourist destinations such as Livingstone, the tourist capital town of Zambia. Strong and sustainable tourism-agriculture linkages have the potential to create opportunities for local farmers to participate and benefit from the tourism economy through the supply of food products to the accommodation sub-sector. An inclusive tourism approach where opportunities for access, participation and benefits are possible would not only reduce food imports and economic leakages (Telfer & Wall 1996; Rogerson, 2012; Pillay & Rogerson, 2013; Anderson, 2018; Njoya & Nikita, 2019) but also reduce macro socio-economic challenges such as unemployment, poverty, low income among farmers and food insecurity (Thomas-Francois et al., 2018). It could also open up opportunities to support local farmers (Mao et al., 2014; Stuch et al., 2020) and for a pro-poor impact. Therefore, this research seeks to show that tourism has the potential for significant pro-poor impact through inclusive tourism growth.

Against this backdrop, this research focuses on evaluating the extent to which the current tourism-agriculture market linkage in Livingstone contributes to inclusive tourism growth for small-scale locally based farmers. Inclusive tourism would serve as a pro-poor tourism strategy whereby, given the nature of smallholder farmers, tourism-agriculture market linkages formed through supply and demand of agricultural food products would create opportunities for smallholder farmers to participate and benefit from the tourism economy in Livingstone. Torres and Momsen (2004:299) explain the importance of research on tourism-agriculture linkages as *...necessary to achieving the pro-poor dual objectives of reducing negative impacts while generating net benefits for the poor*. This assertion reflects an inclusive rather than exclusive tourism-agriculture linkage. Investigations into tourism-led growth have been pursued, yet according to Hampton et al., (2018:359), very few studies have tested the inclusive growth notion within the tourism sector and for this study, the inclusive growth perspective is central. As an industry with potential socio-economic costs and benefits, the contribution of the tourism industry to small-scale enterprises in the agriculture sector and stakeholders in the tourism supply chain requires thorough assessments.

In this study the tourism-agriculture linkage concept is used specifically to denote the interface between farmers and the tourism sector through supply and demand of agricultural food products to the accommodation sub-sector. The study excludes agro-tourism aspects which

involve tourists having contact with farmers such as through farm festivals and farm stays. This research is important as it seeks to contribute to scholarship that not only strives to understand the extent of tourism-agriculture linkages but the extent of inclusion and outcomes for smallholder farmers in the tourism market, an aspect that has not been widely considered in emerging debates on tourism-led inclusive growth. The study has the potential to contribute to scholarship that seek to counter or confirm the perception that tourism is frequently perceived and experienced as an activity that excludes many, particularly the marginalised communities in tourism destinations (Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018; Saarinen & Wall-Reinius, 2019).

1.2. PROBLEM STATEMENT

As the tourist capital of Zambia endowed with a wide range of natural and cultural tourist attractions, Livingstone is the most visited tourist destination in the country, attracting a growing number of international tourists and an expanding accommodation sub-sector. This has potential for increased demand and supply of food for tourist consumption, thereby creating opportunities for tourism to maximise its impact and benefits through supply and demand of agricultural food specifically for smallholder farmers who are the largest agriculture producers in and around Livingstone. However, despite Livingstone being a tourist capital town with a substantially developed tourism sector, multiple challenges affect the performance and competitiveness of the tourism sector and this could affect its potential for a pro-poor impact and its benefits for smallholder farmers. The experiences of accommodation enterprises, which is a key tourism sub-sector, and the extent to which smallholder farmers access, participate and benefit from the tourism market through supplying the accommodations sub-sector is unknown. Therefore, in order to maximise the impact and benefits of the tourism sector through tourism-agriculture linkages, the level of participation, challenges and opportunities experienced in the linkage ought to be understood from the perspective of the accommodation sub-sector and smallholder farmers.

1.3. PURPOSE STATEMENT

Within the context of pro-poor tourism and inclusivity of tourism led growth, the purpose of this study is to evaluate the extent to which market linkages between the accommodation sub-sector and local food producers contribute to inclusive tourism growth, especially in relation to local small-scale farmers in Livingstone, Zambia. In addition, the study focuses on how local linkages between the accommodation sub-sector and local smallholder producers could be

strengthened in order to foster sustained inclusive tourism growth. In other words the main research question that the study addresses is:

To what extent does the market linkage between the accommodations sub-sector and smallholder farmers in the tourism supply chain in Livingstone contribute to inclusive growth? Furthermore, how can the market linkage be strengthened in order to foster inclusive growth?

1.4. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The overall purpose of the study is analysed based on the following research objectives:

1. Investigate the contribution of accommodation enterprises in creating tourism-agriculture linkages that foster inclusive growth with a pro-poor impact.
2. Evaluate socio-economic opportunities and barriers that smallholder producers in Livingstone expect and experience from tourism-agriculture linkages in the local tourism value chain.
3. Recommend specific strategies to enhance the quality of tourism-agriculture linkages that foster inclusive growth with a pro-poor impact and the overall sustainability of the tourism industry in Livingstone, Zambia.

Objective One: Investigate *the contribution of accommodation enterprises to creating tourism-agriculture linkages that foster inclusive tourism growth for a pro-poor impact.*

The objective is aimed at understanding the accommodation sub-sector demand, practices and experiences in local sourcing of agricultural food products in Livingstone. Specifically, the study explores the procurement practices, constraints and opportunities experienced in sourcing from smallholder producers in Livingstone as these provide insights into the possibility of inclusivity and the attainment of pro-poor tourism. This information provides insights into the scale and quality of the linkage and validates information from smallholder farmers thereby demonstrating the extent to which smallholder farmers participate and benefit from the market linkage.

Objective Two: *Evaluate socio-economic opportunities and barriers that smallholder farmers in Livingstone expect and experience from tourism-agriculture linkages in the local tourism value chain.*

This objective seeks to identify and evaluate opportunities and barriers that smallholder farmers expect and experience as producers and suppliers. The principal theme used to examine inclusive growth include expectations and experiences of smallholder farmers in relation to supply and demand in the tourism-agriculture linkage.

Objective Three: *Recommend specific strategies to enhance the quality of tourism-agriculture linkages that foster inclusive growth and the overall sustainability of the tourism industry in Livingstone, Zambia.*

Drawing from opportunities and barriers in objective one and two and proposed measures by smallholder farmers and the accommodation sub-sector, the researcher recommends practical and policy direction to the formation of strong market linkage and enhanced tourism-led inclusive growth outcomes

1.4.1 Research Question(s)

To achieve the overall research objectives, the study is guided by three sub-research questions to lead the investigation:

1. How do accommodation enterprises contribute to creating tourism-agriculture linkages that foster inclusive growth for a pro-poor impact?
2. What socio-economic opportunities and barriers do smallholder farmers in Livingstone expect and experience from tourism-agriculture linkages in the local tourism value-chain?
3. What specific strategies can be developed to enhance the quality of tourism-agriculture linkages that foster inclusive growth with a pro-poor impact and the overall sustainability of the tourism industry in Livingstone, Zambia?

1.5. EXPECTED ACADEMIC CONTRIBUTION AND TOURISM INDUSTRY RELEVANCE

In Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) in general, and Zambia in particular, while tourism effects on host communities have been widely researched, tourism-agriculture linkage and specifically its contribution to inclusive growth has been under researched. In SSA, countries like South Africa, (Pillay & Rogerson, 2013; Rogerson, 2013), Botswana (Hunt et al., 2012), Ethiopia (Welteji & Zerihun, 2018) and Tanzania (Anderson, 2018), empirical research conducted on

tourism-agriculture linkages provide evidence from the accommodation sub-sector on opportunities, challenges and strategies to enhance market linkages. This kind of research is under explored in Zambia which has over 60% of its inhabitants in rural areas and 83% of these are classified as smallholder farmers. Torres and Momsen (2004) point out that while *the importance of creating backward sectoral linkage is widely recognized to be important, the issue of agriculture has not been examined in depth* (2004:299). This study aims to evaluate whether market linkages between the accommodation sub-sector and local food producers contribute to inclusive growth, especially in relation to local small-scale farmers in Livingstone, Zambia and on how local linkages between the accommodation sub-sector and local smallholder producers could be strengthened in order to foster sustained inclusive growth. This research found that the tourism-agriculture market linkage is weak and fragmented and results in low inclusive growth outcomes.

The study confirms that multiple interrelated factors relating to production, demand and marketing challenges constrain the quality of the linkage, confirming assertions made by tourism authors that tourism-agriculture linkages are possible but challenging (Bakker & Messerli, 2017; Jeyacheya & Hampton, 2020). Even where tourism-agriculture linkages are well developed and have a pro-poor impact, the potential for expansion of market linkages is constrained by multiple interrelated factors. Therefore, it is important to determine the enabling and constraining environments that determine the course of tourism-led inclusive growth. Furthermore, the study emphasises the importance of policy and practical measures as necessary conditions to enhance the current tourism-agriculture market linkage between smallholder farmers and hotels, lodges and guest houses. This study envisages to contribute to existing knowledge particularly in the Southern African context on tourism-agriculture linkage as a pro-poor tourism strategy to expand tourism impact, and to advance inclusive growth theorisation in the tourism development context. On a wider scale, a similar study can be replicated in other tourist destinations in Zambia in order to have a national level of understanding.

The study has the potential to contribute to wider debates over tourism-agriculture linkages; provide more evidence that contributes to the theorisation of the emerging debate on tourism-led inclusive growth; and for its policy relevance for destination strategic planning. This study highlights the significance of a bottom-up approach to tourism developments' potential to contribute to inclusive growth in Livingstone as the extent of the contribution is not yet known,

specifically by including the expectations and experiences of smallholder farmers' lived experience in the pro-poor tourism debate.

Findings from this study can be used to facilitate decision making by key players and interest groups in maintaining a balanced relationship between tourism developments' contribution to inclusive growth for small-scale farmers. At a practical level, policy makers, planners, developers, local authorities, interest groups and other stakeholders in the tourism and agriculture industries, can use findings and intervention strategies to strengthen market linkages between the two sectors. These could be used to develop, manage and implement sustainable tourism plans that are socially and economically inclusive of smallholder farmers and contribute to sustainable tourism development efforts.

1.6. DELIMITATIONS AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study evaluated the extent to which market linkages between the accommodation sub-sector and local food producers contribute to inclusive growth, with a special focus on small-scale farmers in Livingstone, Zambia and how the market linkage can be strengthened in order to foster sustained inclusive growth with a pro-poor impact. The literature reviewed and the empirical investigation process undertaken aimed to address the characteristics, opportunities, challenges and inclusive growth outcomes in the linkage between the two sectors and the theoretical aspects underpinning these variables. The following delimitations were taken into consideration in the research study:

- a) The inclusive growth theory and pro-poor tourism strategy was observed in the context of tourism-agriculture market linkage.
- b) The researcher used data from hotels, lodges and guesthouses and excluded accommodation enterprises registered as backpackers, holiday apartments and campsite facilities.
- c) The study only included small-scale farmers that were supplying the accommodation sub-sector directly or through intermediaries for at least one year or more. This would be a considerable period to participate and benefit from the tourism market from which data can be used to answer the main research question.
- d) The study was limited to smallholder farmers and accommodation enterprises that are located in the Livingstone geographical Zone.

- e) All the fieldwork conducted in this study followed the University of Pretoria's ethics procedures and informed consent was acquired from all the respondents.

Ethical considerations are an important part of research and this was taken into account in this study prior to conducting field work. The necessary approval was obtained from the research Ethics Committees at the university where the studies were undertaken. As stipulated by Leedy & Ormrod (2015:337) that the 'protection from harm, voluntary and informed content, and participant's right to privacy', these elements were adhered to throughout the investigation. Sample respondents were surveyed at their premises and were assured that their responses will be used specifically for the purposes of research. In addition, respondents were assured of confidentiality of data collected and anonymity of their identity to control for response biases.

1.7. DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Research into linkages in the tourism supply chain has evolved through a number of development stages therefore, it is important to provide definitions as boundaries for debate. The key concepts used in this study are economic impacts, inclusive growth, inclusive tourism, poverty, pro-poor growth, pro-poor tourism, smallholder farmers, social impacts, sustainable development, sustainable tourism development, tourism linkages and tourism value chains. These concepts are defined in Table 1 and a discussion on their relevance and application to the study is demonstrated.

Table 1: Definition of key terms

Key terms	Definitions
Economic impacts	Economic impacts are the effects of tourism that are quantifiable and measurable using economic indicators summarised into seven categories including income generation, employment generation, tax revenue generation, balance of payment, improvement of the economic structure of the tourism destination or region, encouragement of entrepreneurial activity and economic disadvantages (Vanhove (2005:169). Economic impacts of tourism can be negative or positive, and interlinked with other types of impacts. The economic impact of tourism is affected by scale of tourism development, seasonal nature of

tourism and its historical development (Mason, 2008:45). The economic impact tested in this study is largely related to benefits from the tourism-agriculture linkage in relation to income generation, employment generation, skills development, and opportunity to improve livelihoods of smallholder farmers through entrepreneurial relationship with the tourism sector.

Inclusive Growth According to George et al. (2012), inclusive growth is the social and economic advancement in the wellbeing of communities structurally deprived of access to opportunities, resources and capabilities. Inclusive growth is by extension innovation and referred to as innovation for inclusive growth. This concept is regarded as both a desired outcome of innovation and the process by which innovative initiatives occur (George et al., 2012). Inclusive growth as a process and an outcome is adopted in this study and applied within the tourism context and assumes the definition provided by Scheyvens and Biddulph (2018) who articulate that inclusive tourism is ‘Transformative tourism in which marginalised groups are engaged in ethical production or consumption of tourism and sharing of its benefits’ that inclusive tourism is concerned with the wider socio benefits (2018:583). Therefore, in this study, inclusivity is discussed within the context of inclusive growth and inclusive tourism as defined by George et al., (2012) and Scheyvens & Biddulph (2018). Inclusive growth outcomes are drawn from the challenges and opportunities expected and experienced by smallholder farmers in the tourism value chain.

Inclusive Tourism The provision of opportunities for equitable and sustainable outcomes open not only to privileged middle and upper class communities and large companies but open to poor and marginalised communities through tourism production and consumption (Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018). Within the context of growing tourism and it being acknowledged as a tool for development, the Inclusive Tourism notion in this study is used to denote the creation of opportunities for

marginalised communities such as smallholder farmers competing in the tourism market to significantly participate and benefit from the tourism economy in Livingstone, Zambia.

Poverty

According to Sen (1999) poverty is a phenomenon of multiple dimensions that arises when people have no key capabilities which result in scarce income, poor health, and lack of access to education opportunities, absence of human rights such as freedom of speech, have low self-confidence and a sense of powerlessness. The poor in this study are considered as disenfranchised individuals that have low income, limited resources and though they may be socially excluded, are nonetheless entrepreneurs and producers of agricultural products.

Pro-Poor Growth

Pro-poor growth (PPG) has an absolute and relative definition. The former relates to increased income for the poor and the latter refers to growth that results in disproportionate growth in income among the poor i.e., declining inequality is evident (Klasen, 2010:2). PPG approach to development is widely used by institutions and NGOs to uplift the livelihood of poor communities. However, there is no single definition of the PPG notion but in the development literature a broad and narrow definition is provided. On the one hand, the broader definition of PPG is growth that benefits poor communities (any growth) therefore reducing absolute poverty (Bakker & Messerli, 2017). However, this absolute definition leaves room for inequality as the nonpoor continue to benefit. On the other hand, the relative definition has a narrow focus that is aimed at benefiting the poor proportionately more than the nonpoor in order to reduce inequality (Kakwani & Pernia, 2000; Bakker & Messerli, 2017). This study takes into account both the narrow and absolute view of PPG as a way to enhance mutual benefits for smallholder farmers and for the accommodation sub-sector.

Pro-Poor Tourism

Pro-poor tourism (PPT) emphasises tourism development strategies that prioritises poor communities and positively impacts on their livelihoods (Rogerson, 2006; Musasa & Mago, 2014; Musavengane et al., 2019). PPT is geared and operated to benefit poor people from tourism development and operates within the communities of both emerging and developed economies. Importantly, *‘pro-poor tourism seeks to develop and promote linkages between businesses for poor people in a particular destination. It is a way to enhance the mutual benefits of local people from tourism operations ‘*(Fang, 2020:153).

Smallholder farmers Many different connotations characterise the definition of smallholder farmers related to assets, income and farm size (Narayanan & Gulati, 2002; Morton, 2007; Chamberlin, 2008). These traits have a role in defining smallholder producers; they are somewhat related and their characteristics are of varying degrees (Kamara et al. 2019). Smallholder farmers are characterised as farmers with limited access to land and quality land, capital (financial, social, natural and human) farming technologies, inputs, markets (von Loeper et al., 2016), largely dependent on family labour; relatively high levels of vulnerability in terms of exposure and coping ability and levels of assets to risk (i.e. degree of probability of loss of welfare); wealth; holding size; and market orientation (DAFF, 2012; Lambert et al., 2016; Kamara et al., 2019).

Social Impacts Glasson et al., (1995) refer to social impacts as the ‘people impacts of tourism that focus on changes in the everyday quality of life of residents in tourism destinations. Social impacts are less quantifiable or measurable, but are as important as the economic dimension of tourism impact for sustainable tourism in destination areas.

Cater et al., (2015:447) in the Encyclopedia of Sustainable Tourism define social impacts as outcomes of tourism development on society in a host destination. Social impacts are the non-economic qualitative effects of tourism on host communities. These vary from destination to

destination and are influenced by other factors internal and external to the characteristics of the host community.

Sustainable development The sustainable development concept has been defined according to the UN Brundtland Report of 1987 as “... development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Flint, 2010; Kunaeva, 2012; Brokaj, 2014; Zolfani et al., 2015; Manwa et al., 2017). Sustainable development is a process of transformation that seeks to meet current and future socio-economic needs and aspirations of humanity while protecting the natural environment. It is worth noting that sustainable practices differ from region to region subject to aspects of sustainable development that are relevant to the region as focus may be more or less on the social, economic or environmental aspects.

Sustainable tourism development As a subset of sustainable development (Saarinen, 2006), the concept of sustainable tourism is deeply rooted in the sustainable development concept, and has varied meaning attached to it resulting from differences in perceptions of tourism and its role (Meyer, 2007: 560). Saarinen (2014) defines sustainable tourism as ‘... *tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and the host communities*’ (2014:3). Continuously monitoring tourism impacts have long been promulgated (WTO, 1999) as well as the need to implement measures that enhance the attainment of economic social and environmental benefits and mitigate risks (WTTC, 1995).

Tourism linkages Tourism linkages are connections between the tourism industry and other industries and sectors in the local economy (Vanhove, 2005:173-174) and the potential for the tourism sector to enhance local impacts through backward linkages is acknowledge as vital in low to middle

income economies. Pratt (2011) defines backward linkages as a demand pull concept that assesses the relative significance of an economic sector purchasing from other economic sectors while forward linkages measures the relative importance of a sector as a supplier to other sectors in the economy. In this study, the main focus is on evaluating the quality and impact of backward market linkages between the accommodation sub-sector as a purchaser and the smallholder farmers as suppliers.

Tourism value chains The value chain concept was first introduced by Porter (1985). It is defined as a group of activities executed to design, produce, market, deliver and support its firm's product (1985:36). Value chain describes the array of activities essential in providing a service or product from the outset to consumption or disposal after use. A narrow or broader interpretation can be applied and is relevant for pro-poor tourism. In the narrow sense it refers to the range of activities performed within a firm and the broader approach denotes the complex array of activities executed by several players (Primary producers, processors, traders, service provider) (Kaplinsky & Morris, 2001). The UNWTO asserts that the tourism value chain is a continuum of related economic activities associated with visitors from which a region could carry out some of the activities at least in part (UNWTO, 2020).

1.8. THESIS OUTLINE

This thesis has eight chapters structured as follows:

Chapter one is an introduction of the study providing a basic description, research problem statement, purpose of the study, research objectives and research questions. The chapter delineates the scope of the study and its limitations and provides a layout of the research study. Definitions of key concepts used are provided.

Chapter two, three and four are the literature review chapters. These chapters examine contextual and theoretical literature on tourism-agriculture linkages as a pro-poor tourism

strategy and on inclusive growth. Additionally, the literature review chapter presents evidence from international literature and insights from the African context highlighting challenges, opportunities and strategies to enhance tourism-agriculture linkages.

Chapter five outlines the qualitative and quantitative research methodology applied in data collection, analysis and sampling methods.

Chapter six presents quantitative and qualitative findings of the study analysed from face to face interviews with respondents from the accommodation sub-sector. Using a survey questionnaire, data were collected from smallholder farmers. Where possible, results are presented using tables and graphs in support of the research objectives of the study.

Chapter seven is a discussion of research findings linked to literature reviewed in chapter two, three and four.

Chapter eight provides recommendations, a concluding summary of the research findings and a conclusion of the research. Suggestions for further research are presented.

1.9. SUMMARY

Within the context of tourism-agriculture linkages and the Inclusive Growth theoretical framework, this chapter has introduced the research problem statement, purpose of the study, research objectives and questions. The expected significance, scope and limitation of the study is provided including key definitions used and the structure of the study is laid out.

CHAPTER 2: TOURISM AND AGRICULTURE LANDSCAPE OF ZAMBIA

2.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the discussion is focused on the contextual background within which the empirical investigation on tourism-agriculture linkage in Zambia is embedded. Within this research context, the investigation aims to uncover opportunities and threats in the market linkage, quality of the linkage, the practical and policy measures that can be adopted to enhance tourism-led growth and its contribution to smallholders in Livingstone, the tourism hub of Zambia. The main aspects covered include information relating to the country's tourism profile and characteristics highlighting tourism trends, impact and key challenges affecting travel and tourism competitiveness in Zambia. From an agriculture perspective, this chapter provides insights from literature that characterises smallholder farmers and the multiple challenges that limit their productivity, competitiveness and access to participate in domestic and international Agricultural food markets, specifically the accommodation sub-sector.

2.2 . TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN ZAMBIA

2.2.1 Tourism Global Trends and Impact

Internationally, the tourism industry is acknowledged as one of the largest and fastest growing sectors in the world. It is acknowledged not only for its direct impacts on advanced and emerging economies and countries in terms of GDP, employment and other socio-economic indicators, but for its indirect benefits through linkages with other economic sectors (WTTC, Global Economic Impact & Trends 2020). Until the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, the contribution of tourism to the global economy has mainly been in an upward trajectory throughout the past decade despite the occasional shocks which demonstrated the sector's resilience and strength (WTTC, 2019; UNWTO, 2020; Rogerson & Baum, 2020). In 2019 there were 1,460 million more international tourist arrivals recorded globally indicating a 4% increase from the previous year. A similar growth trend was recorded in international tourism receipts amounting to USD 1,481 billion, a 3% increase from 2018 (UNWTO International Tourism Highlights, 2020). In 2019, global travel and tourism grew quite significantly by 3.5% exceeding global economic growth at 2.5%, accounting for 10.4% of global GDP (US\$9.2 trillion) and 4% (334 million) of total employment (WTTC, Global Economic Impact & Trends, 2020).

With an estimated 1 billion people travelling internationally each year, projections are that by 2030, expenditure on tourism related activities on the African continent will reach about \$261.77 billion, this is \$137.87 billion more than the 2015 estimates (Signe, 2018:1). In 2019, the African continent had a 5% (70 million) share of the total international tourist arrivals and 3% (USD38 billion) share of international tourism receipts. Given these upward trends, the continent remains an attractive destination as it has natural endowments and cultural heritage (UNWTO, International Tourism Highlights, 2020). The significance of the tourism industry is acknowledged by governments worldwide and according to the World Economic Forum (WEF) report of 2019:

'Travel and tourism is increasingly being prioritized by stakeholders around the world as measured by more favourable perceptions of government prioritization, increased industry funding and more effective marketing campaigns' (2019:vii).

In recognising tourism as a key economic sector, most governments in Southern Africa have developed regulatory frameworks and strategic roadmaps linking the tourism sector to national development imperatives. Tourism policies and in some cases, tourism master plans provide a roadmap to drive and position tourism as a facilitator for national development. This is the case in some African countries such as South Africa, a leading tourist destination in the Southern Region and Botswana, Zambia and the closest neighbouring tourism competitors Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Tanzania (See Figure 1). The 1997 Tourism policy of Zambia was under review until 2015 and in 2017, the Zambia Tourism Master Plan 2018-2038 (ZTMP) was finalised. According to a 2020 report by the Auditor General, the main objective of the ZTMP is to *'direct the Government's goal of significantly increasing the economic contribution of tourism to the Zambian economy in support of the Vision 2030 and the targets set out in the 7th National Development Plan'* (7NDP) (Auditor General, Republic of Zambia, 2020:1).



Figure 1: Map of Zambia and neighbouring countries.

The case area (Livingstone) is located in the Southern part of the country, next to the Victoria Falls.

Source: Adapted from McLachlan and Binns 2014

2.2.2 International Arrivals to Zambia and Selected SADC Countries

While statistics on the number of tourist arrivals in destination countries are not always the most comprehensive due to non-availability and sources and collection methods differ across countries, comparison between countries is possible. Statistics on tourist arrivals captured by the Regional Tourism Organisation of Southern Africa (RETOSA), an organisation responsible for developing and marketing tourism in the region, showed that the total number of tourist arrivals in the region in 2015 was 21,594,648. The rate of tourism growth in Zambia between 2012 and 2015 compares favourably with neighbouring countries of Mozambique and Tanzania, while modest rates of growth are seen in Namibia and Malawi and modest decrease in tourism is reported in Zimbabwe and Botswana (MoTA, Tourism Statistical Digest, 2016).

Over the years, South Africa has maintained its position as the leading tourist destination in the region receiving 41% of arrivals in the RETOSA and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region of which Zambia and 14 other countries are member states (Acorn Tourism Consulting, 2018:9). In 2017 and 2018, South Africa had yet the most international tourist arrivals at 10,285,000 and 10,472,000 respectively. In the same period, Zambia had the second lowest arrivals at 1, 083,000 and 1,072,000, closely followed by Malawi that recorded the lowest international arrivals for both years at 837,000 and 871,000 respectively. Evidently,

in comparing countries in the region (Figure 2), Zambia has maintained a static growth rate and low international tourist arrivals which could be attributed to multiple challenges that the tourism sector experiences such as underdeveloped tourism infrastructure, limited tourism product offering, the perceived high cost of conducting business and the perception that Zambia is a high-cost destination within the region (National Tourism Policy, 2015) Nevertheless, what is particularly interesting is that this status quo has remained the same despite marketing and promotion of Zambia by the ZTA that was done in preparation of the twentieth session of the UNWTO General Assembly that was held in 2013, which Zambia co-hosted with neighbouring Zimbabwe.

Notably, between 2015 and 2018, Zambia's closest neighbouring countries' performance in terms of international tourist arrivals was much higher. For example, in Botswana, which has a tourism policy based on High-value-Low Volume (HVLV) strategy aimed at attracting low numbers of tourists that have high spending habits (Saarinen et al., 2014:8). Similarly, Mozambique had higher numbers of international tourist arrivals despite economic and political unrest and a dramatic decline in tourism due to economic collapse and civil war that ended in 1992 (Jones, 2010:680); and Zimbabwe where according to Makoni and Tichaawa (2017), economic and political fluctuations have negatively impacted on the tourism sector since 1999. However, notwithstanding the COVID19 pandemic, there is considerable prospects for tourism growth in Zambia. This is possible if the necessary enabling conditions and environment to improve the competitiveness of the destination are met and given the prospects of recovery as projected by the UNWTO that globally, the tourism sector will rebound between 2021 and 2024 (UNWTO 2020). With this understanding therefore, Africa is likely to attract similar or more international tourists given the Pre-COVID-19 trends in international tourist arrivals to the continent.

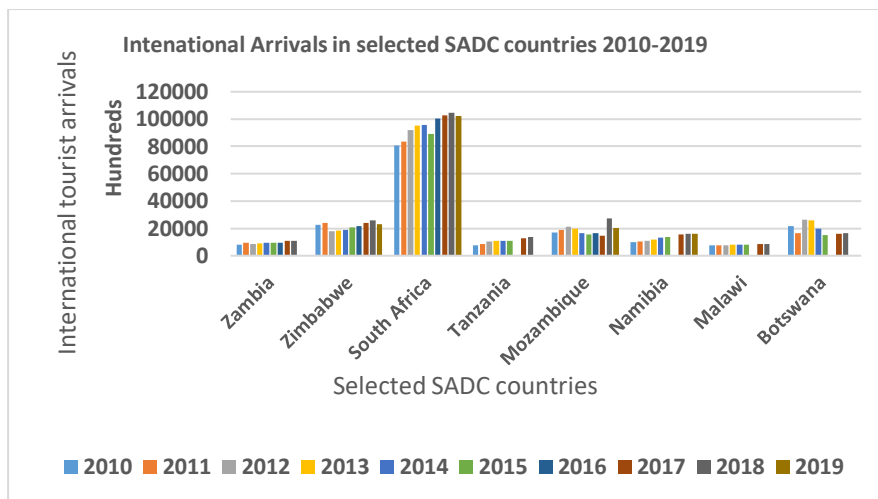


Figure 2: International arrivals in selected SADC countries.

Source: Data from UNWTO Tourism Highlights 2010-2020; Acorn Tourism Consulting, (2018). Chart: Author's own creation 2021.

2.2.3 Overview of the Tourism Economy of Zambia

Since early 2000, there has been significant growth and expansion of the tourism industry in Zambia, a period that witnessed an increased number of enterprises by Zambians in the tourism sector and international investor participation in the accommodation sub-sector. This significantly expanded the number of accommodation facilities, raised the brand profile of Zambia as a tourist destination, increased international tourist arrivals, tourist expenditure and created employment opportunities (National Tourism Policy, 2015:4-5). Pre COVID-19, Zambia's tourism sector had been the fastest-growing economic sector contributing to economic diversification in terms of composition of output and exports (National Tourism Policy 2015:1) and to job creation and rural development (MoTA Tourism Statistical Digest, 2016). The sector is acknowledged as a potential driver for the creation of socio-economic benefits such as the generation of state revenue through duties, licence and park fees, corporate taxes currently set at 35 % (CUTS, 2018), rural development, income generation opportunities, employment creation, foreign exchange earnings, and stimulation of entrepreneurship opportunities resulting from multiplier effects (National Tourism Policy, 2015).

The country does not have a comprehensive data capturing and distribution system in place (Acorn Tourism Consulting, 2018:5) hence, tourism's contribution to the country's GDP is said to be underreported. In addition, there is inaccurate data to show a true reflection of

tourism’s contribution to other economic sectors and inconclusive to reflect actual international tourist receipt (National Tourism Policy, 2015; Auditor General, 2018). However, available data indicate that since the late 1990s, international tourist arrivals have been growing with 400,000 international arrivals in 1998 and the upward trend in tourist arrivals to Zambia continues as demonstrated in Figure 3. International tourist arrivals had doubled to 897,000 in 2007 but due to the world economic crises and swine flu pandemic, in 2008 there was a notable decline of (9.5%). Nevertheless, there was a significant increase from 2009 (710,000) to 815,000 in 2010, which can be attributed to the spill over from the 2010 FIFA World Cup that South Africa hosted. Since this event, there has been sustained tourism growth in Zambia averaging 14% reaching to over 1,266 million international arrivals in 2019 (UNWTO, 2020).

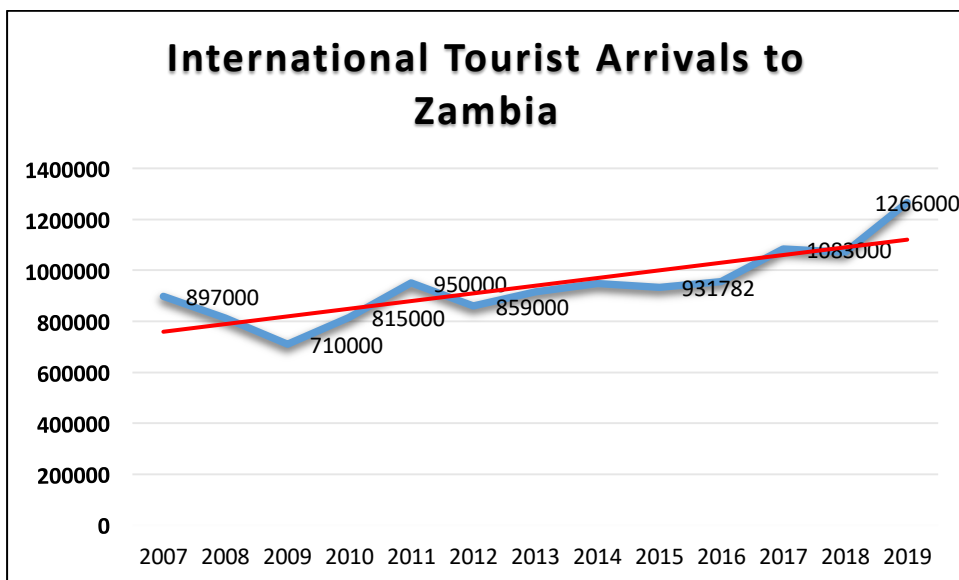


Figure 3: Trend in international Tourist Arrivals 2007-2019.

Source: Data from UNWTO Tourism Highlights 2008, 2010, 2015, 2018, 2019, 2020; Chart: Author’s own creation.

The market segments of international tourists to Zambia comprise of domestic, continental, international and overseas travellers. The purpose of visit is considered key by the MoTA for decision making and planning, guiding policy for investment, understanding the market and marketing strategy in order to have greater returns on the tourist dollar (MoTA, 2016:15). In 2016, visitors from the African continent accounted for 78% of travellers arriving in Zambia followed by European tourists 9.2%. (Acorn Tourism Consulting, 2018:9). Contrary to global trends in 2019, where travelling for leisure dominated international tourism except in the Middle East (UNWTO, 2019:7), international travellers are attracted by various factors largely

for business and holiday while others visit the country to see relatives and friends, attend conferences and for study purposes. A significant number of international arrivals to Zambia visit Livingstone. The average percentage of business tourists in 2014 and 2015 combined was 54% while 25% were holiday makers (MoTA 2016:15). While international arrivals increased between 2010 and 2016, there was a 5% decline in leisure travellers over this period from 31% to 26% (Acorn, 2018:4). In 2019, there was more tourist expenditure (61%) among business travellers than leisure travellers (39%) (UNWTO, 2020) indicating a growing business traveller segment to Zambia.

A similar upward trend is evident in relation to tourism’s contribution to employment as there has been a continued growth trend in direct employment created by the tourism sector for the period 2015 to 2019, (Figure 4). Notably, there was a significantly high increase (0.7%) in tourism induced jobs from 2014 (57,003) to (57,384) in 2015. Interestingly, this is despite a slight decline of 1.2% in tourist arrivals over the same period from 946,969 to 931,782. By 2018, tourism contributed about 469,700 thousand jobs accounting for 7.2% of total employment (WTTC, 2020) which supports the assertion that across the world, tourism is a significant driver of employment creation (WTTC, 2020:2).

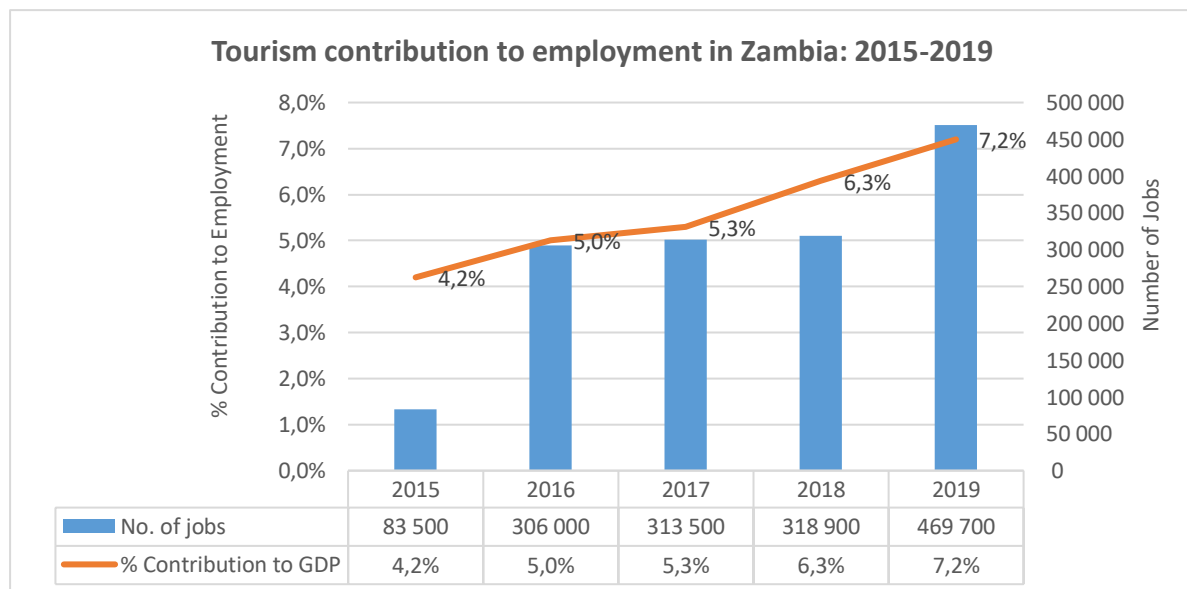


Figure 4: Tourism employment trends in Zambia 2015 - 2019.

Source: UNWTO & WTTC. (2016-2020). Auditor General’s Report, (2020). Chart: Author’s own creation.

In monetary terms, the sector continues to grow its contribution to the national GDP. In 2012, tourism contributed US\$441 million (2.4%) and a slight decrease of US\$ 401 Million or 3.1%

of GDP in 2015 (WTTC Travel and Economic Impact Report for Zambia, 2017). However, a notable increase was recorded US\$1.8bn in 2018 and by 2019, tourism contributed 7% of GDP amounting to US\$ 1, 701.1bn, making it the fastest growing economic sector in Zambia (ATTA, 2019; WTTC, 2019, 2020).

2.2.4 Travel and Tourism Competitiveness in Zambia

With the growth of tourism on a global scale and the wider recognition of its economic importance, the notion and measurement of tourism destination competitiveness has been receiving attention among tourism economics scholars (Cracolici et al. 2008) and international organisations such as the World Economic Forum (WEF). According to a report by the WEF (2017), as the upward growth trend of the tourism industry continues, the share of international visitors travelling to and from low to middle income countries is growing (WEF, 2017). However, the report highlights enabling conditions and environments that countries around the world should consider to drive tourism competitiveness. An increase in tourism earnings or receipts per visitor increases the chances for a tourism destination to be competitive and conversely, increase in visitor numbers and expenditure depends on tourism products available and the quality and uniqueness of tourism experience in a destination (National Tourism Policy of Zambia, 2015: VI).

The WEF (2019) Travel & Tourism (T&T) competitiveness rankings reports on policies and conditions that enable sustainable tourism development and how this drives countries' development and competitiveness. The T&T Competitiveness index highlights a number of indicators within four broad categories. The first is the enabling environment which centres on business, hygiene and health, human capital and labour markets, safety, security and information communication technology capabilities. The second indicator focuses on enabling conditions and policies concerned with prioritization of T&T, taking into account competitiveness of price, openness and environmental stability. The third indicator is concerned with air and ground infrastructure, tourist service infrastructure and lastly, the indicator on tourism assets which emphasises cultural assets which include World Heritage Sites in a country and natural endowments (WEF, 2019: ix).

The WEF Travel and Economic Competitiveness Report (2019) evaluation shows that, in Southern Africa, the five most competitive economies were: South Africa, ranked the top scorer in the SADC region (61st), Namibia (81st), Botswana (92nd), Tanzania (94th) and Zambia

(113th). However, Zambia's ranking was better than Zimbabwe (114th), Malawi (125th) and Mozambique (127th). The report indicates that growth in tourism receipts and international arrivals in Sub-Saharan Africa outperforms the global average and acknowledges the unexploited natural assets whose benefits could be enhanced through additional investment. Furthermore, the WEF Travel and Economic Competitiveness Report (2019) cautions that *...due to historically lower levels of economic development, the region continues to face difficulties in health and hygiene, overall infrastructure and effective selling of cultural and business travel...* (2019: viii). An earlier report (WEF Travel and Economic Competitiveness Report, 2017) propagates that, while nature tourism is the predominant driver of tourism in the Sub-Saharan region, there is need to enhance efforts at augmenting and promoting cultural tourism products (2017: xiii). In the Zambian context, this assertion is acknowledged in the Zambia Tourism Policy, spotlighting the need to develop and diversify tourism products for greater offering as well as to market its cultural assets, rather than depending primarily on nature-based tourism (National Tourism Policy, 2015; Auditor General's Report, 2020).

2.2.5 Key challenges affecting the Tourism Sector in Zambia

According to the National Tourism policy of Zambia (2015), multiple challenges affect tourism performance and competitiveness in general. Among these factors, four are key to developing quality and sustainable tourism-agriculture linkages and these relate to inadequate marketing of Zambia as a tourist destination, limited tourism products, deficiency of enabling environment and conditions for a competitive tourism sector and the lack of coordination between different stakeholders.

- (i) Low marketing and promotion of tourism products in Zambia including poor marketing of cultural activities particularly those that are community led. According to the Tourism Policy, this is attributed to a weak marketing plan and inadequate capability for market research. This is important in providing evidence on different niche market needs and characteristics which require segmented marketing approaches and appropriate branding of the destination. Participation at international tourism forums, events and strategic international platforms where Zambia could be marketed to the international traveller have been reducing over the years (National Tourism Policy, 2015; Acorn Tourism Consulting, 2018)
- (ii) Limited tourism products due to over dependence on nature based tourism such as the Victoria Falls and wildlife with minimal development and diversification of

other tourism assets such as cultural tourism, adventure and business tourism which according to the UNWTO (2020) recorded the most in tourism receipts compared to leisure tourist expenditure in 2019. Zambia's domestic tourism segment is underdeveloped, hence the number of domestic travellers could be increased (National Tourism Policy, 2015:6). An increase in diverse tourism products would attract more tourists and potentially result in extended length of stay throughout the year, thereby averting the current peak and low occupancy and the four-day average length of stay. This trend results in a seasonal nature of tourism and directly affects the room occupancy rate which limits the demand for food.

- (iii) There is a perception that Zambia is a high-cost destination within the region. This is as a result of the high cost of tourism services including accommodation, high cost of operating tourism businesses, high levies and fees stipulated by the government (National Tourism Policy, 2015:7).
- (iv) Lack of collaboration and coordination exist between different economies and actors, between and across the government ministries and private sector institutions and agencies in implementing policies concerning tourism development. Where these exist, there are weak linkages across ministries and across private sector agencies and inadequate partnerships and engagement on tourism matters (Promotion & Monitoring Research Centre (PMRC), (2013). As a result, understanding of tourism, its management, potential for growth and increased tourism demand is minimal. Regional administration of tourism is weak as there is low tourism expertise, capacity and poor regulations and enforcement (National Tourism Policy, 2015; Acorn Tourism Consulting, 2018). As a result, lack of coordination and shared understanding may result in limited local impact from backward linkages between tourism and agriculture.

Competitiveness of a tourism destination affects the number of visitors to a destination and the length of stay. The average length of stay in a given time period affects the tourism sector's performance and its socio-economic impact on a destination in relation to tourism employment, contribution to a country's GDP and opportunities for linkages to other economic sectors such as agriculture through demand for food (MoTA Tourism Statistical Digest, 2016) According to the Auditor General's report (2020), despite challenges in collecting data on the length of stay during 2015 and 2019, available data show that the average length of stay during this period was four days. The report stipulates that this is as a result of multiple factors particularly

that Zambia is perceived to be a high-cost destination, with underdeveloped tourism packages and tourism areas and limited tourism product offerings particularly in the northern part of Zambia. However, the MoTA has set a target to increase the average length of stay from four to six days by 2038 (Auditor General's Report, 2020:20-21).

Nonetheless, the tourism sector remains a priority for growth and the national government seeks to position Zambia among the top five tourist destinations on the continent by 2030 (National Tourism Policy, 2015; CUTS, 2018:27). However, this remains to be realised as such a vision requires sustained collaborative commitment by all tourism stakeholders to develop and market Zambia as a competitive tourism destination. In addition, it is important for the private sector led by the government to commit budget for the development of diverse tourism products, embark on sustained destination marketing to existing and emerging markets, and for infrastructure upgrade and maintenance which form part of the key pillars for tourism competitiveness that are covered in the WEF Travel and Tourism Competitiveness report (2017, 2019).

Based on available data, a historical analysis of tourism budget trends between 2006 and 2011 shows significant and growing variances between budget allocation and the actual budget released, denoting inconsistency throughout this period. The average budget allocation released during this period was 43.7%, which is far below what would have been planned in funding tourism development over this period. Inadequate resource allocation, variations in allocation and released budget over the years indicate uncertainty of budget which may negatively impact tourism performance and marketing initiatives nationally and at destination level. Interestingly, despite inadequate resource allocation and inconsistent budget commitment from the government, during this period, the sector continued on an upward trend in tourist arrivals, tourism earnings, GDP and contribution to national employment generation. The political strategy and regulatory guidelines are in place but evidently, the sector was not prioritised in terms of budget allocation during the period 2006 to 2011 (Figure 5). An assumption can be made that such an unpredictable budget environment does not encourage growth, that perhaps with greater certainty and sustained resource commitment for tourism development and marketing of the destination's rich and diverse cultural and natural endowments, would improve tourism performance.

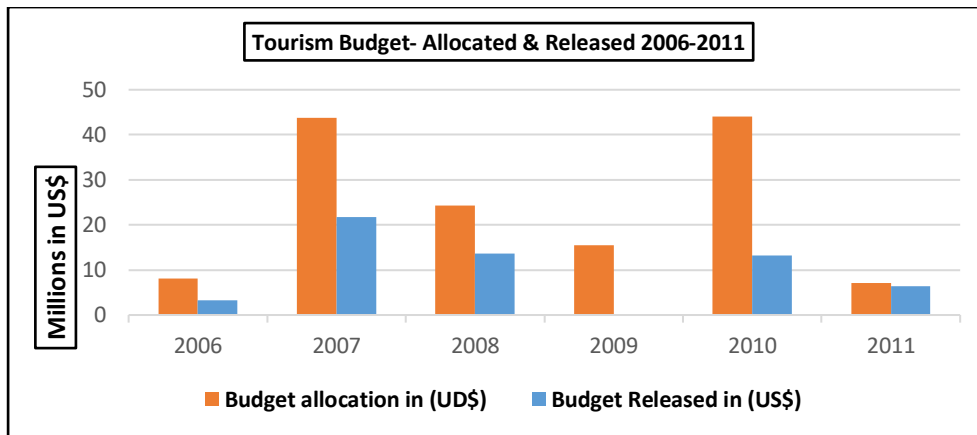


Figure 5: Tourism budget allocated and Released 2006-2011.

Source: Data sourced from Policy Monitoring and Research Centre (PMRC), (2013). Chart: Author’s own creation. *Note that data on Released budget for 2009 are missing from the source.

However, in the subsequent period 2015-2019, there was significant budget (Figure 6) committed for the tourism sector earmarked for tourism development initiatives such as product diversification and marketing (Auditor General Report, 2020:29). Interestingly, the share of tourism expenditure to the total budget released over the five-year period was lower. Given the trends in variations between budget allocation and budget released over the period 2006 to 2011; and the variation trend between budget released and expenditure from 2015 to 2019, this could possibly be a challenge resulting from uncoordinated planning across the governance levels and implementation capacity on the ground. As a result, an inference can be made that this negatively affects the overall implementation of activities planned to improve the industry’s competitiveness in the region through tourism product diversification, promotion and marketing of the sector.

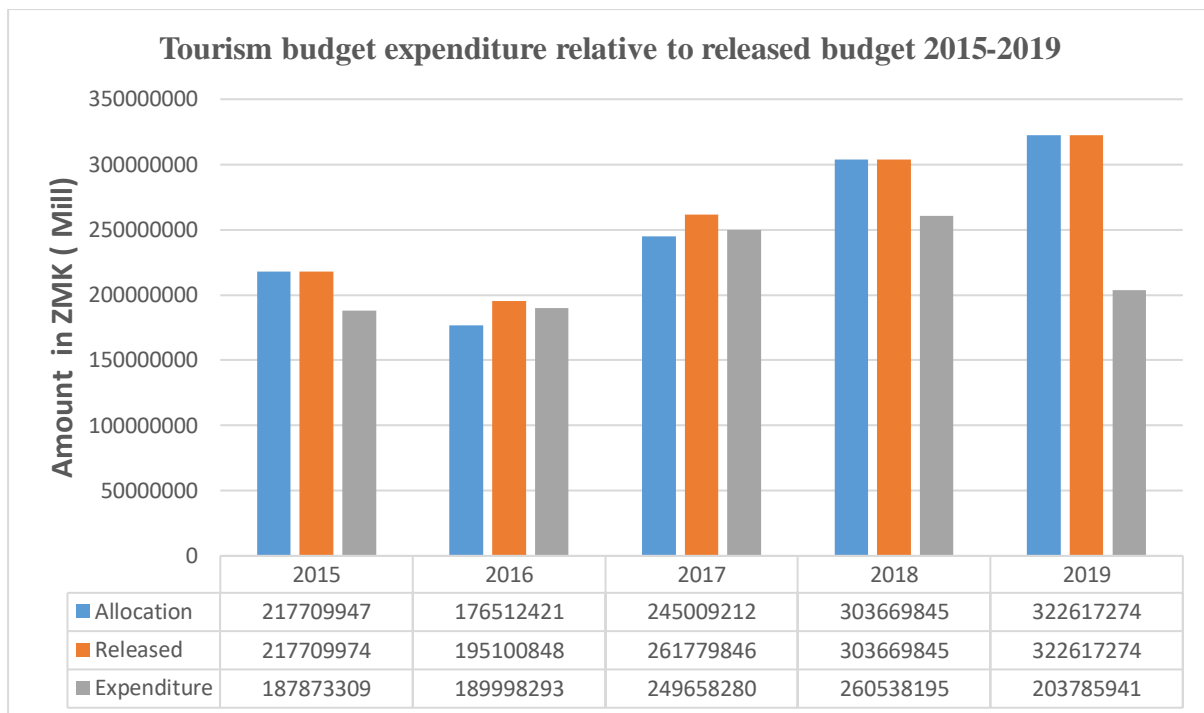


Figure 6: Tourism budget expenditure relative to budget released.

Source: Policy Monitoring and Research Centre (PMRC), (2013); Auditor General’s Report, (2020).

2.2.6 Tourism Assets in Zambia

As with many countries in the Sub-Saharan region, in Zambia, tourism is a private sector dominated industry largely characterised by nature and cultural-based activities (National Tourism Policy, 2015; UNWTO, 2020). The country is endowed with numerous natural attractions spread throughout its nine provinces. These resources include rivers, lakes, a wide range of unspoilt landscapes, unique flora and fauna and the Victoria Falls, locally known as Mosi-oa-Tunya (the smoke that thunders) (Acorn Tourism Consulting, 2018). In addition, Zambia is home to over 7000 natural and cultural heritage sites, including nine museums, the country is home to seventy-three tribes with diverse traditions and annual traditional ceremonies such as the Kuomboka ceremony of the Lozi tribe in the Western Province and the Mutomboko ceremony of the Bemba tribe in the Northern Part of Zambia (National Tourism Policy 2015:3). The country’s natural stock includes wildlife in twenty national parks spread across the country and 36 game management zones covering 236,376 km (31%) of the country’s national territory (Liu & Mwanza, 2014; National Tourism Policy 2015). Overall, tourism in Zambia is largely dominated by leisure travellers (Acorn Tourism Consulting, 2018:4) drawn to the two key tourism attractions of wildlife and the Victoria Falls in

Livingstone, a flagship tourist product for Zambia (Lui and Mwanza, 2014; National Tourism Policy, 2015). However, according to the Zambia National Tourism Policy (2015:1), the country is not optimally leveraging its tourism potential

2.2.7 Tourism development in Livingstone.

Covering an area of 752 615 sq. km, the town of Livingstone was founded in 1905 and served as the capital town of what was then known as Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) until 1935, when Lusaka became the capital city. Livingstone had a population of 139,509 in 2010, an annual population growth of 3.1% during the 2000-2010 inter-censal period (Central Statistical Office of Zambia, 2012:43). The rural residents in and around the periphery of Livingstone predominantly focus on fishing, animal husbandry and horticulture as a livelihood strategy. In recent years, Livingstone has witnessed a growing focus by urban residents opting into farming for additional income earning opportunities while pursuing other income generating ventures through business or paid employment. With subsistence agriculture being a dominant economic activity for rural dwellers, it is worth exploring the opportunity for market linkages with the tourism industry, taking into consideration Saarinen's (2007) argument that the significance of tourism is greater particularly in marginalised peripheral or rural areas where the industry has been used as a catalyst for welfare, employment and economic growth. Employment and income are some of the inclusive growth attributes that sustainable market linkages can create for smallholder farmers located in and around Livingstone.

2.2.7.1 *Scale and Nature of Tourism in Livingstone*

Livingstone is a relatively established tourist destination located in the southern part of Zambia, 10km on the northern side of the Zambezi River and the Victoria Falls. The town is the main tourist destination in Zambia and between 2005 and 2011 more than 50% of holiday travellers visited the tourist capital (Liu and Mwanza 2014: 32) drawn by the Victoria Falls which spans across Livingstone and the town of Victoria Falls in Zimbabwe. According to McLachlan and Binns (2014), the Victoria Falls was designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1989 and regarded as one of the 'Seven Wonders of the Natural World'. It is a key tourist landmark of Zambia attracting greater numbers of visitors than all the five major national parks in Zambia combined (MoTA Tourism Statistical Digest, 2016). Tourism is recognised as a driver of Livingstone's economy (McLachlan & Binns, 2014) endowed with adventure-based tourism activities, wildlife, Zambezi River and the Victoria Falls, attracting international tourists. In

the early 1990s, Livingstone, the tourist capital, was considered a ‘ghost town’. However, this changed as a number of tourist-related enterprises and activities emerged as well as the associated infrastructure construction from the early 2000s. During this period, Livingstone experienced a significant number of international tourist arrivals as the neighbouring Zimbabwe was undergoing unrest due to political instability, becoming less attractive as a tourist destination. This created an opportunity for Livingstone to be the preferred tourist destination from which to view the Victoria Falls, which during the rainy season, over five hundred cubic meters of water per minute, plummet over the edge into a one-hundred-meter gorge below (<http://Zambiatourism.com/destinations/waterfalls/Victoria-falls>).

The tourist town emphasises nature-based tourism that includes game drives in the Mosi-aun Tunya National Park, canoe safaris upstream on the Zambezi River, scenic and boat tours, and lion walks with expert tour guides. In addition, adventure travel is another niche tourism that includes connecting with the local cultural landscape, taking part in physical activities such as white water rafting on the lower Zambezi River, Zip line adventure and gorge swing 95 meters above the Zambezi River. Bungee jumping is another popular adventure located at the iconic Victoria Falls Bridge that connects Livingstone to Victoria Falls Town in Zimbabwe. In 2017 the total number of tourist arrivals in Livingstone from the four ports of entry was 178,714 an increase of 14,272 (7.9%), compared to 164,442 in 2016. International travellers were from within the African continent, Europe, North and South America, the Middle East, Asia, Australia and Oceania countries MoTA (2017:3).

Livingstone’s main tourist attractions include the Victoria Falls, the Livingstone National Park, the Livingstone National Museum and the Livingstone Art Gallery. Statistics of visitor numbers are captured at points of entry of each of the attractions and the Victoria Falls is the most visited site during the period 2014 to 2017 (MoTA, 2017). According to the MoTA Tourism Statistical Digest (2016), while other nature-based tourist activities such as game viewing and hunting remain significant, the Victoria Falls remains the most visited attraction of all the five major national parks combined (2016:22). This is an important indicator of tourist product preference and Livingstone’s comparative advantage of the country’s tourism market share.

Visitor trends shown over a five-year period, 2011-2015, summarised in Figure 7 show that a clear majority of visitors to the Victoria Falls are domestic tourists. During the five-year period,

the highest domestic visitor numbers were in 2015. In the same year, there was a notable decline in international visitors to the Victoria Falls which reflects a similar decline in international tourist arrivals to Zambia in the same period from 946,969 in 2014 to 931,782 in 2015. This signifies that there is a strong correlation between international arrivals to Zambia and visits to the Victoria Falls. This confirms the assertion that the Victoria Falls is the greatest tourism attraction for the country particularly during periods of high water falls between the months of March to September.

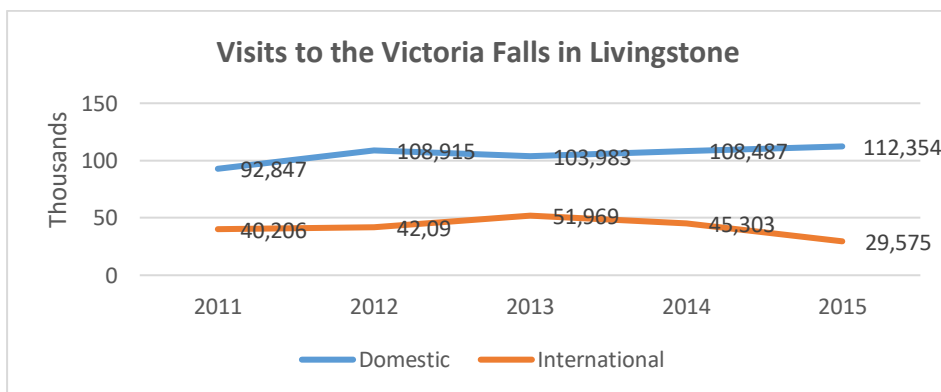


Figure 7: Domestic and international visits to the Victoria Falls 2011-2015.

Source: Constructed by author using data from National Heritage Conservation Commission

2.2.7.2 Accommodation Sub-sector

According to the MoTA Tourism Statistical Digest (2016), the accommodation sub-sector plays a significant role in the tourism sector as they are a key source of tourism earnings, employment creation, and a determining factor of tourists' average length of stay, expenditure and motivation to return (2016:24). The scope and standard of accommodation establishments remain a critical factor that influence these outcomes (MoTA Report 2016). Since the implementation of the first tourism policy of Zambia in 1997, there has been a growing interest in investment of accommodation establishment with internationally recognised accommodation brands entering the market such as the Sun International and the Protea hotels. Nationally, the number of registered accommodation establishments (hotels, lodges, guest houses, motels, campsites and backpacker equalled 1,169 in 2014. There was a slight increase of accommodation establishments in 2015 at 1,172, translating to 43,119 rooms. Southern Province, home of the Victoria Falls, had the second largest number of rooms, accounting for (12,482) or 29.1 % of the national room stock after Lusaka, the capital city of Zambia with 31.7% (13,621) rooms (MoTA Tourism Statistical Digest 2016).

With a growing tourism industry, accommodation establishments in Livingstone and surrounding areas are an important source of investment by local residents creating employment and income generating opportunities. Local procurement by the tourism sector creates opportunities for communities in the periphery of the local economy such as smallholder farmers to participate and benefit from the tourism economy. The MoTA (2016) report indicates that there are currently 11 hotels, 72 lodges and 23 guest houses registered and operating in Livingstone. With the principle of *government lead and private sector driven tourism industry* (National Tourism Policy, 2015:4), the state has invested public resources towards infrastructure development projects such as the construction and maintenance of airports and roads and the promotion of Zambia as a tourist destination and reformation of the regulatory framework (2015:4). In the tourist capital Livingstone, infrastructure investment in aviation was completed in 2017 with the expansion and renovation of the then Livingstone Airport, upgraded to an international airport status and named after Harry Mwanga Nkumbula, a political leader of the first African political party in Zambia; the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress. The airport is located on the northern edge of Livingstone, 17 km from the Victoria Falls.

2.3 TOURIST DESTINATION GOVERNANCE AND REGULATORY FRAMEWORKS

There are several policies and institutions governing the tourism sector in Zambia and of importance in this study is to note the tourism policy position on tourism linkages with other economic sectors. Tourism as an economic sector is concerned with fragmented tourism activities that are governed by multiple regulatory agencies at different levels of government (national and destination community level), involving individuals and organisations in the public and private sector (Laws et al., 2011; Ellis et al., 2016; Mahangila & Anderson et al., 2017). Destination governance structures are of significance in supporting the implementation of the government's strategic tourism plans and monitoring thereof, particularly as tourism destinations are characterised by continuous transformation over time due to external environment pressures such as climate change, epidemics and tourist behaviour (Hartman, 2021). Destination governance refers to supporting and guiding the process of collaboration and collective action in tourism destination development and management by different actors (Bramwell, 2011; Gill & Williams, 2011). Freeman (1994), in clarifying foundational matters in stakeholder theory explains that different actors and agencies have varying capabilities in influencing action and outcome in a destination. The notion of participation is key in

governance (Laws et al., 2011) and this has long been propagated in pro-poor development debates where local community involvement in decision making and benefiting from tourism is an important aspect (Kakwani & Pernia, 2000; Ashley & Roe, 2002; Ashley & Goodwin, 2007). Given that tourism constitutes fragmented activities that depend on other economic sectors, the importance of coordination and sound regulatory framework to support tourism performance is well articulated (Anderson et al., 2017; Charles, 2019). Furthermore, for tourism to yield inclusive growth outcomes that widen access in participating and benefiting from tourism growth, stakeholder collaboration with clearly defined roles and responsibilities, communication and integration are vital (Nyanjom et al., 2018).

2.3.1 The National Tourism Policy of Zambia

The current tourism policy of Zambia (2015) is a review of the first National Tourism Policy that was drafted in 1997. The review was as a result of the changes in tourism trends nationally and internationally and seeks to address the challenges that affect the competitiveness of the sector. The revised policy is guided by the principles of sustainable development and sets out a new path for the tourism trajectory with the overall objective to:

‘... guide all players in the industry to optimize sustainable development of tourism opportunities, extend tourism activities to regions and communities that may have previously been neglected, set out the national implementation framework, and spell out specific roles of different stakeholders in the sector’ (2015:15).

Furthermore, there are twenty-three policy objectives set out, fourteen measures and implementation guidelines of the sector. One of the measures underscores the government’s intent and recognition of the importance of linking tourism to other economic sectors under the theme ‘Policy coordination, consultation and Inter-Sectoral Linkages with a whole government approach’ to:

‘... Ensure that the “Whole of Government” approach appreciates and utilizes the linkages that exist between tourism and other ministries and agencies, as well as with a broad range of private sector stakeholders, in order to maximise the benefits of tourism for the country’ (2015:16).

It is worth noting that the tourism policy of Zambia inter-sectoral linkages is in line with arguments that governments see value in prioritising tourism and multiple linkages with other sectors of the local economy (Dieke, 1993; Scheyvens, 2011; Hampton, et al. 2018). However, it remains to be seen in practice whether this would foster sustainable and viable linkages, particularly with the agriculture sector. This would refute arguments made by Goodwin (2010:2) that in most low- and middle-income countries, inter-sectoral linkages are not pursued in policy interventions as a way of maximising tourism impacts. Other views concur with this assertion when they suggest that most sub-Saharan African countries have limited focus on initiatives that link tourism and agriculture (Hunt et al.2012) or that on the Africa continent, inter-sectoral linkages are weak (Muthumbi et al. 2017). Yet, the potential impact of tourism can be greater and inclusive through economic linkages (Torres, 2003; Anderson, 2018; Njoya & Nikitas, 2019) and articulated by Berno (2011:88) who posits that *‘Stronger linkages between agriculture and tourism not only result in higher levels of economic retention but can also contribute significantly to the ethos of sustainable tourism’*.

2.4 THE AGRICULTURE ECONOMY OF ZAMBIA

2.4.1 Introduction

Diversification into tourism and agriculture has received greater attention from the government as contributors to national economic growth and poverty reduction (Lolojih, 2009, PMRC, 2013). In comparison to the tourism sector, the agriculture sector receives significantly higher budget allocation. In 2021, the agriculture sector received 49.7% more than in 2020, taking up 6.7 % of the national budget in 2021 compared to 3.7 % in the previous year (Mulenga et al., 2021:2). Yet, a greater portion of the budget allocated and released to the Ministry of Agriculture (MoA) is towards the Food Reserve Agency (FRA) and the Farmer Input Support Programme (FISP). Kuteya and Chapoto (2020) state that over the last decade, less than 20 % of the budget has been released for agricultural development initiatives and in 2020, only 8 % of the MoA budget was released for agricultural development efforts (MoA, 2020). More budget commitment is necessary to enhance smallholder agricultural productivity through addressing the multiple challenges that they face as this will increase their potential in contributing to rural economies, food security and poverty reduction which aligns with the NEPAD (2013) report that achieving agricultural-led development requires a focus on smallholders.

Zambia's agriculture sector is endowed with resources that are key to its success such as good climate, abundant rain and water bodies, labour and relatively cheap land (NAP, 2013; CUTS, 2018). With only 14% of the medium to high potential land utilised, the sector has the potential to expand as most of the land is not yet utilized for agricultural productivity. When put to good use, these natural resources will provide the sector with greater possibilities to contribute to the social economic wellbeing of a significant population of Zambia (CUTS, 2018:24) particularly for rural residents where poverty and inequality is most prevalent. Prior to 2000 when the weather conditions were favourable, agriculture had high production, and generated 16 to 20 % of GDP (NAP, 2013; Mulenga et al., 2021). It is a source of livelihood for more than 70 % of Zambia's population and continues to be despite a steady decline in contributing to GDP. In 2011 and 2015, the sector's contribution to GDP was 10.2 % and 5.3 % respectively (NAP, 2013; CUTS 2018:24) and by 2018 agriculture contribution to GDP was 2.6 % with a slight increase of 0.1 % in 2019 (Mulenga et al., 2021). The decline in agriculture performance and contribution to the country's economy is attributed to the variability of rainfall since 2000, negatively affecting production systems, particularly affecting smallholder farmers as they rely on rain-fed production (Mulenga et al., 2021:12).

Population statistics from the 2010 population census shows that the majority 60.5%, (9,919,216) of the total population in Zambia (13,092,666) live in rural areas while 39.5% are urban dwellers (National Central Statistical report on Census of Population and Housing, 2012). Zambia's greatest challenge is poverty averaging well over 60%. It is in rural areas where poverty and inequality are most prevalent (Siame, 2016:234) and the agriculture sector has economic significance as it contributes to poverty reduction, creates income generating opportunities and employment for both rural and urban populations (NAP, 2013). The inclusion of smallholder producers in other markets such as retail and tourism supply chains are important in contributing to their livelihoods. However, because of the nature of smallholders, doing business with small-scale producers increases transaction costs for large retailers and processors (Emongor et al. 2007:189).

The key drivers of growth in the agriculture sector in Zambia include market information, irrigation and effective markets, rural infrastructure, agricultural extension services and access to credit (Mulenga et al., 2021:2). During the 2004-2015 agricultural productivity period, the sector did not sufficiently meet the growing domestic and foreign demand for Zambian agricultural commodities due to a myriad of challenging factors (NAP, 2013) which continue

to affect agri-businesses. Among other factors, the industry's declining performance is attributed to policy inconsistency, poor coordination between agriculture and other economic sectors and at times conflicting legislation and policy shifts (CUTS, 2018:24). In addition, agricultural performance has been affected by inefficient agricultural extension services; inadequate mechanization among small-scale farmers, minimal participation in agricultural development by private sector entities; low agriculture production and productivity; minimal access and availability of finances and credit necessary for agriculture development; inefficient agricultural markets for inputs and outputs, food insecurity and dependency on rain-fed agriculture, which lends farmers vulnerable to adverse weather conditions of drought and floods among other factors (NAP, 2013:6).

The agriculture sector of Zambia is dominated by small-scale farmers (Emongor, et al. 2007:283) with 68% of the economically active population classified as smallholder farmers preoccupied in horticulture, fisheries, livestock production and Agri-processing, contributing to food and nutrition security at household and national level, employment creation, income generation and poverty reduction (NAP, 2013; USAID/Zambia, 2011-2015). Similarly, on the African continent, smallholder farming dominates agriculture production and productivity as articulated by Sanchez and Swaminathan (2005) who state that *small-scale farming families represent about half the hungry worldwide and probably three-quarters of the hungry in Africa. Raising the productivity of their crops, livestock, fish and trees is a major priority* (2005:357). Smallholder farmers are acknowledged for driving many African economies, specifically in SSA countries where they produce 90% of total agricultural output (IFAD, 2011) and rely on agriculture for their income and food consumption (Frelat et al. 2016). Hence, smallholder producers contribute to rural economies (Kamara et al. 2019) and to the socio-economic wellbeing of rural populations, therefore enhancing this agricultural system is important in order to reduce rural poverty (Kamara et al. 2019:14045) and sustainable tourism-agriculture linkages have the potential to contribute to the wellbeing of smallholder producer.

2.4.2 Characteristics of Smallholder farmers

Smallholder farming is a term that is used interchangeably with many phrases such as small-scale, subsistence and resource-poor (Garner & de la O Campos, 2014) which make the term distinctively different from commercial farming systems. However, there is no single definition of smallholder farming that is universally accepted as smallholders have varying degrees of characteristics (Morton, 2007). General consensus exists among agriculture scholars that

smallholder farmers are characterised by a combination of aspects which they experience at varying degrees. Therefore, definitions of smallholder farmers vary from publication to publication and different criteria are used, including farm size which is a key component for defining smallholder farms where emphasis is placed on land mass with a typical threshold of less than 5 hectares (Lowder et al., 2016; Kamara et al., 2019; Stuch et.al. 2020). In an informal interview with a Senior Agriculture Officer in Livingstone, Zambia, he cautioned that defining smallholder farmers based on land size alone can be misleading as a farmer with less than 5ha could produce large volumes which are competitive on the commercial market while another with 30ha utilizes a fraction of the land and merely yields enough for household consumption and even less for the market (Personal communication, 2019).

In addition to land size, there are other attributes used to describe smallholder farmers that focus on assets and income including reliance on family labour, dependency on farm production for income generation and economic livelihood (Garner and de la O Campos, 2014; Kamara et.al., 2019). Smallholder farmers produce less crops compared to commercial farming systems, are less likely to use purchased inputs and market less of their outputs, have low capital assets (physical, financial, human, social and natural (OECD, 2010; Kamara, et.al. 2019) have limited access to market information despite having a market orientation, are involved in the market at varying levels and are entrepreneurs (Barnett et al. 1997; Kamara et al. 2019:14047). Smallholders in this study take into account all these attributes and represent farmers found on a continuum between subsistence production and production for market. A more nuanced socio demographic description of smallholders' sample in the study is provided in chapter five.

2.4.3 Factors Restraining Smallholders' Production and Access to Markets

In comparison to large commercial agri-businesses, smallholders have been characterised as risk-prone, complex and diverse (Morton, 2007; Eastwood et al., 2009) because of their nature. This is as a result of the multiple stressors that affect farmers in general (climatic and others) and they are most exposed and least able to manage risks (Adger et al., 2006; Mojo et al., 2017) which limits their production and market access integration capabilities. Their potential is not fully realised as they are constrained by multiple and complex stressors that affect their ability to improve their livelihoods, increase agricultural productivity, income and food security, profitability and competitiveness (Mojo et al., 2017; Kamara, et al., 2019) in domestic and international markets. This results in domestic markets such as retail supermarkets and the hotel

industry to source agriculture food products from commercial producers within a destination, or from other geographical locations including imports. Literature on small-scale producers in emerging economies shows that there are multiple and complex barriers that smallholders experience relating to vulnerability to climate change, poor infrastructure and facilities, lack of access to capital assets and other inputs necessary for production intensification and diversification (Narrod et al., 2009; Ma & Abdulai, 2016; Mojo et al., 2017). As with other countries on the African continent, smallholders in Zambia experience a number of barriers like their Small, Micro, Medium, Enterprises (SMMEs) counterparts who according to Conway and Shah (2010:7) dominate the agriculture sector more than other economic sectors in Zambia. These limitations affect their production, productivity and domestic and international market access integration such as the tourism market which, if well-coordinated, present opportunities for sustainable and economically viable backward linkages with the agriculture sector.

2.4.3.1 Lack of and Inadequate Road Infrastructure and Post-harvesting Facilities

Smallholders are physically dispersed and geographically located in remote rural areas far from markets and where road networks are underdeveloped. As a result, they travel long distances to access input and output markets (Mojo et al. 2017) and they lack post-harvest handling facilities for processing, storage and marketing. Because of poor road infrastructure, lack of transport and long distances from the market, they lack access to market information such as market prices and potential business partners (Douglas, 2013) which are critical in matching production to demand therefore, limiting their bargaining power and profit margins. Poor road and transport infrastructure limit small-scale farmers from accessing agricultural inputs and in distributing and marketing outputs. Undercapitalisation of the agrarian sector and landscape is one of the factors that affect farmers and more so small-scale farmers (Momsen, 1998; Torres, 2003; Hunt et al, 2012; Anderson, 2018; Welteji & Zerihun, 2018). Empirical evidence from Botswana suggests that poor road infrastructure and lack of capital are some of the production challenges that constrain tourism-agriculture linkages in that country (Hunt et al. 2012). Similarly, in Tanzania where market linkage between tourism and local small-scale producers is well developed, the linkage is constrained by limited financial availability for local agriculture communities to add value to their produce through agro-processing (Anderson, 2018).

2.4.3.2 Less Competitive in Meeting Health and Safety Standards

According to the FAO (2015), the basic requirements for a productive business relationship are trust and access to mutual knowledge and information about each other. For smallholder farmers, access to market information and meeting expected quality, health and sanitation standards are key in building mutual trust with different markets and for successful integration into domestic and international markets. The inability of farmers to cope with changing consumer preferences and the lack of understanding of international and private hygiene, health and sanitary certification standards and regulations can be a major obstacle for smallholders to access markets and remain competitive (Kamara et al., 2019:14049) particularly for high value markets such as tourism and high-end restaurants. The inability of small-scale producers to meet quality and hygiene standards required by the hotel and hospitality sector is also cited in tourism literature (Telfer 1996; Torres, 2003; Hunt et al. 2012; Roger 2013; Anderson, 2018). The lack of capacity to provide quality produce that meets health standards and specifications is one of the supply related barriers found in SSA countries such as South Africa (Pillay & Rogerson, 2013; Rogerson, 2013;) and Ethiopia (Welteji & Zerihun, 2018) and to a lesser extent, in Tanzania (Anderson, 2018).

2.4.3.3 Lack of Access to Capital Assets for Production and Productivity

Smallholders in emerging economies including those in Africa, face challenges that negatively impact on food security, livelihoods and production capacity (Kipkoech et al. 2015) to meet specific market requirements (von Loeper et al. 2016) such as regular quantities, consistency and quality. This can be attributed to limited access to land and land size, inadequate technical knowledge and skills in coping with modern technologies (Salami et al. 2010; Mojo et al. 2017). Due to low knowledge and technological skills, smallholders rely on marginal land and practice shifting cultivation as they are unable to invest in improving water management, soil fertility and crop or livestock productivity (Kamara et al. 2019). Smallholders lack physical assets which are important for agriculture production and productivity such as irrigation equipment and machinery. Instead, they experience land tenure insecurity, rely on rain-fed production and family labour, use low production inputs and traditional low-tech tools such as the use of hoes (Garner & de la O Campos, 2014; Sinyolo et al. 2014). Smallholder farmers primarily rely on social and human capital skills and knowledge (Bebbington, 1999) and their literacy levels in terms of technological experience and level of worker education are quite limited.

Access to financial capital is important for production and investment in order to expand or improve crop and livestock yields. However, due to the nature of smallholder farmers, they lack access to credit services offered by banks and other formal lending institutions (Mojo et al., 2017; Kamara et al. 2019). Small-scale farmers have less access to banking and insurance services and have limited access to capital for start-up, production or investment in infrastructure and other resources for long term returns (von Loeper et al. 2016). This is because they may not have physical or natural assets to deposit as collateral in securing loans and they have limited means to repay such credit (Kamara et.al. 2019).

This reduces their ability to expand and invest in agriculture production which further deepens their vulnerability to other threats, including environmental conditions such as adverse climatic change. This leaves them susceptible to loss of production and minimal recovery from natural stressors due to lack of access to affordable insurance particularly in the Global South where access to agricultural insurance is reported to be absent and in instances where this is available, it is imperfect or unaffordable (Kirsten & Van Zyl 1998; Linnerooth-Bayer & Mechler, 2006; Ankrah, et al. 2021). The challenges facing farmer cooperatives were also cited during an informal interview with the chairperson of the Livingstone Farmers Cooperative Union (a farmer and one of the founding members of the cooperative) who alluded to a number of challenges that affect smallholder farmers which among others, is attributed to the lack of government commitment to assist smallholder farmers particularly with financial support stressing that ‘...members of the cooperative cannot afford to risk using their land as collateral for acquiring bank loans as they can lose their land due to non-payment... the government through the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Industry, can assist smallholder farmers with grants or soft loans which would be more affordable than loans financed by banks’ (Personal communication, 2019).

2.4.3.4 Vulnerability to Climate Variations

Smallholder farmers’ dependence on agriculture for their livelihoods renders them most vulnerable to climate change as it threatens their crop and livestock productivity and food and nutrition security (Hertel & Rosch, 2010; Kipkoech et al., 2015). Across the African continent, smallholders are negatively affected by shocks (floods, droughts, irregular rainfall patterns) resulting from their low resilience and inability to adapt to climate variance. This affects their production and productivity. The vulnerability of smallholders to climate change is according to Morton (2007), a result of their location in the tropics and from socio-economic,

demographic and unfavourable policies that limit their ability to adapt to climate variability (2007:19680). Bebbington (1999) posits that the adaptive capacity among smallholders is constrained by the lack of tangible assets and capabilities required to maintain their lives and livelihoods. This is the case in SSA countries which are vulnerable to climate change and challenged by the inability to adapt (Kamara et al. 2019). Specifically in Zambia, climate change has had adverse effects on agriculture due to its low resilience to climate change effects (NAP, 2013). Therefore, climatic variations greatly affect lives and livelihoods of rural populations. Agriculture and food security in SSA is negatively affected by increasing climatic changes (Niang et al., 2014), and specifically in Zambia (MoA, 2021) where there has been increased intensity and frequency of climate variability and weather shocks locking rural households in a cycle of poverty (Mulenga et al. 2021). It is imperative to find adaptation strategies that can assist smallholder producers to deal with climate changes, such as climate-smart agriculture (CSA) technologies and practices (Lipper et al., 2014; MoA, 2021). It is also worth noting that the relationship between climate change and tourism is two-fold as these impact on each other (Dube & Nhamo, 2018) and researchers have debated about the varied impacts, mitigation and adaptation prospects in relation to sustainable tourism (Amusan & Olutola, 2017; Scott, 2021).

All these challenges affect production, productivity, access to market integration and competitiveness of smallholders which opens up opportunities for domestic markets to rely on commercial producers and imports. It is therefore important that the government and relevant primary and secondary stakeholders in the agriculture sector play a key role in actualising sustainable smallholder production not only for household consumption but for participating meaningfully and competitively in wider markets. Small-scale producers can be capacitated to access domestic and international Agrifood markets including meeting specific tourism demand (quantity, consistency and quality). The tourism sector is largely a high value market and as such, food required is of high quality, freshness and variety to match tourist expectations and preferences. It is therefore important that the limitations experienced by smallholder farmers are addressed through policy and practical consideration that enhance sustainable and economically meaningful tourism-agriculture market linkages.

Siame (2016), proposes that integrating smallholder farmers into high value markets requires consideration of different approaches such as contract farming, out grower farming and strengthening of cooperatives. However, shortfalls of each of the three approaches are

acknowledged. In the case of contract farming and out grower schemes; it is argued that these tend to limit decision-making and bargaining power for smallholders and are considered to have very little success for small-scale and commercial farmers (Smalley, 2013; Siame, 2016). In relation to cooperatives, which are collective organisations formed for the welfare of its members (Verhofstadt & Maertens, 2015; Mojo et al., 2017), empirical evidence on the importance of collective action in reducing poverty is well acknowledged. Verhofstadt and Maertens (2015:86) state that *‘Cooperatives are often associated with collective action and social capital and therefore often thought to be more poverty reducing than other types of institutional innovations such as contract farming’*.

Taking into account that smallholder farmers in Zambia are largely organised into cooperatives despite their low performance in terms of economic vibrancy and capacity to support smallholders (Lolojih, 2009; Siame, 2016), this study recognises the potential role of farmer cooperatives in augmenting the existing tourism-agriculture linkages where pathways to enhanced inclusive growth outcomes can be pursued through sustainable production and marketing opportunities. The importance of enhancing tourism-agriculture linkage is articulated by Welteji and Zerihun (2018:1), citing (Torres, 2003) that *enhancing linkages between agriculture and tourism presents significant opportunities for stimulating local production, retaining tourism earnings in the locale and improving the distribution of economic benefits of tourism to rural people*. Within this context, the study amplifies the urgency for actualising pro-poor tourism growth through improved tourism-agriculture linkages. This is possible through supply and demand of agricultural food between accommodation enterprises and smallholder farmers, with agricultural cooperatives at the centre.

2.4.4. The role of Farmer Cooperatives and Cooperative Development in Zambian

Numerous publications acknowledge the increased formation of collective organisations such as farmer cooperatives and the multiple role they play in agriculture (Emongor, et.al. 2007; Mtonga, 2012; Ma and Abdulai, 2016; Mojo et al., 2017). For smallholder farmers in developing economies, they are often organised into farmer cooperatives as a mechanism to overcome the multiple challenges that impede improvement of their livelihoods, production and market failures (Hazell et al., 2010; Verhofstadt & Maertens, 2014; Wanyama et al., 2015; Mojo et al. 2017) and their competitiveness in domestic markets. As a result, cooperatives are generally considered to be of socio-economic importance in all economic sectors including the

agriculture sector where agricultural cooperatives are acknowledged for their ability to fight poverty in rural communities (Emongor, et al., 2007; Mojo et al., 2017), transferring information between sellers and buyers thus reducing information asymmetry and improve skills in agro-food safety and quality standards including assembling and grading produce (Vorley et al., 2007). Cooperatives furthermore increase crop yields, household income and assets, reduce transaction costs in accessing both input and output markets, foster economies of scale and scope thus improving the negotiating power of smallholder farmers to gain more competitive prices with larger buyers and sellers, which increases opportunities for social protection and higher income (Ortmann & King, 2007; Valentinov, 2007; Moustier et al., 2010; Abebaw & Haile, 2013; Mojo et al., 2017; Siame, 2016).

In Zambia, cooperatives were introduced soon after the country's independence from Britain's colonial rule in 1964 with agricultural cooperatives being the most dominant (Mtonga, 2012). The cooperative movement in Zambia has transitioned as the economic landscape changed from state-led development (1964-1990) to market-liberalization (1991-2001) when neoliberal economic reforms were adopted and to the current partial-liberal economic paradigm introduced in the early 2000s (Siame, 2016:233). Prior to the introduction of neoliberal economic reforms in the early 1990s when Zambia experienced significant social and economic changes, cooperatives' activities throughout the country were overseen by the Zambia Cooperatives Federation (ZCF) which was establishment in 1973. During this period, the cooperative movement at local district and provincial level was effective and managed over 90 per cent of the agricultural sector (Lolojih, 2009).

The objective of agriculture cooperatives had evolved and expanded over the years from the initial role of stimulating rural economic development (Chabala & Ojermark, 1994) to include food production, distribution, sustainable food-security and strengthening the capacity of small-scale farmers (NAP, 2004; Mtonga, 2012). The state provided a legislative framework (Cooperatives Societies Act 1970) under which it would use to control and support cooperatives, provide financial backing, technical expertise and partnership with international donors for grants and technical proficiency (Lolojih, 2009). Agriculture cooperatives purchased agriculture produce from farmers using their network of storage sheds, distributed farming inputs to farmers through cooperative supplier stores while delivering various consumer goods through the cooperative consumer shops (Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, 2007).

The social and economic vibrancy of the cooperative movement changed after the introduction of neoliberal economic policies of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank from the early 1980s underpinned by the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) as conditions for loan agreements (Lolojih, 2009). Policy reforms allowed for more private sector participation, and required the government to roll back on public spending which resulted in reforms in the public sector including in the agriculture sector where there was a discontinuation of subsidised agriculture inputs such as maize and fertilizers, liberalization of agricultural marketing and decontrol of prices (Simutanyi, 1996:826). These austerity measures had a significant effect on all economic sectors in Zambia, including the agriculture sector.

In the free market economy, the state's role had shifted from supporting and funding cooperative movements, resulting in weak governance structure of ZCF and its ability to generate income rendering the cooperative movement in Zambia weak (Lolojih, 2009). This resulted in the majority of cooperatives becoming non-operational or if active, nonperforming, had insufficient networks and visibility, rendering them ineffective in lobbying the interest and aspirations of their membership (2009:9-10). With reduced government support and financial backing, this has further weakened some of the agricultural cooperatives' capacity to trigger economic and social development among its members. Empirical evidence shows that, while some cooperatives are vibrant, innovative and resilient, the majority of the cooperatives are dormant or inactive as found in a recent study by Siame (2016) highlighting challenges experienced by cooperatives and agribusinesses in the agriculture value chain in Kabwe, Kafue and the capital city of Zambia, Lusaka. Among other things, the study found that sustainability of agriculture has been challenged by lack of government support for smallholder farmers and the lack of strong co-operatives particularly affected by weak cooperative internal governance and external factors including national policy environment and shifting support throughout successive governments creating conditions that are unfavourable for sustaining cooperatives (Siame, 2016).

More recently, when compared to financial cooperatives which are said to be weak and of dismal performance, agriculture cooperatives have grown in numbers and to some extent stronger as catalysts for government led support programmes (Mulenga et al. 2019:6). However, agriculture cooperatives have not been as vibrant as the Pre 1990 activism but rather are known to become lively during the farming season in order to benefit their membership

from the state subsidized fertilizer distributed to farmers through the government's Fertilizer Support Programme (FSP) that was introduced in 2002 (Dorosh et al. 2009). Thereafter, they remain dormant until the next farming season (Lolojih, 2009). The FSP programme is a government funded programme which is allocated a significant portion of the agriculture budget more than what is allocated for agricultural development programmes such as extension services, credit facilities for smallholders and technical support and marketing initiatives. Despite weak cooperatives, Lolojih (2009) argues that cooperatives in general have the potential to contribute to social and economic development among rural dwellers, providing social protection services, act as lobby institutions and can generally contribute to the livelihood of subsistence farmers as there is evidence of a high proliferation of cooperatives in rural areas.

Furthermore, effective and sustainable agriculture cooperative movement contribute to strengthening the capacity of small-scale farmers to improve productivity and reduce poverty (Lolojih, 2009). These claims were confirmed by a Senior Agriculture Officer at the Ministry of Agriculture adding that the strength and vibrancy of farmer cooperatives was largely led by state funding which is not the case currently as farmer cooperatives largely depend on cooperative initiatives to generate funds including membership fees (Personal communication, 2019). During the same period, an official from the Department of Cooperatives in Livingstone confirmed the high proliferation of cooperatives saying that there are over 400 multi- purpose cooperatives in and around Livingstone where small-scale farmers are registered. According to records at the time of the informal interview in 2019, these multipurpose cooperatives had wide ranging membership from as low as 10 members to 150 or more in each cooperative.

In recent times, there has been renewed interest in cooperatives by the government in the role that such collective groupings can play in development efforts across different sectors. This is evident in Policy and legislative frameworks effected to rejuvenate co-operatives in general. Firstly, the Department of Cooperatives was reassigned from the Ministry of Agriculture to the Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Industry as a measure to widen the scope of cooperatives from being perceived to be limited to agricultural activities. Secondly, the launching of the Seventh National Development Plan (7NDP), the country's development road map (2017-2021) and building block to actualising the country's 2030 vision of prosperity attainment of middle-income country status. Among other things, the plan recognises cooperatives as strategic drivers for achieving national development in Zambia. Thirdly, there has been a

review of legislative framework governing cooperatives (Cooperative Societies Act 1998) to ensure alignment to current changes and economic climate in the country. These recent developments demonstrate commitment by the government of Zambia to restore cooperatives in general (Mulenga et al., 2019:6). The revamping and restoration of the cooperative movement in Zambia, and specifically for agriculture cooperatives would serve as a catalyst for development particularly for smallholder farmers as they experience challenges that affect their production and productivity capacity and access to markets. Therefore, a mechanism to enhance the functioning of farmer cooperatives is necessary in ways that make them more sustainable and meaningful for smallholders.

2.5 CONCLUSION

Zambia is endowed with cultural and natural assets such as the Victoria Falls which is the most visited tourist attraction in the country. However, the country's competitiveness in the region is low in relation to its neighbouring countries. This can be attributed to inadequate marketing of the destination, minimal diversification and development of its tourism assets, high cost of the destination relative to other countries in the region and lack of coordination within and across public and private agencies in the tourism sector. The scale and nature of tourism depends on the prevailing enabling environment and its impact in terms of employment and GDP. Insights from the literature reviewed indicate that tourism linkage to agriculture particularly for the inclusion of smallholder farmers is possible but challenging, given threats and opportunities in the tourism sector and the vulnerabilities of smallholder farmers. The current contribution of cooperative movement to socio-economic development in the country is insignificant due to a number of factors related to its weak income base and organisational structures. Efforts to promote agricultural cooperatives require financial and policy commitment by the government.

CHAPTER 3: TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Development literature provides a basis on which different approaches and strategies to poverty reduction are discussed, hence the tourism-agriculture debate has been anchored in the development paradigm. In this chapter, the discussion centres on the tourism development paradigm and locates pro-poor growth and the inclusive growth paradigm within the context of tourism linkages, enablers and constraining environments. This chapter lays the background in which linkages are discussed in chapter 4 in order to pay specific attention to the issues and debates around tourism-agriculture linkages as a pro-poor tourism strategy. The researcher sought to use most recent sources on these subjects while recognising that tourism-agriculture linkages as a pro-poor tourism strategy and the inclusive growth paradigm are both historically grounded in economic development approaches that have evolved over time, hence it was important that older sources are referenced.

3.2 OVERVIEW OF DEBATES ON TOURISM AS A DEVELOPMENT CATALYST

Following World War II, international tourism has been the focus of discussion as a catalyst for economic development (Jafari, 1990; 2001). Debates on the developmental and poverty reduction role of tourism in emerging economies have evolved over decades and stages, whereby different theoretical positions and approaches have been adopted, cautioned and advocated (Jafari, 2001; Spenceley & Meyer, 2012). These discussions have taken three distinct stages. In the early stages 1960 and 1970s, a neo-liberal trickle-down effect was assumed where the economic benefits of international tourism were not questioned. Tourism was accepted as creating opportunities for employment creation, income and foreign exchange earnings, infrastructure and regional development linkages with other economic sectors through the multiplier effect (Jafari, 2001; Spenceley & Meyer, 2012). In the second stage 1980s and 1990s, the tourism development debate was more pessimistic focusing on the real (net) economic benefits of tourism and taking into account dependency, leakages, sociocultural adverse effects and the negative effects of tourism development on the environment (Spenceley & Meyer, 2012).

At the beginning of the new millennium, the third stage of the debate took a new form. The tourism and poverty debate focus shifted once more from a reductionist approach of the first

and second stages of discussions to a more balanced approach that considers both opportunities and challenges that international tourism presents in developing economies (Spenceley & Meyer, 2012). The third approach to tourism development debate has given rise to the notion of sustainable tourism with a pro-poor (PPT) and inclusive growth emphasis (Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018; Hampton et al. 2018) and this is gaining attention in tourism scholarship globally, with a notable contribution on the African continent (Hunt, et al., 2012; Rogerson 2012; Pillay & Rogerson, 2013; Anderson, 2018). However, the notion of PPT has been criticised and its impact questioned (Scheyvens, 2007, 2011; Hall, 2007) with some critics questioning whether PPT is indeed liberating and remunerative (Hall & Brown, 2006). Scholarly research and debates on the developmental role of tourism continue, and it is increasingly acknowledged that growth in tourism volume does not automatically translate to expected economic and social benefits particularly in the global South (Rogerson 2012:31) where countries face high levels of unemployment, inequality and poverty.

3.3 FROM TRICKLE-DOWN THEORY TO SUSTAINABLE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

The twentieth century discourse on development was premised on growth in stages. Rostow's theory of economic growth advanced during the 1960s and the trickle-down effect was one such model of economic growth and development (Rostow, 1990). The presumption was that over time, economic growth would benefit society thus, growth alone was enough as it would 'trickle down', consequently developing nations would be lifted from poverty (Bakker & Messerli, 2017:385). The growth first approach was centred on the understanding that *the rising tide would raise all boats* (Aghion & Bolton, 1997). During this period (1960s and 1970s), tourism was recognised as an important sector as it created opportunities for economic diversification from industries such as agriculture, social development opportunities and infrastructure improvements (Sharpley & Telfer, 2002; Scheyvens, 2002). For example, in the 1970s international organisations such as the World Bank continued to play a significant role in driving the development agenda particularly for the tourism sector. In low-and middle-income countries, the World Bank made capital investments for infrastructure in order to advance development in the sector (Hawkins & Mann, 2007). Tourism's contribution to development and poverty reduction was assessed at a macro-economic level (Archer & Fletcher, 1996; Sinclair, 1998).

Based on neoliberal beliefs, their assumption was that economic benefits of tourism would trickle down to bring socio-cultural change in traditional societies, thereby tourism would be a catalyst for modernisation, economic development and prosperity in emerging economies (Williams 1998:1; Scheyvens, 2011). However, the trickle-down model did not work for low-income countries as poverty and inequality persisted even during episodes of rapid economic growth (Jeyacheya & Hampton, 2020:2). In response to growing inequalities in developing countries, the 1980s witnessed the introduction of neoliberal economic policies branded as the Washington Consensus that advocated policy reforms including free market trade, tax reforms, competitive interest rates, liberalisation of foreign investment and structural adjustment programmes where the governments in developing nations would roll back public spending.

These economic policies were endorsed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Most of these reforms were implemented by developing nations in the Global South but resulted in slow growth and an increase in inequality (Sharpley & Telfer, 2002). Within the tourism sector, neoliberal economic policies did not yield intended results, hence a different approach was advocated during the 1980s and 1990 centred on post-structuralism where its proponents argued for structural reforms in the tourism sector to aid with poverty reduction and reduce inequalities (de Kadt, 1979; Britton, 1982; Brohman, 1996). Tourism's developmental potential within the neo-liberal economic system came under the spotlight when critics cautioned that this industry entrenched inequalities, deepened poverty, exploited the workforce and resources of LEDC, and increased dependency of countries on the TNCs in the Global North, creating a new era of colonialism (Britton, 1982; Duffy, 2002; Scheyvens, 2007).

3.4 SUSTAINABLE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Amidst rigorous criticism of tourism development approaches, scholars have been lobbying for alternative forms of tourism that are sensitive to sustainable development themes including partnerships, local participation, value chain, equity empowerment, private sector participation, inter-sectoral linkages and poverty reduction (Thomas-Francois et al., 2018). At the turn of the new millennium, a new approach to assess tourism has emerged, shifting from a reductionists approach that viewed tourism as either a catalyst for progress or for exploitation and underdevelopment to an approach that considers the complex nature of tourism (Spenceley & Meyer, 2012:301) where sustainability is considered a key factor in a tourism development discourse (Saarinen, 2021a).

Sustainable tourism debate with a focus on poor people and their livelihoods has gained significance. The changed emphasis in tourism debate was in response to criticisms on the triumph and dominance of the green agenda since the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, which focused largely on environmental sustainability and less attention paid to the development impact of tourism on the poor (Goodwin, 1998). The need to focus tourism debates on the livelihoods of the poor has since received greater recognition as a pro-poor debate was show-cased at the World Summit on Sustainable Development held in Johannesburg, South Africa in 2002. Further recognition of tourism that centres on people emerged during the 2004 Washington Declaration on Tourism as a Sustainable Development Strategy for tourism to be a catalyst for 'equitable distribution of income and liberalization with a human face'(WTO, 2004).

Saarinen (2021b) points out that among development practitioners, sustainable tourism has become the focus, demonstrating the importance of moving beyond the economic benefit of tourism to tourism that is sustainable and its benefits inclusive. This is where linkages in the tourism supply chain become an important aspect of sustainable tourism development that creates opportunities for social and economic inclusion and benefits players in the tourism market such as smallholder farmers as they are the most dominant in the agriculture sector of emerging economies such as Zambia (Emongor et al. 2007:283) and by nature are characterised as resource and income poor, vulnerable to social, economic and environmental stressors and are disenfranchised (Narrod et al., 2009; Conway & Shah, 2010; Mojo et al. 2017). Within the sustainable tourism theoretical framework, this study contributes to the third stage of tourism scholarship as it tries to answer the following research question *To what extent do market linkages between the accommodations sub-sector and smallholder farmers in Livingstone contribute to inclusive growth? Furthermore, how can the market linkage be strengthened in order to foster inclusive growth?* This is an important question as accommodation enterprises are a core sub-sector of the tourism sector.

Tourism is recognised in three of the 17 targets of the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), global targets for development that is sustainable and inclusive in the long term (UN, 2017). Tourism is explicitly mentioned as a target in SDGs 8, 12 and 14 (UNWTO, 2018) and according to Scheyvens et al. (2016), governments, civil society and business are tasked with taking on the responsibility to deliver on the 17 global targets, hence

it is not surprising that in southern Africa, tourism policy is aligned to the United Nations Millennium Project goals (Saarinen, 2010).

Most recently, the importance and responsibility of tourism to contribute to SDGs is well articulated by Saarinen (2021b) who posits that tourism signifies a tool for change across all spectrums of society at all levels (individuals, groups, businesses and entrepreneurs and tourists) where change (good and bad) occurs within their socio-ecological and economic environment (2021b). Hence, it is not surprising that there is evidence of growing interest among governments and authorities to recognise tourism as a change instrument for creating and maintaining new economic opportunities, linking tourism with other economic sectors as seen in African countries where there is interest in linking the agriculture sector (Pillay & Rogerson, 2013; Anderson, 2018; Njoya & Nikitas, 2019; Saarinen, 2021b; Degarege & Lovelock, 2021). The outcome of this study relates to tourism inclusivity with a pro-poor focus and therefore the research has specific relevance for SDG 8 which is aimed to '*promote inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all*' (United Nations, 2017).

3.5 LOCATING PRO-POOR GROWTH IN THE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT DEBATE

Economic growth, poverty and inequality debates continue and consequently, a new school of development thinking emerged which focused on understanding the redistribution of growth to address growing inequality that came with unequal economic growth process (Ali, 2007; Rauniyar & Kanbur, 2010; Croes & Rivera, 2017). The World Bank (2012) was key in pursuing investigations on redistribution of growth and as debates on redistributive growth gained momentum (Saarinen & Rogerson, 2014), the notion of pro-poor growth (PPG) emerged in the 1990s (Bakker & Messerli, 2017:385). Numerous institutions and nongovernmental organisations introduced development projects with a PPG approach intended to uplift the livelihood of communities in low- to middle-income countries. However, there is no single definition of the PPG notion but a broad and narrow definition is provided in development literature. In terms of its broader definition, PPG has been defined as growth that is of benefit to poor communities (any growth) therefore reducing absolute poverty (Bakker & Messerli, 2017). With this absolute definition, inequality persists as the nonpoor continue to benefit. On the other hand, the relative definition departs from a broad view to a narrow focus that is aimed at benefiting the poor proportionately more than the nonpoor in order to reduce inequality (Bakker & Messerli, 2017).

Tourism has intrinsic characteristics that renders it potentially more favourable for poverty reduction compared to other sectors in the economy (Ashley et al., 2001a; Rogerson, 2006;; Spenceley & Meyer, 2012; Gupta & Dutta, 2018). For developing economies, governments have become increasingly aware of the intrinsic characteristics that render tourism as a catalyst for inclusive development (Rasool et al. 2021:1) namely marginalised ethics and benefits and poor communities (Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018). Rogerson (2006) states that tourism has the potential to be ‘a genre of ‘pro-poor growth’ (2006:44). Arguably, as a tool for pro-poor development, poor communities can directly and indirectly benefit from tourism through the improvement of infrastructure development, communication, security and community development (Roe et al., 2002; Gohori & van der Merwe, 2020). As a labour-intensive sector, tourism has a greater potential to create employment opportunities and income generating prospects for skilled and unskilled workers, youth and women than other economic sectors (Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018; Ganeshamoorthy, 2019).

In addition, with increasing international tourist arrivals creating demand for goods and services, opportunities are created for linkages that provide poor communities access to tourism markets as suppliers of goods and services (Meyer, 2007; Mitchell & Faal, 2007; Pillay & Rogerson, 2013, Njoya & Nikita, 2019). This is possible because tourism brings consumers to the product (Torres & Momsen 2004:297). Because of tourism’s development potential, it is not surprising that development agencies, non-governmental organisations and governments in emerging economies are showing interest in investing in initiatives that are aimed at reducing the challenge of poverty through tourism development (Meyer, 2007; Spenceley & Meyer, 2012; Ganeshamoorthy, 2019). However, while proponents of PPT acknowledge tourism’s potential to reduce poverty and the incentives for promoting PPT are apparent for stakeholders, they also admit that the tourism industry may have limited contribution to pro-poor development due to being driven primarily by commercial interests, and that there is less clarity on why tourism businesses in the private sector could be inspired to embrace pro-poor approaches (Torres & Momsen, 2004; Rogerson, 2006; Scheyvens, 2009). It remains a challenge for PPT to be commercially viable while advancing developmental returns where low-income groups benefit (Mitchell, 2019). Nonetheless, with growing international tourist arrivals and tourism receipts, opportunities for local economic development through supply chains have the potential to stimulate sustainable backward economic linkages directly or indirectly with tourism businesses (McEwen & Bennett, 2010) thereby creating opportunities for inclusive growth. Prospects for tourism to grow and realize pro-poor impacts can be attained

through investing in tourism activities that are inclusive and pay attention to marginalised groups or low-income communities to participate and benefit from tourism growth and development (Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018).

3.6 TOURISM AS A TOOL FOR PRO-POOR GROWTH IN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Pro-poor development strategies have been applied in different disciplines and economic sectors including the tourism sector where the PPT strategy has been debated. PPT is based on the premises of neoliberal economic policies of the 1950 and 1960s that saw the penetration of global forms of imperialism and dominance of the Global South by the Global North and the development of mass tourism in the 1960s (Spenceley & Meyer 2012:300). The concept of PPT was first introduced in a 1999 report for International Development (DFID) (Meyer, 2007). During this period, debates on tourism as a development catalyst had been centred on sustainable development focusing on equity and human wellbeing, marking a significant shift in thinking from the top-down and trickle-down models of development to tourism approaches that have a bottom-up emphasis (Roe et al., 2004). PPT has been the focus for academic and development agencies as well as governments since the 1970s where they focused research on the link between tourism development and poverty reduction strategies (Hall, 2007:112).

The PPT agenda is less focused on expanding the size of tourism but its emphasis is on strategies that impact particularly on livelihoods of the poor, on how to unlock opportunities in ways that improve positive impacts (Ashley et al., 2001a; 2001b; Ashley, 2002; Ashley & Mitchell, 2005; Rogerson, 2006; Goodwin, 2009; Musasa & Mago, 2014; Musavengane et al. 2019). Furthermore, the PPT approach is centred on the assumption that tourism can play a role in poverty reduction by increasing the net benefits for the ‘poor’ and strive to ‘ensure that the growth of tourism contributes to poverty reduction. This approach unlocks opportunities for economic achievement and other livelihoods’ benefits and opportunities for poor people to engage in decision making (Ashley et al., 2001a; Goodwin, 2009; Fang, 2020). This assumption is founded on the PPG understanding that economic advancement benefits development and ought to be sustained provided that the ‘poor’ can benefit over-proportionally (Meyer, 2007:558).

However, there has since been no consensus on whether the tourism industry can play a role in poverty reduction or worsen the inequalities that exist between host communities and visitors

in tourism destinations and between communities that are involved and those that are not involved in tourism within the destinations (Spenceley and Meyer 2012:300). Jamal and Dredge in Sharpley and Telfer (2015:184), caution that while PPT may be based on what appears to be ethical and fair principles, it may offer fewer “net” benefits that are apparent when considered from a structural, historical and a long-term sustainability perspective (2015:184). As the PPT agenda has been put to the test, scholars have highlighted a number of deficiencies that require attention.

Spenceley (2003) suggests a number of factors that should be considered as the supporting environment for PPG to be attained:

- (i) Improve entry to market opportunities in order to overcome obstacles of physical location
- (ii) Forming linkages with recognized operators and overcoming social barriers (e.g. gender) faced by poor consumers
- (iii) Commercial viability of products in respect of quality, price, marketing and the strength of the tourism destination
- (iv) Development of an appropriate policy framework (e.g., land tenure, regulations, planning processes and capacity of the government)

Furthermore, Rogerson (2006:45) contends that on its own, tourism is not sufficient as a poverty reduction strategy but remains an important stakeholder of a wider PPG strategy, more so on the African continent. This assertion supports the UNWTO statement in Hampton and Jeyacheya (2013) that tourism *cannot be treated as an economic force that can be left alone to deliver its rewards*. This statement is important because, although tourism has inherent attributes that create opportunities for social and economic development, enabling environments are equally important in promoting measures that shape and foster tourism’s developmental contribution. Studies such as this one that have a bottom-up approach, where the expectations and experiences of small-scale farmers in the tourism value chain are considered, is an important contribution to bringing the voice and experiences of the otherwise disenfranchised majority rural population into the inclusive tourism development debate. This will allow for mutually beneficial partnerships between the two sectors where the sustainability of tourism is not threatened by gaps in the agricultural food value chain and the associated

consequences on guest experience while widening opportunities for participation and benefits for smallholder farmers in a more sustainable and meaningful way.

3.6.1 Criticism levelled against Pro-poor Tourism Initiatives

Although tourism is acknowledged as a catalyst for reducing poverty in developing economies (Luo & Bao, 2019), and previous studies have shown that the PPT agenda has some successes particularly in African governments where poverty strategies include tourism, similarly tourism policies include poverty reduction other than the known foreign exchange earnings (Ashley & Goodwin, 2007). Despite these acknowledgements, from a critical point of view, the PPT agenda has not successfully achieved its intended goals. The PPT approach has a narrow focus restricted to micro level or community-based tourism projects with minimal impact. Therefore, a shift from a niche approach to a country level tourism strategy would be more impactful on a larger scale. In addition, shortcomings of PPT focus on infrastructural development and training with little investment in linking tourism products to domestic or international markets resulting in minimal benefit. There is also a lack of documented monitoring and reporting of PPT projects that would help to evaluate PPT initiatives (Ashley & Goodwin, 2007; Hummel & van der Duim, 2012; Scheyvens, 2011). Hence, there is need for rigorous monitoring of tourism impacts on different groups of poor people as there is limited action research reported (Ashley & Goodwin, 2007:2). In addition, the perspective of poor communities in examining tourism's effectiveness in reducing poverty has been largely omitted (Luo & Bao, 2019).

In the past decade deficiencies cited by PPT critiques include the argument that pro-poor approaches lack consideration for structural inequalities and power dynamics that may exist in pro-poor centred tourism projects (Choke et al., 2007). Ashley and Goodwin (2007) add that deficiencies in creating market linkages and scaling up the PPT agenda at national level is as a result of institutional factors where developing the tourism sector and extending its benefits to poor communities are approached separately by tourism practitioners, community tourism workers and private sector partners. In addition, each have different skills and authority, and there is a lack of complimentary multi-sector policies and strategic partnerships between all levels of government resulting in minimal PPT impact. They advocate that for PPT activities to yield greater impact, a multi-stakeholder partnership approach is required for tourism enterprises to source locally procured products that can be adequately produced and marketed locally (Ashley & Goodwin, 2007:2). Nyanjom et al. (2018) emphasise the importance of

collaboration among stakeholders. Similarly and more recently, advocates for pro-poor tourism suggest that for pro-poor tourism to have positive outcomes aimed at poverty reduction and greater benefits for poor communities, there should be effective communication, cooperation and coordination of interests and roles of multiple destination stakeholders that include local community residents, tourism businesses and the government (Tolkach et al., 2012; Wen et al.2021).

3.6.2 Strategic Direction in Achieving PPT Objectives

PPT has been advocated as a potential development approach particularly aimed at poor communities in emerging economies owing to the fact that these countries are endowed with natural and cultural assets that are attractive to and interest tourists (Roe et al. 2004). Therefore, it is not surprising that in emerging economies there has been growing interest in adopting PPT to drive economic development (Truong, 2014). However, while attainment of PPT is possible, it is important that care should be taken when pursuing PPT initiatives as there are multiple interrelated barriers that vulnerable communities experience which constrain attainment of PPT. Tourism researchers and scholars from the agriculture sector tend to emphasise similar vulnerabilities. Ashley et al. (2001b) state that poor people tend to be vulnerable to the unpredictability or volatile nature of the tourism industry; that vulnerable communities are difficult to reach and they benefit the least economic gains from this industry which is largely controlled by international corporations, local elites and outsiders excluding the poor and vulnerable from accessing the tourism markets. Furthermore, Torres and Momsen (2004) are of the view that poor communities experience lack of economic and social capital, inadequate education and training, inability to meet the high standard of tourism industry quality requirements.

This aligns with claims made by agriculture scholars on the nature and characteristics of smallholder producers which limit productivity, market access and competitiveness (Mojo et al., 2017; Kamara et al. 2019). Torres and Momsen (2004) purport that despite these challenges, marginal gains can be significant to poor households, that pro-poor approaches can *'tilt' tourism, at the margin, to channel industry benefits to the poor* (2004:298). Within this context, strategies to optimise benefits for poor communities can be employed to achieve PPT objectives.

To advance the PPT agenda, the researcher supports the need for more research that focuses on the prospects and impediments for tourism linkages with locally produced services and goods as recommended by Torres and Momsen (2004) who maintain that the yield of the ‘tilt’ may be made more significant by researching the tourism-agriculture interface in order to understand the undercurrents or dynamics of exchange and relationships that manifest between the tourism industry and the poor (2004:298). More recently, the need for investigating ways of achieving PPT through different pathways such as tourism supply chains has been advanced (Goodwin, 2010; Adiyia & Vanneste, 2018; Mitchell, 2019; Gomes, 2021). Empirical evidence demonstrating the attainment of PPT through value chains from SSA shows that through tourism-agriculture linkages tourism has the potential to impact on local producers as has been the case in The Gambia (Mitchell & Faal, 2007) and Tanzania (Anderson, 2018).

3.7 LOCATING THE INCLUSIVE GROWTH PARADIGM IN DEVELOPMENT DEBATE

Approaches to economic growth and poverty alleviation debates have persisted into the twenty-first century. According to Bakker and Messerli (2017), the PPG development strategy did not solve the inequality and poverty problem through redistribution of growth. The new millennium (2000), saw the introduction of the inclusive growth paradigm, a notion that is recognised by donors and governments to address growth, poverty and inequality (Bakker & Messerli 2017:386). The inclusive growth paradigm is rooted within the sustainable development agenda and its philosophical origin is in the capabilities approach theory that places equal emphasis on the role of economic and social mechanisms to reduce inequalities (Hasmath, 2015). Conceptually, inclusive growth builds from features of the Pro-Poor agenda; however, the World Bank views it as much broader as it relates to all community members irrespective of their socio-economic conditions to work together in realizing inclusive growth (Ali, 2007; Rauniyar & Kanbur, 2010).

Internationally, the inclusive growth paradigm is advocated by development communities, international and regional institutions, academia, national governments and policymakers as an economic approach to uplift standards of living in low to middle income regions. The inclusive growth approach has been published by academic communities and international organisations such as the OECD and the World Bank (Jeyacheya & Hampton, 2020:2). In 2015, inclusive growth was recognised by the United Nations in SDG8 which seeks to *promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, and full and productive employment*, and SDG10

to *reduce inequality within and among countries* (United Nations, 2015). However, debates on how tourism potentially contributes to SDGs continue and Saarinen and Rogerson (2014) highlight this point raising the question of the contribution of tourism to UN MDGs beyond 2015 suggesting that *tourism needs to be positioned as a potential tool for, not at the end of local regional, national and global development agenda* (2013:23). Saarinen and Rogerson (2014) make reference to other academic literature (Britton, 1982; Scheyvens, 2011; Saarinen et al., 2013) that inquire on whether and how tourism can meet these goals particularly in poor destination regions in developing countries where tourism is considered to create inequalities (Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018), dependency and revenue leakages (Hunt et al., 2012; Welteji & Zerihun, 2018). These debates highlight the need for further research on tourism-led inclusive growth.

3.7.1 Definition of Inclusive Growth

Even though the inclusive growth approach to reducing poverty and inequality is recognised and applied by international and regional institutions across multiple disciplines and among scholars, there is no consensus on a single definition of inclusive growth (Jeyacheya & Hampton, 2020). However, there is agreement that inclusive growth ought to *achieve a shared approach to economic growth that has fair and equitable outcomes for lower and middle-income households* (de Haan & Thorat, 2013) and many have cited the World Bank definition which according to (Ianchovichina & Lundstrom-Gable, 2012) considers the extent and intensity of growth in reducing the occurrence of poverty and inequality and has been well-defined by the World Bank:

'Inclusive growth analytics have a distinctive character focusing on both the pace and pattern of growth. Rapid and sustained poverty reduction requires inclusive growth that allows people to contribute to and benefit from economic growth. Rapid pace is questionably necessary for substantial poverty reduction, but for this growth to be sustainable in the end, it should be broad-based across sectors, and inclusive of the large part of the country's labour force' (World Bank, 2009:1).

Other definitions include what is provided by Rauniyar and Kanbur (2010:457) that consider inclusive growth to be *'growth coupled with equal opportunities*, while George et al. (2012), provide a definition that further emphasises the social dimension of growth, that *inclusive growth is the social and economic advancement in the wellbeing of communities structurally*

deprived of access to opportunities, resources and capabilities, that inclusive growth is by extension innovation and referred to as innovation for inclusive growth’.

Jeyacheya and Hampton (2020) purport that the various definitions emerging from different disciplines provide a shared sense of understanding *‘to broaden access, rights and participation of the majority of the population to equally prosper from, and contribute to economic growth through productive employment, rising incomes and living standards’* (2020:2).

In this study, growth is defined as inclusive where it creates equal access to and increases the social and economic opportunities, capabilities and resources needed by smallholder farmers in the tourism supply chain. This implies that the voice of the small-scale farmers is key as it allows a bottom-up approach to taking part in decision-making as well as planning in the tourism supply chain. This study investigated the inclusive growth notion as a process and as an outcome, where the focus is on social economic processes and outcomes as expected and experienced by smallholder farmers participating in the tourism-agriculture market linkage in Livingstone, Zambia.

3.7.2 Adoption and Operationalisation of Inclusive Growth

The World Bank, development agencies such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), UNDP as well as regional development banks in Africa and Asia have adopted the inclusive growth model as a catalyst for economic development (de Haan & Thorat, 2013; Bakker & Messerli, 2017). In addition, governments of large and small economies have embraced the inclusive growth approach to guide planning and economic development policies (Ranieri & Ramos, 2013; Jeyacheya & Hampton, 2020). Institutions and governments that have adopted an inclusive growth approach have operationalised this concept as an analytical tool and indicator for assessing macro level economic development and social inclusion (Ali & Son, 2007; McKinley, 2010) as a strategic development outcome (Jeyacheya & Hampton, 2020:2) and as frameworks that governments use to manage structural aspects of development or transform multi-sector guidelines for development (Jeyacheya & Hampton, 2020:3). In its ten-year strategic plan (2013-2022), the African Development Bank (AfDB) is geared towards achieving inclusive growth and green growth. However, no inclusive growth projects have been initiated targeting the tourism sector (Bakker & Messerli, 2017).

3.7.3 Characteristics of Inclusive Growth

Ranieri and Ramos, in Jeyacheya and Hampton, (2020:2) posit that growth, inequality and poverty are at the core of inclusive growth and that these are influential to each other. Furthermore, Bakker (2019:575) warns that growth on its own is not sufficient to reduce poverty and recognises the negative effects of persistent inequality on efforts to reduce poverty. This assertion is well articulated by Dua et al. (2021) in their statement that *'growth and inclusion reinforce each other as insufficient economic inclusion threatens prosperity.'* Theoretically and practically, inclusive growth is two-pronged. Klasen (2010) is of the view that growth is an essential condition for inclusive growth and that it is both a process and an outcome. As a process, inclusive growth is founded on contributions from large volumes of participants and carries the notion of non-discriminatory participation.

The second dimension of inclusive growth focuses on the outcome of the growth process where inclusive growth benefits large numbers of people. This is a departure from the redistributive approach of reducing poverty to one that creates productive opportunities (Klasen, 2010) such as employment creation and entrepreneurship (Bakker & Messerli, 2017). The outcome dimension of inclusive growth is closely related to PPG but different in focus. PPG definitions tend to focus on people below the poverty line as stipulated by different nations while inclusive growth tends to be more general where growth benefits all groups of people in society (poor, near-poor, middle income and rich) making it non-discriminatory and supports the attainment of equal opportunities and equal access (Zhuang & Ali, 2009). However, PPG has two definitions, an absolute and a relative definition. Inclusive growth is closely related to the relative definition of PPG.

3.7.4. Constraints and Enablers of Inclusive Growth

Literature on PPG admits the supporting environment factors necessary for the attainment of PPG as pointed out by Spenceley (2003). Similarly, within the inclusive growth paradigm, George et al., (2012) puts a spotlight on the conditions that drive inclusive growth. In their stylised framework of constraints or enablers of inclusive growth (Figure 8). They conceptualise how multiple global constraints such as technological, behavioural, human capital (education and skill development) and the government regulatory factors constrain attainment of inclusive growth and acknowledge the capacity needed for businesses to generate innovation adequate for inclusive growth. Another building block necessary for inclusive

growth is the setting up of aspirations on inclusivity and desired growth outcomes aimed at improving social and political wellbeing while advancing economic gains (2012:14). Within the pro-poor growth context, such tools would empower stakeholders and aid in uncovering vulnerabilities that marginalised communities’ experience which is important if inclusive growth is to be attained.

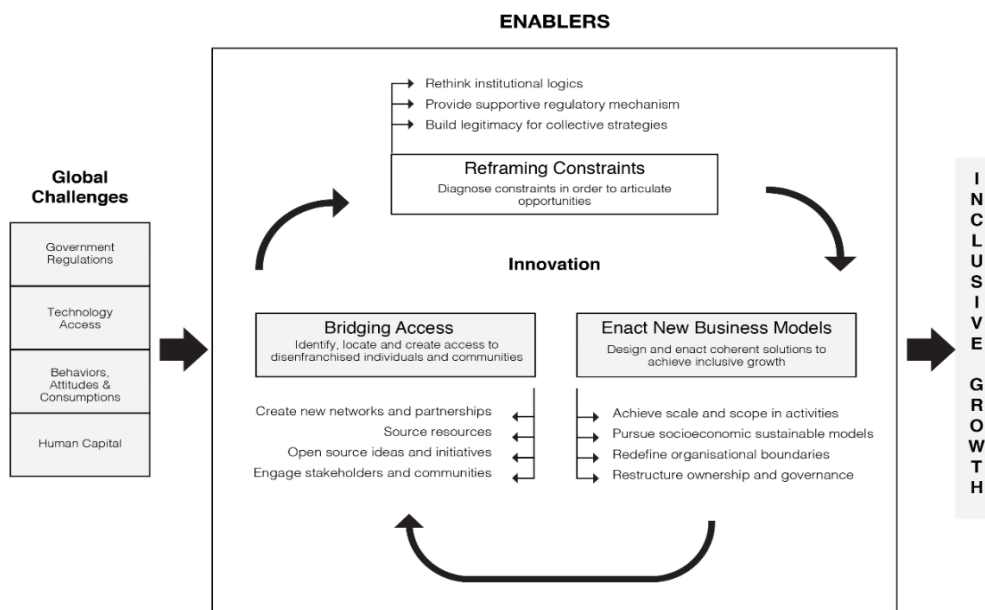


Figure 8: Stylized framework of inclusive growth.

Source: George et al. 2012.

3.7.5. Criticisms on Inclusive Growth

While inclusive growth has been acknowledged as a pathway to reduce inequality and poverty by broadening participation and benefits from growth, inclusive growth has been discredited for its narrow approach to inequality, poverty and macro level economic indicators that do not take into account non-economic dimensions (Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018) To this end, governments ought to take a significant role in the attainment of inclusive growth by strategically embedding inclusive growth policies at the centre of development programmes and monitoring and evaluating processes and outcomes at a micro level.

The World Bank (2009) is of the view that inclusive growth policies should create an environment that is socially inclusive in order to attain income and non-income growth that extends to the broader segment of society, labour force and industry (Ali, 2007; Klasen, 2010). Institutional and social dimensions of growth are considered key in the inclusive growth debate

as a measure for responding to imbalances resulting from an economic only approach for enabling ‘growth coupled with equal opportunities’ through robust governance and just policies (Rauniyar & Kanbur, 2010:3). Furthermore, de Haan and Thorat, (2013:8) point out that inclusive growth policies must not only allow communities and individuals to contribute to economic growth but also benefit from it irrespective of differences in religions, gender, ethnicity and economic sectors.

3.7.6. Tourism led Inclusive Growth and Poverty Reduction

Debates on tourism growth that is inclusive is a recent shift from an approach that focused mainly on the role of tourism in poverty reduction particularly among poor communities to take account of the inclusive aspect of tourism (Hampton et al., 2018; Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018; Bakker et al., 2020; Shah et al., 2021). However, even though there is an increase in publications on inclusive growth in general and on specific sectors, it seems there is not much published that focuses specifically on tourism (Bakker & Messerli, 2017). Though controversial, the inclusive growth notion has gained prominence in economic development debates and proponents of inclusive growth argue that tourism has inherent characteristics that make the industry conducive for inclusive growth such as its labour-intensive nature and direct and indirect reliance on other economic sectors resulting in greater economic multipliers (Bakker, 2019).

As a non-resource sector, tourism has the potential to widen the net of beneficiaries of income and for prosperity creation through employment, businesses and other livelihood prospects (Christie et al., 2014; Jeyacheya & Hampton, 2020). Yet, in the African context, some of the countries in SSA scaling up tourism have low appreciation of the value of tourism and the necessary policy, institutions and infrastructure to support tourism development and for communities (Christie et al., 2014). Furthermore, developing economies have not invested enough in driving inclusive tourism development where marginalised groups participate and benefit from tourism as suppliers of services and products that the tourism sector requires or through productive employment (Anderson, 2018). Inclusive development through tourism is possible because the tourism sector has an extensive supply chain and is reliant on other industries that are producers and suppliers of goods and services such as transportation, entertainment and construction as well as food and non-food products such as textiles and furniture fittings (Sharpley & Telfer, 2015)

The quest for finding new approaches to developing tourism that is more inclusive of marginalised or poor communities is an important area of scholarship as tourism scholars seek to find different pathways of maximising tourism benefits (Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018). The potential for tourism to be a catalyst for PPG or inclusive growth through the formation of linkages is an important aspect for this study. Rogerson (2006) refers to five advantages integral to tourism that present it as an attractive industry to contribute to PPG (2006:44). These are its potential to offer a wide scope for participation which also includes the informal sector (Bah & Goodwin, 2003; Goodwin & Francis, 2003) and the formation of linkages with other sectors because of the customer going to the product.

Another advantage is that the tourism sector is dependent on natural resources or natural capital (sea, climate, wildlife) and culture that some of the poor people have and they can derive economic value from such resources which may otherwise have no alternative use (Goodwin, 2011; Sharpley & Telfer 2015). Additionally, tourism's contribution to PPG lays in its labour-intensive nature (Roe & Urquhart, 2001) and lastly, compared to other economic sectors, it has a higher potential to create jobs or entrepreneurship prospects that increase the participation of women (Ashley et al., 2000; 2001b). However, Sanchez-Rivero et al., (2013: 248) caution that growth in tourism seldom translates into economic development because tourism growth interventions are not all strongly associated with economic advancement. Hence, as promulgated by the UNWTO, tourism should not be left on its own to deliver rewards (Hampton & Jeyacheya (2013) but consideration should be taken by all stakeholders including community members to identify enablers and barriers to the attainment of inclusive growth for a pro-poor impact.

According to Lee (2019), inclusive growth provides a framework for a tourism debate that not only focuses on poverty reduction but to an approach that is more inclusive of people from a wider spectrum of society and across all economic sectors including agriculture to contribute and benefit from tourism growth. Economic linkages between tourism and other economic sectors in the local economy are an important driver for inclusive growth opportunities. As pointed out by Mitchell and Ashley (2006), businesses that are well-established such as large corporations and medium size enterprises, can create economic links with small-scale entrepreneurs in the local economy creating mutual benefit. With this understanding, direct linkages are created when industries such as local farming communities supply food to local hotels and restaurants and opportunities for indirect linkages are created (Sharpley & Telfer,

2015:13). This would create prospects for local farmers to access the tourism market and benefit from tourism-driven growth. Welteji and Zerihun, (2018) acknowledge this view in a statement that ‘...*agriculture and tourism are two productive sectors that have the potential to provide the most opportunities for inclusive economic growth in several countries of the world, therefore, the advancement of linkages between the two sectors should help create economic opportunities, build resilience in rural communities and enhance sustainable development in both sectors*’ (Welteji & Zerihun, 2018:2). However, despite the potential for tourism to contribute to development, not many studies have tested the inclusive growth notion in the Tourism sector (Hampton et al. 2018:359) while appreciating the PPT focus.

Until recently, there has been no conceptual framework to guide identification of constraints inherent in the tourism sector that limit its influence to the attainment of growth that is of inclusive nature. The importance of identifying enablers and constraining factors in the attainment of inclusive growth is stressed by Bakker (2019) where a sector-level framework called the Tourism-Driven Inclusive-Growth Diagnostic framework (TDIGD) was developed as depicted in Figure 9. The T-DIGD is a re-adaptation of the Hausmann, Rodrik and Velasco (HRV) framework. This tool takes a Macro level approach with a focus on economic indicators to identify binding constraints to growth, the urgency for policy review and later applied to the inclusive growth paradigm particularly by development banks and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) to identify factors that constrain inclusive growth (Bakker, 2019:577). Bakker (2019) posits that the attainment of tourism-driven inclusive growth is dependent on collective effects and synergies between three pillars of: ‘*growth of tourism opportunities; equal access to tourism prospects; and equal outcome of tourism opportunities*’ (Bakker, 2019:578). The sector level T-DIGD tool and the conditions suggested by Spenceley (2003) provide a useful contextual framework necessary for the attainment of PPG and growth that is inclusive.

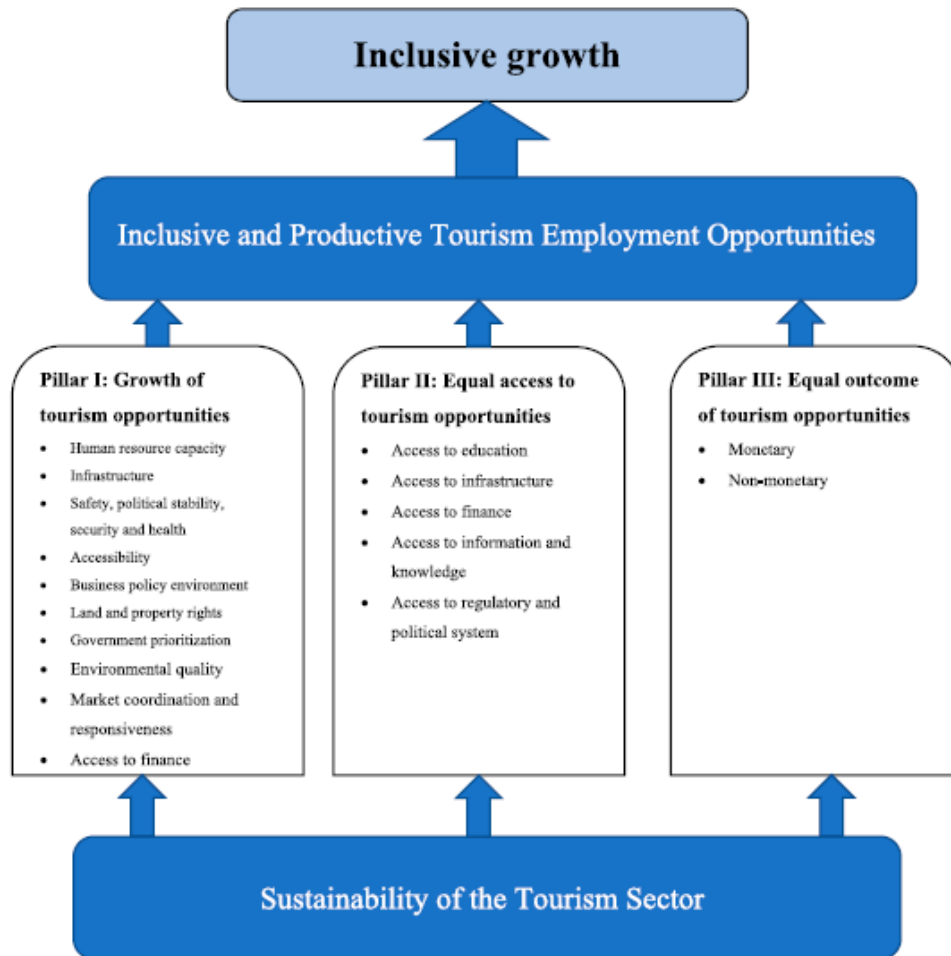


Figure 9: Tourism-Driven Inclusive Growth Diagnostic Framework.

Source: Adapted from Bakker (2019).

The capability of the tourism sector to foster inclusive growth relies on interactions and collective effects of the pillars as explained by (Bakker, 2019). In relation to the first pillar which focuses on growth of tourism opportunities, ten limiting factors are highlighted: insufficient human resource capital in the sector results in poor performance; inadequate infrastructure; socio-political aspects such as safety, insecurity and health standards that result from political instability in destination countries, infectious health outbreaks, epidemics and pandemics can limit tourism growth. The competitiveness of a destination can be constrained by a restrictive business policy environment such as unfavourable tax regimes (high and multiple tourism taxes) and restrictive health and safety policies; uncertain policy environment and inadequate legislation governing hotel classification. In addition, limited access to means of production such as land and land tenure rights and property rights are a challenge to local communities. The state remains a key player in regulating land rights, formulating laws,

prioritising tourism and funding, setting a clear strategic direction, advancing intergovernmental coordination and cooperation. Furthermore, the absence of management of poor environmental quality and market coordination and responsiveness limit tourism destination competitiveness. A key reason for the absence of private sector partnerships and cooperation is attributed to fragmentation of the tourism industry. In addition, limited entrepreneurship and disparity in supply and demand constrain market competitiveness (Bakker, 2019:578). All these factors constrain tourism's capability to yield inclusive outcomes.

In the second pillar, Bakker (2019) states that equity in accessing tourism opportunities (second pillar) is important for tourism-led inclusive growth. Therefore, it is important that the multiple factors that constrain equal access to tourism opportunities are analysed such as imbalanced access to tourism information which results in some segments of society that do not contribute to and benefit from the tourism economy. Unequal access as a result of institutional barriers particularly concerning the role of the government including overly regulating the sector, and bureaucratic systems in the government can negatively impact certain segments of society creating unequal access to tourism opportunities, land, education, infrastructure and finance. All these factors limit access to tourism-led inclusive growth (Bakker, 2019:582-583). In the third pillar, the focus is on access to equal outcomes of tourism opportunities which is important for inclusivity and highlights studies that have reported on gender in relation to wage inequalities and occupation in tourism jobs and inequalities in access to non-monetary benefits of tourism opportunities (Bakker, 2019).

Taking into account the argument that tourism growth does not warrant economic growth (Sanchez-Rivero et al. 2013: 248), it is important that tools and processes of identifying and assessing enablers and constraining factors are utilised in the quest for attainment of inclusive growth as promulgated by Spenceley (2003), the framework by George et al., (2012) and the T-DIGD tool by (Bakker, 2019). What is common in their argument is the acknowledgement of multiple conditions that can enable or constrain inclusive growth; the varying strength that these factors have in influencing inclusive growth outcomes; and what should be done in order to articulate inclusive growth opportunities. These considerations are important for this study as they are useful for the tourism industry to contribute to the attainment of SDGs including SDG8, SDG9 and SDG12 where tourism is set as a target (UNWTO, 2018) and SDG10 in the reduction of inequality.

3.8. CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided a theoretical basis through which debates on the developmental role of tourism have been grounded. From the trickle-down theory to alternatives that are underpinned by more sustainable approaches such as the pro-poor growth strategy and sensitivity to inclusivity in reducing persistent inequality and efforts to improve living standards among poor communities in tourism destinations. The alternative development paradigm recognises the complex nature of tourism and is driven by the principle of sustainability and inclusivity. The potential for tourism to drive the attainment of inclusive growth is discussed highlighting the importance of enabling environments for sustainable tourism development and for conditions necessary to enhance market linkages with a pro-poor impact. In the next chapter, literature reviewed includes debates on tourism-agriculture linkages as a strategy for pro-poor growth highlighting practices, opportunities and barriers to tourism-agriculture linkages.

CHAPTER 4: ECONOMIC LINKAGES IN THE TOURISM ECONOMY

4.1. INTRODUCTION

The focus of this chapter is on tourism-agriculture linkages. The chapter starts the discussion with an introduction of the sub-sectors in the tourism economy highlighting the importance of strategic partnerships before introducing tourism-agriculture linkage as a pro-poor tourism strategy. Literature reviewed includes a theoretical basis for debates and practice, opportunities and barriers to tourism-agriculture linkages. The key factors that affect the characteristics and quality of linkages are presented. Using empirical findings from case studies conducted in SSA and from the Caribbean and South Pacific Islands, the extent of tourism-agriculture market linkages is demonstrated to support theoretical arguments on factors that render tourism-agriculture linkage possible but challenging.

4.2. SUB-SECTORS IN THE TOURISM INDUSTRY

The tourism industry is commercially driven and dominated by private sector interests. It is however, connected to a variety of stakeholders in the tourism value chain that includes suppliers, producers, government agencies and tourists as consumers (Mason, 2015:31-32) within and external to the sector thus, creating opportunities for market linkages. Linkages are created through tourists' demand for a variety of goods and services in the tourist destinations. Supply chains into the tourism value chain include emerging and established public and private enterprises within the tourism sector and in non-tourism sectors. Within the tourism industry, there are a number of sub-sectors and these include the accommodation sub-sector, leisure and entertainment sub-sector, travel-sub-sector as well as a sub-sector responsible for tourism organisations. Middleton (1994) provides a summary of main sub-sectors in the tourism industry (Table 2).

Table 2: Sub-sectors in the tourism economy

Accommodation sector	Attraction Sector
Hotels/ motels & lodges	Theme parks
Guest houses and Bed & Breakfast (B&B)	Museums, monuments and galleries
Farmhouses	National parks
Apartments/Vilas/cottages	Wildlife parks
Condominiums/timeshare resorts	Gardens
Vacation villages/ Holiday centres	Cultural attractions, Heritage sites and centres

Conference. exhibition centres	Sports/activity centres
Marinas	Natural attractions and events
Travel Organiser's sector	Destination Organisation sector
Tour operators	National Tourist Offices
Tour wholesaler/brokers	Regional/state tourist offices
Retail travel agents	Local tourist offices
Conference organisers	Tourists' associations
Booking agencies (Accommodation)	
Incentive travel organisers	

Source: Adapted from Middleton (1994).

Goods and services demanded by tourists include accommodation, local transport services, entertainment, food and beverages as well as souvenirs. These create an opportunity for linkages (backward and forward) throughout the local economy where direct and indirect linkages of the tourism industry with other sectors including agriculture are created (Sharpley & Telfer, 2015). In addition, other participants are in the external enabling environment outside the tourism value chain but have a significant impact on how the value chain operates. These include the local tourist association, government tourist department, small business association and tourism training institutions (Mitchell, 2012).

4.3. IMPORTANCE OF STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIPS

Spencer et al., (2014) suggest that horizontal and vertical relationships between all players in the chain are important. This view supports an earlier claim by Friedrichs Grangsjö (2003) that competitors can have a competitive and cooperative relationship at the same time to attain a national vision. The multisector character of the tourism industry shows that for the industry to be sustainable and for it to contribute to poverty reduction through economic linkages, cohesion and partnerships between the subsectors and the external enabling environment is important in overcoming structural and institutional challenges that limit the attainment of tourism led inclusive growth, particularly for low-income communities in tourist destinations. Collaboration is an important strategy that enhances core competencies among stakeholders, where working together as competitors and not against each other is promoted for the good of the destination (Telfer, 2001). Collaboration offers competitive advantage, foster sharing of

information, knowledge and resources with the benefit of enhanced efficiency, increase product offering, and encourage interdependence among stakeholders (Caple, 2011).

However, despite the varied benefits that collaboration among tourism stakeholders may hold, collaborative arrangements are challenged by multiple factors that are linked to the different life stages of business development (Gray, 1996; Perkins & Khoo-Lattimore, 2020). Nonetheless, collaboration is an important attribute in the tourism sector particularly because the sector is dependent on other economic sectors for goods and services, partnerships are an important mechanism for a sustained tourism economy. According to Mitchell and Ashley (2006:1) local linkages create opportunities for established businesses (large and medium-sized) to link with small and micro-entrepreneurs and communities in the local economy. Opportunities for forward and backward economic linkages can be created through a local supply chain encompassing a wide range of products and services that are provided by different tourism and non-tourism sectors in the local economy. Linkages exist between tour operators, hotels, guest houses, food wholesalers, transport, farmers, construction, crafts and souvenir shops (Mitchell. 2010:469). Actualising inclusive growth requires strong networks between medium to large enterprises and small-micro entrepreneurs where the former form business partnerships with the latter to co-create business and markets for mutual benefit (George et al., 2012).

Even where stakeholders are competitors, networks provide advantages to all players in the value chain. Kirsten and Rogerson (2002) highlight the importance of alliances as they explain that there are a number of reasons for creating connections between businesses in the tourism value chain. They refer to factors that underpin the development of linkages such as the need to follow international best practices; as a measure for cost cutting and efficiency; a means for improvement of quality; product differentiation; local social stability and human agency and leadership (2002:37-41). The possibility of developing alliances is further supported by van der Duim et al. (2011) in their assertion that with the growing tourism industry, it is possible to develop “new alliances” between the tourism sector and other sectors in the tourism destination. It is important that while opportunities for forward and backward linkages exist, consideration should be given to enhance local linkages that are sustainable and economically viable.

4.4. TOURISM-AGRICULTURE LINKAGE AS A STRATEGY FOR PRO-POOR TOURISM

Emerging pro-poor tourism literature shows widespread acceptance of the importance of generating backward sectoral linkages as a pathway to enable smallholder farmers to participate and benefit from tourism value chains, yet the agricultural aspect in tourism has not been explored in depth (Torres & Momsen, 2004; Berno, 2011; Mitchell & Faal, 2008, Berno, 2011; Njoya & Nikitas, 2019) and the tourism industry continues to be criticised for failing to optimise its capability to generate linkages with the local economy (Meyer, 2007:559). It is necessary to examine this relationship in order to attain pro-poor goals of minimising negative impacts but at the same time generating net benefits for the poor (Torres & Momsen, 2004; Truong, 2014). It is however worth noting that linkages experience challenges and that for strong and sustainable market linkages to occur, deliberate efforts are required by different stakeholders and interest groups as this cannot happen by accident. A DFID report (1999:3), demonstrates the problematic nature of linkages stating that, '*Linkages are frequently discussed, rarely seen and particularly important but difficult to develop.*' In the same account, it is suggested that identifying the root causes of lack of linkages that relate to demand, supply and marketing factors, is an important step.

International debates and scholarship on linkages between tourism and agriculture shows that tourism has the potential to be a market for locally grown products, especially for fresh produce as tourism can create demand for not only infrastructural development but demand for food products by tourists. As a result, linkages between the two industries are possible but challenging as the relationship is not always synergetic and therefore, it is not surprising that interest in tourism as a contributor to economic development continues to increase (Bekker & Messerli, 2017; Jeyacheya & Hampton, 2020). The exploration of sustainable backward sectoral linkages is widely debated as a pro-poor strategy that requires to be well-developed in order to contribute to broad based development (Brohman 1996:50). As an industry with potential socio-economic costs and benefits, the contribution of the tourism industry to small-scale enterprises in the agriculture sector and stakeholders in the tourism supply chain is key for this study and requires thorough assessments. Torres and Momsen (2004) articulate the significance of research investigating the link between tourism and agriculture as '*...necessary to achieving the pro-poor dual objectives of reducing negative impacts while generating net benefits for the poor*' (2004:299). Applying pro-poor approaches and attending to deficiencies

that may hinder attainment of inclusivity, is considered of significance to achieving pro-poor impact.

4.5. UNDESIRABLE EFFECTS OF TOURISM- AGRICULTURE LINKAGE

In the pro-poor tourism literature, there are case studies that provide empirical evidence on the synergy between tourism and agriculture demonstrating that the effect of tourism on local agriculture can have dramatic outcomes as has been described in Asian PPT experiences reported by Shah and Gupta (2000:29). PPT has undesirable effects on local agriculture such as the introduction of less sustainable farming practices that could have long term negative impact on agriculture in an effort to increase production of crops for the tourism market (Shah & Gupta, 2000). In the process, resources such as water and land would be diverted from farming to support the tourism sector or tourism-related urban development (Ashley, 2000; Ashley et al., 2000; Shah & Gupta, 2000). In addition, labour and time that could be invested in agriculture would also be diverted for tourism development (Ashley et al., 2000; Ashley, 2000).

These claims seem to support the argument that tourism has the tendency to work less progressively in the exact destination where it is needed the most as it is more often than not located in economies that are fragile and pose challenges in linking communities with low income to the tourist dollar Mitchell (2010b:1). According to Torres and Momsen (2004:299) tourism literature that is not restricted to PPT provides accounts of significant undesirable effects of tourism on agriculture such as the increase in migration from rural to urban tourism destinations, thereby abandoning farming (Torres & Momsen, 2004); competition for land and labour (Hermans, 1981; McElroy & Albuquerque, 1990; Pattullo, 1996; Momsen, 1998); increase in the consumption of imported food products creating competition with locally produced food and resulting in leakages of foreign exchange (Dieke, 1993; Pattullo, 1996; Telfer & Wall, 2000). Furthermore, it is reported that there is very little done to stimulate local agriculture; in certain instances, causing reduced or lack of progression in production (Valarche, 1984; McElroy & Albuquerque, 1990).

4.6. PROGRESSIVE EFFECTS OF TOURISM-AGRICULTURE LINKAGES

Despite the undesirable effects that may result from the development of tourism-agriculture linkages, a number of benefits have been reported in the tourism literature. Tourism-agriculture

linkages create synergy effects between various sectors (Meyer, 2012) and maximise destination country benefits (Torres, 2003). Proponents of tourism-agriculture linkages progressively demonstrate positive outcomes and significance of this synergy and acknowledge that strong linkages between the two sectors are significant for maximising pro-poor impact and local multipliers through employment creation as well as income generation for destination communities and the potential for stimulating local production and assisting local farmers (Torres & Momsen, 2003; 2004, Meyer, 2007; Berno, 2011, Timms & Neil, 2011, Mao et al., 2014). Retaining tourism earnings locally reduce leakages (Timms & Neil, 2011; Rogerson, 2012; Pillay & Rogerson 2013; Thomas-Francois et al., 2018; Pratt et al., 2018), adopting measures for equitable spread of economic benefits within the locale, building resilience particularly for communities in rural settings and focusing on developing sustainable tourism and agriculture sectors (Welteji & Zerihun, 2018). These assertions point to the possibility that supply chains are a pathway to maximising tourism impact in the local economy and the agriculture sector as indirect benefits are generated through induced impacts created by local supply and demand, thereby fostering inclusive growth among the rural communities.

Highlighting the importance and significance of linkages, (Berno 2011:87) emphasizes that greater levels of tourism-agriculture linkages reduce leakages, result in significant levels of economic retention and contribute to the attainment of tourism development that is sustainable, that *better linkages between agriculture and tourism contribute to the ethos of sustainable tourism*. For tourism to be sustainable, the linkages in the tourism supply chain should be beneficial to businesses, where socio-economic benefits are evident and significant. Saarinen et al., (2013) are of the view that regional or sustainable development within the tourism sector cannot be realised if tourism related businesses in a destination are not economically viable. Hall and Lew (2009) and Hall and Page (2014) affirm this view in their claim that it is likely that impact is a two-way process, that tourism impacts on the destination and equally, tourism is also impacted upon by the context in which it operates, thereby this linkage requires a symbiotic relationship.

In addition, local sourcing of food products reduces costs and improves the quality of products and as a result significantly foster the 'social licence for tourism businesses to operate' (World Bank, 2012). The Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO, 2012) advances this view by cautioning that the synergy between the two sectors ought to yield outcomes that mutually reinforce each sector and do not create competition for productive resources. This statement

points to the potential for the tourism industry to be sustainable as a sector operating in a domestic economy that is expanding and thriving. Progressive effects of pro-poor tourism on agriculture that have been cited refer to the creation of fruit and vegetable ventures to supply the tourism market (Saville, 2001), a move to other sustainable agrarian practices (Shah & Gupta, 2000) and the increased profitability of locally grown farm produce (Saville, 2001). Diversification of local farming practices (Saville, 2001); push back of out-migration (Shah & Gupta, 2000); investment of incomes from tourism to advance local farming (Ashley et al. 1999) and reduced reliance and exposure to agricultural disasters (Renard, 2001) are cited as progressive effects of linking tourism to agriculture..

Other tourism scholars advance that tourism-agriculture linkages have the potential to stimulate agricultural development such as the production of fresh produce and specialty foods of high value that are unique to a given region (Belisle, 1983; Bowen et al., 1991; Momsen, 1998). These are considered to create prospects for export markets for locally produced specialty harvests as tourists are exposed to new food products (Momsen, 1998; Telfer, 2000 Torres & Momsen, 2011). There is enough evidence to demonstrate the significance of expanding and that the tourism industry can adopt an ‘inclusive business model through value chains. Torres and Momsen (2004:294) articulate this in their argument:

‘...Linking tourism demand for food to local agricultural production represents an approach to stimulating local agriculture production, channelling tourism industry benefits to farmers and reducing economic leakages that translate well to almost any global circumstances’ (Torres & Momsen, 2004:295).

While tourism-agriculture linkages are considered a key driver for maximising tourism impact and for opening up opportunities for participation and benefiting from the tourism economy, the synergy between the two sectors is not always practical or economically viable due to a number of constraining factors.

4.7. KEY FACTORS THAT AFFECT THE CHARACTERISTICS AND QUALITY OF TOURISM-AGRICULTURE LINKAGES

The linkage between tourism and agriculture is a relation of supply and demand and there are multiple factors that influence the characteristic, strength and sustainability of this relationship. Linkages between tourism and other economic sectors including agriculture are possible

however, there are a number of challenging factors that need to be identified and mitigated as these affect the successful implementation and sustainability of market linkages (Meyer, 2007; Torres & Momsen, 2011). In the past decades and more recently, the key factors reported from empirical research demonstrate barriers that limit the formation of tourism-agriculture linkages that are sustainable, inclusive and positively impact on local producers and suppliers, particularly low income or poor communities. The main barriers discussed in the tourism literature specifically have been summarised as supply or production, demand related, marketing, the role of intermediaries and the role of the government. (Saville, 2001; Torres, 2003; Torres & Momsen, 2004; Meyer, 2007; Rhiney, 2011; Hunt et al., 2012; Rogerson, 2012, 2013; Pillay & Rogerson, 2013; Welteji & Zerihun, 2018). These challenges have been reported even in cases where tourism-agriculture linkages are well developed (Mitchell & Faal, 2007; Anderson, 2018).

4.7.1. Production Related Factors

Production challenges include factors that constrain access to the tourism market and the capacity for local farmers to produce quality, quantity and variety that the market demands as supply is not guaranteed (Momsen 1972, 1973; Belisle, 1983, 1984; Saville, 2001; Torres 2003; Berno, 2011; Rogerson, 2012, 2013; Pillay & Rogerson, 2013; Hunt et al., 2012; Mitchell & Faal, 2007; Anderson, 2018; Welteji & Zerihun, 2018) and high cost of locally produced agricultural food and transport logistics (Rogerson, 2012, Hunt et al. 2012). Poor or inadequate quality of locally produced food due to the lack of or missing knowledge about tourist expectations and poor hygiene practices constrain the formation of sustainable linkages (Momsen 1973; Belisle 1983; USAID & The Caribbean Development Bank 1984; Andreatta, 1998; Torres, 2003; Berno, 2011; Rogerson, 2012, 2013; Pillay & Rogerson, 2013; Anderson, 2018).

Non-commercial agriculture activities, inadequate skills and reliance on traditional subsistence farming practices (Momsen, 1972; Andreatta, 1998; Hunt et al., 2012; Rogerson, 2012; Anderson, 2018; Welteji & Zerihun, 2018), farm labour deficit (Bowen et al., 1991, Torres, 2003) and high market prices of local produce (Gomes, 1993; Telfer, 2000; Rhiney, 2011) affect the development and quality of sustainable linkages.

In addition, poor growing conditions, small land holdings, seasonality and the dominant local agriculture systems which do not focus on food production limit opportunities for linkages to be developed and affect the quality of linkages where these exist (Miller, 1985; Gomes, 1993; Torres Maldonado, 1997; Hunt et al., 2012; Anderson, 2018). Tourism-agriculture linkages may be constrained by small-scale producers' lack of access to agricultural capital and credit from formal lending institutions that is required to invest and expand their productivity and this limitation is worsened by undercapitalisation of the agrarian economy by governments resulting in inadequate and poor infrastructure such as roads (Torres, 2003; Hunt et al., 2012, Rogerson, 2012; Anderson, 2018, Welteji & Zerihun, 2018). Small-scale farmers often lack adequate technological knowledge and experience post-harvest processing limitations (Momsen, 1972; Belisle, 1983; Torres, 2000; Anderson, 2018; Welteji & Zerihun, 2018). They tend to conduct business in an informal manner because they do not have legal documents such as invoices and receipts or hold a bank account, which results in limitations in accessing certain tourism markets (Torres, 2003; Welteji & Zerihun, 2018).

4.7.2. Demand Related Factors

The level of tourism development, ownership, size and type of accommodation establishments affect the quality of tourism-agriculture linkages. Foreign owned, large and high-end hotels prefer processed and imported food (Bowen et al., 1991; Milne, 1992; Shaw & Williams, 1994; Momsen, 1998; Telfer & Wall, 2000; Timms & Neil, 2011; Rhiney, 2011; Hunt et al., 2012) while an underdeveloped tourism sector prefers locally produced as well as imported foods (Lundgren, 1971; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Momsen, 1986; Shaw & Williams, 1994; Telfer & Wall, 2000; Welteji & Zerihun, 2018). Furthermore, there is a challenge of trust particularly among foreign or internationally trained chefs as they tend to not trust hygiene, health and sanitation standards of locally produced foods and therefore prefer imported foods (Sharkey & Momsen, 1995; Pattullo, 1996; Torres Maldonado, 1997; Moscardo & Pearce, 1999; Telfer & Wall, 2000; Torres, 2003, Hunt et al., 2012). Demand for food is linked to the number of tourists and their length of stay. Where there is minimal flow and length of tourist stay, demand for agricultural foods is low (Welteji & Zerihun, 2018).

4.7.3. Marketing and Intermediary Services

Marketing failure and monopolies created by intermediary networks limit local small-scale producers from accessing and participating in the tourism market. Because of the nature of

small-scale producers, they lack marketing networks and infrastructure required for processing and storing produce. They rely on transportation systems that are inadequate and limit smallholder competitiveness in the domestic market (Momsen, 1986; Torres, 2003; Hunt et al., 2012; Anderson, 2018; Welteji & Zerihun, 2018). The inability to promote locally produced food limits opportunities for local sourcing that would have pro-poor linkage (Doxey, 1971; USAID The Caribbean Development Bank, 1984; Torres, 2003). Marketing failure is a result of mistrust and lack of information interchange between local producers and the travel and tourism enterprises (Telfer & Wall, 2000; Telfer, 2001; Torres, 2003; Hunt et al., 2012; Pillay & Rogerson, 2013; Rogerson, 2013; Anderson, 2018). Reliance on intermediary services particularly by large and high-end hotels and lodges and the dominance of established marketing networks that control who participates in the tourism market thereby inhibit local farmers to access the tourism market (Torres Maldonado, 1997; Ashley et al., 2001b; Torres, 2003; Rhiney, 2011; Hunt et al., 2012; Pillay & Rogerson, 2013; Rogerson, 2012, 2013). In addition, corrupt local marketing networks, middlemen and mistrust between intermediaries and local farmers limit local producers' access to the tourism market (Torres Maldonado, 1997; Torres, 2003; Pillay & Rogerson, 2013; Anderson, 2018).

4.7.4. Role of the Government

While governments recognise tourism as a vital tool for economic development, there is a narrow focus on policies aimed at drawing large volumes of international tourists, extending their length of stay and minimal efforts that foster tourism-agriculture market linkages (Mitchell & Faal, 2007; Rhiney, 2011; Scheyvens, 2011; Timms & Neil, 2011; Hunt et al., 2012). Yet, as an economic sector, tourism has the potential to contribute to destination economies through the formation of backward linkages and therefore the need to maximise tourism impacts through linkages, particularly in low-income economies has been advocated. Integrating local producers into tourism markets is a pathway for extending tourism benefits as consumption of food and beverage is a common experience and a significant expenditure by tourists, (Mitchell & Faal, 2007; Scheyvens & Russell, 2009; Rhiney, 2011; Hunt et al, 2012; Pillay & Rogerson, 2013; Njoya & Nikitas, 2019) estimated to be one third of tourist dollars spent (Meyer, 2006:20). It is not surprising as all tourists eat and drink as part of their tourist experience at a destination.

However, tourism scholars have observed the neglect of linkages among most national governments in SSA, that they do not put the spotlight on inter-sectoral linkages between

tourism and agriculture as a measure for maximising tourism impacts through local production and supply to serve the tourism industry (Goodwin, 2010; Scheyvens, 2011; Hunt et al. 2012). This is despite the majority of rural communities in Africa and the sub-Saharan region depending on subsistence agriculture, a major livelihood strategy for poor communities in addition to animal husbandry and fishing (Torres & Momsen, 2004:296; Hunt et al., 2012). In addition, governments tend to prioritise export agriculture to domestic agriculture (Hunt, et al.2012; Pillay & Rogerson, 2013) which constitutes the majority of small-scale farmers who lack the necessary assets and agriculture inputs to be competitive in domestic and international markets (Ma & Abdulai, 2016; Mojo et al. 2017; Kamara et al. 2019).

The lack of coordination and partnerships between government ministries and other stakeholders in the tourism and agriculture sector weaken tourism-agriculture linkages. Furthermore, government lack of state sponsored credit and microfinance, limited education and training are barriers to the creation of tourism-agriculture linkages (Torres, 2003; Mitchell & Faal, 2007; Torres & Momsen, 2011; Timms & Neil, 2011; Anderson, 2018). These weaknesses demonstrate that the state ought to take a leading role in maximising tourism benefits driven by tourism-agriculture linkages, particularly in creating policies that support inclusive tourism with a pro-poor bias. These deficiencies could be attributed to the lack of appreciation of the value of tourism and the importance of creating institutions, policies and infrastructure necessary to support tourism development as articulated by Christie et al. (2014: 5). Empirical evidence from selected countries including those in the SSA region demonstrate how some of these factors influence the extent and scale of local tourism-agriculture linkages with mixed outcomes.

4.8. Tourism-Agriculture Market Linkages: Extent, Barriers and Opportunities

Country level studies in SSA discussed below provide a context for issues and debates in tourism-agriculture linkage highlighting the opportunities and barriers to sustainable tourism-agriculture linkages. While some found that linkages are either weak or non-existent, strong linkages were found in some cases such as in The Gambia (Mitchell & Faal, 2007) and Tanzania (Anderson, 2018) where local communities participate significantly in the tourism market with significant pro-poor impacts. Rogerson (2013) asserts that pro-poor tourism initiatives promote integration of local producers into procurement systems and local supply chains. This assertion confirms Mitchell and Ashley's (2006) opinion that, 'strengthening linkages is a way to create a 'win-win' situation through harnessing the power of private

business for the benefit of local development' (2006:1). The discussion juxtaposes research findings from tourism destinations on the African continent with findings from mass tourism resorts in the Caribbean, Mexico and Pacific Islands. The discussion is underpinned by factors relating to supply, demand, role of the government, intermediaries and barriers related to marketing as has been referenced in section 4.7.

4.8.1. The Case of South Africa

Rogerson (2013) and Pillay & Rogerson (2013) report key national research findings on the extent and depth of local sourcing by rural safari lodges and urban coastal hotels in South Africa. This country has a National Tourism policy in place underpinned by a responsible tourism framework which has a leading role in the international responsible tourism movement. The South African government supports the developmental role of local government and promotion of local economic development planning since the democratic dispensation in 1994 (2013).

In South Africa, the main challenges limiting local procurement relate to supply, demand, marketing and intermediary networks. While the tourism agriculture linkages exist, these linkages are not pro-poor as the majority of food served by safari lodges and coastal hotels are sourced from national suppliers and not from proximate local communities (Rogerson, 2013). Food supply chain of rural luxury Safari lodges and high-end hotels in urban coastal areas is articulated primarily through a network of intermediary distributors that have minimal linkage to the region's poor farming communities (Rogerson, 2013:348). The reliance on intermediaries is on grounds of convenience in sourcing bulk from one supplier instead of sourcing small amounts of goods and supplies from multiple local merchants (2013:340). This is despite the long food miles covered by intermediaries as they purchase their supplies from far distant sources. Local suppliers have no direct link to the accommodation enterprises, although in some circumstances food is indirectly supplied through the wholesale markets then channelled back to the lodges through intermediary distributors (Rogerson, 2013; Pillay & Rogerson, 2013). The role of the intermediary supplier in coastal hotels in KwaZulu Natal is key in deciding where food is sourced from and which local farmers accrue benefits from the local tourism economy (2013:346). It is reported that 90% of the coastal hotels source fresh vegetables from local suppliers.

However, though local supply linkages are evident, it is said that the sourcing arrangement does not yield pro-poor results as ‘poor’ African farmers are not integrated in the supply chain. Commercial small-scale farmers and market gardeners however, are the main beneficiaries that participate in the tourism market (Pillay & Rogerson, 2013). Intermediary suppliers have the monopoly and power in setting the course and impact of market linkage in rural and coastal areas between the tourism and agriculture sector. It is emphasised that ‘...*The significance of understanding the role of intermediary supply organisations in the articulation of supply chains must not be overlooked as these enterprises function as ‘gatekeepers’*’ (Rogerson, 2013:351). Failure of establishing sustainable local sourcing projects was attributed to inadequate capacity by local farmers to provide the quality and the inability to meet the health standards expected by the accommodation establishments; inability to satisfy the consistency and volume of fresh produce that lodges and hotels required, high cost of locally produced food, transport logistics preferring to work with intermediaries, awareness of market opportunities and the capacity of local producers to engage with set out procurement specifications of urban hotels (Rogerson, 2013:347). Interestingly, it is reported that both rural and urban accommodation establishments had attempted to implement projects to source food locally but this was unsustainable due to lack of buy-in and mismanagement from local communities (Rogerson, 2013, Pillay & Rogerson, 2013). As a consequence of the findings, Rogerson (2013:351) recommends that

‘...in order to attain the goals of responsible tourism and higher levels of local sourcing with corresponding greater impacts, a comprehensive set of initiatives are needed to address the demand-side, supply-side and marketing-related issues that constrain linkages between tourism accommodation establishments and local agriculture’ (Rogerson, 2013:351).

In pursuing responsible tourism objectives with pro-poor impact, Rogerson (2013) highlights policy considerations to address the lack of communication and profound lack of trust between decision-makers and local producers (2012:347). This could be overcome by addressing challenges faced by small-scale producers related to capacity building and gaining assistance required in order for them to participate in the food supply chains. The need for policy interventions by the government that foster working food supply relationships through improved communication could furthermore overcome mistrust particularly between rural safari lodges and local suppliers in relation to quality, reliability and increasingly on health and

safety standards (2013:351). From the demand side, Rogerson (2013) recommends the promotion of local African cuisine or a fusion of African foods (including local products) and other cuisines to enhance opportunities for local suppliers.

4.8.2. The Case of Botswana

As with other African countries, tourism research in Botswana acknowledges the importance of inter-sectoral linkages for optimal tourism impact that benefits local communities (Hunt et al. 2012). A study that examined linkages between the tourism and agriculture sectors reports findings from 26 luxury safari lodges across Botswana. Qualitative and quantitative information was gathered from interviews with luxury lodges to understand their food purchasing patterns and dynamics. Findings reveal limited local linkages between the two sectors and an existence of high levels of imports from South Africa, resulting in high leakages from the safari lodge economy in Botswana. This is despite paying high prices to intermediaries who supply food imports. Similar to the South African case, even when attempts are made at initiating local food projects that create linkages, these have failed to take off or local communities have failed to sustain the projects. Failure of such projects was attributed to lack of human agency, leadership, entrepreneurialism, motivation and commitment from local producers (Hunt et al. 2012:13).

Barriers to pro-poor sourcing are related to supply, demand, marketing, and the role of intermediaries and of the government. Supply barriers are a result of lack of food products and quality demanded by safari lodges; this is attributed to limited production skills and reliance on traditional subsistence farming practices, poor infrastructure and lack of capital. In addition, environmental challenges are reported to affect linkages and this is attributed to semi-arid land, low rainfall and seasonality of production not coinciding with tourism peak seasons. As safari lodges are remotely located, local suppliers experience logistical difficulties of transport particularly having to cover long distances on dirt roads with no public transport services; this constrains delivery or collection of food products and compromises product quality (Hunt et al. 2012:12).

In addition to production related barriers that limit local procurement of Agricultural food, the study also found that from the demand side, 50% of safari lodges did not source food from local producers due to unreliable supply of goods. The nationality of decision makers plays a role in procurement choices. The study found that in 90% of the lodges surveyed, chefs had

limited decision making to influence menus that promote local procurement as menu and sourcing decisions were exclusively made by management who are expatriates and have foreign training. Most of these were South African. Related to this limitation is the communication barrier as key lodge decision makers did not speak the local Setswana language which according to Mbaiwa (2005), cited by Hunt et al., (2012:13), is the most or only dominant language spoken and understood among rural communities in Botswana. In addition, trust between safari lodges and local producers is reported to be a challenge as local producers are not aware of food needs of the lodges. This limitation is worsened by the high rate of staff turnover among key decision makers of procurement, impacting significantly on procurement policies (Hunt et al. 2012:13).

The power of intermediaries spotlighted in the case study of South Africa (Pillay & Rogerson, 2013) is echoed by Hunt et al. (2012) who suggest that intermediary suppliers occupy a powerful and influential role as gatekeepers in the food supply chain with considerable influence to establish the standards that local producers should accomplish to enter the supply chain and have influence on *'where, from whom and at what price safari lodges source food supplies'* (Hunt et al. 2012:7). In some instances, a single intermediary would have the monopoly of the market where 58% of the safari lodges surveyed source their food products from a single intermediary supplier whose head office is 1000km away from the vegetable market in Johannesburg, South Africa where food products are sourced. Food imports for consumption by luxury lodges include specialty luxury goods and a range of highly specialised food products, fresh fruits, dairy products and meat products. This is despite a significant contribution of an average of 80% of locally produced livestock (cattle, sheep and goat) to Botswana's agriculture share of GDP and the government restrictions on meat imports, which dominate this market as safari lodges source 70% of meat products from South Africa (2012:9-10).

Hunt et al. (2012) report that one intermediary supplier, Ron's Fresh Produce, imports 70% of fresh vegetables from South Africa and supplies over 50% of the surveyed lodges. Other lodges also use imported fresh vegetables supplied by alternative intermediary suppliers. Where local sourcing of vegetables was reported, it was for consumption in the staff kitchen and not for guests. In addition to sourcing food products from intermediary suppliers and to a lesser extent from local producers, lodges sourced food from urban centres where South African supermarket chain stores such as Woolworths, Shoprite and Spar are located. However, Hunt

et al. (2012) acknowledge the growing trend in local sourcing of some products despite the long mileage covered in terms of transportation due to remote locations of some lodges. In the study, the acknowledgement of the government to improve linkages is highlighted, however, the government provides limited support to enhance agriculture production that meets tourism luxury safari quality demands. From a policy perspective, there is lack of government support for horticultural farming activities, expertise and farm management skills. Strategic recommendations provided to address and strengthen tourism-agriculture linkages in the case of Botswana is that the existing multiple and interrelated challenges must be addressed through a coordinated and integrated approach by key stakeholders (national government, tourism private sector and development agencies) (Hunt et al. 2012).

4.8.3. The Case of Ethiopia

A study was conducted in the Bale Mountains National Park located in Southern Ethiopia, the Sub-Saharan region of North Africa (Welteji & Zerihun, 2018). The dominant form of agriculture in this area is characterised by the production of cereals, horticulture (excluding fruits), sheep and cattle. Qualitative and quantitative data were gathered through interviews and focus groups with community representatives and hotel managers in the National Park. The study found that practical tourism-agriculture linkages are non-existent as there is a lack of *symbiotic coexistence and market value chain* (2018:7). The synergy between the two economic sectors is weak as there was no economically profitable coexistence between them. The majority of the respondents do not supply agriculture outputs to the tourism market and agriculture is their primary source of livelihood and not tourism. Interviewees from the study area attributed weak linkages to extensive agricultural activities, tourism dependency on wild-life activities and the level of tourism industry and its dependency on agricultural food imports (Welteji & Zerihun, 2018:7).

Agricultural encroachment into the park by community members practicing mixed farming was a threat to the national park. The market-based linkage was challenged by non-commercial agricultural activities and tourism-demand driven agricultural activities. The study shows that there is a small food market size of the tourism industry leading to very low market demand of agricultural products. This is attributed to a minimal flow of tourists to remote locations and short visitor stay and tourism dependency on wildlife (Welteji & Zerihun, 2018: 9). Health and hygiene concerns by the hotel sector were found to constrain local sourcing as local agricultural products are perceived to be of poor quality, poorly harvested and processed post-harvest. From

a tourist perspective, the study found that tourists prefer imported food due to concerns about the level of quality standards of locally produced agricultural food products (Welteji & Zerihun, 2018). Low synergy between lodges and local farming communities in the study site are further weakened by the tourism industry requirement of government policy to have legal documents of sales and payments made. Local producers are also not able to provide invoices and receipts. There are no well-established institutions or government organisations to facilitate market value chains for both sectors or facilitating the creation of local supplier organisations and supporting them to have legal documents to support the requirements for receipts and invoices.

Furthermore, the lack of marketing capabilities among local farmers is evidenced in the study. The challenge is further exacerbated by lack of marketing channels as well as absence of local intermediary agents, market cooperatives and market union to manage the interface between the two sectors (Welteji & Zerihun, 2018). Unfavourable investment opportunities in both sectors in rural areas are cited as a challenge in this study. This is attributed to the inadequate role of the government and the existing gap between policy and praxis. At grassroots level in rural protected areas, government investment is lacking and there is a gap between policy and practical experiences on the ground that limit access to credit services that would favour investment (Welteji & Zerihun, 2018:10).

The study revealed that there are opportunities to link local farmers to the tourism market. The potential for linkages is seen in the advantage hotels would have in saving on transport costs and enjoy fresh produce sourced within close proximity. However, while opportunities for market linkages are evident, in instances where linkages exist and substantial interventions were implemented such as innovative technology and better pricing of farm products, these efforts did not yield sustainable benefits for local residents (Welteji & Zerihun, 2018). As a way forward, Welteji and Zerihun (2018) call upon multiple stakeholders in local and national government, the private sector, academics and NGOs to make coordinated efforts to mobilise the local community for the market-based value chain. Other than marketing the destination for increased tourist flows, the study advocates for initiatives to develop and expand tourism activities, increase tourist expenditure and length of stay. The study recommends a myriad of market-based value chain aspects and highlights the importance of participation and engagement among primary and secondary stakeholders from the public and private sectors.

Welteji and Zerihun (2018) highlight the role of the government in fostering strong and sustainable relations through the creation of a regulatory and policy environment favourable for a procurement and taxation system that allows the tourism sector to procure directly from local poor farmers; promote Agri-tourism and foster a tourism market tailored to local agricultural activities. In addition, the study recommends that tourism industries and intermediaries should process raw agricultural produce instead of buying the end value of agricultural commodities. The facilitation of pro-poor micro-enterprises as producers and suppliers of agricultural products to hotels and lodges in the destination; providing training to ensure production of quality products that meet tourism market demand and facilitating farmer owned hotels and lodges and directly serving the tourists with their local farm produce (Welteji & Zerihun, 2018:12), are furthermore promoted.

4.8.4. The Case of Tanzania

Anderson (2018) reports empirical research findings on how local agricultural communities in Lushoto, Northeast Tanzania, are incorporated into tourism value chains and how this contributes to reduction of poverty. The aim of the study was to demonstrate that tourism is of greater significance if the basic needs of poor communities in the tourism destination are met as a result of tourism. The study was conducted in Lushoto, where community-based tourism is dominant and about 85 % of households depend on agriculture for income (2018:172-175). Interviews were conducted with 195 respondents constituting farmers and intermediaries, management officials from accommodation facilities and government officials.

Anderson (2018) reports that local linkages between the tourism industry and agriculture sector exist through local sourcing and that tourism contributes to economic development and poverty reduction in Lushoto where there is potential to expand the linkage for greater participation among local farmers. The value chain from production to consumption in tourist facilities is complex but well organised and tourism value chains stimulate the economy as logistics in the value chain from production to consumption involve multiple activities that require human capital and sharing of costs and benefits. Local farming communities participate in value-adding where fresh fruits and vegetables are processed and sold to tourism businesses and individual tourists. However, procurement practices and quality of the supply chains are driven by the type of ownership of tourism enterprises and the presence of social networks between tourism business and local suppliers (Anderson, 2018). While not all food requirements of the tourism enterprises are sourced from within the district, it is estimated that 57% of fresh

vegetables, 87% grains and 67% meat products are consumed by tourism businesses in Lushoto. The quality of fruit and vegetables produced in Lushoto is perceived to be high and visitors value the experience of having organically grown food (Anderson, 2018:177-178).

Similar to what was found in South Africa (Rogerson, 2012; Pillay & Rogerson, 2013) and in Botswana (Hunt et al. 2012) concerning the significant power assumed by intermediaries dictating the strength of linkages, this was the case in Tanzania. However, intermediaries are perceived to be a key advantage to local farmers as they source locally, pay cash and carry the risks associated with handling and transporting perishable produce although local farmers have limited knowledge of markets for perishable products (Anderson, 2018). Yet, there is some level of mistrust and jealousy between farmers and intermediaries as the profit margins made by intermediaries are very high. At times, depending on product varieties, quality and quantities available at local markets, accommodation establishments engage the services of informal networks of intermediaries to ensure constant supply. In addition to sourcing food products through formal and informal networks, hotels and restaurants source food directly from the open markets in Lushoto, where they have the advantage of choosing from a variety of produce, quality and price bargaining.

Consumption of locally produced food by accommodation businesses in Lushoto is relatively high, meaning the quantities sourced from local farmers is of significance in monetary value. However, there are a number of challenges to linking maximum tourists' food demands with local food production. Despite well-developed local sourcing, allowing greater participation of local smallholder producers in the tourism market, Anderson (2018) reports that there are multiple challenges that limit expansion of local participation in the tourism value chain. The agriculture-tourism linkage in Lushoto is affected by production related challenges specifically associated with quality standards and unfavourable weather conditions. Farmers are not able to plan production or diversify crops that are not affected by seasonality and dependency on rain-fed production which many farmers rely on. This often results in oversaturation of perishable products as smallholder farmers harvest similar crops at the same time as the rain pattern allows (Anderson, 2018). Local farmers in Lushoto farm on small land holdings, have inadequate knowledge of technology and agro-ecological constraints (Anderson, 2018). Other challenges experienced by the local farming community in Lushoto include poor roads, inadequate upgrading skills, resources and lack of incentives.

Market challenges that constrain local community participation in the tourism economy relate to inability to sell perishable fruits and vegetables which quickly results in losses through wastage; limited financial availability and inability of local agricultural communities to optimally add value to their produce through Agro-processing and meeting the high value that the tourism market demands. This results in the tourism market importing dairy and meat products. Anderson (2018) concurs with Mao et al. (2014) and Anderson and Juma (2011) in their reference to market access as one of the limitations experienced in least developed economies where local farmers are not able to compete with imported products, lack of information exchange between farmers and tourism businesses and low prices of farm produce (Anderson, 2018:180). Institutional challenges are also cited as constraining market linkages between agricultural communities and tourism businesses whereby local farmers lack irrigation systems, experience inadequate agricultural knowledge, training and support from the government sector. On the demand side, constraints that threaten the expansion of existing local market linkages include the type of tourism business ownership and the social networks that control local procurement.

To illustrate this, Anderson (2018) refers to the vertical integration between tourism businesses and farms where accommodation establishments that promote farm tourism maintain gardens and farms nearby or as far as 300km to supply vegetables, meat and rice meeting about 85% of their demand. One of the reasons for this ‘do-it-yourself’ option is lack of trust in the quality of produce from farmers, the need to serve organic products and minimise waste when produce is bought in bulk from the market while maximising profits as some foods are harvested on site and cooked in quantities enough to meet guest orders (Anderson, 2018:179). Inclusiveness of local farming communities in the tourism supply chain is constrained by what Anderson (2018) refers to as *a qualitative and quantitative mismatch between locally supplied products and the tourism sector demands* (2018:180) which is partly attributed to local small-scale production of cash-crops and reliance on rain-fed agriculture resulting in food shortages.

Strategic direction resulting from this study was that policy makers and destination stakeholders should be aware of how much of the tourist expenditure is expended on buying local products and how the tourist dollar filters down to local communities for economic growth (Anderson, 2018:169). Practical implications from the study recommend coordination in implementing policies to mitigate constraining factors identified as affecting tourism-agriculture linkages. In addition, Anderson (2018) recommends capacity building measures in

order to empower local communities and calls for economic engagement of poor rural communities in an ethical and beneficial manner in order for the tourism market linkage to be more meaningful and beneficial. Improved information sharing and enforcing the use of standardized measurements to improve transparency in the value chains is considered as important and calls for dialogue between farmers, intermediaries and tourism enterprises in order to overcome mistrust and improve partnerships (Anderson, 2018:181).

4.8.5. The Case of The Gambia

An analysis of The Gambian tourism value chain and flows of benefits to the poor demonstrated evidence of tourism that is characteristically pro-poor as local linkages are strong and well-developed with 7% of the total Gambian tourism value chain flowing directly to poor communities particularly for discretionary and out-of-pocket expenditure and a noticeable trend in the expansion of local production for the tourism market with significant pro-poor tourism impact (Mitchell & Faal, 2007). Even though tourism business is internationally managed, the report shows that tourism businesses that are successful can be linked to smallholder farmers where food is locally sourced (Mitchell & Faal, 2007). The study found that from discretionary spending and package spending, over 50% of the €96 million of tourism value chain was expended on goods and services within The Gambia while 46% went to international tourism organisations and airline companies (Mitchell & Faal, 2007).

Among other tourism value chains (accommodation, shopping, excursion and local transport), the purchase of locally produced agricultural food and beverages by the hotel and restaurant industry in The Gambia is evidently growing and has a pro-poor impact with some hotels procuring 90 per cent of their food supplies locally. Estimations are that by 2006, 45 to 50 per cent of fresh fruits and vegetables were locally sourced by the hotel and restaurant sub-sector. It is asserted that the pro-poor impact of the tourism-agriculture supply chains has the potential to expand more than other tourism value chains as supply of fresh fruits and vegetables by the agricultural sector is said to be relatively good and improving, that there is opportunity for wider pro-poor impact particularly with 70% of the workforce engaging in agriculture. In addition, food and beverage accounts for the largest component of tourist expenditure for nearly 50% of all out-of-pocket expenditure. An interesting observation from this study is its reference to wider pro-poor tourism impact at household level enabled by a programme called the Gambia is Good (GiG) which facilitates the strengthening of fruit and vegetable sub-sector

link to the tourism sector. Through this initiative, income of participating households had significantly improved each year by up to five times more (Mitchell & Faal, 2007:457)

It is acknowledged that tourism in The Gambia has significant direct and indirect benefits for poor communities and therefore, it is in the interest of poor communities for the tourism sector to thrive and expand thereby creating greater demand for goods and services. However, the challenge is to increase spending on accommodation, food and beverage to expand the pro-poor impact (Mitchell & Faal, 2002:455). Constraining factors to an expanding pro-poor tourism sector in The Gambia were related to seasonal nature of tourism, limited tourism products, lack of destination marketing and low implementation of tourism policy and strategy initiatives and action plans by the government.

The strategic direction suggested by Mitchell & Faal (2007) for wider pro-poor tourism impact in The Gambia is a proposal for increased facilitation of supply and demand for a viable market interface between poor rural communities and the hotel accommodation sub-sector. This is possible as more than 70% of the workforce engage in agriculture than in employment in the tourism sector. The agriculture sector has excellent prospects to develop broad-based linkage between the tourism sector and poor communities in the destination where greater support is provided such as through the GiG programme that support small-scale farmers (Mitchell & Faal, 2007). The role of the state is key in developing diverse tourism products to reduce the seasonal nature of tourism, profiling and marketing The Gambia as a tourist destination rather than relying on international tour operators and on word-of-mouth recommendations (Mitchell & Faal, 2007).

4.8.6. The Caribbean Islands: The Case of Jamaica

Beyond the African continent, empirical evidence on tourism-agriculture market linkages from the Caribbean and South Pacific Island nations report weak market linkages and high economic leakages due to reliance on imports for food, goods and services. Since the 1970s there was remarkable growth of the tourism sector in the Caribbean, becoming one of the leading economic sectors in foreign exchange earnings and employment creation within the region. However, linkages with other economic sectors were reported to be weak and unplanned and high levels of leakages due to reliance on imports (Karagiannis 2004; Timms 2006; Phillips & Graham, 2007) resulting in weak and disorganised market linkage between tourism and local

agriculture. Timms and Neill (2011:106) provide a broad perspective on barriers to linking local agriculture to tourism and suggest solutions. Similar to other cases reporting on factors constraining the development of tourism-agriculture linkages with a pro-poor impact, Timms and Neil (2011) posit that insufficient supply, inconsistent demand and weak marketing are the main attributes to weak linkages in the Caribbean, including an unfavourable economic policy environment which points to the role of the government. To a large extent, neoliberal economic policies of the 1990s have had significant effects on demand-supply and marketing capabilities (Timms & Neill, 2011:106) in the Caribbean economy.

With the disbanding and introduction of privatisation reforms in the early 1990s, the Island states were forced to roll back public spending, resulting in the collapse of state-owned boards that offered credit facilities to farmers, marketing of farm products and price control. In addition, the provision of storage and transport logistics support to domestic farmers ceased and farmers no longer enjoy government supported extension services due to budget cuts. Neoliberal economic reforms promoted private sector wholesalers and eased import restrictions which resulted in wider availability of low-priced import products that could not compete with high cost locally produced products (Timms & Neill, 2011:107). Neoliberal economic policies rendered Caribbean farmers vulnerable as they could not meet the quality, quantities and price points that the hotels and restaurants serving the tourism market demanded. Local farmers are not able to compete with imports from industrialised commercial farmers as they are constrained by poor economies of scale, limited access to credit and lack of technology (Timms & Neill, 2011 105). Therefore, the Caribbean economy relies on large quantities of low cost and high-quality imports. In the tourism market, high-end hotels catering for wealthier tourists can afford high prices for presumed higher quality imports while the budget conscious travellers in low-end hotels prefer cheaper products which are also imported.

Timms and Neil (2011) state that ‘...*the demand for high quality or low price creates a vacuum for local producers, a situation compounded by the demonstration effect whereby tourists’ preferences for imported products are adopted by local populations*’ (2011:106). This promotes high leakages from both sectors as most hotels are foreign owned and food products are imported, thereby threatening the sustainability of the local agriculture sector and fostering a weak synergy between agriculture and tourism. This weak linkage is well articulated in the case of Jamaica, a leading tourist destination in the Caribbean. The case of the Negril resort in Jamaica (discussed below), serves as an example of the quality of tourism-agriculture linkages

in the Caribbean islands as this phenomenon plays out in many of the small island states. Empirical evidence from a study by Rhiney (2011) in Negril, one of Jamaica's resort towns, shows weak market linkages between the tourism sector and local farmers particularly among large hotels. There is no established local produce market in the area. Hotels rely on various sources to supply local and imported foods from large wholesale companies, farmers' associations, supermarkets, small scale retail outlets and small contractors or intermediaries, individual contract farmers, and a number of local markets including the Savanna-la-mar produce market about 30km from Negril (Rhiney, 2011:119).

The resort provides a unique opportunity for creating viable market linkages that stimulate local food production particularly by large all-inclusive hotels given their greater property size and large customer base (2011:119). Multiple factors limit inter-sectoral linkages related to supply or production constraints such as the high cost of locally produced food compared to lower priced imports. Inconsistencies in demand such as the nature and characteristics (ownership, size and wider customer base) of accommodation enterprises; preference for food imports by foreign national chefs and overseas training and specialisation in international cuisine of the all-inclusive hotels tend to support the reliance on low priced imported foods and the lack of communication between the tourism sector and local farmers (Rhiney, 2011:124). As with other studies, the case of Jamaica also attributes weak market linkage to marketing deficiencies related to the local farming sector (Rhiney, 2011).

The role of intermediaries in sourcing food products (largely imports) and supplying the food proprietors, creates a barrier to shaping direct links between local farmers and accommodation enterprises. This further creates a structural void between local farmers as producers and hotels as end-users, thereby creating a vacuum of knowledge and capability to effectively meet each sectors' needs. In dismissing the dominance of intermediaries in the value chain, Rhiney (2011) refutes Rickard and Carmichael's (1995:129) claim that *...the preponderance of intermediaries is therefore not a function of tourism's improved linkages with domestic agriculture but rather the failure of both sectors to forge more viable and sustainable linkages with each other* (2011). In addition, weak linkages are compounded by the type of policies or lack of policies to foster inter-sectoral linkage, and the way in which the two sectors operate in isolation from each other. As with many governments in developing economies, the Jamaican government 's focus is on increasing visitor numbers as a measure to improve foreign exchange for the tourism sector and sourcing foreign direct investment for large-scale projects. There is no evidence of

government policies that foster the development of tourism-agriculture market linkage and they caution that increase in visitor numbers will not result in maximum impact but rather more imports which translate to high leakages (Rhiney, 2011:133).

Rhiney (2011) highlights the importance of forging strategic partnerships among stakeholders and interest groups involved in order to increase the net returns from visitor numbers, length of stay and expenditure. Strong partnerships foster communication on product requirements, standards, marketing and the creation of formal contracts (Rhiney, 2011:134). Furthermore, a sustainable agritourism strategy is recommended to promote sourcing of locally grown food products to meet tourists' food needs while all-inclusive hotels adopt flexible menus that can adjust to fruits and vegetables available in different seasons. Value adding of locally grown products is seen as a significant part of the strategy to form and maintain sustainable market linkage and this requires building capacity among local farmers on how food is supplied and marketed. Because of small economies of scale in terms of production capacity among local farmers in Jamaica, this renders them uncompetitive. Forming farmers' associations allows smallholder producers to pull resources together, technology transfer to local farmers, meet demand requirements of the tourism industry and allow for greater communication between tourism representatives, thereby alleviating farmer dependency on intermediaries and reducing the mismatch between food supply and demand (Rhiney, 2011).

4.8.7. South Pacific Island Nations: An overview

In the South Pacific Island nations, the tourism sector imports much of its food requirements despite the abundance of locally produced food and food products (Berno, 2011: 88). Similar to other studies, reasons cited for preference for food imports are supply and demand related. These include product availability and consistency, perceived low quality of local produce, lack of infrastructure and finances and uncompetitive pricing (Berno, 2003; Rao, 2006; Salvioni 2007). Berno (2003) and Gomes (1997) in (Berno, 2011:88) further add that tourists tend to be reluctant to try local cuisines and the situation is worsened by non-exposure of tourists to local cuisines by resorts and hotels but rather tend to serve international menus which do not serve authentic local dishes but their 'imitations. Despite these limitations, tourism-agriculture market linkages can be enhanced by increasing local food consumption in the tourism sector which will not only provide an immediate source of supply but enhance tourists' experiences particularly with the supply of high-quality local food (Berno, 2011:88).

A number of positive outcomes are reported from linkages between the two sectors including demand for agriculture products. Sourcing locally results in reduced food miles and food waste. Local linkages have created viable and attractive rural economies, enriched communities and made them vibrant and improved well-being for host communities. In order to promote sustained economic linkages between the tourism sector and local agriculture producers, the notion of sustainable cuisine is seen as central to this linkage (Berno, 2011:88-89). This strategy entails that hotels and lodges promote local indigenous food in order to increase demand for local produce. This approach is referred to as the ‘*farm-to-fork*’ concept and encourages production of high-quality products for the tourism market. The farm-to-fork ethos to drive market linkages between the two sectors was made possible by all stakeholders engaging in consultations to analyse the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (SWOT) of agriculture-tourism market linkages (Berno, 2011:89).

4.9. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, it has been shown that tourism has inherent characteristics that make it a potential catalyst for the attainment of pro-poor growth through linkages with other economic sectors such as agriculture. While tourism-agriculture market linkages have the potential to drive inclusive tourism, there are barriers that threaten the realisation of inclusive growth through market linkages. The main challenges that constrain sustainable and economically viable linkages as demonstrated by country level case studies are production or supply related, demand, marketing and intermediaries and the role of government. It is important that for the creation and expansion of sustainable tourism-agriculture market linkages, these barriers are taken into account by tourism and non-tourism stakeholders at all levels of government. In order to accomplish the research purpose as described in Chapter 1, the research design and methodology that were followed is explained in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

5.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the research paradigm and methodology grounding the investigation and the methodology that was used to collect and analyse data in order to evaluate how tourism-agriculture linkages contribute to inclusive growth. Leedy and Ormrod (2015) state that research methodology is the body of processes and knowledge in a specific field and is the strategy used by a researcher to gather data. The layout of this chapter covers the research paradigm guiding this investigation, the mixed method design of collection, analysis and interpretation of qualitative and quantitative data and the research strategy. Research methods applied in collecting and analysing data are outlined followed by techniques used to sample participants from the accommodation sub-sector and the agriculture sector. In concluding this chapter, the quality and rigour of the research design is discussed.

5.2. RESEARCH PARADIGM AND APPROACH

The research paradigm underpinning this study is the interpretivist paradigm also referred to as social constructivism, which deals with multiple and socially constructed realities where meaning or understanding of life experiences are developed subjectively (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Creswell & Poth, 2018). DeCuir-Gunby and Schutz (2017:20) explain that the interpretivist paradigm tends to understand that our reality or truth is relative, as it can be understood from particular contexts and perspectives. The interpretivist paradigm in qualitative research allows for an interpretive inquiry where the researchers interpret what they see, hear and understand from the research endeavour (Creswell, 2009:176). Based on this, the researcher explored and documented the expected and experienced socio-economic reality as perceived by local smallholder producers supplying the tourism market as well as the experiences of hotels, lodges and guests houses in local sourcing.

5.3. MIXED METHODS DESIGN

The current study has a research problem and question that require qualitative and quantitative data collection from different sources. Therefore, to fully address the research problem in this study, mixed methods techniques were used. Mixed methods research involves the collection, analysing and interpreting of qualitative and quantitative data, enabling the researcher to integrate the qualitative and quantitative research findings into a cohesive single picture

(Saunders et al. 2016; Leedy & Ormrod, 2021). This allows for a more complete, comprehensive response to the research problem than simply using either quantitative or qualitative methodologies (Leedy & Ormrod, 2021). Mixed method approaches have the advantage of allowing for the maximisation of the strength of both qualitative and quantitative methods where generalisability of the latter can be applied and has the advantage of in-depth analysis of a small number of cases in the former method (Creswell, 2016; Saunders et al. 2016).

An added advantage of using mixed methods is that social sciences problems are complex and require multiple perspectives and methods in solving them, so using both qualitative and quantitative methods allow the use of multiple methods and theoretical approaches, the opportunity to maximise the strength of each method and minimise the weaknesses inherent in each approach (Creswell, 2016; Saunders et al. 2016). Using mixed methods removed potential weaknesses that may have arisen if only one method was used as data generated in this study complimented and validated each other, which would not have been the case if only one method was used for the three sub-research questions. Mixed methods have the advantage of triangulation which adds clarity and offers credibility to the investigation as more knowledge is generated than a single data collection method would do. Furthermore, mixed methods are complimentary as research results can be probed for additional meaning and to establish whether research findings converge or conflict (Leedy & Ormrod, 2015).

There are five general types of mixed methods designs: exploratory sequential, convergent, explanatory sequential, longitudinal mixed-methods and multi-phase iterate (Leedy & Ormrod, 2021:293). In this study, the convergent design approach was used in the two phases of data collection. A convergent design approach collects both qualitative and quantitative data within the same time frame and with respect to the same research problem or research question such as in a survey questionnaire which has open-ended and Likert type questions (DeCuir-Gunby & Schutz, 2017; Leedy & Ormrod, 2021). This design takes two forms: where equal or similar weight is given to the qualitative and quantitative data, symbolized as QUAN+ QUANL. or a convergent design may be in a form where one approach is more dominant than the other that serves in a secondary, supplementary and supportive role, represented as QUAL+quan. or QUAN+ quan (Leedy & Ormrod, 2021:294). In this study, both qualitative and quantitative data are required to address the research sub-problems and sub-questions emanating from the main research problem and question as this will assist in uncovering the different

complimentary aspects of the research (Leedy & Ormrod, 2021:294). Saunders et al. (2016) explain that mixed methods can have two divisions: the mono method and multiple method and highlight the importance of ensuring that data collection is aligned to the investigation. This can be done by firstly prioritising all the data collection methods: qualitative, quantitative and combination of both (mixed method) and the second step would be to discard each of the methods one by one up until the most suitable method of data collection for the study is determined (Saunders et al. 2016).

5.4. RESEARCH STRATEGY

Within the pro-poor tourism theoretical framework, the study seeks to answer research questions by collecting and analysing empirical data from enterprises in the accommodation sub-sector and small-scale farmers in the agriculture sector linked to the tourism industry in Livingston. Saunders et.al. (2016) point out that survey research is often used to answer the ‘what’, ‘who’, ‘how many’ and ‘how much’ questions in a study and often used for exploratory and descriptive research (2016:176). This method permits for the collection of qualitative data that can be analysed quantitatively by means of descriptive and inferential statistics, recommend likely reasons for specific relationships between variables and models of these relationships and give the researcher more control of the research process (2016:176-177). The survey method allows for the use of multiple data collection methods depending on the research question and other factors such as data quality issues, complexity of questions in a questionnaire, and administrative and resource factors (Czaja & Blair, 2005: 34-35). Surveys can be conducted through structured face-to-face or telephonic interviews, structured questionnaires surveyed through the post, internet or face-to-face and structured observation (Czaja & Blair, 2005; Saunders et al. 2016). Each of these data collection methods has varying degrees of advantages and disadvantages such as financial cost, time, quality of data and response rate (Czaja & Blair, 2005).

5.5. RESEARCH METHODS

While this research refers to other studies, it specifically draws from field work that took place between May 2018 and October 2019 in Livingstone, Zambia. Familiarity with the town of Livingstone, its agriculture and tourism sector and it being the tourist capital of Zambia, led to the choice of the study location. In addition, prior knowledge of the tourism development, prospects and challenges in the tourism-agriculture market linkage informed the choice of the

investigation. The study was based on a survey of both primary and secondary information sources. While secondary sources of data from scholarly publications, reports and government policy documents were used, the survey relied largely on primary data obtained from local farmers and accommodation enterprises. The researcher adhered to the University of Pretoria's research ethics procedures including obtaining informed consent from all the respondents. Prior arrangements were made in advance with respondents being approached to participate in the study. Despite time and travel constraints between South Africa and the study location in Livingstone, Zambia, as much data as possible were collected during fieldwork visits which took up to three weeks each time over one and a half years.

Primary data were gathered from 88 participants as shown in Table 3. Face to face interviews were conducted with 32 respondents from 29 accommodation establishments involving owners, managers, executive chefs, procurement managers and Food & Beverage managers. This was followed by the administration of structured and semi-structured survey questionnaires to 48 smallholder farmers supplying the accommodation sub-sector directly or through intermediaries who trade as middle men or as lead farmers. In addition, six informal interviews were conducted with government officials from the Ministry of Agriculture (MoA), Zambia Agribusiness in the Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Industry, a representative from the farmer cooperative Union in Livingstone (chair person), the recent past chairperson of the Livingstone Tourism Association (LTA) and the current chairperson of the Livingstone Lodges and Guest Houses Association (LILOGHA), and from two intermediaries known as lead farmers. Qualitative data provided deeper insights of underlying constraints and opportunities and allowed for the validation of quantitative data generated from the survey questionnaire.

Table 3: Distribution of different types of participants

Participants from Accommodation establishments	Farmers	Government & Cooperative union	Lead farmers	Total N=88
32	48	6	2	88

Respondents recognised the researcher as an “insider” and a local, as Livingstone is the researcher's place of birth and upbringing. This presented an advantage as respondents openly shared their experiences. In addition, the researcher understood the context and emerging qualitative issues and had relative ease in navigating the farming community and accommodation enterprises, some located in rural surroundings of Livingstone. The study

required that a variety of appropriate data collection tools be used to collect data from the agriculture and accommodation sub-sector and from tourism experts. This allowed the researcher to obtain different perspectives, statistics and factual data. Qualitative and quantitative data were collected through face to face interviews by means of a structured and semi-structured questionnaire and an interview schedule. Saunders et al. (2012:178) state that multiple sources of data collection have the advantage of triangulating or collaborating the evidence from multiple sources to make sure the data collected are valid and reliable, thus ensure that results have a high confidence level. The study was conducted in three phases using primary and secondary sources. In the first phase, the researcher conducted a literature review of scholarly publications to provide both a theoretical framework for the study and references to other research studies.

Destination documents such as brochures and tourism development policy documents were reviewed. The researcher then conducted informal interviews with owners, managers, procurement managers, head chefs and food and beverage managers of accommodation enterprises. In addition, the researcher conducted structured observation to gain first-hand experience of supply and demand activities in the supply chain and the tourist activities in the destination. Once these preliminary activities were completed, a survey questionnaire and interview schedule were developed to incorporate all relevant inclusive growth outcomes. Section 5.5.1 and 5.5.2 provide a description of demographic attributes and characteristics of the samples from which qualitative and quantitative data were gathered during phase two and phase three of the empirical investigation.

5.5.1. Interviews with accommodation enterprises

Phase two of data collection focused on the first research objective and involved in-depth interviews with owners or managers, executive chefs and procurement personnel and food and beverage managers in the accommodation sub-sector, as they are responsible or are key decision makers on procurement of food products in the accommodation establishments. In some instances, both the manager and executive chef or procurement personnel participated in the interview hence there were thirty-two (32) respondents from twenty-nine (29) accommodation enterprises. Information collected from this set of interviews was specifically related to the research sub-question:

How do accommodation enterprises contribute to creating tourism-agriculture linkages that foster inclusive growth for a pro-poor impact?

Survey interviews were conducted in order to identify procurement practices among hotels, lodges and guesthouses. The interview included questions focused on identification of food suppliers, challenges experienced in local sourcing, expenditure on food budget, nationality and training experience of executive chefs, business proprietor's attitude towards purchasing local food provisions compared to imported foods and their confidence with local smallholder farmers' ability to meet their food demand, quality and quantity requirements.

Using semi-structured face to face interviews (See Appendix B) data were collected from the accommodation sub-sector. An interview schedule was developed prior to the interviews. Dawson (2002) states that an interview schedule is a list of specific topics or questions to be discussed during the interview. This type of data collection method is used by researchers to gather specific information that can be used to compare and contrast with information gathered from other interviews (2002:29). The data from interviews in the accommodation sub-sector were triangulated and complemented with data from the smallholder farmers.

Through face to face interviews, this enabled the researcher to build rapport with respondents which is an advantage compared to telephonic interviews. However, because face to face interviews were conducted on site in the hotel, lodge or guest house, this proved to be time consuming and costly for the researcher to travel (Leedy & Ormrod, 2021). Semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher flexibility of being guided by the questions set in the interview schedule and to include more questions during the interview for purposes of clarity and probing respondents for meaning or reasoning where answers were ambiguous (Leedy & Ormrod, 2021:182). The interview remained flexible and allowed other important information to be raised. Bless and Higson-Smith (2000:105) theorise that this flexibility allows respondents to be free to relate their own definitions or responses when describing a situation or their views. Flexibility was important for the interviewees in this study as a form of allowing as much data from their experience and perspective without restrictions. Each interview was conducted over a duration of between 30 minutes to 90 minutes and interviews were recorded digitally in instances where participants gave such consent. In instances where participants were not comfortable being digitally recorded the researcher took notes of the responses from participants. Where necessary, supplementary interviews were conducted to complement the data gathered.

5.5.2. Survey Questionnaire for Smallholder Farmers

A survey was conducted by means of a questionnaire with closed and open-ended questions which incorporated relevant socio-economic inclusive growth outcomes. Information from farmers centred on socio-economic opportunities and challenges they expect and experience in the tourism market. The purpose of this information was to generate data that demonstrate tourism inclusivity of smallholders in terms of level of participation, opportunities and barriers expected and experienced in the linkage as this is the focus of the study. The questionnaire was developed following an in-depth literature review and preliminary field visit to the study destination. A pilot study of the data collection instrument was conducted to guarantee validity of content and workability of the questionnaire instrument. The questionnaire (see Appendix A) was a draft that was later fully developed. A five-point Likert scale for the different inclusive growth outcomes was then developed as a response format for expected and experienced outcomes. For quantitative data, the questionnaire had two scales; the Expectation scale 1= *very low expectation* to 5 = *very high expectation* and the Experience scale 1= *strongly disagree* to 5= *strongly agree*. The questionnaire also included open-ended questions for qualitative responses and these provided rich descriptive insights that supported the quantitative data from the Likert scale type responses.

The researcher completed the questionnaire by recording the responses of the respondents and in some cases, the respondent was able to self-complete the questionnaire in the presence of the researcher. The interviewer-completed questionnaire and the self-completion of the questionnaire by the interviewee in the presence of the researcher had the advantage of ensuring that the respondent is the person intended for the study and this according to Saunders et al. (2012), improves the reliability of the data collected as the respondents have the opportunity to clarify questions to avoid guessing if they have insufficient knowledge or experience.

In addition, interviewer completed questionnaires generally have a response rate that is higher than self-completed questionnaires. Compared to questionnaires administered through electronic means or postal services, in-person contact with respondents has the advantage of yielding a more successful response rate (Leedy & Ormrod, 2015) which this research achieved with the smallholder farmers. This method of collecting data also allowed the researcher to identify and record non-respondents, which can be used to assess the impact of bias caused by non-response (Saunders et al. 2016:420). On the other hand, the limitation of this method of completing the questionnaire is the probability of data to be unreliable when respondents give

answers to please the interviewer, which is not likely when they self-complete the questionnaire. However, according to Saunders et al. (2016:422) this limitation can be minimised by employing good interviewing skills. In order to ensure that data are accurately recorded and valid, the researcher took into account the advantages and disadvantages of this method of recording responses discussed above. During the data collection, field notes were documented and this formed part of the data gathering methods.

5.5.3. Field visits

Field visits formed part of the data collection method as the researcher conducted on-site interviews with all participants in the accommodation sub-sector. In some instances, the researcher also conducted onsite visits to farmers in parts of Livingstone town around the farming blocks of Kasiya, Nsongwe and Simonga during data collection among smallholder farmers. This presented an opportunity to witness their farming activities. These onsite visits presented an advantage to farmer participants as questions were clarified by the author, which resulted in detailed responses and descriptions. These in-person visits minimised any risk for misunderstandings and errors which can compromise the validity of data. This was considered the most effective way to gain in-depth information on challenges and opportunities experienced and expected by farmers participating in the tourism food supply chain.

5.5.4 Data Analysis Methods

The study generated qualitative and quantitative data and therefore two types of data analyses were used. Content analysis through the use of ATLAS.ti 8 was used to analyse qualitative data. Data analysis commenced as the data collection was underway, as this guided the researcher to remodel the questions to focus on central themes. This served as the preliminary analysis followed by a more detailed and fine-grained analysis of the data collected from all participants. Where the researcher felt it necessary, follow-up data collection was undertaken. Using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS version 27), quantitative data were analysed. Data analysis techniques are discussed in detail in the following section 5.5.5.

5.5.5 Quantitative Data Analysis

There are a number of statistical techniques that can be applied in order to analyse data. However, the nature of data may limit the choice of a statistical technique that one uses and therefore it is important to take into account that the technique used is suitable for answering

questions in a data set (Leedy & Ormrod, 2021:344). To statistically respond to the central research question, the most appropriate statistical technique is the descriptive statistics as the researcher seeks to determine the points of central tendency. A point of central tendency is a technique used to identify the common, average value or middle point where data on a specific variable revolves around. The commonly used measures of central tendency are the mean, mode and median (Saunders et al., 2012; Salkind, 2012). The measure of central tendency used in this study is the median. This is used to determine the numerical centre of the expected and experienced score for challenges and positive inclusive growth outcomes.

According to Howitt and Cramer (2020), there are many types of non-parametric tests and the most common ones in the literature are the Wilcoxon matched pairs test and the sign test. The Wilcoxon matched pairs test is used to compare median scores of two variables that are correlated when the data are ordinal in nature and not in intervals (Leedy & Ormrod, 2021:369). In other words, it tests whether scores from two samples from the same case differ significantly (Howitt & Cramer, 2020). The Wilcoxon matched pairs test also referred to as Wilcoxon signed-rank test is similar to the Wilcoxon signed test except that when the difference scores are obtained, the differences are rank-ordered and the sign of the difference is ignored. Furthermore, the signed-test which is not based on ranks takes the differences between the two related samples of scores and considers the sign of the difference (negative or positive) and not the size of the difference (Howitt & Cramer 2020:259). The expectations and experiences of farmers concerning the positive socio-economic outcomes and challenges in the tourism-agriculture market linkage was measured using the Likert scale (ordinal or rank measurement).

Ordinal data is where assigned numbers show an order or sequence; they indicate the degree to which entities or objects have a particular characteristic of interest and not how great the differences are between entities or objects (Leedy & Ormrod, 2021:346). The assumption is that values of the numerical scores show which is the smallest up to the largest value (Howitt & Cramer, 2020). For that reason, the dataset in this study violates normality assumptions for parametric statistics which are that: data are normally distributed and reflect the interval or ratio scale. Therefore, the non-parametric test is used to analyse the differences between farmers' expectations and experiences. Non-parametric statistics are not based on these assumptions as the current dataset for this study is ordinal in nature and not interval in nature. With this understanding, the Wilcoxon signed-rank test was identified as the most appropriate test for this study. It is a non-parametric alternative to the paired student t-test, and the test does

not assume that samples are normally distributed. It focuses on difference scores, analyses the signs of the differences and considers the scale of the differences detected (Howitt & Cramer, 2020).

5.5.6 Qualitative Data Analysis

There are numerous data analysis strategies used to effectively analyse and interpret qualitative data, and selecting the appropriate method depends largely on the research problem and the nature of data generated to address the research problem (Creswell & Poth, 2018). This study used content analysis to analyse qualitative data. According to Leedy and Ormrod (2021), content analysis is used in qualitative research design to systematically examine data in order to identify emerging patterns, themes, or biases and this involves human communication. The process of qualitative data analysis is iterative as it involves repetitive action of collecting data, analysing it and interpreting it. The initial analysis process involves preparing and creating structure to the raw data for analysis, which involves transcribing data such as audiotaped or hand written interview notes into a format that can be easily organised and interpreted. This initial step would then be followed by the ordering of data in ways that they can be located (name data units in identifiable files) for ease of use (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Leedy & Ormrod, 2021).

Coding Process

When the collection of qualitative data is completed and cleaned for errors, analysis of qualitative data requires that it is organised and reduced in such order that meanings, ideas, themes emerging, variables and structures within the data become visible; this process is known as coding (LeCompte & Schensul, 2012:98). Codes are names used to represent a group of ideas, or phenomena that are similar. Codes allow the researcher to determine the presence (degree or intensity) or absence of items or phenomena that emerge from a data set. The initial coding process is done where identification of preliminary general themes and concepts are applied to data generating initial sets of meanings (LeCompte & Schensul, 2012:98) from the data itself or the main research problem or sub problems, or from the theoretical or conceptual framework in the study (Leedy & Ormrod, 2021). Subsequently a more specific coding process is further applied to individual units and subsets of data, testing to ensure codes used adequately capture multidimensional meaning that the data represents.

This scheme of coding is further fine-tuned (deleting, merging and renaming codes) to ensure reasonable consistency in coding so that when the final list of codes and sub-codes are defined and illustrated, similar codes would be assigned if another researcher were to code the same data. Patterns and relationships emerging from the coding process are then identified and the data are interpreted within the perspective of the research problem and question (Leedy & Ormrod, 2021: 383-387). Using computer aided software, the researcher applied the coding process as described above to structure and find meaning in the qualitative data generated from face to face interviews with participants from the accommodation sub-sector and for qualitative data generated from the survey questionnaire administered on smallholder producers.

5.5.7 Analysis of Quantitative and Qualitative Data from Smallholder Farmers

Qualitative and quantitative data from the farming community in the sample was first captured on an Excel worksheet using Microsoft Excel 2010. A file called *farmer data set* was created. This was followed by a data cleaning process to ensure that any errors during capturing were corrected. The farmer data set was then exported to SPSS version 26 where the researcher created a code book and defined and labelled variables from the questionnaires. Codes generated had short names that represented the more concrete items to which they are applied (LeCompte & Schensul, 2012:107). The researcher analysed data in three stages. In the first stage, descriptive statistics of variable means and frequencies were completed particularly relating to smallholder farmers' demographic data. The second stage involved analysis of quantitative data generated from the five-point Likert scale on expectation and experiences of positive and negative outcomes using the Wilcoxon signed-rank test to compare median scores of the same. This evaluation was important in order to test the scale of opportunities and barriers expected and experienced among smallholder farmers participating in the tourism economy.

The third stage involved qualitative responses from the *Farmer data set* which was exported to ATLAS.ti where codes and code groups were assigned and examined for similarities and relationships. The researcher analysed qualitative data using content analysis. This method was suitable as the study gathered a large amount of qualitative data, some of which can be analysed and described by the content analysis technique. Saunders et al. (2016) state that, content analysis is the coding and categorising of qualitative data in order to analyse it quantitatively. This research technique allows the researcher to objectively, systematically and quantitatively describe the manifest content of communication (Saunders et al., 2016:608).

5.5.8 Analysis of Qualitative Data from the Accommodation Sub-sector

Qualitative data generated from face to face interviews with respondents from the accommodation sub-sector were transcribed and saved in Microsoft Word 2010. Using ATLAS.ti 8, similarly to farmer qualitative data, codes and code groups were assigned for similarities and relationships of data according to specific sub-questions. Groundedness of codes, which is the number of quotations related to a code, denotes the importance of the code and this guided the reporting structure of results related to challenges that respondents experience in the market linkage with smallholder producers and the recommendations they made in strengthening the market linkage. The coding strategy used in this study was predominantly descriptive-focused coding as the research questions generated information that described the experiences of participants from the accommodation sub-sector and from smallholder farmers. In order to substantiate the established themes, excerpts from verbatim transcribed data of respondents were used and to improve academic rigor, the researcher provided interpretation to participants' responses. Similar codes and code groups were generated using insights from the empirical data that respond to the third objective, namely the identification of specific strategies that can be adopted to enhance the quality of tourism-agriculture linkage. The intention is to recommend strategies that foster inclusive growth while contributing to the overall sustainability of the tourism industry.

5.6. SAMPLING METHODS AND TARGET POPULATION

The target population for this study were the accommodation establishments (guest houses, lodges and hotels) as they are a sub-sector of the tourism industry as well as small-scale producers in the agriculture sector participating in the tourism supply chain in Livingstone, Zambia. This study employed more than one sampling strategy and collected multiple types of data. According to Saunders et al., (2016), sampling makes it possible to have a higher level of accuracy than a census because more time can be applied to design and pilot the data collection instruments and information that are more detailed and can be collected from fewer cases than an entire population (2016:261). The sampling frame included a list of small, medium and large hotels, lodges and guesthouses. The size is stipulated in the list of registered accommodation establishments that was provided to the researcher by the Ministry of Tourism and Arts office in Livingstone. The study sample also included small-scale farmers in the agriculture industry that have been participating in the tourism supply chain for a minimum of 12 months.

5.6.1. Purposive Sampling

As a means to answer the first and second research sub-questions (Saunders et al., 2016), information-rich cases were purposefully selected:

How do accommodation enterprises contribute to creating tourism-agriculture linkages that foster inclusive growth for a pro-poor impact?

What socio-economic opportunities and barriers do smallholder farmers in Livingstone expect and experience from tourism-agriculture linkages in the local tourism value-chain?

A sample of the accommodation enterprises was identified using the non-probability sampling technique called purposive sampling. This was done by first generating a list of all tourism accommodation businesses in the different strata of registered Guesthouses, Lodges and Hotels in the accommodation sub-sector as provided by the Livingstone office of the Ministry of Tourism and Arts. Enterprises from the generated list were grouped into the different strata of guesthouses, lodges and hotels. It is from this initial list that the researcher made contact with accommodation establishments to set up interview appointments. Through this initial contact, the researcher was able to ascertain which accommodation establishments had been in operation for less than two years and that some accommodation establishments have self-catering lodging as they do not cater for guest food needs and therefore were not considered for inclusion in the study. The researcher was also able to identify which accommodation enterprises sourced farm products locally within Livingstone and therefore were considered to be part of the study.

For locating smallholder farmers, these were first identified through the accommodation sub-sector as they provided the researcher with names and contact information of smallholders that supplied their agricultural food needs. Smallholders in the sample were not only identified through accommodation enterprises as it became clear from the onset that communication would be a challenge as farmers are located in rural settings where mobile network connectivity is not always stable. This hampered the researcher's attempts to contact some of the farmers on the contact details provided by the accommodation establishments. The researcher therefore contacted officials from the department of Cooperatives, the Cabinet Office and the Ministry of Community Development and Social Services in Livingstone for contact information on farmer cooperatives. In the end, a list of twenty-five farmer cooperatives that had benefited

from Zambia's Farmer Input Support Programme (FISP) during 2016 and 2017 was provided to the researcher by the Ministry of Community Development and Social Services as beneficiaries of the FISP programme. The farmer cooperatives had names and contact details of cooperative chair persons. The researcher systematically contacted chairpersons of twenty-five farmer cooperatives within and around Livingstone to establish which individual farmers in the respective cooperatives supplied the tourism market. For the researcher, approaching farmers through the farmer cooperative structure made it possible to access some of the farmers that supply farm produce to the accommodation sub-sector as the chairperson provided contact names and mobile numbers of smallholder farmers that were actively supplying hotels, lodges and guest houses. In the end, the researcher made over seventy phone calls to smallholder farmers and not all contacts were reachable or available to participate in the study. Ultimately, the researcher was able to schedule date and time for the questionnaire to be administered to 48 smallholder farmers. According to Saunders et al. (2016), purposive sampling allows the researcher to use his or her own judgement or subjectively select sample units that will allow the researcher to respond to the research question and achieve a set of research objectives. However, the data collected are not generalizable or statistically representative of the target population (2016:301).

5.6.2. Stratified Sampling

A sampling frame from each of the accommodation strata (guesthouses, lodges and hotels) was generated from which participants were randomly selected proportionate to the size of each stratum in the tourism sector in Livingstone. Abbot and McKinney (2013) state that stratified sampling ensures that the sample from each stratum represents the characteristics of the population as a whole and can be generalized to the larger population. This method of sampling also ensures that the sample comprises of suitable variations for important variables (2013:113). Stratified random sampling considers the characteristics of the population under study and assesses among the population the different aspects of a characteristic (stratum) that is central to the study in order to answer the research question. The word strata describes the layers of society or ranking (Abbot & McKinney. 2013:112).

5.6.3. Sample Size and Description of the Accommodation Sub-sector

In order to gather information of registered accommodation establishments, the researcher contacted the Ministry of Tourism and Arts office in Livingstone where an informal interview

was conducted with a senior official in the Ministry and a database of registered accommodation enterprises was provided to the researcher. It was noted that hotels, lodges and guest houses differ in size as denoted by the number of rooms.

At the time of data collection, there were about 120 accommodation enterprises registered in Livingstone which included hotels, lodges, guest houses, Inns, backpackers and apartments. Out of 120 accommodation enterprises, there were 72 lodges, 8 hotels and 23 guest houses in the database of registered accommodation establishments as provided by the Ministry of Tourism and Arts. Because the research is focused on tourism-agriculture linkage through supply and demand of food between hotels, lodges, guest houses and smallholder farmers, the sample of accommodation establishments in this study only includes hotels, lodges and guest houses that provide lodging and source food from local smallholder farmers. The researcher sort to ensure that the sample size of the accommodation enterprises in each stratum is relative to the total population of the listed guesthouses, lodges and hotels. The researcher made contact with over Fourty accommodation establishments through email and telephone to introduce the study and request for participation. Not all the contacted accommodation enterprises were willing to participate in the study. In the end, interviews were scheduled with Thirty-two participants from a sample of Twenty-nine accommodation enterprises. Lodges dominate the number of accommodation establishments in Livingstone and hence made the most (Fifteen in the total sample). The study includes data from eight hotels and six guest houses as shown in (Table 4).

Table 4: Number of Accommodation Establishments in the Sample

Hotels	Lodges	Guesthouses	Total
8	15	6	29

Source: Author's own creation. Note that 32 respondents from 29 accommodation enterprises were interviewed

At the time of data collection, not all registered accommodation establishments were star rated by the responsible tourism agency. The sampled accommodation establishments belong to at least one local tourism association; the Livingstone Tourism Association (LTA) or the Livingstone Lodges and Guest Houses Association (LILOGHA). All twenty-nine accommodation establishments in the study have been operating for more than two years. Over the years, the scale of each of the hotels, lodges and guest houses has increased in terms of the number of rooms or other guest facilities and have current or future expansion plans. The four-

and five-star rated hotels and lodges subscribe to international standards of health and sanitation and have implemented health systems in place to sanitize food and ensure quality standards are maintained. These facilities are regularly evaluated and certified by the local health and occupational standards agency.

In terms of ownership, all eight hotels in the study are foreign owned and two of these are part of the Protea and Courtyard group of hotels. The six guest houses in the study are owned by Zambians and seven of the fifteen lodges sampled are foreign owned. A large concentration of lodges and guest houses are located within the Livingstone Central Business District (CBD) while others are located along the Zambezi riverbanks in and around the Mosi-oa-Tunya National park. The accommodation sub-sector caters for different market segments with international leisure travellers dominating the market and a growing domestic and regional business traveller segment. It is worth noting that tourism in Livingstone is highly seasonal and the peak seasons in the destination are between March and September which coincides with the high water volumes of the Victoria Falls and the summer holiday period for visitors from regions in the Northern hemisphere, largely leisure international travellers.

5.6.4. Sample size and Description of Smallholder Farmers

Quantitative and qualitative data were collected using a questionnaire from a sample of 48 farmers. Among the farmers surveyed, 70% of the farmers own the land while 15% farm on cooperative land. The rest did not own the land but are farming on what is known as traditional land under the leadership of a local chief or rented farm land or family land. Table 5 is a summary of participants' demographic data in relation to gender, age, highest qualification attained, nationality, number of years in farming and number of years that the respondent has supplied the accommodation sub-sector. The age range of participants is between 20 and 79 years with most of the respondents (29%) in the age group 50-59 followed by 22% who are between the ages 60 and 69. While the majority (55%) farmers had many years of farming experience (11-30) years, the study also included (35%) farmers with fewer (1-10) years of farming experience and only (10%) had over 30 years of farming experience. There were slightly more female (58%) than male (42%) respondents. The number of women actively farming is growing and this is evidenced by the emergent number of farmer cooperatives founded and constituted by women such as the case of Milimo Mibotu Cooperative, Mujala Women's Cooperative and Nsongwe Women's Cooperative to which the majority of the women in the sample belong.

In terms of educational qualifications, 27% of respondents had only a primary level qualification and a similar number of participants have some high school qualification. Most of the respondents (44%) have tertiary education. Farmers that participated in the study have stayed in the Livingstone for between ten and twenty-nine years and are largely specialised in horticulture farming (71%). Smallholder farmers specialising in horticulture rely on rain-fed irrigation using basic irrigation systems that are labour intensive. They supply the accommodation sub-sector mainly once (25%) or twice a week (41%) with a variety of vegetables and to a lesser extent livestock, poultry and fish. None of the farmers sampled are citrus farmers.

The majority (78%) of the smallholder farmers in the study have been supplying the accommodation subsector for less than 10 years while 12% of the respondents have supplied the accommodation sub-sector for 10 years or more but less than 20 years and almost a similar number of participants (10%) have had many more years (20-29) of supplying the sub-sector.

Table 5: Demographic Profile of Smallholder Producers in the Sample

Demographics characteristic	Category	Percentage
Age groups (years)	20-29	10,4
	30-39	18,8
	40-49	14,6
	50-59	29,2
	60-69	22,9
	70-79	4,2
Gender	Female	58,3
	Male	41,7
Highest level of qualification	Primary	27,9
	Secondary	27,9
	Tertiary	44,2
Nationality	Namibia	2,3
	Netherlands	2,3
	South Africa	2,3
	Zambia	93,0
Years in farming	1-5	17,5
	6-10	17,5
	11-20	27,5
	21-30	27,5
	31-40	10,0
Years of supplying the accommodation sub-sector	1-9	78,6
	10-19	11,9
	20-29	9,5

5.7.QUALITY AND RIGOUR OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN

5.7.1. Validity and Reliability

In this study, the researcher collected qualitative and quantitative data through survey questionnaire and face-to-face interviews. In order to ensure quality of the data, triangulation was significant to ascertain interpretive validity and trustworthiness (Saunders et al. 2012) as depicted in Figure 10.

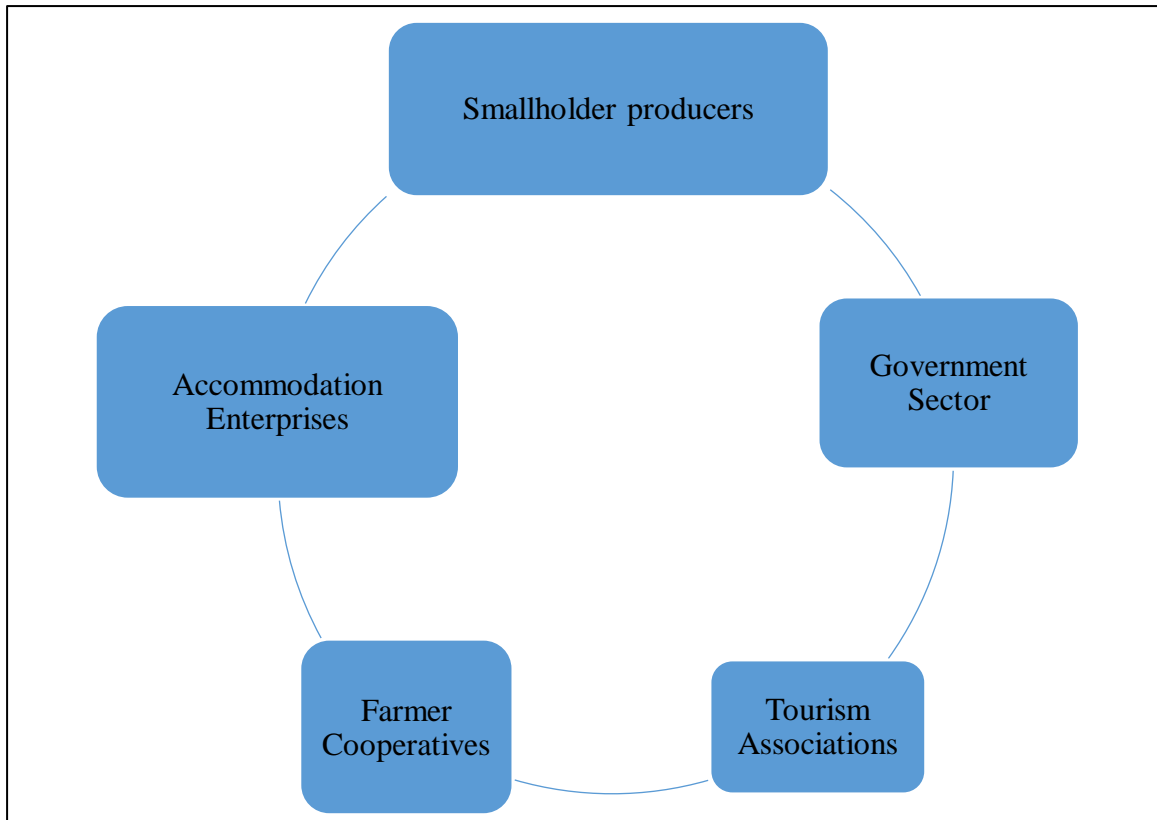


Figure 10: Triangulation Process applied

Source: Author's own creation

Validating research methods, findings, and conclusions is an important component of qualitative research (Leedy & Ormrod, 2015; Creswell, 2016). This can take multiple approaches (Creswell, 2016:191) as qualitative researchers implement validity checks using different terms to demonstrate validity of the research and interpretive rigour (Leedy & Ormrod, 2015). Creswell (2016) refers to qualitative validity lenses developed by Lincoln and Guba (1985) which according to Leedy & Ormrod (2021:269) researchers prefer to assess for credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability. In this study, the researcher aimed at maintaining objectivity in the research process by avoiding personal views and judgements

and provided an explanation of the process used in collecting and analysing data. Therefore, it is possible that if the methods were used by other researchers, the same results and conclusions would be made. Confirmability of the research is assured and dependability of the study is grounded in participants' responses captured and analysed to reflect the actual reality without altering meaning in the process of interpretation as the researcher relied on the research design and data gathering process. Consistency of results between the different research subjects and literature demonstrate reliability and therefore can be dependable. Transferability was possible as the researcher made references connecting participants' lived experiences, theory and research findings (Leedy & Ormrod, 2021).

In addition, credibility of the investigation was ensured through the observation of data collection methods and theory as provided in the tourism literature. Research instruments used underwent an ethical clearance process by the supervisor and the University's Ethics Committee and approval was granted prior to data collection. Participants in this study had experience and knowledge about the subject of the study. Specifically, for qualitative interviews in the accommodation sub-sector, participants had professional experience in the tourism and hospitality industry, in operations of hotels, lodges and guest houses, or procurement practices and were key players in decision-making processes on food purchasing. Participants from the agriculture sector had significant experience in farming and supplying the tourism industry and therefore shared their lived experiences within the requirements of the research. Onsite interviews and field visits during administration of questionnaires provided evidence of the reality and explanations of data provided. In addition, informal interviews with government officials enriched the credibility of the data from the two data sets. Furthermore, credibility of the research was strengthened by the researchers' familiarity with the study location as Livingstone is the researchers' birth place and had prior experience in the tourism sector and knowledge of farmers in and around the study location. Therefore, participants trusted the researcher as an 'insider' and had confidence in the aims of the investigation, and were therefore willing to participate and provide information as the research required.

5.7.2. Bias in Qualitative Research

Bias is a human element that can find its way in qualitative research as it may be difficult for humans to be completely objective, leading to bias in research investigations which affect the credibility of the data and the conclusions made (Leedy & Ormrod, 2021). The different types of bias in the research study which the researcher was mindful of were: researcher bias,

response bias, instrument bias and sampling bias (Saunders et al., 2012; Leedy & Ormrod, 2015; 2021). Researcher bias occurs when the researchers' expectations, values and beliefs influence what variables form part of the research, interpretation and what conclusions are made in the study (Leedy & Ormrod, 2021). The researcher took to self-reflection and awareness of how personal perceptions, beliefs and behaviours would affect the research project. In this instance, the researcher trusted the responses from respondents as they were deemed to have the necessary experiences that the study was investigating and this helped to minimise the researchers' potential bias throughout the data collection and analysis process (Creswell, 2016:141).

Response bias as explained by Leedy and Ormrod, (2021) occurs when respondents provide inaccurate responses of their experience, thoughts or beliefs intentionally or unintentionally to provide inaccurate facts with the desire to portray a favourable outcome, or response bias may occur because respondents had not given thought to an issue prior to the researcher mentioning it (2021:212), hence biased responses affect the credibility of the investigation. The researcher was mindful of such bias and took time to seek clarity through follow-up questions to ascertain what the respondents were communicating. Where respondents felt their response was sensitive, they communicated this and the researcher assured them of confidentiality and anonymity in the research. The researcher maintained a neutral tone, body language and appearance during interviews and during administration of questionnaires and took time to clearly communicate the aim of the research in order for respondents to confidently and objectively participate and trust the purpose of the research.

Research instrument bias occurs in descriptive research as the researcher chooses what assessment strategies to apply in a questionnaire or structured interview and therefore bias the results to a particular direction (Leedy & Ormrod, 2021). In this study, while the researcher acknowledges that some element of bias in what questions were asked may have occurred, bias was minimised by grounding the research questions within the research objectives in order to answer the main research question. Sampling bias is another form of bias that occurs in descriptive research sample for many reasons, including through the procedures used to identify, include and exclude participants in a study. The researcher used purposive sampling to identify smallholder farmers, hotels, lodges and guest houses that would be included in the study as long as they met the requirements of the study. However, among the listed accommodation establishments and the smallholder farmers contacted from the respective lists,

not all of them were responsive and even among those who were reachable in the initial contact, not all were readily available to take part in the study. This results in some element of bias as the sample excluded those who were not responsive or did not agree to participate for whatever reasons (Leedy & Ormrod, 2021).

5.8. CONCLUSION

This chapter explained the methodology and data collection process that was applied in the investigation. The interpretive approach guided the methodological path and the survey method was the research strategy where questionnaires and face to face interviews were used for data collection. Due to the complex problem that this study seeks to address, data that were quantitative and qualitative in nature were sort. The qualitative data analysis was relevant in describing the nature and extent of smallholder producers in accessing and participating in the tourism market, bringing to light the opportunities and challenges experienced by the accommodation sub-sector and smallholder farmers. The quantitative research analysis shed light on the extent of inclusive growth benefits that stem from accessing and participating in the tourism market and the measures that can be taken to enhance inclusive growth outcomes within a sustainable and competitive tourism sector. In the next chapter, research results derived from data analysis are presented and interpretive analysis provided within the context of inclusive tourism growth and pro-poor tourism.

CHAPTER 6: PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, findings from the empirical research are reported and interpretive analysis is provided. The key research results of the study are presented in four sub-sections for ease of presentation and understanding. Section 6.2 presents significant findings relating to the first research objective focusing on food purchasing dynamics and networks, opportunities and barriers experienced by hotels, lodges and guest houses in local sourcing. In section 6.3 results relating to the second research objective are presented focusing on socio-economic opportunities and challenges expected and experienced by smallholder farmers in the tourism market linkage. The third research objective is addressed in section 6.4 where strategies to enhance opportunities and mitigate limitations in the tourism-agriculture linkage are presented as proposed by respondents from the accommodation sub-sector and smallholder farmers.

For qualitative responses, a number of codes, categories and evidence generated from participants were used to address the three research sub-questions. The coding strategy used in this research was predominantly descriptive-focused coding as the research questions generated information that described the experiences of participants from the accommodation sub-sector and small-scale farmers. Quantitative data generated from the five-point Likert scale responses by smallholder farmers were analysed using the Wilcoxon signed-rank test. In order to substantiate the established themes, excerpts from verbatim transcribed data of respondents were used and to improve academic rigor, the researcher provided interpretation to participants' responses. In section 6.5, a summary of the key findings for the three objectives is presented. Results presented in this chapter are discussed in chapter seven integrating key theories, frameworks and models in the literature reviewed. The study was initiated in order to evaluate the contribution of tourism-agriculture linkages to the attainment of inclusive growth. The main research question that the study seeks to answer is:

To what extent does the market linkage between the accommodations sub-sector and smallholder farmers in the tourism supply chain in Livingstone contribute to inclusive growth? Furthermore, how can the market linkage be strengthened in order to foster inclusive growth?

To answer the main research question, three research objectives were used to gather data. Results presented are focused on key findings of each of the three research objectives and the corresponding research sub-questions which are:

1. How do accommodation enterprises contribute to creating tourism-agriculture linkages that foster inclusive growth for a pro-poor impact?
2. What socio-economic opportunities and barriers do small-scale farmers in Livingstone expect and experience from tourism-agriculture linkages in the local tourism value-chain?
3. What specific strategies can be developed to enhance the quality of tourism-agriculture linkages that foster inclusive growth and the overall sustainability of the tourism industry in Livingstone, Zambia?

6.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVE ONE RESULTS: ACCOMMODATION SUB-SECTOR'S CONTRIBUTION TO TOURISM-AGRICULTURE LINKAGES

6.2.1 Accommodation Enterprises Procurement Practices and Strategies

In this study, the researcher found that procurement practices among accommodation establishments provide pathways for producers and suppliers to access the tourism market and an opportunity to be competitive in this market segment. All the twenty-nine accommodation establishments in the sample have tapped into existing multiple local food supply networks with minimal imports, as shown in Table 6. Geographical location and guest profile influence the purchasing behaviours of the sampled hotels, lodges and guest houses and the size and rating have an impact on the volume and type of food required. Relative to small size lodges and guest houses which have fewer guest numbers due to their small size (number of rooms), large and medium size lodges and hotels have a greater propensity for procuring large amounts of food products particularly during the peak tourism season and they have appropriate cold rooms and storage facilities. Therefore, quantities sourced among accommodation establishments are informed by the occupancy rate at any given time.

Table 6: Characteristics of Accommodation Establishments and Sources of supply

Profile of hotels, lodges and guest houses					Purchasing patterns						
Accommodation establishment	Ownership	Number of rooms	Rating	Retail store & wholesale	Directly from peasant smallholder	Open markets	Intermediaries	Imports	Directly from commercial smallholder	Own farm	Date established
New Fairmount hotel & casino	Foreign	110	3	x	x	x	x		x		1970
Warm Harbour Hotel	Foreign	27	3	x	x	x					2016
Court Yard Hotel	Foreign	52	4	x	x	x	x				2017
Avani Hotel Victoria Falls	Foreign	400	4	x	x	x	x	x	x		2001
Protea Hotel- Livingstone	Foreign	80	3	x	x				x		2008
Chrismar Hotel	Foreign	59	4	x	x				x	x	2006
Oriental Swan Hotel- Livingstone	Foreign	41	3	x		x					2016
Royal Livingstone hotel	Foreign	5	5	x	x	x	x	x			2001
Likute Guest house	Local	14	None	x	x	x	x				1997
Guest Mate Guest house	Local	9	None	x	x	x	x				2002
Lilamwono Guest house	Local	18	None	x		x	x				2009
Tabonina Guest house	Local	12	None	x	x	x					2009
Stone Guest house	Local	11	None	x		x				x	2005
Waterberry Zambezi Lodge	Local	7	5	x		x	x				2008
Wasawange Lodge	Local	25	None	x	x	x					1995
Zambezi Water Front Safari Lodge	Foreign	43	3	x	x	x	x		x		1999
Island of Siyankaba Lodge	Foreign	7	5	x	x	x					2002
David Livingstone Lodge & Spa	Foreign	77	4	x	x				x		2008
Woodlands Lodge	Local	26	None	x		x	x			x	2002
Zambezi Ultima Lodge	Local	16	None	x		x	x			x	
Olga's Lodge	Foreign	9	None	x	x	x					2013
Kazmeen Lodge	Foreign	35	None	x		x	x			x	2003
Royal Chundu River Lodge	Foreign	14	5	x	x	x			x		2009
Mosi-oa-Tunya executive Lodge	Local		None	x		x				x	
Roysam Guest Lodge	Local	10	None	x		x					2001
Pumlani Guest Lodge	Local	8	None	x	x	x					2013
Tonga Bezi Lodge	Foreign	11	4	x	x	x					1990
Livingstone Lodge	State	11	None	x	x		x				2013

Source: Author's own creation.

Most of the hotels in the green block and lodges in the light blue block are foreign owned and managed, catering for high-end domestic and international leisure and business travellers. However, the majority of the small to medium size lodges and guest houses in the darker blue block that are locally owned, primarily cater for regional and domestic leisure and business travellers. Hotels and star rated lodges predominantly source produce such as beef, fish,

chicken, dairy products, herbs and high value crops such as lettuce and broccoli from commercial medium to large holder farmers (directly or indirectly through intermediary traders) and from retail supermarkets. Hence very few smallholder farmers in the study supply these food products. One of the commercial chicken farmers supplies hotels and lodges on specific days. This farmer packages and delivers whole dressed chickens, chicken portions that meet required plate size, quantities and weight as specified by hotels and lodges for their guest menus.

Hotels and lodges that are supplied by this commercial farmer cite consistency in supplying quantity, quality and value adding as factors that ensure the linkage with this commercial farmer is maintained. Value added service is appreciated by hotels and lodges that are supplied by this particular farmer stating that this saves them the labour and time required to clean and cut chickens to plate size and provides the confidence and safety net of guaranteed supply which is reported to be a key benefit when planning the guest menu offering throughout the year. While large hotels and high-end lodges source from local commercial farmers, agricultural food imports are minimal, and these are mainly sourced from South Africa and supplied by intermediaries or bought from foreign owned supermarket chain stores such as Shoprite (one of the leading investors in food retailing) as well as from Spar and Choppies, grocery retailers of locally produced and imported foods including fruits and vegetables.

Among all accommodation establishments, greater demand (quantity and frequency) for food products is higher during peak season, (around March to September) when room occupancy across the sampled accommodation establishments averages 70%-80%. With the exception of high rated hotels and lodges, the majority of the lodges and guest houses have set menus for the year, serving food that is available in any given season. Among the 8 hotels in the sample, guest menu listings change throughout the year and include local, regional, international, a 'la carte and special themed African buffets as well as daily breakfast buffets and therefore require a wider spectrum of food varieties. Local sourcing of agricultural food products for tourist consumption denotes an existence of tourism-agriculture market linkage with local producers and suppliers, thereby creating opportunities for inclusion in tourism-led growth.

Based on the results, the average monthly budget spent on the acquisition of food among hotels, lodges and guest houses ranges between 20% and 40% of the total operational budget indicating that the tourism market has potentially a significant capacity to contribute to income generation for local food producers and suppliers. Hotels, lodges and guest houses connect into

the local agriculture supply chain through sourcing food products from subsistence small-scale farmers, smallholder commercial farmers, intermediaries, wholesalers, retail chain stores, open markets and self-supplying. Reliance on multiple producers and suppliers was cited as a mechanism to ensure availability of produce, particularly for horticultural crops and fruits which are seasonal in nature. Characteristic information on each of the sources of agricultural food suppliers to the accommodation sub-sector is shown in Table 7.

Table 7: Forms and Characteristics of Producers and Suppliers

Linkage form	Characteristics
Intermediaries	Based locally and supply locally available products. Includes individual vendors and lead farmers linked to individual small-scale farmers. They purchase products locally, from other regions as far as Lusaka, 360 kilometres away from the tourist capital town and across the borders in South Africa. Lead farmers serve as farm produce aggregators for the tourism market.
Supermarkets and Local wholesalers	Minimum stimulation of agriculture sector as produce is imported and sourced centrally; retail supermarkets demand large volumes which individual farmers are not able to meet. Farm products are considered more expensive than other sources and do not match the freshness of produce from the other sources. Ankufa is the main wholesaler mentioned as supplier of dry food stuffs, perishables and fresh produce when out of stock.
Farmer Cooperative	Potential stimulation of the agriculture sector, no control of market or market information, minimal impact on the farming community.
Local markets	Stimulation of the agriculture sector, controlled by the local municipal council and restricted time allocated for farmers to trade. Relatively high possibility for compromising of quality and health standards due to poor handling and storage or produce at open markets.
Do-it-yourself Self-supply	Lowered food procurement costs maximise profits and ensure supply of products when needed and in desired volumes.
Commercial small-scale farmers	Formal arrangement to supply tourism market, smallholding but sustained large scale production. Infrastructure and adequate farming implements, maintain consistent supply on a greater degree. Mostly of non-Zambian origin.
Subsistence small scale farmer	Traditional farming practices, low input costs, fresh produce, good quality, sanitation and hygiene of acceptable standards, inability to meet quantities, not consistent with supply, largely seasonal suppliers and unable to compete with commercial producers.

Source: Author's own creation.

6.2.2 Procurement strategy: Quality, Competitive Price and Availability

Evidence from respondents in the accommodation sub-sector shows that there are similarities in procurement strategies despite differences in characteristics of accommodation enterprises related to class, size and ownership. All respondents (N=32) said that they have a preference to source locally produced food and when respondents were asked the question "What informs your procurement strategy?" They all placed equal consideration on a mix of factors relating to quality of food products, competitive price and availability as determinants of where they source food from. In relation to food quality, in most cases, quality is assessed at the point of sale or at point of delivery; a similar practice is undertaken when food is sourced from the open market.

In terms of food quality, all respondents (N=32) indicated that they were satisfied with the quality of locally produced agricultural food products. Interestingly, the study found that across all accommodation establishments that sourced food products from the open market, where concerns for health and sanitation standards were evident; this was attributed to low standards of hygiene of open market trading environments where food quality may be exposed to poor hygiene, handling and packaging that may compromise quality. Furthermore, to ensure optimal hygiene standards, high-end hotels and lodges have mechanisms in place to sanitise all food products irrespective of the source of supply. Competitive price is another factor that informs procurement of food among all accommodation enterprises as this affects food budget, menu planning and guest expenditure on food. Respondents consider retail store prices of food products to be high compared to other suppliers and producers. The third procurement strategy that influences decisions on where to source agriculture food varieties is availability. It is one of the key food procurement decisions as it affects menu offering and planning. Chefs want to ensure that they fulfil the expectation of their guests in terms of menu offering, quality and affordability as this is important for the overall guest experience. All these aspects have an impact on the length of stay, willingness to return and inexorably for the sustainability of the tourism industry. Some of the sentiments shared by respondents emphasising the consideration of quality, competitive price and availability as an important mix that influence where food products are sourced from include:

A manager at a four-star hotel said:

'What informs our buying is a lot of things. One has to do some linear programming there, to find out what is best and has all those qualities. Quality is prime, we are a hotel so quality is prime. Then hygiene and price. It does not mean if the hygiene is good and the price is good then we buy it, all those three things must be high. The quality must be good'.

Similarly, a manager from a five-star lodge stressed quality and price saying that:

'Quality and price are prime for us. We are a 5-star lodge and so we communicate this to our farmers. As a result, quality comes first and we believe in indigenous food e.g., Okra, Sweet potatoes leaves, sorghum (porridge), we have local offerings on our menu including Mongu rice. This has added value but we do this for the love of the community. Our menu serves what is in season so that we do not import and we buy locally'.

One of the procurement managers at a lodge stated that:

‘When we can’t find what we want from the open markets, we buy imported and locally produced food from Shoprite though it is expensive’.

In another interview, a lodge manager commented that:

‘Our procurement strategy is based on good price, good quality and availability. Supermarkets buy from farmers so their prices are higher and yet their produce is not fresh. When we buy from the farmers, their produce is fresh and their price is reasonable. We would like to bring more farmers on board for variety. Now I am trying to add more farmers to my supply list.’

These views show how respondents’ procurement decisions are guided by consideration for quality, price and availability as necessary conditions for sourcing food and this demonstrates that the sub-sector is sensitive to sustainable food availability, quality and cost as these ultimately impact on guest experience. To a certain extent, these factors also explain the tendency among accommodation establishments to source agricultural food products from multiple suppliers as not a single supplier may meet these requirements on a continuous basis for various reasons.

6.2.3 Intermediary and Open Markets as Local Sources of Food Products

The study found that while accommodation establishments directly source food from local producers, indirectly, they also source food products from local farmers through the use of intermediaries. Intermediaries are seen as serving the interests of farmers and that of the tourism industry in connecting the two for market exchange. They source food products from local and external farmers and merchants and supply to the tourism industry. According to respondents, intermediary traders provide a convenient and efficient one-stop shop advantage to the accommodation entities that subscribe to this service. Intermediaries serve the accommodation sub-sector and supply a valuable service as the administration and time required to search for food products from multiple sources, particularly when there is low supply of vegetable varieties and fruits, may be time consuming.

Respondents said that this provides some guarantee of availability (important for guest experience) and reduces risks associated with gaps in the agricultural food market, as the

market environment is volatile in terms of availability and price, a common occurrence throughout the year. This negatively impacts on menu planning and offering. Another reason for using intermediaries is their ability to formalise their trade as they provide receipts and invoices, and payment terms are negotiated and transacted through formal banking systems. Such a formalised payment process is required by accommodation establishments for accounting purposes and for VAT returns claims. However, while the role of intermediaries is well regarded among respondents from the accommodation sub-sector, smallholder farmers have reservations as they are dissatisfied with some of the intermediaries particularly in relation to delayed payment and uncompetitive pricing.

There are two types of intermediary traders found in the study. Individual agents trading as small-scale middlemen and the other type of intermediary, referred to as lead farmers. The small-scale middleman is quite distinct from the lead farmer. The former operates on a small-scale basis and stock specific food products ordered by the accommodation enterprise. They randomly scout for food products at the point when the accommodation enterprise demands specific foods, without any binding agreement or contract with producers or suppliers. A manager from a medium size non-rated lodge located in the CBD shared their experience on sourcing food products from multiple suppliers including experiences of a long-standing relationship with a small-scale intermediary trader and some of the benefits and challenges experienced with small-scale intermediaries:

'We source our food locally and have a chain of purchase. Vegetables, tomatoes, onions, carrots, cucumbers, sweet potato leaves and green pepper. We have an arrangement with a small-scale entrepreneur who is our supplier (middle woman) who buys from others. Previously we used to buy everything from the supermarkets but they are expensive. We also used to buy from an individual farmer who closed shop. We have had this arrangement with the trader since February 2018. When she travels, then supply is affected yet our need for products would have been high. We negotiated our time frame for paying the middle woman, we pay through the bank and we require invoices from her. As a trader, she now has a bank account and the lodge can transact with her..., she buys from local farmers so quality is good.'

Another intermediary concept found in this study is the Lead farmer notion that serves as mediator between local farmers and the accommodation sub-sector. The lead farmer concept developed in response to the food supply gaps that were prevalent since the early 2000s. The lead farmer operates on a larger scale basis compared to small-scale middlemen and have some

form of agreement with smallholder farmers to supply specific products. The lead farmer is key in identifying demand from the hotels, lodges and guest houses. The lead farmer sources farm produce either directly from farmers or merchants within or outside the study area including importing from South Africa. The lead farmer concept is more of an aggregator of farm produce, stocking different varieties of high-grade produce, serving as a one-stop shop for the accommodation sub-sector particularly for large hotels and high-end lodges that subscribe to this service.

Information on the role of intermediaries was drawn from in-depth interviews conducted with two of the lead farmers that participated in this research particularly through their engagement with one of the largest hotels in Livingstone. The lead farmers that participated in this research are not necessarily in the farming business or producing agricultural products to supply the tourism market. They work with individual local small-scale farmers who produce and supply farm produce. A site visit to one of the lead farmer's outfits revealed that the business is well established with a refrigerated truck, a large warehouse with cold room facilities where produce is stored, sorted, packaged and delivered to one large hotel's warehouse. The Avani hotel (400 rooms) has its own warehouse with cold room facilities where farm produce and other food products are delivered and stored, including cold-chain, dry foods and specialty foods imported from South Africa. While local farmers supply the two lead farmers, there are gaps in supply in terms of quantities, variety and availability. As a result, lead farmers also source food products as far as Lusaka, Zambia's capital city located 480km north of Livingstone. Lead farmers also source farm produce across the borders particularly from South Africa in order to meet the demand by hotels and high-end lodges.

Indirectly, hotels, lodges and guest houses purchase food products from local producers through open local markets. There are five main open markets where local farmers sell their produce to Marketeers at wholesale price. In order to ensure fair trading at these markets, farmers are allowed a fixed timeframe to sell their produce at wholesale price mostly from 6am to midday. According to respondents, this practice is to allow Marketeers the rest of the day to resell their produce at retail price. Open markets are the primary domestic market for smallholders thus creating opportunities for income generation and indirect employment. Respondents cited Dambwa Central market, Libuyu Market, Maramba market and Potters market located in high density suburbs around the CBD as the main markets that they source products from. The smallest open market, is the Green village market located in the town centre

and considered to have high priced products of supreme quality grade compared to the other open markets. Management and revenue generation through daily levies charged to all traders from these open markets are legally the responsibility of the Livingstone Local Municipality.

In addition, guest houses and lodges (located in the CBD), buy food products from street vendors, others enlist their own staff as suppliers particularly for poultry products as reported by participants from two non-rated guest houses (Guest Mate and Likute Guest House). One of the advantages cited for enlisting staff as suppliers is the availability of credit arrangement and flexible payment. In addition, among the accommodation establishments, some (Zambezi Ultima lodge, Woodlands guest house, Olgas Lodge and restaurant, Kazmeen Lodge, Chrismar hotel and Livingstone Lodge) prefer buying from suppliers that are VAT registered and issue receipts. This is considered important among respondents as such documentation is required to facilitate the process of claiming back VAT charged on food products.

6.2.4. Market Linkage with Smallholder Farmers

Directly or indirectly, the accommodation sub-sector is connected to local small-scale farmers as producers and suppliers and the size and rating of accommodation establishments have an effect on purchasing practices. For small-scale farmers, the accommodation sub-sector constitutes a very small segment of their market given the low frequency and scale of demand (quantities), therefore, smallholder farmers produce crops largely for the open market to be consumed by the general public. Horticultural food products make the largest agricultural food group produced and supplied by smallholder farmers in the sample to the accommodation establishments as illustrated in Figure 11. Smallholder farmers practice either horticulture or mixed farming, produce and supply fresh horticultural produce mainly vegetables and poultry and to a lesser degree livestock (goats) directly to the accommodation sub-sector or indirectly through intermediary traders and open markets.

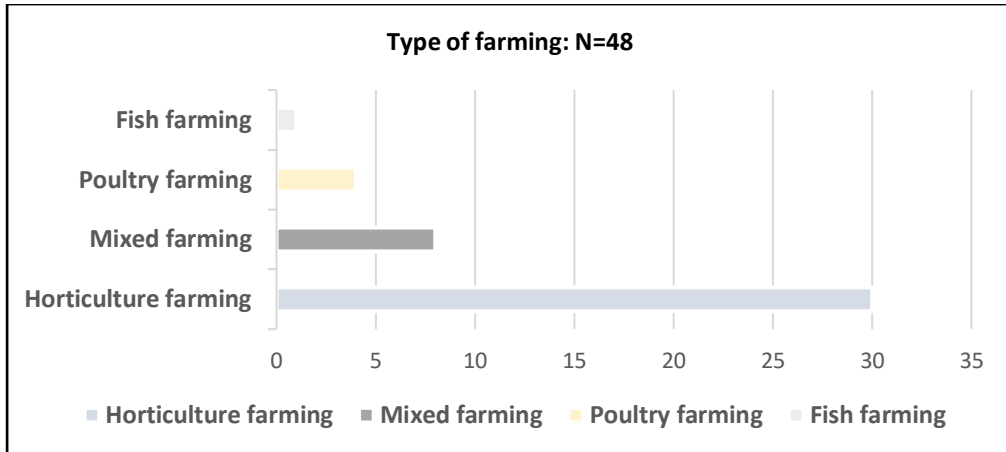


Figure 11: Type of farming

The most common horticultural products supplied are; Kale (a leafy green vegetable), Brinjal, Okra, carrots, onions, green pepper, tomatoes and green beans as illustrated in Figure 12. In addition, the study found that other products supplied occasionally to hotels, lodges and guest houses include strawberries, green maize, garlic, green chillies, village chickens, beef and dairy products like milk. Among the livestock group of foods, broiler chickens are the most supplied to the accommodation sub-sector. Very few subsistence smallholder farmers produce and supply high value crops like lettuce and broccoli due to environmental challenges linked to semi-arid land and climate change resulting in extreme weather conditions and seasonality. This is further constrained by perceived risk of growing crops primarily for the tourism market as there is low consumption of such high value crops among the general local public, which is their largest market.

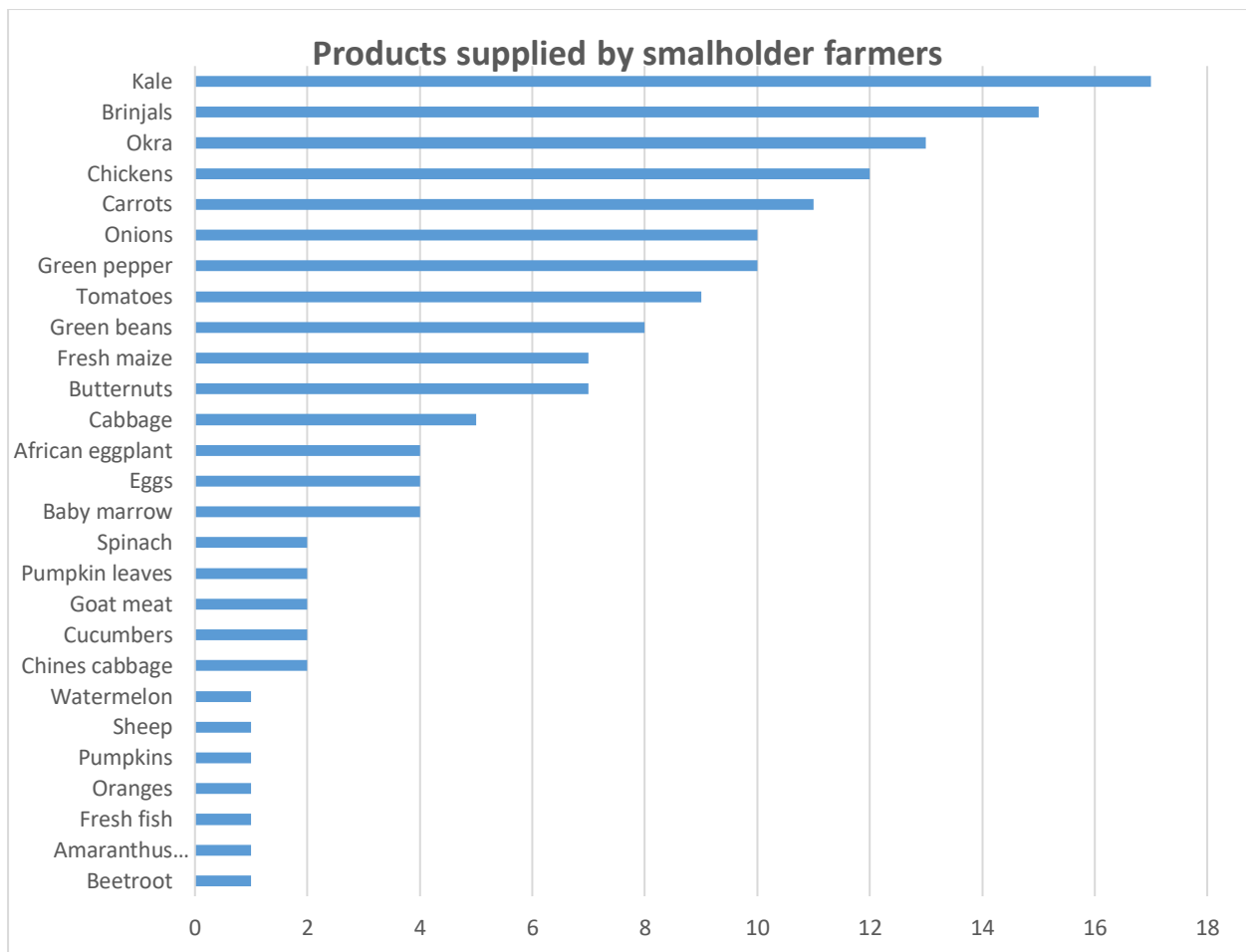


Figure 12: Main agriculture products supplied by smallholder producers

Note: Scientific name for Chines Cabbage is *Brassica rapa* (A leafy green oblong large-headed cabbage vegetable). Brinjal also known as Aubergine or Eggplant.

Almost all respondents (N=31), sourcing Agricultural food products from smallholder producers remains informal with no formal binding contractual agreement of supply and demand. In most cases, quantities supplied directly by small-scale farmers to the accommodation sub-sector are minimal (including farmers supplying as a cooperative) compared to what is consumed by the general populace through open markets. However, indirectly, farmers supply the accommodation sub-sector through open markets as their produce is sold off at open markets where lodges, hotels and guest houses buy from. One of the four-star hotels has an arrangement with two farmer cooperatives where individual farmers belonging to these cooperatives supply a variety of vegetables and chickens. However, these are not for hotel guest consumption but acquired for the hotel staff kitchen. It is worth noting that all smallholder farmers in the study belong to at least one Multi-Purpose Cooperative (MPC). In some instances, it is through cooperative membership that individual farmers in the

sample supply big hotels like Avani. Farmers belonging to Mujala (MPC) and Milimo Mibotu (MPC) supply dressed chickens while Jackie Mwanampapa cooperative members supply a variety of vegetables. In these cases, individual farmers put their produce together as a cooperative in order to meet the quantity demanded by Avani hotel largely for the staff kitchen. Both Mujala and Milimo Mibotu cooperatives deliver to the hotel but vegetables from Jackie Mwanampapa cooperative are collected by a middleman from a central location and delivered to the hotel twice a week. This system creates a mutually beneficial outcome as opportunities are created for the hotel demand for staff consumption to be met by a collective of farmers participating in the supply chain. However, while the quantities from the collective efforts of farmers meet the hotel demand, the impact on individual farmers is very minimal as the quantities the individual farmers contribute are small and payment from the middleman is not immediate.

Respondents from hotels, lodges and guest houses are all willing to support local producers. They provided information demonstrating their commitment to not only source locally but to empower and support farmers. In an effort to empower local communities, one of the large hotels and a four-star lodge located along the Mosi-oa-Tunya National Park, empower the village communities by providing them with seeds and skills. For example, Avani Hotel facilitated the provision of technical support and farming infrastructure for the Nsongwe Women's Multi-purpose cooperative at Mukuni Village, located 8 km from the hotel. This was through working in partnership with Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) such as ASNAP and other entities in the private sector. Some of the sentiments shared by interviewees provided information on plans or projects conducted on community food production undertaken by lodges and hotels in the study sample. This is driven by their corporate social responsibility initiatives. A respondent from a five-star rated lodge had this to say:

'We won the best 2016 award of farmers' market, an initiative to benefit farmers. The objective of the farmers' market is to uplift the standard of living of local people and as a company to benchmark food cost reduction to 30% from 35% achieved in 2017...'

'The village community are beneficiaries as we give them employment and seeds for free so that they can grow crops to sell to the community around and to the lodge. 80% of the work force is from the local community here in Katombora. We are the first people to buy from the village farmers and currently there are 6 main farmers from the village who supply us, farming is their livelihood. They also fish from the Zambezi River. For farm produce, our policy is we

don't buy from Shoprite (supermarket) so our procurement policy is that we buy local. We also buy from the open market.'

Respondents from a four-star hotel shared their views saying that:

'We have environmental sensitivity as a hotel and support groups like women in Maramba to grow mushrooms under a shelter following a specific process... supported by Agrismart and an agronomist through ASNAP.'

'Corporate Social responsibility or engagement plays a part though we don't have such people like women's cooperatives. If they were there, we would support them. Some months ago, we used to have a boy that was blind that used to supply us, he was from Linda. We actually told him to bring all his vegetables but again the problem of consistency cropped up, because he is a peasant farmer, but we supported him. So even with these same farmers, if we never had that heart to support, we would go to Shoprite and Spar, but we have to support these guys. So, if we fail to find something at the market, we go to Spur and Shoprite. So the retail shops are our third or fourth option.'

While the willingness to integrate local producers and suppliers into the tourism food supply chain through CSR projects is evident, these initiatives are few and seem to occur among large accommodation establishments and high-end lodges. Where such CSR projects exist, their sustainability is constrained by socio-economic barriers inherent within communities including dynamic power relations among beneficiaries and among sponsors.

The study found that the accommodation sub-sector experience benefits sourcing locally produced products, particularly horticultural products. In addition, local sourcing was reported to be affected by multiple factors that constrain the impact of the quality of the market linkage.

6.2.5. Benefits Experienced by Accommodation Establishments in Local Sourcing

Good quality, fresh produce, acceptable health and hygiene standards

Respondents from the accommodation sub-sector acknowledge the production potential of local farmers and the value this brings to tourism business. This demonstrates willingness to source local food and support local farmers. The accommodation sub-sector reported preference to source locally as they experience good quality and fresh produce supplied by local farmers including smallholder farmers. They appreciate added services provided by some

of the farmers such as delivery of produce, pre-arranged value-added services such as supply of products with specific packaging, size and weight as is the case with a local commercial farmer specialising in chicken production. Among the hotels, lodges and guest houses in the sample, there is minimal concern on health and sanitation standards generally, however, specifically most big hotels and lodges ensure checks for hygiene and safety standards by applying safety and hygiene protocols as well as sanitization processes on site in the hotel/lodge storage and kitchen facilities. In some cases, some of these conduct visits to farm sites for inspection of facilities and farming practices. Some of the comments shared by respondents on sourcing locally highlight their satisfaction with the quality and freshness and favourable price of local farm produce and the need to source from multiple suppliers as indicated in the comments.

A food and beverage manager at a four-star hotel referred to commercial farmers saying:

‘All our suppliers are certified by the Bureau of Standards. We have no challenges with our current suppliers.’

A procurement officer at a five star lodge said that:

‘We are happy with the quality and have no problem on health and sanitation as we offer training and educate the farmers in the village. We buy them seeds while our guests initiated a water project and our director is assisting the village community.’

‘The benefit of sourcing locally is the freshness, and we get it right there and then, rather than waiting for prolonged times like two weeks.’

The advantage of producing fresh quality produce at favourable price ensures that the smallholder farmers are competitive in the domestic market in general and specifically in the tourism market compared to retail supermarkets. All respondents source food products (including non-farm produce) from the retail supermarkets even though the prices are much higher, non-negotiable and they largely stock imported food products including dairy, poultry, fruits, and the vegetable chain, and at times the produce is not as fresh. For these reasons, in terms of sourcing horticultural produce specifically, retail chain stores are not the first option, indicating high preference for local producers including small-scale producers. However, there are multiple supply, demand and marketing challenges that limit optimal integration of smallholder producers into the tourism market. These are presented in detail below. Almost all the participants interviewed went to the supermarket out of limited knowledge about the

existence of farmers and their productivity, limited choices of variety and availability of products among local producers and suppliers. While retail stores may also stock locally produced food products, these are largely sourced outside Livingstone through centralised procurement and warehouses from which food is delivered to retail chain stores.

A lodge manager stated that:

'There are few farmers in Livingstone and they do not market themselves to us. Farmers tend to have inconsistency of meeting quantity as we demand. There is inconsistent supply of for example tomatoes, carrots, cucumbers and especially seasonal vegetables like baby marrows... we tend to go to supermarkets like Choppies, Spar and Shoprite only when the farmers don't have the products we need. We even order from Lusaka. In addition, there is no stability in prices as there are rapid price fluctuations and this affects our planning and budget...'

A manager from a non-rated lodge stated that:

'We buy chickens from some ladies but they are inconsistent so we also buy from Shoprite.'

Yet another lodge manager claimed that:

'Farmers are difficult to find and supply is not consistent...there are few farmers in Livingstone...'

Lodges like the Royal Chundu, Tongabezi, and Island of Siyankaba are remotely located in rural communities along the Zambezi River, far away from the town centre. Though the current purchasing practices and procurement strategies favour local sourcing from the existing production and supply network including smallholder farmers, thereby creating tourism-agriculture linkages, the quality of the market linkage is constrained by a number of factors. In accounting for barriers impacting on the quality of the linkage, respondents from the accommodation sub-sector cited supply related challenges and other factors inherent in the tourism industry itself.

6.2.6. Constraints experienced by the accommodation sub-sector

The study found that on average, 30% to 40% of the operational budget accounts for food costs for hotels, lodges and guest houses in the sample. However, the opportunity for local smallholder farmers to participate and benefit from food consumption in the accommodation

sub-sector is limited largely by challenges related to supply. The most cited supply related challenges reported by respondents from the accommodation sub-sector include a mismatch between supply and demand resulting from inconsistent quantity and availability, and limited variety of products due to lack of product diversification. Associated with inconsistent supply is the challenge of fluctuating market prices for farm products which negatively impact on menu planning, costing and the overall food budget. This has negative implications for the accommodation sub-sector in general operations, in attracting visitors and promoting their length of stay as this is associated with the cost and experience of guest food consumption. A lot of planning and costing goes into setting menu offerings and menu costing is informed by availability and price. Another limiting factor in the market linkage is the lack of communication and marketing by smallholder farmers as the hotels, lodges and guest houses are not always aware of the existence of farmers in the industry, what they produce and availability of produce. This denotes a market information communication gap which affects the competitiveness of smallholder producers and the quality of the market linkage.

The study found that the prevailing inconsistency in product availability, limited variety and price volatility, is a big challenge in the sub-sector despite the current network of producers and suppliers. As a result, in addition to sourcing food products from multiple sources, other accommodation establishments such as Stone Guest House, Zambezi Ultimate lodge and Chrismar Hotel have opted to be self-sustaining for some of the food products by participating in the agriculture sector as producers and suppliers where they produce their own crops and livestock and sell surplus to other accommodation enterprises. This is to ensure all year round availability and reduction of risks associated with non-availability of food which affects their menu offerings. Self-sustaining efforts are also an attempt to minimize guest food cost which is an important aspect of guest experience. Inconsistent supply challenge relates to availability and variety of agricultural food products including poultry products such as chickens and eggs; dairy products including cheese and milk, variety of fruits, vegetables, tomatoes and potatoes. This results in unreliable supply which limits access integration to the tourism market as reliable supply or availability is one of the key elements in procurement decisions concerning where agricultural foods are sourced from. While there is intent to include smallholder farmers in procurement sources, this is further constrained by what appears to be inadequate information exchange between some accommodation establishments and smallholder farmers. This gap in information on where the smallholder farmers are and what they produce points to a greater need to promote smallholder activities to the tourism market in order to mitigate this

challenge for better integration outcomes. To illustrate communication gaps and supply challenges, some of the sentiments shared by respondents from the accommodation sub-sector are provided in Table 8.

Table 8: Supply Related Challenges

Respondent and type of accommodation establishment	Response on inconsistent supply challenge
Manager of a non-rated lodge	<i>We buy chickens from some ladies but they are inconsistent so we also buy from Shoprite.</i>
Manager at a five-star lodge	<i>... We also bought dairy requirements directly from a farm but they were inconsistent, we used to buy cheeses, cream and all your dairy requirements but they would say we can't deliver this week, we can only deliver on a Tuesday, we don't have a vehicle, so it was difficult as they would say "can you order next week". So we stopped buying from them, we need to work with someone who is consistent.</i>
Manager at a five-star lodge	<i>There is a point where at times some produce is hard to find, we even have to source from Lusaka, like potatoes and citrus fruits like last year when Fruit and Veg just was operational in Lusaka, they came out to market in Livingstone, we had a fresh truck coming through once or twice a week from Lusaka so we would order say 2-10 bags of potatoes then they would deliver.</i>
Procurement officer at a four-star hotel	<i>We have for a few times bought directly from farmers. For things like vegetables, tomatoes, onions, we buy from the market. Around Livingstone, most farmers are small scale farmers, so usually we have a problem of consistency. What I mean is today someone may have a certain product in a small field, when it finishes, he disappears briefly. So we find it easier to follow the farmers when they bring to the markets. So when they deliver, we buy from them. Sometimes we buy from the agents there (at the open market).</i>
Manager at a five-star lodge	<i>The problem is price fluctuation, and lack of variety, we do not have a proper fruit and veggie store here, it's kind of limited to Shoprite or the ladies in the market we are familiar with, if we had more variety even the prices will be reduced because competition will be more.</i>

Manager at a non-rated lodge	<i>Farmers are difficult to find and supply is not consistent. We have our own farm in Simonga where we do fish farming and livestock (Pigs, sheep) and we buy vegetables from our farm.</i>
Manager at a three-star hotel	<i>Farmers do not communicate their produce and there is inconsistent supply of farm produce (vegetables and fruits) e.g. at times you can't find cabbage anywhere except in Shoprite at a high price. Farmers are not consistent with communication... they are not able to supply some of the produce to our expectation, we do not have a supplier for live fish so we settle for the available fish as the supplier is not able to.</i>
Manager at a guest house	<i>We don't import food but I recommend that we have more local produce on the market and not imports. We buy fresh food when we have business and we do not store. More people must venture into agriculture so that we can have competitive prices and because sometimes food is not available when you want it.</i>

While the most dominant challenges reported by respondents from the accommodation sub-sector that affect sourcing food products from smallholder farmers are supply related, respondents made reference to other barriers inherent within the tourism sector and the accommodation sub-sector specifically. These relate to inadequate destination marketing and high cost of operating tourism businesses which have a repo effect on tourist arrivals and tourist length of stay which is attributed to inadequate support from government. All respondents (N=32) interviewed during the data collection reported that despite Livingstone being the tourist capital and endowed with natural attractions and diverse tourism products, the town is not optimally marketed. Participants felt that the government through the MoTA, public and private tourism agencies and other entities do not optimally market Livingstone as a tourist destination. There is no collective effort even among the hotels, lodges and guest houses to market the destination.

Marketing is conducted on an individual basis where each accommodation entity markets its own accommodation facility, tourist attractions and activities. The lack of coordinated efforts within the tourism industry itself which would sustain the industry is a point of concern among respondents. Participants felt that greater coordination in marketing the destination would attract more tourists to the destination throughout the year for the benefit of all tourism businesses. In addition, respondents refer to unhealthy competition that is aggressive among

accommodation establishments and lack of collaboration within the tourism sector in general. The need for greater cooperation and unity among hotels, lodges and guest houses is expounded. That instead of fiercely competing against each other, it is of paramount importance that the sub-sector pulls together as one force in marketing Livingstone and attracting more tourists to the destination wherein all business can thrive on greater numbers of tourist arrivals and the associated demand for food. The unhealthy competition is said to be detrimental to the industry as a whole.

The high cost of operating tourism business and the uncertain policy environment presents challenges that limit the potential for accommodation enterprises to operate competitively and sustainably as businesses. Increasingly, licensing fees, levies and VAT are introduced by national and local government with minimal consultation or consideration for the sustainability of tourism businesses and the sector as a whole. Particularly in the middle of the financial year, this has had negative effects on efforts to operate with certainty as such fees are not planned for in the planning cycle of the current year and when new fees or licenses are effected, this affects the sub-sector as costs ultimately are increased. Although costs are being passed on to guests, this negatively affects the competitiveness of the sector as neighbouring tourism competitors like Zimbabwe and Botswana are reported to have competitive prices and receive greater international tourist arrivals than Zambia.

These barriers constrain the attainment of a robust and sustained market linkage between the accommodation sub-sector and smallholder producers. Therefore, despite the optimism around tourism's growth trend and the resulting consumption of locally produced food, local sourcing is constrained by factors related to supply side and limitations inherent in the tourism industry itself. Constraints relating to inadequate and uncoordinated destination marketing of Livingstone as a tourist capital and the high cost of operating tourism businesses indicate that the role of government in developing favourable policies and effective institutions that foster strong tourism-agriculture linkages is inadequate. This limits the potential for accommodation establishments to thrive in the tourism industry. Some of the responses illustrating these constraints as provided in Table 9 highlighting inadequate marketing of the destination and the existing aggressive competitive nature of accommodation establishments resulting in weak information sharing, uncoordinated marketing efforts, and loss of tourism business to neighboring countries competing for tourists.

Table 9: Challenges Inherent in the Tourism Sector

Respondent and type of accommodation establishment	Challenges constraining the market linkage
Manager at a non-starred lodge	<i>My observation is that as lodges, we are competing and not sharing information. The advantage of sharing is that we get to know who supplies what we need</i>
Manager of a five star rated lodge	<i>... We used to compete aggressively with each other in the destination. And then essentially we would end up losing the group or the booking to a neighbouring country like Botswana, Victoria Fall (Zimbabwe)s, South Africa and Mauritius.</i>
Manager of a five star rated lodge	<i>We are paying levies to government but they are not helping us much e.g. with marketing us... I just think tourism needs to be taken seriously and I think , I don't know if it is, and in my opinion, look, I may be horribly wrong, but from what I see, tourism is not taken as a serious sector. When I see what money is allocated for marketing in the country, the biggest problem with Zambia is that we are not marketed. You look at South Africa, look at Botswana, these are countries that have huge budgets and go out and market themselves. I mean South Africa markets the Victoria Falls as part of South Africa. We all know it, we all understand it, and if we are not marketing our own natural wonder, then good for somebody else who is.</i>
Manager at a four star hotel	<i>The government needs to allocate a tourism budget because you find many times the town Livingstone is not really up to standard and is not really bringing out the tourism feeling, so if they allocated a proper budget for tourism every year, to say okay, this is going to help.</i>
Manager at a four star lodge	<i>... lets try and support and look after each other; lets make sure we win the business for the destination, and once we have won it, lets spread the love amongst each other. Lets not try and compete with each other so aggressively that we lose the business totally. There will always be competition, but it never used to be unhealthy, because it got quite cancerous really, where you would almost be happier for the business to go to Botswana than you would to go down the road. And they say that on average in Livingstone, one tourism job feeds 16 people, we got to bring the business in here first.</i>
Manager at a five star rated lodge	<i>At times you find that when putting out rates for the year, these licences are not taken into consideration because we don't know about them at that particular time and then you find that half way through the year they introduce these things and they affect us ... you can't keep changing your room rates.</i>

	<p><i>...I still don't believe that Zambia really considers tourism as a viable business, because any decision you make is going to have an impact on tourism, so are we going to go ahead with that, and if we do, how is it going to affect tourism? I don't think government thinks that way. The government thinks mining and agriculture is a big one but I think tourism is still a non-entity as far as government is concerned. I think that's got to change</i></p>
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6.3. RESEARCH OBJECTIVE TWO: SOCIO-ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES AND BARRIERS EXPECTED AND EXPERIENCED BY SMALLHOLDER FARMERS

This section is a presentation of findings pertaining to the second research objective, which was to evaluate socio-economic opportunities and barriers that smallholder producers in Livingstone expect and experience from the tourism-agriculture linkages in the local tourism value chain.. Quantitative data were generated from forty-eight smallholder farmers using a questionnaire that included questions on a Likert scale of (1-5) to capture positive outcomes and challenges as expected and experienced by smallholder farmers supplying the accommodation sub-sector. Following this, a Wilcoxon signed-rank test was conducted between farmers' expectations and experiences of socio-economic opportunities and challenges. Where farmers' experiences with regards to opportunities (positive outcomes) match their expectation level, the farmers are satisfied and this reflects a positive contribution to tourism that is inclusive.

Where experience level of positive (socio-economic) outcome exceeds the expectation level, the farmers are more than satisfied and this reflects a greater level of inclusive tourism. However, dissatisfaction occurs when the level of experience by farmers falls below their level of expectation denoting weakness in the agriculture-tourism linkage and exclusion from tourism-led growth. In relation to challenges (negatives), where the experience level exceeds the expectation level, farmers are dissatisfied and this indicates a limitation to the linkage and a threat to attainment of sustainable inclusive tourism growth. However, where the level of experience is lower than the level of expectation, then the limitation is not considered as a constraining factor of significance to the market linkage. Results from the Wilcoxon signed-rank test on the perception scores of farmers in relation to positive and negative outcomes of

the market linkage together with the respective values are represented in Tables 10 and 11 respectively.

6.3.1 Positive Outcomes Expected and Experienced by Smallholder Producers Supplying Accommodation Establishments in Livingstone

The table below shows the results of the Wilcoxon signed-rank test. In this study, the null hypothesis states that there is no difference between the medians of the positive expectations and positive experience against the alternative hypothesis that says the medians are different. The results show that *Income generation, improved access to markets, Improved well-being and Linkage to networks in the tourism sector* had p-values that are less than 0.05, therefore the null hypothesis is rejected and it is concluded that the median expectations and experience concerning the above-mentioned variables are different. The test statistic was based on positive ranks, this essentially means that the farmers experienced less than what they expected with regards to these positive indicators. Farmers had notably high expectations regarding *Improved access to markets, Linkage to networks in the tourism sector, and Improved well-being*, the experience was far less than what the farmers expected. However, there is not enough statistical evidence to conclude that there is a difference between the median expectations and experience concerning *Skills Development, Financial access, Employment generation, and Support on training to improve product quality*. This implies that farmers experienced skills development, access to loans/finances, employment generation, and support on training to improve product quality just as they had expected.

Table 10: Positive Outcomes Expected and Experienced by Smallholder Producers

Positive socio-economic outcomes expected and experienced	W	p-value
Expected: skills development - Experienced: skills development	-0.902	0.367
Expected: financial access - Experienced: financial access	-0.944	0.345
Expected: employment generation - Experienced: employment generation	-1.034	0.301
Expected: support on training to improve product quality - Experienced: support on training to improve product quality	-1.221	0.222
Expected: income generation - Experienced income generation	-2.610	0.009**
Expected: improved access to markets – Experienced: improved access to markets	-3.402	0.001***
Expected: Improved wellbeing - Experienced: improved wellbeing	-3.243	0.001***
Expected: Linkage to networks - Experienced: linkage to networks	-3.208	0.001***

Based on positive ranks. Perception scores are based on a 5-point rating scale. * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$ (2-tailed test)

6.3.2 Barriers Expected and Experienced by Smallholder Farmers

As is the case with the expected and experienced positive outcomes above, respondents were asked to rate their expectations and experience level of challenges in the tourism-agriculture linkage using a five-point Likert scale. *Inadequate farming implements, Inadequate transportation, Inadequate post-harvest handling facilities, Poor growing conditions, Poor economies of scale, Farm labour deficit, and Uncompetitive pricing* had p-values that are less than 0.05. Therefore, the null hypothesis (median differences between expectations and experience are zero) is rejected and a conclusion is made that there is a significant difference between the expectations and experience with regards to the above-mentioned challenges. What the farmers experienced (concerning the variables mentioned) was significantly different from what they expected. The majority of the score differences were positive, confirming that the negative experience was scored higher than the negative expectations. Their expectation level of these challenges was lower than the actual experience and these limitations constrain access to participate and benefit in the tourism market and weaken the quality of the linkage.

There is, however, no significant difference between what farmers expected and what they experienced on challenges related to *Seasonality, lack of capital investment and credit, inability to meet health, sanitation and safety standards, Inability to meet quality standards, Lack of communication and exchange of information, Late payments by accommodation enterprises, language barriers, Inability to meet quantity of demand and Marketing challenges*. These indicators are not a significant threat among smallholders in participating and benefiting from the market linkage as farmers experienced what they had expected.

Table 11: Barriers Expected and Experienced by Smallholder Farmers

Challenges expected and experienced in the market linkage	W	p-value
Expected: inadequate farming implements - Experienced: inadequate farming implements	-4.309	0.000***
Expected: inadequate transportation - Experienced: inadequate transportation	-3.847	0.000***
Expected: inadequate postharvest handling facilities - Experienced: inadequate postharvest handling facilities	-3.492	0.000***
Expected: poor growing conditions - Experienced: poor growing conditions	-3.236	0.001***
Expected: poor economies of scale - Experienced: poor economies of scale	-3.055	0.002**
Expected: farm labour deficit - Experienced: farm labour deficit	-2.624	0.009**
Expected: uncompetitive pricing - Experienced: uncompetitive pricing	-2.256	0.024*
Expected: seasonality - Experienced: seasonality	-1.781	0.075

Expected: lack of capital investment and credit - Experienced: lack of capital investment and credit	-1.436	0.151
Expected: inability to meet health standards - Experienced: inability to meet health, sanitation and safety standards	-1.190	0.234
Expected: inability to meet quality standards - Experienced: inability to meet quality standards	-1.081	0.280
Expected: lack of communication and exchange of information - Experienced: lack of communication and exchange of information	-0.904	0.366
Expected: late payments - Experienced: late payments	-0.797	0.425
Expected: language barrier - Experienced: language barrier	-0.324	0.746
Expected: inability to meet quantity demands - Experienced: inability to meet quantity demands	-0.303	0.762
Expected: marketing challenges - Experienced: marketing challenges	-.375	0.708

Based on positive ranks. Based on negative ranks. Perception scores are based on a 5-point rating scale. * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, ***= $p < .001$ (2-tailed test).

For a more robust understanding of challenges expected and experienced by smallholder farmers in the market linkage, respondents were requested to indicate additional challenges that were not provided for in the Likert scale. The qualitative responses provided were captured and analysed using ATLAS.ti 8 from which codes and themes were generated. Their responses provided qualitative descriptions and deeper insight of the significant challenges generated from the Likert scale and therefore validating their quantitative responses. The qualitative data confirms that smallholder farmers experience production, demand and market challenges.

Interpretation of qualitative responses regarding challenging factors in the tourism-agriculture linkage is provided within the context of the second research objective which is aimed at evaluating socio-economic opportunities and barriers that smallholder producers expect and experience from tourism-agriculture linkages in the local tourism value chain. On analysis, challenges experienced by smallholder farmers in the tourism-agriculture linkages demonstrate that multiple factors limit smallholder participation in the tourism market and constrain opportunities to optimally benefit from the increase in tourist arrivals in Livingstone.

6.3.2.1 Production Related Challenges

Challenges limiting smallholder farmers from optimally benefiting from the tourism economy are interrelated and are primarily barriers experienced in the course of production through to post-harvest. Out of the sixteen indicators on the Likert scale, seven have been cited as the most experienced challenges, which are production related. Interestingly, while the Wilcoxon signed-rank test shows that there is no significant difference between what farmers expected and what they experienced on *lack of capital investment and credit*, in their qualitative responses, respondents cited lack of capital as one of the key challenges.

Due to limited capital and access to financing opportunities, smallholder farmers are unable to deal with a number of interrelated challenges that affect their production capacity and their ability to expand and invest in farming implements. This challenge was also confirmed by the Chairperson of the Livingstone Farmers' Cooperative Union.

For most smallholder farmers, the cost of production (including pesticides, animal feed and labour) is considered to be too high particularly for those farmers with a minimal income base, this limits production particularly in cases where labour from family members is not available. In addition, respondents cited other production related challenges that they experience citing unreliable transport, lack of farming implements, lack of post-harvest facilities and lack of irrigation facilities as factors that limit optimal production of horticultural products and lack of support in managing animal and crop diseases. Lack of agricultural extension services was reported to be an on-going challenge. Due to the absence of agricultural extension services which is the state's responsibility, no government support is received in managing animal and crop diseases which in most cases require expert knowledge and skill. Extension services are only provided when individual farmers arrange privately for such services at a cost and due to limited cash flow, smallholder farmers cannot afford to pay for such services. For example, they rely on their own experience at managing crop and animal diseases.

Other challenges that threaten sustained production and supply to the tourism market include external factors such as wild animals particularly for smallholder farmers in close proximity to the Mosi-oa-Tunya National Park (in the Katombora area where the Royal Chundu lodge is located and around the Mukuni Village 8 km from the Victoria Falls). Some farmers in the Katombora area supplying Royal Chundu lodge use basic farming implements for crop farming such as reliance on watering cans to draw water from the Zambezi River as they cannot afford irrigation pumps to water their fields. This is labour intensive, limits the size of their fields and puts them at risk of encountering crocodiles along the Zambezi River banks.

Drought, poor climatic conditions and adverse climatic change were cited as a major concern for farmers relying on rain-fed irrigation as this results in water scarcity particularly in the hot and dry summer months between August and October. This presents a threat to water security, threatens agricultural yields and negatively impacts on their ability to meet market demands. In addition, because smallholder farmers tend to rely on the production of seasonal crops, such farming practice limits production of crop varieties throughout the year and furthermore, respondents refer to a misalignment of tourism peak season with production seasons which

results in supply shortages and saturation. This results in undesirable effects for farmers in terms of low product price and intensifying the risk of loss of income as well as food wastage.

Respondents explained that the lack of post-harvest facilities for packaging and transporting food products from farms to the market particularly where long distances are covered was a limitation to supply and benefit from the tourism market. Due to the geographical location of smallholder farmers in the periphery of the city where most lodges, hotels and guest houses are located, transporting produce from farms is considered a big challenge as most of the farmers in the sample transport their produce on bicycles which limit volumes and increase exposure to compromised quality due to substandard means of packaging and carriage. Facilities for packaging and storage such as cold rooms are not affordable to ensure product quality and freshness is maintained and hygiene standards are observed. As stated by one respondent who said: *currently I use empty bags to harvest and this is not ideal, I need proper crates.* Uncompetitive prices are cited as one of the limitations significantly experienced in the market linkage and therefore contribute to the inability to participate and benefit from the tourism market. Respondents described their vulnerability to volatile prices of produce exposing farmers to uncertain prospects of the market price in general and the accommodation sub-sector in particular.

6.3.2.2 Lack of Cooperation and Coordination among Smallholder Farmers and with Stakeholders

Respondents also cited lack of cooperation among farmers themselves as a limitation to strong participation and attainment of benefits in the tourism market. They explained that there is no formal coordination among smallholder farmers as producers and suppliers in the tourism market rendering supply unsustainable in meeting quantity and consistency of demand as they individually produce products on a small scale. This supports the significantly high p-value on poor economies of scale denoting notable differences between expectation and experience of this challenge. Lack of cooperation and partnerships among farmers and with other stakeholders that are key to the tourism and agriculture sectors is cited as a challenge. This includes lack of information sharing related to production, supply and market environment which would benefit the agriculture sector and afford them opportunities for a coordinated market response to the accommodation sub-sector and other markets. This has far-reaching negative effects as farmers have no control of the market (product, price, demand). Some of the responses highlighting the findings presented in this section are shown in Table 12.

Table 12: Production Related Challenges Experienced by Smallholder Farmers

<i>I can produce more than I am currently managing, so I would want to expand but I am limited by lack of a water pump and other farming implements, I would like to expand my market to even supply other lodges including Island of Siyankaba.</i>
<i>Not enough capital to invest in large quantities and intervals to enable continuity in supply.</i>
<i>The other challenge is the high prices of feed for livestock.</i>
<i>The seasonality of the business in the accommodation sector, planning of when to grow certain foods becomes a challenge...</i>
<i>Seasonality of tourist pick and low seasons and the change of menu can leave farmers out of the market</i>
<i>If I had work tools, I would engage extra labour to increase my crop and farming area. As you can see, the soil type is quite poor.</i>
<i>Lack of cooperation among farmers supplying the tourism market makes pricing a challenge.</i>
<i>The failure to coordinate with other farmers.</i>
<i>Over saturation of market leading to products going bad and prices going down.</i>
<i>At times we deliver but are told that they have already got stock from other farmers.</i>

These views indicate a complex set of interrelated production, demand and market factors that constrain the smallholder farmers' ability to competitively participate in the tourism market. Lack of farm inputs is a major challenge as indicated from the Wilcoxon signed-rank test and this challenge is partly attributed to lack of access to finances required to support smallholder farming activities. These challenges impact negatively on the quality of the market linkage and limit inclusion of smallholder farmers in participating and benefiting from the tourism economy in Livingstone.

6.3.2.3 Demand Related Barriers

In relation to demand related barriers, while farmers supply the tourism market, the major challenge cited is that the market share of this economic segment is limited and the frequency and quantity of demand is low across the hotels, lodges and guest houses. This results in small income margins from this market segment particularly when compared to demand from the

general public that consumes farm produce mainly through the open local markets. There is a limited market for high value crops (such as baby marrow, cauliflower, broccoli, lettuce and peas) which are largely consumed by the restaurant and hotel market and less so among ordinary local communities. In most instances, surplus high value crops tend to go to waste as the hotel demand for high value crops is limited to guest occupancy at any given time. This experience is reported particularly by farmers that have some form of arrangement with specific accommodation establishments to produce and supply high value crops.

They feel that growing specific crops to meet hotel demand only is risky, yields low profits and is not economically viable given the time and effort required to produce such crops. Low quantities and frequency of demand is attributed to tourism seasonality of peak and low periods; however, this information is not always available to smallholder farmers as there is evidence of a mismatch between supply and demand. Generally, smallholder producers tend to search for markets at the point of harvesting their crops and because there is a recurring practice to grow similar crops in a particular season such as kale, tomatoes, cabbage and onions, this saturates the market, resulting in very low market price and in many instances, food waste due to low demand. Yet, there are periods when the same crops are scarce and the price is higher. This affects the tourism market negatively in terms of budget and menu planning and resulting in preference for alternative suppliers outside Livingstone.

6.3.2.4 Market Challenges and the Role of Intermediaries

Challenges relating to uncompetitive pricing and payment delays are reported mainly by farmers that work with (intermediaries) middlemen and lead farmers. These farmers tend to have very little bargaining power and are vulnerable to other market factors at any given time. Unethical and unfair practices in the supply chain are cited in the relationship between intermediaries, farmers and the accommodation establishments. Respondents said that it is very difficult to penetrate the hotel market citing unfair competition practices and kickbacks expected by procurement officers in large hotels. Farmers cited unfair competition particularly that to supply the tourism market, they compete with commercial farmers who have the advantage of farming implements, large production capacity, can supply bulk quantities and have the capacity for off season production. Because of small-scale production capacity of smallholder farmers, their chances in penetrating the tourism market are further constrained. These factors limit participation and the attainment of economically beneficial tourism-agriculture market linkage, rendering it undesirable for some smallholder farmers. This could

be one of the reasons why smallholder producers largely supply the open market because as suggested by an official from the Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Industry, for smallholder farmers the focus is to ‘*produce, supply and get the cash*’ (Personal communication, 2019)

Communication and engagement between farmers and the accommodation sub-sector is not streamlined to an extent that benefits both parties optimally. The supply and demand relationship between smallholder farmers and the accommodation establishments in the sample is largely informal and in some instances uncoordinated. There are; no formal demand and supply agreements made and smallholder farmers have an informal approach to supply (not registered as a business, not VAT registered and have no business documents like invoices or receipts) which some hotels, lodges and guest houses require to enter into trade and use such documents to claim back value added tax (VAT). Commercial farmers on the other hand, have these documents. In Table 13, some of the views shared elaborate the qualitative results presented in this section.

Table 13: Demand and Market Related Challenges Experienced by Smallholder Farmers

<p><i>The tourism sector has very low demand for eggs, so we supply minimal quantities and they prefer buying from one shop. To break through the tourism market, you need to know someone already in the system”</i></p> <p><i>Seasonality of tourist peak and low seasons, change of menu can leave farmers in the lurch (out of the information loop)</i></p> <p><i>Given small quantities to supply to the hotel</i></p> <p><i>Lack of market for crops like baby marrow, if not taken by Wesson International</i></p> <p><i>In Livingstone, market is hard</i></p> <p><i>If only Royal Chundu could increase the quantity of orders; they buy one or 2 crates of tomatoes, they should buy at least 3 to 5 boxes</i></p>
<p><i>Changing of prices from what is in the agreement</i></p> <p><i>Price of products not satisfactory</i></p> <p><i>Unfair implementation of government regulations and pricing</i></p>
<p><i>Lack of payment on time; we are supposed to be paid after 14 days</i></p>
<p><i>Lack of market linkage</i></p> <p><i>Lack of interactive meetings between small scale farmers and the accommodation sector</i></p> <p><i>Need to build the relationship with the tourism sector (networking)</i></p>

These sentiments shared by smallholder farmers show that they are quite aware of demand side challenges that further limit their participation and benefits from the tourism market. However, the opportunity to access the tourism market is evident and they are confident that this linkage can be improved with the necessary interventions.

6.4. STRATEGIES PROPOSED BY SMALLHOLDER FARMERS AND RESPONDENTS FROM THE ACCOMMODATION SUB-SECTOR

In light of the current procurement practices, supply networks, opportunities and challenges experienced in the market linkage, respondents provided recommendations to enhance the quality of the market linkage. From the results presented in section 6.2 and 6.3 above, it is evident that while the tourism-agriculture market linkage exists between hotels, lodges and guest houses through local sourcing, smallholder farmers' participation and benefits from the current tourism growth is fragmented with weak outcomes. However, there are opportunities and potential for more enhanced linkage. Therefore, insights provided by respondents from both the agriculture and accommodation sub-sector when asked the question: "What do you recommend should be done to strengthen the market linkage?" It is envisaged that measures recommended to strengthen the linkage would in turn facilitate more positive inclusive tourism outcomes where smallholder farmers experience greater participation and benefits from the linkage while sustaining the food demands of the accommodation sub-sector.

For the recommendations suggested by respondents, codes were generated and emerging similarities were further categorised into code groups denoting emerging themes. The more similar codes belong to a code group, the more dense and grounded it is, denoting emphasis placed by respondents on the emerging theme. While similar code groups emerged from respondents in the accommodation sub-sector and smallholder farmers, they had different emphasis. Propositions from farmers and the accommodation sub-sector validate and complement experiences of each sector and hence provide realistic opportunities for co-creating a strong and economically sustained market linkage between the two sectors. It is also worth noting that the emerging categories are interrelated. Respondents provided justification for each of the strategies and it is possible that a particular strategy can be used to address multiple other unfulfilled significant outcomes.

For example, sustained partnerships, engagement and collaboration between the two sectors are important to ensure smallholder farmers understand accommodation sub-sector demand,

thereby securing a sustained market and giving the smallholder farmers some degree of market security. At the same time this strategy provides market information on smallholder farmers' productivity and how this supports the procurement strategy and industry food needs. Three most significant recommendations are made which seek to enhance current opportunities and mitigate constraints experienced in the market linkage in ways that can enable mutually beneficial exchange. These are presented and analysed in order of groundedness where the most cited recommendation was the role of government in strengthening the market linkage between the two industries.

6.4.1. The States' Role in Strengthening Tourism-Agriculture Linkages

The role of government is considered by respondents the tourism sector and by smallholder farmers. They emphasise different priorities in terms of what government should be doing to support both the tourism and agriculture sector. What emerges from this recommendation is that the role of the state is central as it interlinks with other recommendations made. Smallholder farmers focus on government addressing challenges where the state is seen as an important partner in addressing mainly production related challenges that they experience as small-scale producers. They suggest that the state should take the role of ensuring regulation of market prices and promoting local procurement, providing access to credit and infrastructure support such as good roads. In addition, respondents recommend the need to create capacity among farmers through agricultural extension services in order to provide technical and soft skills for optimal production. Skills such as how to operate farming practice as a business and managing crop and animal diseases were mentioned.

Furthermore, respondents suggest that government should identify farmers, train them and help them to obtain resources to run farms optimally. As farmers need capital to sustain and grow their farming enterprises, it is expected that the state should facilitate access to affordable bank loans for farmers. This would assist them in addressing production challenges such as fencing and water security through improvement of irrigation systems. Furthermore, it was suggested that the state should monitor how smallholder farmers are farming to resolve challenges and this can be done through the Ministry of Agriculture and the Department of Cooperatives (DoC).

The role of the state is considered highly on the recommendations made by participants from the accommodation sub-sector. Respondents emphasised the need for government to support

both the tourism and agriculture sectors. In relation to the tourism sector, respondents from the accommodation sub-sector indicated the need for government to take the tourism sector seriously similar to what is being done with other economic sectors where significant budgets are allocated; calling on government to commit a substantial marketing budget and take the lead in promoting Livingstone as a tourist destination. In addition and related to this, the respondents identified that government should create a conducive policy environment particularly in regulating taxes, levies, grading of hotels, lodges and guest houses and introducing policy on local sourcing of food products. Respondents specified that government should have the willpower to significantly enhance the backward market linkage between the two sectors while limiting political interference, where mutual respect across public and private sector roles and responsibilities are well coordinated in enhancing the market linkage.

In relation to supporting the agriculture sector, respondents recommend that this sector requires assistance with water security and irrigation to address the challenge of dependency on rain-fed production which limits production capacity. Drought is a real threat to sustained all year round food production. In addition, the sub-sector recommends improved access to affordable loans to assist farmers in improving their production capabilities. The role of farmer cooperatives in enhancing the current market linkage as intermediary is acknowledged as important to address supply and demand challenges and the exploitation experienced by farmers. However, they added that government should be proactive in strengthening the intermediary role of cooperatives and enhancing their compliance to government regulations and guidelines on how they should function in the agriculture space. This is considered important for cooperatives to be more effective. Despite growing in membership, the current status of cooperatives is described as weak in their governance structures and not optimally providing substantial support that is beneficial to farming communities. Participants argue the need for government to be informed of research outcomes as this would assist to bridge the gap between current policies and practical demand and supply experiences on the ground in relation to challenges.

6.4.2. Improved Demand and Supply

Demand related recommendations were made to address challenges experienced by farmers that limit the realisation of benefits in the tourism-agriculture market linkage. The most cited recommendation was related to increased quantities demanded and the need for a wider tourism market. In addition, farmers recommend that the accommodation sub-sector should support

small-scale farmers at their level and not compare their capacity to commercial farmers. Conversely, respondents from the accommodation sub-sector recommend a number of supply related recommendations with the most emphasis on consistency of supply. This is important given that the study has revealed that availability is one of the strategies that inform where food products are sourced. Respondents emphasised the need for consistent supply that meets quantities and frequency is possible by having more farmers, having diverse crop choices and marketing of farm produce and farmers themselves. These are considered important for the smallholder farmer to ensure all year round production that overcomes seasonality and is sensitive to tourism demand, quantity and variety. Such measures would make smallholder producers more competitive players in the tourism market where medium to large scale producers within and outside Livingstone dominate.

In addition, respondents recommend that more knowledge is required on adapting to climate change which threatens water security and agricultural yields and causes shortages in supply. Related to consistency in supply is the recommendation for cooperation among farmers where they work as a unit and avoid the “tall poppy syndrome” that renders the market uncompetitive particularly in relation to food standards and price fluctuations which affects the sub-sector’s budget plans and menu costing. Due to the recurring mismatch between supply and demand generally, there is need for farmers to gain skills in food preservation processes to avoid wastage during peak production while providing a safety net for availability of food during low production seasons. In addition, respondents cited that it is important for smallholder farmers to approach farming as a business to ensure inclusion in the tourism supply chain as some of the respondents referred to the limitations of sourcing food from smallholder farmers that did not have business documents such as receipts and invoices.

6.4.3. Build Sustainable Partnerships, Engagement and Collaboration

From the findings presented above, it is quite clear that there is a lack of sound relationship between local-smallholder farmers, the hotel industry and other stakeholders. The challenge of mismatched demand and supply is attributed to poor communication and lack of cooperation between the two sectors. Hence, sustainable partnerships and communication are considered important for farmers to work as a united community in order to alleviate some of the challenges experienced as producers. Cooperation and regular communication is also recommended between farmers themselves and the accommodation sub-sector in order to align demand to production where information on needs and expectations is exchanged. For the

accommodation sub-sector, respondents suggested that there has not been a concerted or coordinated effort by these stakeholders at creating a sustainable market linkage with local smallholder producers. Respondents suggest the need to deepen partnerships through robust and progressive engagements and communication within the tourism industry itself with the agriculture sector and across other economic sectors. The sharing of information and cooperation as industry partners within and between the two sectors is important in order to understand and communicate supply and demand capabilities and challenges.

6.4.4. Role of Cooperatives

While farmers acknowledge the role of cooperatives in enhancing the tourism-agriculture linkage, it is considered very low compared to the recommendation made by the accommodation sub-sector. However, farmers recommend that cooperatives should serve the interests of both farmers and the accommodation sub-sector in streamlining demand and supply. This will allow for market synergy that is economically sustainable, profitable and where price is well regulated as this is a challenge for both farmers and the hotel industry thereby strengthening the constitutional obligations of cooperatives. The role of government in strengthening cooperatives is considered important as the current state of cooperatives in assisting farmers is perceived to be limited and linked primarily to facilitating access to subsidized fertilizer and maize seed (a staple food) that is distributed to cooperative members during the months of October through to December. Accommodation sub-sector respondents seem to agree to the role of cooperatives in building a strong market linkage and this is closely associated with the state playing a supporting role in building strong and sustainable cooperatives. Cooperatives' role is considered key as an organized hub which would serve as a one-stop distribution point for the hotel industry and provide a marketing system for farmers' produce. However, cooperatives themselves need assistance from government and other partners in both sectors in order to build capacity and monitor and provide market information to the farming community.

6.4.5. Favourable Business Environment for the Tourism Industry

In order to address challenges inherent in the tourism industry, suggestions were made to foster a sustainable tourism business environment and to improve the quality of the market linkage. Respondents suggest the need for marketing of the tourism sector at national level by the Ministry of Tourism and Arts, that this requires government financial commitment to market

Livingstone as a tourist destination. This aspect is important in attracting more tourists and retaining them for longer periods and subsequently enhancing demand for food. To remain competitive in the region, there is a need to adhere to industry service standards and guidelines like minimum wages in order to attract and retain skilled staff as well as the quality of tourism services and how this contributes to the overall tourist experience.

Respondents recommend that tourism associations such as the Livingstone Lodges and Guest Houses Association ((LILOGHA) and Livingstone Tourism Association (LTA) and the accommodation sub-sector itself should work together for the good of the industry. These associations ought to be active in supporting the tourism industry and addressing challenges that the accommodation sub-sector experiences for sustainable tourism that contributes to a strong linkage with the agriculture sector. These recommendations suggest the potential to strengthen the existing synergy between the two sectors, a demonstration that the accommodation sub-sector has the willingness and appreciation of tourism development that is inclusive of small-scale producers in ways that are beneficial and empowering.

6.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter presented results from the empirical investigation guided by the three objectives of the research as explained in Chapter 1. Data from the accommodation sub-sector show that local sourcing from multiple producers and suppliers is evident in the study area. This is confirmed by smallholder farmers who, though they participate in the tourism economy, their participation is primarily limited to horticulture production and supply. Evaluation of inclusive growth indicators using the Wilcoxon signed-rank test show significant differences between expectation and experience of inclusive growth outcomes, denoting low contribution of tourism to the lives and livelihood of smallholder farmers in the current market linkage. The extent of the market linkage was found to be weak and fragmented as a result of existing multiple barriers largely relating to production, demand and marketing. Participants in the study suggested measures that can enhance the quality of the market linkage in ways that potentially increase participation and benefits from the tourism market. In the next chapter, the research results are discussed.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

7.1.INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, findings on how market linkages between the accommodation sub-sector and local food producers contribute to inclusive growth are discussed within the context of the first and second research objectives which seek to answer the first part of the main research question:

To what extent does the market linkage between the accommodations sub-sector and smallholder farmers in the tourism supply chain in Livingstone contribute to inclusive growth? Furthermore, how can the market linkage be strengthened in order to foster inclusive growth?

The second part of the main research question on how the market linkage can be strengthened, is covered in chapter 8.

On the first research objective, the study *investigated how accommodation enterprises contribute to creating tourism-agriculture linkages that foster inclusive growth with a pro-poor impact*. The discussion is centred on significant findings that influence the characteristics and quality of the current market linkage reported by participants from the accommodation sub-sector.

On the second research objective, the study aimed to *evaluate the socio-economic opportunities and barriers that smallholder producers in Livingstone expect and experience from tourism-agriculture linkages in the local tourism value chain*.

The discussion focuses on significant socio-economic opportunities and barriers expected and experienced by smallholder producers as found in the quantitative analysis supported by the Wilcoxon signed-rank test complimented by qualitative results.

In discussing key findings relating to research objectives one and two, the researcher demonstrates how the characteristics and quality of the market linkage between accommodation establishments and smallholder farmers is affected by barriers experienced in the market linkage. Challenges constraining market linkages found in this study echo that which has been reported in other studies within SSA countries and elsewhere as discussed in chapter 4. However, the current study does not focus only on constraining factors but further presents the resulting inclusive growth outcomes as experienced by smallholder farmers, an

aspect that is not widely researched. In other words, the discussion reveals that in the tourism-agriculture market linkage, there is an interplay between four elements: procurement strategy, constraining factors, quality of the linkage and inclusive growth outcomes. Notably, inclusive growth outcomes are dependent on the quality of the linkage. The structure of the discussion is therefore within the framework of this interconnectedness. In addition, the chapter integrates perspectives and arguments from previous studies on tourism-agriculture linkages, particularly empirical evidence from SSA countries, and theoretical views on inclusive growth and other relevant bodies of literature.

7.2. CHARACTERISTICS AND QUALITY OF MARKET LINKAGES

7.2.1. Procurement practices, opportunities and limitations in the value chain

The overall procurement strategy for accommodation establishments in the sample is underpinned by a delicate balance in considering quality of products, competitive price and product availability as these factors ultimately affect guest menu offering, pricing and guest experience. While quality of food products is the highest determinant for local procurement, the accommodation sub-sector highlights the need for the right balance between product quality, product price and product availability as this affects their food budget and menu costing. This is essential for the accommodation sub-sector and for the sustainability of the tourism sector as deficiencies in these factors ultimately affect tourist experiences. The procurement strategy found in this study is consistent with findings from tourism scholarship which states that generally, procurement decisions among tourism enterprises in the Global South are largely informed by reliability, affordability, accessibility and assured quality (Torres, 2003; Meyer et al. 2004). This is also confirmed by empirical evidence from SSA countries such as South Africa (Pillay & Rogerson, 2013; Rogerson, 2013); Tanzania (Anderson, 2018) and Ethiopia (Welteji & Zerihun; 2018).

In light of the procurement practices by the accommodation sub-sector as presented in chapter six, backward market linkages exist between tourism and local agriculture in as far as consumption of local horticultural, livestock, poultry, fish and dairy products by the accommodation sub-sector is concerned. Local producers and suppliers dominate the agricultural food value chain in the tourism sector and therefore, the researcher is of the view that economic leakages particularly for horticulture produce are minimal especially among small to medium size accommodation enterprises. Both locally owned and foreign owned

hotels, lodges and guest houses largely source agricultural food products from multiple local producers and suppliers i.e. smallholder farmers, medium to large scale commercial farmers, intermediary traders, open local markets, wholesale and retail chain stores that stock both local and imported foods.

For particular food products, large and high-end hotels and lodges tend to rely mainly on medium to large scale local commercial farmers or suppliers for beef, dairy products, fruits and high value horticulture products. The integration of local producers and suppliers into the tourism value chain in Livingstone is reflective of findings in other SSA countries such as Tanzania, where local agriculture communities are integrated into the nature-based tourism value chain (Anderson, 2018) and in The Gambia where internationally managed tourism businesses source food locally (Mitchell & Faal, 2007). The benefits of local sourcing are well articulated by proponents of tourism linkages, particularly with agriculture which is a livelihood strategy for large rural populations, thereby creating opportunities for participation in the tourism economy and for the retention of tourism revenue in the destination (Torres, 2003, Timms & Neil, 2011; Berno, 2011; Hunt et al., 2012; Welteji & Zerihun, 2018).

In this study, qualitative data provided by the accommodation sub-sector on procurement practices demonstrate the extent to which smallholder farmers are integrated into the tourism value chain; whether they can meet the quality, price and availability and volume demanded. Empirical evidence from this study shows that smallholder farmers are linked to the tourism market largely through the production and supply of horticultural yields as this is the dominant agriculture activity among these farmers and production is mainly on in-season crops. This limits production of diverse horticultural crops including the production of high value crop varieties such as lettuce and broccoli. This is due to the perceived risks of inadequate markets in the tourism sector and even lower consumption among the general population as high value crops are generally not part of their daily nutrition.

However, in addition to local sourcing, large and high-end hotels and lodges source agricultural food products from national and international producers and suppliers through intermediaries such as Bidvest, a South African based supplier for mainly dairy products, citrus and canned foods. This is largely due to non-availability of these foods locally. To this extent, this finding supports the assertion that hotel size and class tend to influence preference for imports and the nature of tourism development among foreign owned or managed tourism enterprises rely largely on imports, therefore developing weak links to local farmers (Belisle, 1983; Milne,

1992; Shaw & Williams, 1994; Telfer & Wall, 2000; Torres, 2003; Meyer, 2011, Hunt et al., 2012, Welteji & Zerihun, 2018). While imports and distant external supply were found to occur among large and high-end hotels, this is at a minimal scale particularly when compared to what was reported in the Caribbean (Karagiannis, 2004; Haley et al., 2005; Timms & Neill, 2011), Botswana (Hunt et al. 2012) and the Bale Mountains National Park in Ethiopia (Welteji & Zerihun, 2018) where procurement is predominantly characterised by reliance on imports. Similarly, minimal integration of local subsistence farmers was found in South Africa (Pillay & Rogerson, 2013; Rogerson, 2013) where due to intermediaries sourcing bulk produce from distant wholesale markets located more than 40 km from lodges or from commercial producers, local ‘poor’ producers have limited access to the tourism market. Therefore, Rogerson (2013) concludes that the linkage in the case of South Africa does not have a pro-poor impact.

Worth noting is that even where there is willingness and deliberate efforts through corporate social responsibility (CSR) projects by rural safari lodges in South Africa and Botswana to implement agriculture production projects, they have not been successful as a result of low buy-in and mismanagement among community members. However, such CSR projects are important as they are supposed to empower small-scale producers in ways that improve their production capacity thus contributing to poverty alleviation and community advancement. Similarly, efforts by one of the hotels and high-end lodges to include smallholders in the tourism market through supply of seeds and technical support were found in this current study. However, this intervention has not made a significant difference in creating sustained production and supply by recipients of such interventions. Therefore, while the intent to include smallholders in the tourism market through CSR is evident in this and other studies, further understanding of the extent of gain from such efforts and the underlying socio-economic dynamics in the tourism-agriculture market linkage is needed. This is important for two reasons, firstly because other significant factors could be at play that constrain local participation, particularly among small-scale producers that are beneficiaries of such support. Secondly, such an understanding is important as CSR initiatives focused on poverty reduction and advancement of rural communities can be a vital tool for social inclusion (Uduji et al., 2020).

7.2.2 Dynamics and Quality of Tourism-Agriculture Linkage between Smallholder Farmers and the Accommodation Sub-Sector

Findings reveal that the tourism-agriculture linkage in Livingstone represents a pro-poor relationship in as far as local procurement is more dominant and inclusive of smallholder farmers. This finding is different from the findings in other studies conducted in SSA countries such as South Africa where it was found that while linkages exist, the linkage is not pro-poor as the bulk of food consumed by rural safari lodges in KwaZulu Natal was sourced from national suppliers located in urban markets further from rural safari lodges. Where local sourcing is evident among coastal lodges, it is not pro-poor in impact as the main suppliers are communities of small-scale commercial farmers and not “poor” African farmers (Rogerson, 2013; Pillay & Rogerson, 2013). Similarly, in Botswana, a study conducted on 26 luxury safari lodges by Hunt et al. (2012) reveals minimal linkage between tourism and the local agriculture sector due to dominance of food imports from South Africa that include fresh fruits, vegetables and dairy products supplied through intermediary traders. Therefore, the linkage is not pro-poor but rather results in very high economic leakages from the safari lodge economy in this country.

While the study found that the tourism sector in Livingstone is inclusive of smallholder producers, however, the extent and intensity of the integration of smallholder producers into the tourism value chain is weak and fragmented resulting in low inclusive growth outcomes. The type, quantity and frequency of demand characterises the extent to which smallholders participate in the tourism market. The linkage is fragmented in approach as smallholder producers’ access and participate in the tourism market on a small scale basis as individual farmers, even in instances where they supply a large hotel as a cooperative, therefore resulting in poor economies of scale. This is a limitation as fragmentation renders the individual farmers less influential and reduces their negotiating power in the market as reported in agriculture literature (Mojo et al., 2017; Siame, 2018). Relative to commercial farmers, the nature of smallholders predisposes them to factors that limit productivity and competitiveness as reported in the literature that characterises small-scale producers as risk-prone and least able to manage risks (Morton, 2007, Eastwood et al., 2009; Mojo et al., 2017; Kamara, et al. 2019).

Quality, hygiene and sanitation standards are vital for a sustainable tourism industry as food forms part of tourist experience. However, the study has revealed that despite smallholder farmers meeting the quality needs required by the accommodations sub-sector, the opportunity

for inclusion and greater participation is constrained by other factors. The challenge of inadequate hygiene, sanitation and quality standards as limiting tourism-agriculture market linkages has long been reported by tourism-agriculture proponents (Momsen, 1973, Belisle, 1983, Miller, 1985, Gomes, 1993; Torres Maldonado, 1997 & Torres, 2003). This challenge continues to be a limitation as found from empirical findings in studies conducted in SSA countries such as Botswana (Hunt et al., 2012), Tanzania (Anderson, 2018) and in South Africa (Pillay & Rogerson 2013; Rogerson, 2013) where rural and coastal lodges and hotels express concern on health and quality of food produced by ‘poor’ locals.

From a product quality perspective, the accommodation sub-sector commends the quality of products that smallholder farmers produce and acknowledges the health, sanitation and safety standards they maintain despite the many production challenges that smallholders experience. This finding is confirmed by smallholders in the significantly low median differences between the expectation and experience scores for two indicators relating to *Inability to meet quality standards* and the *Inability to meet health, sanitation and safety standards* which confirm that they have the capacity to produce quality products and meet hygiene and sanitation standards. This finding refutes the dominant claims in the tourism literature that smallholders are less competitive in meeting expected quality, health, sanitation, safety and private hygiene standards particularly for markets such as tourism (FAO, 2015; Kamara et al. 2019).

Based on this research, smallholder producers are exposed to the tourism market and acquire the necessary skills to improve quality of produce; over time they build a knowledge base and understanding of the tourism market requirements. As pointed out by Bakker (2019:582), skills and education are an important attribute to the attainment of equal outcomes of tourism opportunities and according to Yuan et al. (2017:745), are important for farmers’ entrepreneurial behaviour. Building capacity for smallholder farmers in terms of acquisition of technical and soft skills is one of the activities that farmer cooperatives facilitate in partnership with local and International NGOs which is facilitated by government (Personal Communication, Chairperson of the Livingstone Farmers Cooperative).

Over 50% of the smallholders have been in the farming business for more than 10 years, gaining experience on production, finding cost effective alternative approaches to address production challenges that may affect product quality such as diseases, soil preparation and management. In addition, literacy levels among smallholders is generally high as the majority (70%) either have a secondary or tertiary level of education denoting heightened levels of

understanding and initiative, understanding importance of health, sanitation and safety standards and the ability to understand and communicate without language becoming a barrier.

Therefore, it is not surprising that language barrier had the lowest p-value, while in the literature, language barrier is experienced as a challenge (Torres, 2003; Hunt et al. 2012).

Rogerson (2003), states that there is a relationship between lack of skills and low education with poor farming practices, limited comprehension of the tourism sector and lack of initiative (2003:490). In this study this is insignificant. In addition, at the time of data collection, all smallholders in the study had been supplying accommodation enterprises for more than one year. Thus, an assumption is made that over time, there has been a growing understanding among smallholder farmers on the quality and sanitation standards required by the accommodation sub-sector, which renders them competitive in this regard.

Therefore, in relation to quality produce, smallholder producers in Livingstone are competitive in the tourism market as they are able to meet the expected quality standards. This allows them the opportunity to participate and benefit from the tourism sector. However, this study found that there are a number of challenges that constrain smallholder participation in the tourism market and the research concurs with Anderson (2018), who stresses that while linking local agricultural systems with tourism is considered to be a promising mechanism of tourism to be more economically inclusive, this promise has repeatedly proved difficult to realise (2018:171). This study found that low integration of smallholder producers in the tourism market can be attributed to multiple interrelated barriers concerning production; demand and marketing. These limitations have long been reported in tourism literature, highlighting the challenging nature of tourism-agriculture linkages internationally (Mathieson & Wall, 1982; USAID & the Caribbean Development Bank, 1984; Telfer, 1996; Momsen 1998; Torres & Momsen, 2004; Berno, 2011) including in SSA countries (Hunt et al., 2012; Pillay & Rogerson, 2013; Anderson, 2018; Welteji & Zerihun, 2018).

7.3. BARRIERS CONSTRAINING SMALLHOLDER PRODUCERS IN ACCESSING AND BENEFITING FROM THE TOURISM MARKET

The second research objective focused on opportunities and challenges expected and experienced by smallholder farmers in the market linkage. This was addressed by answering the sub-research question: What socio-economic opportunities and barriers do smallholder

farmers in Livingstone expect and experience from tourism-agriculture linkages in the local tourism supply chain? The main limiting factors cited by smallholders in this study are similar to what has been reported in literature on tourism-agriculture linkages that highlights constraining factors to local tourism-agriculture linkages relating to production (Momsen, 1972; Telfer, 1996; Torres Maldonado, 1997; Telfer & Wall, 2000; Torres, 2003; Hunt et al. 2012; Rogerson, 2013), demand (Anderson, 2018; Welteji & Zerihun, 2018) and marketing information (Momsen, 1986; Pattulo, 1996; Telfer & Wall, 2000; Ashley et al., 2001b; Torres, 2003; Pillay & Rogerson, 2013; Rogerson, 2013) as factors that limit tourism-agriculture linkages.

7.3.1. Production Related Barriers

For tourism to contribute to inclusive growth, it is important to understand which factors limit individuals and groups from participating in and benefiting from tourism benefits such as jobs and entrepreneurial prospects (Bakker et al. 2020). The study found that the most limiting factors that affect smallholders in accessing and participating in the tourism market are production-related factors. As presented in sub-section 6.2.6 where respondents from the accommodation sub-sector highlight the lack of consistency in supply among smallholders as the major impeding factor, this concurs with the scale at which smallholders experience production challenges. The median difference between expectation and actual experience of seven of the sixteen factors largely related to production are significantly high.

Despite membership of smallholders in cooperatives, most production remains singular, small-scale and smallholders rely on individual productive assets of land and family labour which in most cases are limited. Farmers on traditional land are allocated less than two hectares by the local chiefs, hence farming activities are restricted to horticulture, restraining their capacity to venture into other agriculture activities such as livestock production for market. The study reveals that for these farmers lack of access to land is a limiting factor for increased and diverse productivity which would create opportunities to access the tourism market. This confirms the argument by researchers reporting on smallholder producers in developing economies (Narrod et al., 2009; Ma & Abdulai, 2016; Mojo et al. 2017) and among tourism scholars (Belisle, 1983; Miller, 1985; Pattulo, 1996; Torres, 2003) that lack of access to capital assets limits the potential for production diversification and intensification of production.

Even for smallholders that occupy more than 2 hectares of land, their scale of production is significantly constrained by inadequate farming implements, inadequate transportation, lack of or inadequate post-harvest handling facilities, poor growing conditions, poor economies of scale, farm labour deficit and uncompetitive pricing. All these indicators have significantly high median score differences between expectation and actual experience as supported by the Wilcoxon signed-rank test results. Production factors found in this study confirm the assertion that the nature of smallholders predisposes them to challenges that limit their level of production, productivity and market access integration. As a result of this, profitability and competitiveness of smallholder production activities are reduced (Mojo et al. 2017; Kamara et al. 2019).

Similarly, production related factors are also found to be prevalent in Tanzania (Anderson, 2018), Botswana (Hunt et al. 2012) and South Africa (Rogerson, 2012, 2013; Pillay & Rogerson 2013). However, while occurrences of specific production attributes may be similar, in some instances, they differ from what smallholder producers in Livingstone consider to be a significant production challenge that limits integration into the tourism market. For example, in the case of Tanzania where even though the consumption of locally produced food by the accommodation sector is high and has a pro-poor impact, the overall agriculture tourism linkage in that country is constrained by production challenges that include the inability to meet quality standards (Anderson, 2018) which is not the case in this current study. The production challenges constraining local small-scale producers from accessing and benefiting from the tourism market in Livingstone are quite similar to what was found in Botswana as reported by Hunt et al. (2012) such as inability of local small-scale producers to supply food products demanded by safari lodges; environmental challenges related to low rainfall, semi-arid land and seasonality of production that is not coinciding with tourism peak seasons. In addition, lack of transportation is a challenge cited among smallholders in Botswana as they do not have adequate transportation to deliver produce to safari lodges from their remote locations (2012:12).

Notwithstanding the constraining variables experienced in the market linkage, the researcher upholds arguments that highlight the need to prioritise local farmers in supplying the tourism industry with agricultural products and the significance of tourism-agriculture linkages as a form of indirect benefit particularly to small-scale farmers or farm labourers, (Saville, 2001; Torres & Momsen, 2004; Mitchell & Ashley, 2006; Meyer, 2007; Berno, 2011; Meyer, 2012;

Pillay & Rogerson, 2013; Welteji & Zerihun, 2018). This is a notable shift in thinking among tourism scholars from the assumption that revenue generated from tourism automatically has a trickle-down effect to other economic sectors including agriculture, an assumption which according to Hunt et al. (2012:43-4) is widely questioned. Linking local farmers to the accommodation sub-sector requires strategic policy and understanding of procurement practices and barriers experienced by both sectors while enhancing opportunities to ensure a sustained and economically viable linkage that is inclusive in a thriving tourism industry.

7.3.2. Demand Related Barriers

Low Demand for Horticultural Products

Smallholder producers in this study are not optimally integrated into tourism markets as the backward linkage is primarily in the supply and demand for horticulture products with minimal supply of high-value crops and to a lesser extent poultry (chickens). Lack of product diversification is further restricted by dependency on production of seasonal crops with the unintended consequence of oversaturation of domestic markets which reduces market price and income for farmers in general and smallholders in particular. Other agricultural produce such as fish and livestock products (beef and dairy products) are sourced mainly from local commercial farmers and large national suppliers including Zambeef and Parmalat. The dominance of supplying fresh horticultural produce among smallholder producers is consistent with theoretical literature and empirical data from other studies in SSA which found that horticulture production was the main farming system that links tourism to small-scale farmers.

From the smallholder farmers' perspective, the tourism market for horticultural produce is low in terms of variety, quantities, frequency of demand and the number of accommodation establishments supplied directly by smallholder farmers in relation to the size of the hotel industry. On average, 40% of smallholders supply twice a week while 25% supply once a week during peak tourism season. Due to low demand for food products from smallholders, the tourism sector is a secondary market for horticulture products and to a lesser extent, poultry. The dominant markets for smallholders are the open markets. Therefore, analysis shows that smallholder producer's access and participation in the tourism economy is at a very low scale resulting in missed opportunities as the accommodation sub-sector spends between 20% and 40 % of monthly operational budget on food. With low food volumes and frequency of demand experienced by smallholders, their share of the tourism food budget which could contribute to

their household income and wellbeing is minimal. These findings show that tourism is not the main source of livelihood for smallholder producers in this study but their dominant market is the general public supplied mainly through the open market. This finding supports what was reported in the Bale Mountain region in Ethiopia where weak tourism-agriculture linkages are some of the factors why tourism is not considered as a key source of livelihood (Welteji & Zerihun, 2018:7).

The low demand of horticultural food products found in this study though similar to what was found from research conducted in Ethiopia, differs in respect to the factors resulting in low demand. According to Welteji and Zerihun (2018), because of reliance on production of cereals, horticulture, sheep and cattle leaving no room for diversification, there are no practical linkages between tourism and agriculture including underdeveloped tourism industry resulting in low food market size of the tourism sector (2018:7-9). In addition to the low demand in terms of frequency and quantity, it is worth noting that at the time of data collection in 2018 and 2019, there were about 11 hotels, 70 lodges and 20 guest houses operating in Livingstone the number of hotels, lodges and guest houses that the smallholders in the sample supply is far less. On the other hand, the number of smallholder farmers that supply the accommodation sub-sector directly is far less in relation to the number of cooperatives and its membership.

Therefore, the challenge is to increase the pro-poor share of spending on food by hotels, lodges and guest houses to be more inclusive of smallholder farmers. This is possible by addressing the factors constraining the linkage and enabling diversification of smallholder farming activities to include other agricultural food chains other than horticulture products. The nature of existing farming systems where smallholders focus on the production of particular seasonal horticultural products has long been reported in the tourism literature as one of the limitations experienced by smallholder farmers in accessing the tourism market (Momsen, 1972, Andreatta, 1998; Torres, 2003). This can be attributed to limited access to agriculture inputs including financial capital which is vital in consideration for diversification and expansion as well as limited land access. This study highlights the importance of in-depth research on the type and scale of backward linkages as agricultural activities of smallholders differ from one context to the other.

Inconsistency in Supply

A key finding in this study is that smallholder producers are not fully integrated into the tourism market due to their inability to satisfy the food demand (volumes and frequency) by the accommodation sub-sector. Because of the inconsistent supply among small-scale farmers, respondents in the accommodation sub-sector stated that they rely on suppliers such as commercial farmers, retail shops, open markets, intermediaries and for high end hotels, on imports particularly from South Africa. Inconsistent supply by local small-scale producers seems to be a common historical challenge (Momsen, 1972, 1973, 1986, 1998; Belisle, 1983, 1984; Torres, 2003) including in SSA (Hunt et al. 2012; Rogerson, 2013; Pillay & Rogerson, 2013) even in countries such as The Gambia (Mitchell & Faal, 2007) and Tanzania (Anderson, 2018) where the purchasing of agricultural products from local producers is a key aspect of the tourism value chain with a pro-poor impact.

However, interestingly smallholders in this study do not consider themselves as unable to meet the tourism demand as has been demonstrated from the Wilcoxon signed-rank test which shows that statistically, *inability to meet quantity of demand* has the lowest mean difference between expectation and experience. They also do not consider that there is inadequate awareness or marketing of their presence and what they are producing as indicated in the Wilcoxon signed-rank test results where there are no significant differences between expectation and experience of *marketing challenge* and *lack of communication and exchange of information*, indicating that centrally to what the accommodation sub-sector expresses, smallholder farmers do not consider these factors to be significant challenges in participating in the tourism market.

This finding raises the question whether there is adequate communication and information exchange and marketing between small-scale farmers and the accommodation sub-sector on issues of demand and supply particularly for the horticulture value chain. From the accommodation sub-sector's point of view, there are indications that to a certain extent, this could be a barrier as respondents from the accommodation sub-sector indicated lack of knowledge on farmers in Livingstone and farming activities. It is therefore quite probable that, while inconsistent production and supply are a common manifestation among smallholder producers, to some degree, improved marketing of smallholder producers and their productivity would contribute to bridging the mismatch between supply and demand. The gap in communication and marketing was also found to restrict the interface between the tourism and agriculture sectors in Ethiopia; this was attributed to the lack of marketing channels, and

interestingly, to the absence of networks such as intermediary agents, market unions and market cooperatives (Welteji & Zerihun, 2018).

Yet, in other cases, intermediaries are considered to be limiting backward linkages between local producers and the tourism market as they have the monopoly of supply and a powerhouse that controls who participates in the tourism market (Torres Maldonado, 1997; Ashley et al., 2001b; Torres, 2003; Rhiney, 2011; Rogerson, 2012; Hunt et al., 2012; Rogerson, 2013; Pillay & Rogerson, 2013). Nevertheless, among other factors, smallholders are not able to produce the quantities and variety that meet the domestic market all year round and specifically for the tourism market. This can be attributed to *inadequate farming implements*, the most significant production challenge indicated by farmers. This restrains production intensification and diversification, optimal participation and benefits from the tourism market which is in some cases worsened by animal / human conflict for farmers closer to the Mosi-oa-Tunya national park. The finding concurs with agriculture literature reviewed showing that the potential for smallholders is not fully realised as they experience multiple interrelated stressors that constrain their production capacity including limited land mass for production, low inputs, less adoption and use of technological implementation (Mojo, et al., 2017; Kamara et al. 2019).

In addition, the seasonal nature of horticultural crops produced by smallholders largely rely on rain-fed water, further limiting their production capacity in terms of horticulture varieties and ability to maintain consistent supply throughout the year. *Poor growing conditions* which had a significantly high median difference between experience and expectation is a limiting factor for small-holder productivity found in this study. This challenge was reported in Botswana (Hunt et al. 2012) where environmental concerns create problems and production on semi-arid land is limited. The challenge of poor growing conditions found in this current research is driven by climatic variability and environmental conditions that put smallholders at risk, further constraining the competitiveness of smallholder farmers in the tourism value chain. Water scarcity is a regular occurrence during the dry months of August to October, which precede the start of the rain season.

In recent years, there has been unpredictable and extreme changes in weather patterns attributed to climate change. For example, in 2018 and 2019, the hotter than usual summer and water scarcity was a real threat for most smallholder farmers, further reducing their ability to participate in the tourism market even for seasonal crops that they are well accustomed to. The challenge of water scarcity confirms the argument that smallholders are most vulnerable to

climate change as it threatens their crop and livestock yield, production and wellbeing (Hertel & Rosch, 2010; Kipkoech et al. 2015). Water scarcity was also raised as a serious concern during an informal interview with a Senior Agriculture Officer at the Ministry of Agriculture who expressed that this challenge will worsen in the near future saying ‘...*irrigation infrastructure to support the linkage is necessary, there is no agriculture without water, whether it is livestock or fish farming, in the years ahead water in and around this area will become a bigger challenge.*’ (Personal communication, 2019)

Oversupply and undersupply episodes are closely linked to *poor economies of scale* which limit the competitiveness of smallholder producers and suppliers in the market. Farmers in the study consider this challenge to be significantly high as demonstrated from the high median differences between the experience and expectation resulting in a significantly high p-value. Their capacity to produce and steadily integrate in the tourism market is linked to their fragmented nature, lack of communication and cohesion among smallholder farmers which is reported as a limitation by respondents from the accommodation sub-sector. Poor economies of scale were reported as a challenge in the tourism literature (Momsen, 1972; Andreatta, 1998; Torres, 2003). According to Torres (2003:557), the challenge of poor economies of scale is that, competition among farmers is likely as they plan and coordinate their production and marketing activities on an individual basis rather than as a collective, thereby rendering them vulnerable to market forces such as intermediaries and submit themselves to price pressures. Torres (2003) cautions that:

Singular marketing efforts keep farmers below threshold levels necessary to gain access to tourism markets which require large volumes and consistent supply... preventing themselves from marketing scale economies that would come through cooperation (Torres, 2003:561).

It is quite surprising that poor economies of scale are evident in this study despite smallholders being dominant in the agriculture sector and belonging to farmer cooperatives where they would be more organised and supported in terms of addressing production and market challenges in the domestic market and tourism market segment in particular. Individual cooperatives’ performance varies significantly in terms of mandate and there is no evidence of working together for the benefit of the collective smallholder farming community. Generally, the cooperative movement in Zambia has had numerous challenges that render the institution insignificant beyond providing subsidised seed and fertiliser which is distributed to its membership at the beginning of the rainy season that occurs around the months of October and

November. This study found that beyond the FISP programme, farmer cooperatives have not supported smallholder producer in addressing production challenges. This finding confirms the argument by Lolojih (2009:9-10) that in Zambia, cooperatives have weak governance and are ineffective in lobbying aspirations and interests of farmers. This is a departure from the perception among agriculture scholars that smallholders in developing countries belong to collective groups such as cooperatives as a way to overcome the multiple related barriers that inhibit their production, livelihoods and market failures (Wanyama et al., 2015; Mojo et al. 2017).

This study found that hotels, lodges and guest houses source products from multiple producers and suppliers, a mechanism to ensure quality, price and availability are met, particularly due to the volatile market environment where availability and price fluctuate. In this study, poor economies of scale disempower farmers from taking control of the market as lack of cohesion renders them vulnerable to market forces including intermediaries who serve as middlemen between producers and hotels, lodges and guesthouses. Intermediaries (lead farmers and individual middlemen) function as a convenient one-stop shop and aggregator for the tourism industry as they have the time and expertise to scout for products. This serves them time and administrative logistics to engage various suppliers and to limit the risks of non-availability of produce. Lead farmers operate on a large scale and they have infrastructure and storage facilities to store produce. During periods of scarcity, intermediaries are considered invaluable as hotels and lodges that work with intermediaries depend on their services to ensure supply. The use of intermediaries is also reported in the case of South Africa and Botswana as they are considered convenient and efficient as they cut out the time and effort required to source from multiple suppliers. However, there are differences with the power, influence and impact of using intermediaries in South Africa and Botswana compared to Zambia.

In South Africa high-end hotels in coastal urban areas depend on a network of national intermediary suppliers that have marginal linkage to the region's poor farming communities and they are a powerhouse that influence the course and impact of market linkage in rural and coastal areas. They play a major role in sourcing of food which local farmers participate in the tourism economy (Rogerson, 2013:346). This is the case in Botswana where 58% of safari lodges that were surveyed source food products from a single intermediary supplier who imports food products from South Africa where the business head office is located. They have the market monopoly and influence standards and market prices that local producers should

accomplish to enter the supply chain (Hunt et al. 2012:7). The power and influence that intermediaries hold in these two countries as reported by Rogerson (2013) and Hunt et al., (2012) are not necessarily the same in Zambia as found in this study. In the case of Livingstone, smallholder farmers are directly or indirectly linked to the tourism market through local intermediary traders (lead farmers or small-scale middle men). Therefore, intermediary traders do not hold the ultimate power and influence that exclude smallholder producers completely from participating and benefiting in the domestic market in general and specifically in the tourism market. In addition, the study found that there is willingness among head chefs, procurement managers and general managers in sourcing locally. They play a significant role in decision making on food choices and menu planning. Particularly for large, high-end hotels and lodges, head chefs work closely with procurement personnel or management in deciding sources of supply and decisions are informed by quality, price and availability.

The contribution of accommodation enterprises to creating tourism-agriculture linkages that foster meaningful participation and benefits among smallholders supplying the sub-sector's food needs is further constrained by a number of challenges inherent in the tourism industry itself. According to respondents from the accommodation sub-sector, while the opportunity for local sourcing from smallholder farmers is challenged by barriers experienced by smallholders in the production process, there are other limitations including those that emanate from the tourism sector itself.

7.3.3. Marketing related challenges

7.3.3.1. *Lack of Communication and Marketing*

According to the FAO (2015), trust and access to mutual knowledge and information about each other is a basic requirement for a productive business relationship. In this study, there is an apparent lack of access to information due to communication and marketing gaps between accommodation enterprises and smallholders. This limits awareness and mutual understanding of each other's needs and capabilities resulting in a mismatch between supply and demand. According to Bakker (2019: 578), the mismatch of supply and demand can constrain market competitiveness and income and non-income opportunities. The lack of coordinated communication contributes to limiting smallholder access and meaningful participation in the tourism market. The frequency and quantity of demand among hotels, lodges and guesthouses in Livingstone is linked to guest numbers with average occupancy rates of 10% to 40% during low season and 80 to 90% during peak season.

Small-scale farmers are not always aware of the peak or low tourism season nor the changing food needs. This finding is consistent with Ashley et al. (2001) in their argument that underprivileged people are likely to be vulnerable to the volatile and unpredictable nature of the tourism industry, a claim that is advanced by Bakker, (2019) that unequal access to tourism information and knowledge results in some segments of society not contributing and benefiting from the tourism economy, thereby, limiting attainment of inclusive growth. A similar finding is reported in South Africa where lack of awareness of market opportunities and the capacity of local producers to meet procurement specifications of urban hotels are constraining factors (Rogerson, 2013:384).

Equally, the accommodation sub-sector in Livingstone is not always adequately aware of the extent of active smallholder farmers and their productivity. The analysis shows that this could explain why smallholders' expectations of the inclusive growth indicator tested in the investigation shows that participants had significantly higher expectations of *linkage to networks in the tourism sector* than what they experienced in the tourism market. Within this context, the researcher concludes that for the current smallholders participating in the tourism market, prospects to expand supply to other hotels, lodges and guesthouses and to other tourism businesses such as restaurants are limited by lack of communication and marketing efforts. Inadvertently, for the active smallholder community that is not currently participating in the tourism market, the probability to access integration into this market is even lower. Similarly, the lack of communication between producers and the accommodation sub-sector is reported in the tourism literature. Torres (2003:562) in a study conducted in Cancun, Mexico, found that not only was there lack of communication but deep mistrust between producers, entrepreneurs, tourism suppliers and hotels. However, the issue of mistrust was not significantly reported in this study as a major limiting factor.

In addition, the lack of linkages to networks in the tourism sector can be attributed to the inability of smallholders to market themselves. This is despite belonging to farmer cooperatives. However, cooperatives lack marketing mechanisms and exchange of information with existing state agencies or private entities representing the welfare of hotels, lodges and guest houses such as the Livingstone Lodges and Guest Houses Association (LILOGA) and Livingstone Tourism Association (LTA) where most accommodation enterprises belong. Individual farmers tend to approach hotels, lodges and guesthouses in their own capacity. The challenge of inadequate marketing was also found among Caribbean farmers as articulated by

Timms and Neill (2011) that among other limitations related to insufficient supply, inconsistent demand and policy related barriers, weak marketing was one of the main attributes to weak linkages in the Caribbean and that to a large extent, neoliberal economic policies of the 1990s significantly affected demand-supply and marketing capabilities in the Caribbean economy which also led to the collapse of state-owned boards that supported farmers with credit facilities, marketing, storage, transportation and price control (Timms & Neill, 2011:106-107). The state of farmer cooperatives in Zambia were similarly affected by the introduction of neoliberal economic policies of the 1990s as stated by Lolojih, (2009), affecting their capacity to support farmers and particularly small-scale farmers as they do not have the means to compete with local commercial farmers in marketing themselves. This is the prevailing experience currently as confirmed by smallholders and chair persons of farmer cooperatives.

While cooperatives such as the Nsonge Womens group, Milimo Mibotu cooperative and Jackie Mwanampapa cooperative are linked to one of the big hotels through their respective cooperatives, individual farmers in the sample produce and market their produce independent of the cooperative they belong to. As individual farmers, there is a lack of requisite capacity to optimally access market information, to communicate and exchange information among themselves as smallholder farmers and with the tourism market. The individual hotels, lodges and guest houses are not in a position to reach out and communicate with every single farmer to determine availability of produce. The researcher concludes that to a large extent, due to the lack of marketing, communication and exchange of information between smallholder producers and the accommodation sub-sector, middlemen take the role of broker between local producers and the tourism market.

The apparent lack of communication and marketing limits smallholder access and participation in the tourism market despite their competitiveness in good quality fresh produce and the relatively favourable prices of horticultural food products compared to retail chain stores. Marketing and communication barriers are well articulated (Belisle,1983; Momsen, 1986; Pattullo, 1996) and by Torres (2003) in her acknowledgement that lack of communication and exchange of information between the two sectors, entrenched monopoly marketing networks, mistrust between producers and suppliers and tourism industry representatives, corrupt marketing networks and the informal nature of local farmers constrain the market linkage (2003:548). More recently, the importance of marketing and communication is echoed by

Rogerson (2012), that the presence of tourism at a destination does not by default stimulate sustainable linkages if farmers are not aware of the specific requirements of the tourism sector.

Informality of Smallholders

The study found that participation in the tourism market is limited by the inability of some farmers to trade as registered business entities that hold bank accounts and formal documents such as invoices and receipts. Among other factors, this is one reason why the sub-sector prefers to trade with retail chain stores and suppliers that meet these requirements. Because supply to the accommodation sub-sector is informal and random as smallholder farmers' focus on production with minimal attention to market information, there is no guarantee for produce to be bought by the accommodation sub-sector as produce is marketed post-harvest, resulting in "turn backs". Small-scale producers' informality found in this study is consistent with tourism literature where the informal nature of local farming operations is cited as one of the marketing related factors that constrain participation in the tourism market as found in Ethiopia (Welteji & Zerihun, 2018) where local sourcing is further weakened by the tourism industry requirement of legal documents of sales and payments which local producers are not able to provide. This challenge is also reported by Torres (2003:548,561) in Cancun, Mexico that the inability of many local growers to provide receipts limits direct procurement by hotels and supermarkets. This is key in driving supply and demand for tourist consumption, whereby opportunity for smallholders to participate and benefit from the tourism market at scale is enabled or constrained.

7.3.3.2. Destination Marketing

Respondents from the accommodation sub-sector raised constraints inherent within the tourism sector which threaten the quality of the market linkage, sustainability of the tourism sector and its competitiveness in the region. Findings show that there are minimal efforts of marketing Livingstone as a tourist destination, lack of cooperation and unhealthy competition among hotels, lodges and guest houses, as well as limited support from government. This finding confirms claims in a Report of the Auditor General, Republic of Zambia (2020) that the ZTA has not improved its promotion and marketing efforts of the Victoria Falls since the Twentieth session of the UNWTO General Assembly held in August 2013, in Livingstone and Victoria Falls (Zimbabwe) (2020:25). There is no coordinated marketing effort among tourism business in general and the government in particular to promote Livingstone as a key tourist destination that features diverse natural and cultural assets and the Victoria Falls, which is one of the

natural wonders of the World and a heritage site. Instead, individual tourism business take up the marketing challenge where focus is on promoting their individual enterprise and not necessarily the destination as a whole as this is too costly, particularly for the small to medium size guest houses and lodges. These findings suggest that the accommodation sub-sector seems to be fragmented in its approach to marketing the destination which compromises the sector's competitiveness in the region. This finding concurs with the argument by Bakker (2019) that one of the constraining factors to the attainment of inclusive growth is the lack of private sector partnerships and individualistic behaviour of operators as well as reluctance to cooperate (2019:578).

While marketing efforts are conducted by the LTA, this according to respondents from the accommodation sub-sector is insufficient. Lack of coordinated and sustained marketing is disadvantageous to the industry in the long term, particularly because competition in the region is quite high. This presents a challenge for the industry. A country like South Africa, a leading tourist destination in the region, markets the Victoria Falls as part of their destination offering and Zambia's closest neighbour Zimbabwe, with the bordering town named after the Victoria Falls, rigorously markets the Victoria Falls as one of its main attractions. It is not surprising then, that even post the UNWTO General Assembly that was hosted by Zambia and Zimbabwe in 2013, Zimbabwe draws more international tourists than Zambia which maintains static international tourist arrivals (Acorn Tourism Consulting, 2018; UNWTO, 2020). Therefore, notwithstanding the upward growth trend in international tourist arrivals in Zambia, the researcher asserts that despite increasing numbers of tourist arrivals to Zambia pre-Covid19, the current seasonal nature of tourism and length of stay may not be sufficient for a thriving tourism economy that generates greater opportunities of inclusion for smallholders in its value chain beyond the existing market linkage. Therefore, there is a need to consider strategies that would improve smallholder inclusion in the tourism market, otherwise the prospects for strong and sustainable linkages that yield greater impacts for smallholders will remain low.

7.3.3.3. Unfavourable and Inconsistent Policy Environment

In the African context, Christie et al., (2014:5) posit that despite the developmental record of tourism that is evident in SSA, there is low appreciation of the sector hence '*understanding how tourism works, what it is worth and why it is important*' is essential as countries such as Zambia scale up the tourism industry. Under appreciation of the tourism sector by policy makers and the state is demonstrated in this research as an unfavourable and inconsistent policy

environment is a key challenge reported by participants from the accommodation sub-sector. According to Bakker (2019), a restrictive business policy environment such as unfavourable tax regimes (high and multiple tourism taxes) and restrictive health and safety policies; uncertain policy environment and inadequate legislation governing hotel classification restrict the attainment of inclusive growth (2019:578). Empirical evidence from respondents in the accommodation sub-sector reveals the challenge of high and rising costs of operating tourism businesses, multiple tourism taxes and levies in Zambia.

This is detrimental to attracting domestic and international tourists to the destination and efforts to extend the length of visitor stay. Inevitably, the cost of doing business is transferred to visitors making the destination uncompetitive compared to neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe and Botswana. Despite optimism around tourism's upward growth trend and the resulting economic and social importance, the current business environment maintained by uncoordinated regulatory agencies at national and district level in the tourism sector, contribute to the high cost of operating tourism business. This negatively affects the performance and sustainability of the sector, quality of tourism-agriculture market linkages and the resulting inclusive growth outcomes for smallholders.

7.4. INCLUSIVE GROWTH OUTCOMES

According to Bakker (2019: 576), tourism becomes inclusive when it contributes to practices that are favourable for participation at individual and group level. This current study has revealed that procurement practices, opportunities and barriers experienced in the local tourism value chain mainly relating to production, demand and marketing, significantly shape the characteristics and quality of the market linkage and the extent to which smallholders are integrated into the tourism market. The study found that the extent of smallholder participation and quality of market linkages determine the scale with which benefits are retained from this market segment. Therefore, the resulting socio-economic benefits depend on the quality of the linkage between the two sub-sectors.

Although data were from a small sample of 48 farmers, the results provide useful insights that could be generalised to expectations and experiences of the average smallholder farming community participating in the tourism market. Perception scores of positive inclusive growth outcomes pertaining to the level of expectation and experience of smallholders as presented in chapter six under sub-section 6.3.1, show that the average positive expectation was higher than

what the smallholder farmers experienced. While participation in the tourism market is broad-based in as far as food sources range across local and national producers, participation in the tourism economy among smallholder producers is minimal despite this group being the largest in the agriculture sector (Emongor et al., 2007:283). Equally, the scale and depth of the benefits accrued are low as supported by the Wilcoxon signed-rank test.

7.4.1. Inclusive Growth Outcomes most Beneficial in the Market Linkage

This study found that smallholder farmers' experience of four out of the eight positive indicators did not have enough statistical evidence at a 5% level of significance to show median differences between expectations and experience pertaining to: (i) *Skills development*, (ii) *Access to loans/finance*, (iii) *Employment generation* and (iv) *Support on training to improve product quality*. Though these benefits are interrelated, there are differences in their median scores which the researcher uses to rank them from the most to the least experienced benefit where skills development is the most experienced given the low median difference between experience and expectation and the least experienced benefit being support on training to improve product quality. This study found that the skills benefit obtained through the tourism market exposes smallholder farmers to new knowledge and acquisition of technical and soft skills mainly related to production management, diversification and basic business skills. Education, past experience, knowledge and skills are influential factors helpful for farmers' entrepreneurial behaviour as they embark in production and business activities (Yuan, et al. 2017:745) and are important human capital conditions in driving inclusive growth (Bakker, 2019). Capacity building measures and skills acquisition among local producers is one of the key enablers for tourism-agriculture linkages as advocated by Rogerson (2012) and Anderson (2018).

Therefore, in this study, the analysis suggests that experience gained over the years and skills attained are enablers of participation in the tourism industry and useful to improve smallholder competitiveness, particularly for smallholder farmers that supply high-end hotels and lodges which are located near the village communities. Participants from the Nsongwe Women's Cooperative and farmers in the village community where the Royal Chundu Lodge is located reported that chefs or procurement officers visit the farmers to inspect farming practices and share knowledge on hotel requirements, provide seed and mentorship which includes technical and soft skills related to production. Soft skills include how to draft a business plan, maintain hygiene standards during production and general handling of products pre-and post-harvest

such as management of crops, understanding hotel and lodge preferences in terms of quality and the importance of consistency, reliability and value adding. Respondents also added that they learnt how to prepare land before planting and how to grow and manage crops emphasising that they did not have such knowledge prior to supplying the accommodation sub-sector. However, there is a need to widen the opportunities for acquisition of skills among smallholder producers. This will unlock opportunities for wider participation and benefit from the tourism sector but requires that other stakeholders play a role in facilitating skills acquisition to foster tourism driven inclusive growth.

The study has revealed that there is no significant difference between smallholder expectations and experience of *access to finances loans*, thereby, they experience what they expected as a benefit from participating in the tourism market. This is explained in qualitative responses which indicate that as an indirect benefit of participating in the tourism market, smallholder farmers seek informal financial assistance from family or community members by relying on their status as suppliers to the tourism market to serve as guarantee that they can honour repayment agreements for short term loans. This creates an advantage for smallholder farmers particularly considering that formal lending institutions may not afford them credit facilities that require some form of security in terms of collateral assets which, given the nature and characteristics of smallholder farms, they may not have. Such a benefit is to be commended particularly considering the undercapitalisation and lack of access to agricultural capital and credit from formal lending institutions that is necessary for investment and expanding productivity among smallholder producers (Torres, 2003; Hunt et al., 2012, Rogerson, 2012; Anderson, 2018, Welteji & Zerihun, 2018).

Employment is another benefit that smallholders experience from the market linkage as they expected. Qualitative data provided by smallholder producers show that they acknowledge the economic and socio-multiplier effects resulting from supplying the tourism market which is linked to income generation from this market segment. The consumption of food through local sourcing creates opportunities for income generation which contributes to the entrepreneurship prospect and self-employment for smallholders, their families and community members. In addition, through smallholder participation in the tourism market, indirect employment is created, however, the prospects for the tourism market linkage to generate employment is limited by the prevailing contextual conditions on production, demand and marketing discussed

in sections 7.2 and 7.3. Bakker (2019:578) contends that an increase in the volume of direct and indirect employment and self-employment opportunities form part of growth of tourism opportunities, which is one of the three pillars that drive the attainment of tourism-led inclusive growth.

Smallholder farmers experienced what they expected in relation to *support on training to improve product quality*. This indicator refers to information exchange with the accommodation sub-sector on specific quality requirements as quality is one of the key determinants in procurement decisions. While smallholders' performance in terms of quality produce is well acknowledged by the accommodation sub-sector, there is an expectation among smallholder producers for continued dialogue where the specific preferences of changing consumer needs in terms of quality and food types are communicated in order to avoid information gaps leading to disparity between demand requirements and supply capabilities. For example, producing high quality varieties of high value crops such as herbs, cucumbers, mushrooms, lettuce, baby marrow and strawberries require specific knowledge, skills and resources necessary for high quality yield. For this reason and the fact that the market for high value crops is limited to the tourism industry, smallholders do not venture much into producing such crops and the accommodation establishments source these largely from local commercial farmers and supermarkets.

However, for the horticulture varieties that smallholders are accustomed to producing, it is not surprising that they experienced what they expected as accommodation enterprises express satisfaction in the quality of horticultural products produced and supplied by smallholders. This is despite the multiple related production challenges that smallholders experience including lack of extension services from the government. Smallholders rely on their own tried and tested farming practices, knowledge and experience gained over years of self-reliance within limited resources at their disposal. This demonstrates the potential to be competitive in the tourism market if given the opportunity to participate fully in terms of the scale of tourism market demand and scope in reaching other accommodation enterprises.

7.4.2. Inclusive Growth Outcomes of Least Benefit in the Market Linkage

The potential for *income generation* opportunities through tourism is well acknowledged (Christie et al. 2014) and specifically through tourism-agriculture linkages (Jeyacheya & Hampton, 2020). However, not surprising, in this study *income generation* by smallholder

farmers' participation in the tourism market currently seems to be less than expected. This can be attributed to low levels of demand and supply in terms of dependence on a single value chain (horticulture), limited quantities and frequency of supply limiting participation as discussed above. In addition, *uncompetitive pricing* has a significantly high P-value and contributes to low returns from this market segment as smallholders have very little influence on the market in terms of price control due to poor economies of scale, lack of marketing and lack of cohesion among the smallholder farming community. The challenge of price fluctuations was confirmed during an informal interview with an official in the Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Industry who is responsible for the Zambia Agri-business in Livingstone aimed at supporting smallholder farmers and linking them to markets. He pointed out that while other value chains such as dairy and beef are organised and well regulated, the horticulture value chain particularly the vegetable chain is left to the market forces to regulate and suggests that there should be consideration to invest in regulating this value chain.

While respondents indicated that revenue from agriculture is the primary source of household income, the majority respondents in the sample expressed the viewpoint that revenue from the tourism market is not the foremost income source, but that which is accrued from other markets, particularly the open market. Participants reported that though not meeting their expectations, income generated from supplying the tourism market contributes to the livelihood of their households to some extent. When asked what they used the revenue generated from directly or indirectly supplying the tourism market through intermediaries, it was evident from their responses that all respondents (N=48) showed that they use the income generated from supplying the tourism market on multiple day to day needs. The most cited response (n=28) was the use of income on household sustenance such as food, health, transport and other basic needs. This is closely followed by paying school fees as well as reinvesting tourism revenue into the farming business.

It is worth noting that income generated from this market, insufficient as it may be, is used to contribute to the village level saving schemes. Respondents also highlighted that revenue generated from supplying the tourism industry was used to participate in community savings schemes or village banking initiatives popularly known as SILC (Savings and Internal Lending Communities). The community level savings initiative through village banking provides a safety net for its members as a source of accessible and affordable loans. In one instance, the setup of the banking initiative revolves around a cooperative made up of smallholder farmers

residing in close proximity to each other on traditional land governed by a local chief. The savings scheme is composed and managed by individual members of the cooperative that meet regularly for decision making on matters concerning the fund and the social and economic welfare of its membership. Members contribute on a regular basis, have access to their individual savings, affordable loans with low interest and favourable terms of repayments. Such facilities provide a safety net for smallholder communities as access to the formal banking and financial sector is constrained by their vulnerable and risk prone status articulated by Morton (2007) and Eastwood et al. (2009). Therefore, while smallholder farmers access the tourism market to a limited extent and the income generation benefit is minimal yet making a difference to their livelihood somewhat, this is an indication that there is potential to improve this benefit if the linkage is strengthened.

The opportunity for smallholder producers to *be linked to networks in the tourism sector* and *improved access to markets* are missing in the current tourism-agriculture linkage. When one considers the number of registered hotels, lodges and guest houses in the tourist town of Livingstone, those directly linked to smallholder suppliers are fewer. In the sample, while some smallholders supply multiple accommodation enterprise, smallholder farmers aspire to supply more accommodation enterprises but this is not the case. The low level of linkage to a wider number of accommodation establishments is demonstrated by a high median difference between expectation and actual lived experience *to be linked to networks in the tourism sector*. This study has revealed that inclusion of smallholder producers in the tourism market is not broad based. Smallholders experience minimal opportunities to expand their tourism market as they expected that being suppliers to a segment of the tourism market would put them in good stead to widen their reach to include other tourism enterprises. However, currently, this is not the case.

The lack of linkages to networks in the tourism sector can also be attributed to a number of marketing and intermediary related barriers. Not all smallholder farmers directly communicate with chefs or procurement staff in the hotels, lodges and guest houses. In cases where supply is through an intermediary (individual middle men or lead farmer) they take over the communication between the hotel and producers. Intermediaries communicate hotel orders to producers, in one case where smallholder farmers mobilise themselves through their farmer cooperative to one of the hotels, an intermediary trader collects produce from them at a central location and delivers it to the accommodation facility. Producers then wait for payment to be

processed by the intermediary and in some instances delayed payment and unfair pricing are the most common challenges reported in dealing with intermediaries. Therefore, in such cases, there is limited opportunity for direct exchange of information that would benefit smallholders to promote themselves to the broader tourism market. Within this context, intermediaries have influence on whether or not the tourism sector creates opportunities for greater inclusivity of smallholder producers. Similar to what was found in this study, in South Africa (Rogerson, 2013) and Botswana (Hunt et al. 2012) intermediaries occupy a powerful and influential role as gatekeepers and in this case, their role in limiting access to tourism opportunities should not be underestimated as suggested by Rogerson (2013).

Smallholder farmers had very high expectations of *improved well-being* from supplying the accommodation sub-sector. However, their experience is lower than their expectations resulting in a significant median difference. It is not surprising that the expected contribution to improved well-being is low given that the level of income is also significantly low as seen from the high median difference between expectation and experience score. Due to limited participation in the tourism market (variety, quantity and frequency of demand, the number of accommodation entities supplied) and low income generated from the current tourism market, a conclusion is made that while tourism revenue generated from this market contributes to household income, the impact is minimal as opportunities for greater participation are constrained.

The study found that smallholder farmers had high expectations of *improved access to markets* through the linkage with the hotel industry, however, their experience was lower as shown in the high p-value supported by the Wilcoxon signed-rank test. Access relates to two dimensions, physical and non-physical access. The non-physical dimension found in this study primarily relates to access to institutions that would assist them in optimally participating and benefiting from the linkage and have improved access to markets and tourism markets including restaurants and the wider hotel industry. Physical aspects of access relate to the difficulty or ease with which smallholder farmers get their produce to the hotels, lodges and guest houses. Both dimensions to market access have been significantly low. The low experience can be attributed to the challenge of *inadequate transportation* which is significant in this study as transportation costs are quite high and those who rely on a more affordable option of using bicycles, is limiting by nature in terms of quantities that can be transported while maintaining quality condition of produce.

Associated with this is the challenge of *lack of or inadequate post-harvest handling facilities* experienced by smallholder producers' potentially compromising quality standards owing to poor handling, packaging and exposure to environmental elements during transportation. In addition, in Livingstone, there are no marketing outlets available for farm produce. Among poultry producers, cold storage facilities are a real challenge as they can only slaughter and package what is on order for the hotel and continue bearing feed costs for chickens that are not sold off in the open markets. According to Torres (2003:548), the availability and quality of transportation, storage and distribution infrastructure facilitate linkages, and therefore the absence of such resource opportunities to access and benefit from the tourism market are significant.

Because of the weak and fragmented agriculture-tourism market linkage between the accommodation sub-sector and smallholder farmers, the attainment of inclusive growth driven by tourism is limited. This finding confirms the argument by Sanchez-Rivero et al. (2013), that tourism growth does not always result in economic development (2013:248) and the assertion by the UNWTO in Hampton and Jeyacheya (2013) that tourism must not be treated as an economic force that is left to deliver rewards on its own. It is therefore important for this study to take into account the suggestion that careful consideration should be given to enhancing backward linkages (Telfer & Wall, 1996; Pillay & Rogerson, 2013; Anderson, 2018) and to pursue strategies that enhance tourism agriculture linkages (Rogerson, 2013; Jeyacheya & Hampton, 2019) with pro-poor outcomes (Pillay & Rogerson, 2013; Rogerson, 2013).

7.4. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, quantitative and qualitative results on opportunities and challenges experienced by smallholder farmers and participants from the accommodation sub-sector were discussed. From an inclusive growth perspective, the current market linkage with producers and suppliers is broad-based in as far as it includes multiple producers and suppliers. Data indicate the existence of tourism-agriculture market linkages between accommodation establishments and smallholder farmers through local food production and sourcing. However, the linkage is weak and fragmented resulting in minimal inclusive growth outcomes. The pace, extent and intensity of smallholder producers and suppliers in participating and benefiting from the tourism market is marginal. Opportunities for greater participation and benefits are profoundly limited by barriers inherent in production, demand and marketing.

The study found that inclusive growth outcomes experienced by smallholder farmers in terms of participation and actual benefits are linked to the quality of the market linkage and the results from the Wilcoxon signed-rank test suggests that expectations of inclusive growth outcomes were generally higher than what they experienced. To this end, the researcher makes recommendations drawn from suggestions made by respondents from both sectors. It is worth noting that respondents made interrelated recommendations that validate and complement each other. Their suggestions focus on enhancing opportunities and limiting barriers to the market linkage. It is the researcher's view that these recommendations will improve inclusive growth outcomes. Chapter 8 is a summary of the research findings, contributions of the study, recommendations to enhance the linkage, and a final conclusion of the study is presented.

CHAPTER 8: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Within the pro-poor tourism and inclusive growth theoretical framework, the purpose of this study was to evaluate the extent to which market linkages between the accommodation sub-sector and local food producers contribute to inclusive tourism growth with a pro-poor impact, especially in relation to local small-scale farmers in Livingstone, Zambia. In addition, the study focused on how local linkages between the accommodation sub-sector and local smallholder producers could be strengthened in order to foster sustained inclusive tourism growth. The main research question that the study addressed was *‘To what extent does the market linkage between the accommodation sub-sector and smallholder farmers in the tourism supply chain in Livingstone contribute to inclusive growth? Furthermore, how can the market linkage be strengthened in order to foster inclusive growth?’* Three research objectives guided the researcher to answer the main research question. In summary, the findings of the first two research objectives and the key contribution of the study to the body of knowledge are highlighted. Drawing from the findings of the first and second research objectives, and discussions in the preceding chapters, the researcher suggests policy and practical measures to reinforce the existing tourism-agriculture market linkage for significant inclusive tourism growth outcomes, therefore addresses the third research objective.

8.2. SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

The first research objective focused on the accommodation sub-sector to investigate *how accommodation enterprises contribute to creating tourism-agriculture linkages that foster inclusive growth with a pro-poor impact*. In summary, the significant findings that demonstrate how accommodation enterprises contribute to tourism-agriculture linkages that foster inclusive growth were found in the characteristics, procurement practices, opportunities and limitations experienced in local sourcing and these factors influence the extent and quality of the linkage and the scale to which smallholder farmers participate and benefit from the tourism market.

- (i) The overall procurement strategy among hotels, lodges and guest houses in Livingstone is underpinned by a delicate balance between product quality, competitive price and product availability and these elements affect food budget

allocation and guest menu offering and costing. Ultimately menu offering and price affects guest experience which is one of the critical elements for the sustainability of the tourism sector as deficiencies in these factors have a negative effect on tourist experiences.

- (ii) Backward market linkage exists between tourism and local agriculture in as far as consumption of local horticultural, livestock, poultry, fish and dairy products by the accommodation sub-sector is concerned. Local producers and suppliers dominate the agricultural food value chain in the tourism sector in Livingstone and therefore, the researcher is of the view that economic leakages particularly for horticulture produce are minimal especially among small to medium size accommodation enterprises. Both locally owned and foreign owned hotels, lodges and guest houses largely source agricultural food products from multiple local producers and suppliers i.e. smallholder farmers, commercial farmers, intermediary traders, open local markets, wholesale and from retail chain stores that stock both locally produced and imported foods.
- (iii) Through local sourcing, the tourism-agriculture market linkage found in the study is of a pro-poor nature as far as local procurement is more dominant and is inclusive of smallholder farmers particularly for the horticultural value chain. The type, quantity and frequency of demand characterises the extent to which smallholders participate in the tourism market. The extent and intensity of the integration of smallholder producers into the tourism value chain found in this study is weak and fragmented resulting in low inclusive growth outcomes.
- (iv) The current procurement strategies create opportunities for inclusion of smallholder producers in the tourism economy through supply and demand largely for the horticultural value chain and the accommodation establishments are generally satisfied with the quality and price of horticultural produce supplied by smallholder farmers. However, the linkage is weak as it is largely based on the supply and demand of horticultural value chain and the accommodation sub-sector experiences inconsistent supply by smallholder producers, which is a critical element for sustainability in the tourism sector as this contributes to overall guest experience and ultimately length of stay and prospects for guests to return. The linkage is fragmented in approach due to poor economies of scale among smallholder farmers as they supply the tourism market on a small scale basis and as individual farmers which affects their ability to effectively participate and benefit from the tourism

market. Fragmentation renders the individual farmers less influential and reduces their negotiating power in the market as reported in agriculture literature (Mojo et al., 2017; Siame, 2018).

- (v) From a marketing perspective, informality of smallholder farmers limits the opportunity for accommodation establishments to source from smallholder farmers. The gaps in information exchange between the accommodation sub-sector and smallholder farmers results in lack of knowledge of who the smallholder farmers are and what they are producing. In addition, marketing related challenges inherent in the tourism sector such as inadequate destination marketing and budget, and unfavourable and inconsistent policy environment affect the competitiveness of the tourism sector which is important in attracting tourists, extending their length of stay and sustaining the tourism-agriculture linkage through supply and demand for agricultural food.

It is worth noting that these findings reflect the practices and experiences of the accommodation sub-sector in the tourism-agriculture linkage. This is important in contributing to a comprehensive understanding of the nature, opportunities and limitations in the tourism-agriculture linkage when juxtaposed with expectations and experiences of smallholder farmers in the study. Using Livingstone as the area of application, the study highlights the significance of a bottom-up approach to the attainment of inclusive tourism development's potential as the extent of the contribution was not known in this geographical area, particularly by gathering the expectations and experiences of local small-scale farmers into the tourism development debate.

The second research objective focused on smallholder farmers to *evaluate socio-economic opportunities and barriers that smallholder producers in Livingstone expect and experience from tourism-agriculture linkages in the local tourism value chain*. In summary, the study found that smallholder farmers experience low levels of participation and benefits and multiple interrelated production and demand challenges in the tourism market. This is revealed in the expectation and experience scores from the Wilcoxon signed test, showing that smallholder farmers have high expectation and low experience in the positive inclusive growth indicators tested in the study, and low expectation but high experience in the challenges tested. These factors limit the level of production, productivity and market access integration and ultimately reduce profitability and competitiveness of smallholder farmers in the tourism market. This finding casts the spotlight on the value that a grass roots approach in evaluating PPT yields yet, this approach is less used as

promulgated by Luo & Bao (2019) in their assertion that the perspective of poor communities in examining tourism's effectiveness in reducing poverty has been largely omitted

- (i) Production challenges experienced by smallholder farmers found to *be* significantly affecting their participation in the tourism market relate to: *inadequate farming implements, inadequate transportation, lack of or inadequate post-harvest handling facilities, poor growing conditions, poor economies of scale, farm labour deficit and uncompetitive pricing.*
- (ii) Smallholder farmers experience low demand from the tourism market particularly for horticultural varieties in terms of quantities, frequency of demand and the number of accommodation establishments supplied directly by smallholder farmers in relation to the size of the hotel industry.
- (iii) Opportunities for greater participation and benefits are significantly limited by barriers inherent in production, demand and marketing. The study found that inclusive growth outcomes experienced by smallholder farmers in terms of participation and actual benefits are linked to the quality of the market linkage. Smallholder farmers benefited from the linkage on four inclusive growth indicators tested in the study as there is no significant difference between their level of expectation and experience, denoting that they experienced what they expected in the linkage in relation to *opportunity for skills development, access to loans/finance, employment generation and support on training to improve product quality.* However, the linkage has not yielded benefits for smallholder farmers in relation to *income generation, linkage to networks in the tourism market, improved well-being and improved access to markets.*

The evidence found in this study shows that through supply and demand for horticultural food products, tourism-agriculture market linkages between hotels, lodges and guest houses and smallholder farmers in Livingstone exist. The integration of local producers and suppliers into the tourism value chain is reflective of findings in other SSA countries such as Tanzania, where local agriculture communities are integrated into the nature-based tourism value chain (Anderson, 2018) and in The Gambia where internationally managed tourism businesses source food locally (Mitchell & Faal, 2007). However, the current study does not focus only on the extent of the linkage but further presents the resulting inclusive growth outcomes as experienced by smallholder farmers, an aspect that is not widely researched. From the empirical

data in this study, the researcher attributes low inclusive growth outcomes to a weak and fragmented market linkage between the accommodation sub-sector and smallholders.

While the linkage may be pro-poor in as far as smallholders access the tourism market, it is not sustainable and it does not yield the expected outcomes for smallholders due to production, demand and marketing constraints. The study revealed that in the tourism-agriculture linkage, there is an interplay between four elements: procurement strategy, constraining factors, quality of the linkage and inclusive growth outcomes highlighting that inclusive growth outcomes are dependent on the quality of the linkage. Understanding the dynamics of this interconnectedness is key in finding pathways to attain strong and meaningful tourism-agriculture linkage and significant outcomes. The findings from this study further discredit the trickle down model of growth and refutes the assumption by Aghion and Bolton (1997) that *'the rising tide of economic growth would raise all boats'* as it is quite evident that despite the developed nature of tourism in Livingstone, its tourist capital status and the increase in international tourist arrivals creating demand for food, tourism benefits do not trickle down to smallholder communities neither does it translate to significant participation or yield desired benefits for smallholder farmers supplying the accommodation sub-sector.

Therefore, if left alone, the linkage will continue to yield low inclusive growth outcomes and minimal pro-poor impact. Within the PPT theoretical framework, this study confirms what some PPT critics have been questioning in terms of the liberating and remunerative nature of PPT (Hall & Brown, 2006) and that growth in tourism volume does not automatically translate to expected economic and social benefits particularly in the Global South (Rogerson, 2012:31). This confirms assertions that PPT may have limited contribution to pro-poor development (Torres & Momsen, 2004; Rogerson, 2006; Scheyvens, 2009, Mitchell, 2019) and supports the views by Jamal and Dredge in Sharpley and Telfer (2015: 184) that while PPT may appear to be inclusive and fair in its approaches, it may offer fewer “net” benefits that are apparent when considered from a structural, historical and a long-term sustainability perspective (2015:184) and in this case, when considered from the smallholder view point.

8.3. CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY TO THE BODY OF KNOWLEDGE

Given these findings, this study adds to growing scholarship and research that seeks to understand the extent of tourism-agriculture linkages and specifically contributes to debates in Sub-Saharan Africa over tourism-agriculture linkage as a PPT strategy. The study highlights the importance of identifying enablers and barriers to the development of strong tourism-agriculture linkages from the perspective of both the accommodation sub-sector and smallholder farmers with the benefit of a holistic representation of converging or conflicting experiences in the market linkage. This approach has not been widely adopted in studies that investigated tourism-agriculture linkages such as Botswana, (Hunt et al., 2012); South Africa (Rogerson, 2013; Pillay & Rogerson, 2013) and Ethiopia (Welteji & Zerihun, 2018).

The study contributes to wider debates over tourism-agriculture linkages and inclusive tourism growth and provides more empirical evidence that contributes to the theorisation of the emerging tourism-led inclusive growth debate which is significant as the inclusive tourism growth aspect has not been assessed in tourism-agriculture linkages reported in SSA countries and elsewhere. The study provides empirical evidence that confirms the view that tourism is frequently perceived and experienced as an activity that excludes many, particularly marginalised communities in tourism destinations (Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018; Saarinen & Wall-Reinius, 2019). This highlights the urgency to create an enabling environment for sustained tourism growth and for conditions that foster market linkage in order to create wider access, participation and benefits among smallholder farmers, and in this case for smallholder farmers in Zambia, the largest producers in the agricultural sector. Empirical data from this investigation demonstrate the importance of adopting appropriate policy and practical measures to reinforce the existing tourism-agriculture market linkage making it more inclusive of small-scale producers for greater pro-poor impact. This is in line with efforts to maximise the potential of PPT in achieving inclusive tourism growth benefits, therefore reaffirming the UNWTO's position in Hampton and Jeyacheya (2013) that *'Tourism cannot be treated as an economic force that can be left alone to deliver its rewards'*

To this end, the researcher recommends policy and practical strategies that enhance the necessary enabling conditions in the tourism sector and the agriculture sector in Livingstone, the tourist capital of Zambia. The recommendations suggested have the potential to contribute to the realisation of SDG 8: to *promote inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all* (United Nations, 2017) through tourism-

agriculture linkages particularly for smallholder farmers in Livingston. As argued by Jeyacheya and Hampton (2020) that to produce the desired signifiers of inclusive growth, a stable operational, structural and political environment is necessary (2020:12). It is envisaged that when carefully considered and applied, these measures will limit constraints, strengthen the market linkage, and contribute to greater participation and desired inclusive growth outcomes for smallholder farmers in the tourism value chain and for the smallholder farming community aspiring to pursue the tourism market.

8.4. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STRONG TOURISM-AGRICULTURE LINKAGES

In order to fulfil the third research objective which to *recommend specific strategies to enhance the quality of tourism-agriculture linkages that foster inclusive growth with a pro-poor impact and the overall sustainability of the tourism industry in Livingstone, Zambia*, recommendations presented in this study focus on policies and practical strategies to strengthen the current tourism-agriculture linkages in ways that contribute to the theorisation of PPT agenda. Emphasis are on strategies that impact particularly on livelihoods of the poor, on how to unlock opportunities in ways that improve positive impacts (Ashley et al., 2001a; 2001b; Ashley, 2002; Ashley & Mitchell, 2005; Rogerson, 2006; Goodwin, 2009; Musasa & Mago, 2014; Musavengane et al. 2019).

8.4.1. Strengthening Agricultural Cooperatives to serve as Intermediaries

Worldwide, the role of cooperatives in poverty reduction, economic growth, social development, job creation and the ability to create access to opportunities, provide protection and empower smallholders are increasingly acknowledged (Ortmann & King, 2007; Emongor, et al., 2007; Mojo, et al., 2017; Siame 2016). For example, Torres (2003) advocates for the need for farmer coordination into collective groupings stating that this reduces losses resulting from downward price pressure during market saturation, that through collective efforts, capacity for staggered production and supply of diverse products to ensure that all year-round consistency is possible (2003:561). In Livingston, smallholders belong to at least one agricultural cooperative with the greatest benefit being access to government subsidised inputs, largely fertilizers and seed which are dispersed to farmers through agriculture cooperatives by the state's FISP initiative. For a more robust pro-poor impact of market linkage between the accommodation sub-sector and smallholder producers, the researcher recommends that cooperatives take up the role of intermediary in order to unlock opportunities for greater access

and participation in the tourism economy and as promulgated by Ashley et al., (2001:1a) to engage in decision making on matters that arise within the market linkage.

The potential that cooperatives hold in serving the needs and interests of smallholders is evident however, there is a need to reinvent farmer cooperatives to a new generation business model that builds good internal governance, shared understanding of objectives and expectations of production and marketing benefits amongst other things, for its membership. Bizikova et al., (2020) posit that logistical support, market information, and infrastructure are a core function of farmer's organisations through which smallholder producers could be integrated into policy and be assisted with the necessary capabilities, skills and resources. Therefore, the researcher is of the view that through farmer cooperatives, empowerment and participation of smallholder farmers could yield more meaningful outcomes while contributing to sustainable market linkages.

For agriculture cooperatives to serve as intermediaries between smallholders and the tourism market, consideration should be accorded for sustained partnerships between government and cooperatives in creating and implementing regulatory frameworks, monitoring and providing adequate investment that capacitate farmer cooperatives to take up this role in a more structured and viable fashion. This is possible as the government is said to have renewed interest recently in rejuvenating cooperatives in general as outlined in the country's Seventh National Development Plan (7NDP) that outlines the country's 2030 vision on prosperity. Government, through the Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Industry should empower and rejuvenate Agricultural cooperatives in ways that enable the following:

- (i) As intermediaries, agricultural cooperatives would on behalf of smallholders negotiate and access affordable low interest loans and insurance from financial institutions such as banks, other agribusiness entities and state sponsored credit facilities whereby processes and mechanisms for recovery of loans can be instituted through cooperatives. Financial access would create opportunities for smallholders to invest in irrigation systems that avert dependency on rain-fed production and sustain the year-round productivity. Dependency on rain-fed farming limits scale and variety in productivity and results in inconsistency in quantity and availability of products particularly in the dry summer months of August to October and during periods of drought.

- (ii) Agricultural cooperatives working in partnership with the ministries of Agriculture and the Department of Cooperatives should streamline agricultural extension services and institutional support to match the requirements among smallholder farmers. Currently, while the need for subsidized inputs, extension information and technical services are sought after, access is limited by costs associated with extension services. As a result, smallholders rely on their own knowledge and years of farming experience to mitigate production challenges such as management of pesticides, crop and animal diseases. In addition, there is minimal knowledge on for instance, what varieties of crops would thrive in specific soil types, soil fertility and technological innovations that can improve productivity. Where such support has been provided, as has been the case with the Nsongwe Women's Cooperative who received training facilitated by the Avani hotel, lifelong skills have been imparted to them on the management of high value crops to ensure optimal yields and that quality and hygiene standards are adhered to. This has improved their productivity and competitiveness in meeting the hotel's requirements. Therefore, investment and access to subsidized extension services should form part of the state's agricultural development initiative for sustained impact to the wider smallholder community. This has cost implications that requires budget commitment by the state.
- (iii) Due to the fragmented nature of smallholder producers, there are poor economies of scale which affect production and marketing capacity rendering smallholders vulnerable, for example to uncompetitive practices among some middlemen and traders. This could be mitigated through collective efforts of cooperatives in fostering economies of scope and scale creating opportunity for consistency (quantity, quality and variety), all year round supply and increase in bargaining power of smallholder producers. As intermediaries, cooperatives would be responsible for improving the smallholder market viability of products and improve entry to domestic market opportunities by providing smallholders with access to market information primarily relating to price, quality and demand while marketing product availability to the broader domestic market, specifically the accommodation sub-sector, restaurants and the retail markets. Timms and Neill (2011) marketing mix framework of the four 'ps' could be explored to ensure greater inclusivity into the tourism market. This would widen the scope for smallholders to access market integration into other tourism markets not previously

catered for. As cooperatives take up the intermediary role of providing marketing expertise, this would free up time for smallholders to focus on their primary role as producers.

- (iv) As grades and adherence to set health and hygiene standards are key in the retail and tourism value chain, cooperatives could provide facilities and services for storage, sorting, grading, quality assurance and traceability of produce. This is on the whole important in the event of breaches or noncompliance of standards particularly for high-end hotels and lodges. As in the case of Lushoto in Tanzania where tourism value chains contribute to local economic development through a well organised yet complex value chain (Anderson, 2018), cooperatives could take up the management of logistics in the agricultural food value chain to transport, receive, process, and store produce. In addition, with the necessary infrastructure, cooperatives can spearhead value-adding and food processing to mitigate high levels of food wastage and periods of scarcity for specific agricultural products such as tomatoes, a common occurrence in the domestic market.

Strong governance and clear mandates of farmer cooperatives supported by government create the necessary conditions for vibrant cooperatives that pursue the interest of farmers, particularly for smallholders as the production and marketing challenges they experience render them uncompetitive in the domestic market.

8.4.2. Strengthening Partnerships, Strategic Engagements and Dialogue

This study highlights that for tourism-led growth to be inclusive of smallholders in ways that are economically viable, a multisector approach is required. This supports the argument by Ashley and Goodwin (2007) that deficiencies in creating market linkages and developing pro-poor efforts are as a result of the two not approached together. Similarly strategic partnerships and coordination among different stakeholders form part of the strategic recommendations to strengthen tourism-agriculture linkages advocated by Hunt et al. (2012:14) in Botswana and Welteji and Zerihun, (2018) in Ethiopia. The absence of mediation and cohesion within and between the accommodation sub-sector and the smallholder farming community found in this study presents a challenge in the creation of strong and economically meaningful market linkages. From a policy perspective, enhancing the tourism-agriculture linkage requires a multi-pronged development approach that promotes synergetic partnerships, budget

commitment and proactive engagement within and between tourism and agriculture stakeholders in order to optimally support inclusive tourism-led growth initiatives as adopted in the country's National Tourism policy while responding to challenges that constrain the tourism-agriculture linkage.

Stakeholder dialogue, consultations and engagement are important strategies that allow open dialogue and exchange of information to analyse strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (SWOT) in the linkage, as has been successfully conducted in Pacific Island nations, where stakeholder dialogues resulted in the farm-to-fork ethos to drive sustained market linkage through the demand for local food (Berno, 2011:89). Therefore, there is urgency for effective cooperation, strategic communication and engagement among all the stakeholders. This supports arguments stressing the importance of creating alliances in the tourism sector as argued by (Kirsten & Rogerson, 2002; van der Duim et al., 2011; Spencer et al., 2014) and advocated as necessary for actualising inclusive growth (George et al., 2012). Multi-stakeholder engagements could be streamlined and sustained at institutional level between existing national agencies such as the Zambia National Tourism Agency, the local tourism associations (LTA, LILOGA) representing interests of tourism enterprises in Livingstone and agriculture cooperatives and farmers unions in advocating and representing the collective voice of smallholder producers. As suggested by a Senior Agriculture Officer at the Ministry of Agriculture, a silos approach by different stakeholders in government makes it difficult for farmers to get the right message and support, therefore, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Zambia Agri-business unit in the Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Industry and other stakeholders need to work together (Personal communication,2019).

According to an official from the Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Industry, there is a five year project (Zambia Agri-business project) in Livingstone funded by the World Bank. Its core business is creating market linkages and administration of grants to small-scale or emerging farmers belonging to a farmer cooperative or farmers union and linked to a prospective buyer or organised market such as tourism. This market focused project uses the 'Building Productive Alliance' model and building capacity in terms of production, technical and soft skills development (Personal communication, 2019). It is through such funded projects specifically aimed to develop productive supply and demand alliances that smallholder farmers can be supported to sustainably expand the current tourism-agriculture linkage through production and supply of other value chains such as aquaculture to the tourism sector.

The potential benefit for the destination in building partnerships and strategic engagement has multiple benefits. At national level, efforts such as expanding the tourism industry for continued revenue generation through taxes, foreign exchange earnings and employment creation and extending impact through PPT strategies such as local tourism-agriculture linkages with smallholder producers would be approached together. Through improved and regular multi-stakeholder dialogue, communication and engagement, challenges and opportunities in the tourism-agriculture market linkage can be addressed timeously with sensitivity to varying experiences and expectations of hotels, lodges and guest Houses.

8.4.3. Enhanced tourism competitiveness and destination marketing

Destination Competitiveness

Literature on PPG and inclusive growth acknowledges the importance of recognising conditions that enable or constrain the attainment of PPG and inclusive growth. Some of the enabling or constraining factors in the tourism industry include: competitiveness of a destination in terms of price of a destination, restrictive business policy environment including unfavourable tax rules and inadequate legislation governing hotel classification; governments' role in prioritising tourism and tourism budget, lack of market coordination and responsiveness, product development, stable and favourable cost of operating tourism business, product diversification and segmented marketing (WEF Travel and Tourism Competitive Report, 2017; Spenceley, 2003; George et al., 2017; Bakker, 2019). It is important to address these conditions and environment in the tourism sector for the attainment of sustainable tourism and tourism-led inclusive growth.

There is urgency required in rigorously promoting and marketing Zambia as a tourist destination of choice and Livingstone in particular. Raising demand for destination Zambia is one of the five key strategic goals stipulated in the Zambia Tourism Marketing Plan (2017). Among other things, this requires evolving and strengthening the country's tourism brand proposition, formulating a protocol for joint branding and marketing and establishing a local, provincial and national multi-level marketing partnership forum (Zambia Tourism Marketing Plan, 2017). The state has a significant role to play in developing travel and tourism to be a competitive economy in the region and on a global scale. Strong public and private sector partnerships are required to institute sustained marketing of Livingstone as a tourist destination to the domestic, regional and international market. Efforts to attract and extend visitors' length of stay for longer than the average 4 days are to be improved by developing diverse tourism

products and marketing to non-traditional market segments as necessary in order to reduce the gap between low and peak seasons dominated by business travellers thereby extending the current peak tourism months between March and September (MoTA Tourism Statistical Digest, 2016). The presumption is that increased visitor numbers and reduction of seasonal tourism demand would result in increased demand for food products. With a system in place to ensure sustained smallholder access to the tourism market, the tourism-agriculture linkage in Livingstone would be inclusive and yield meaningful pro-poor impacts.

In order to remain competitive in the region, Livingstone as a destination requires that government commits an adequate marketing budget and sustained marketing strategy for the sector as a whole, marketing the diverse nature landmarks, cultural tourism products and particularly raise the profile of the Victoria Falls as a tourist attraction. This has the potential to improve Zambia's tourism market share and competitiveness in the region. It is possible to improve the current tourism growth path to that of Zimbabwe and Botswana which are both at second place after South Africa, with 41% of SADC arrivals in 2015 making it a leading tourism destination in the region, and continues to dominate. These measures would aid in improving the number of international and domestic travellers in the different market segments and the length of stay and tourist expenditure, thereby reducing the seasonal nature of tourism in Livingstone. This would contribute to sustainable tourism development, increase the demand for food, enhance smallholder participation in the tourism market and potentially improve inclusive growth outcomes.

It is important that the state commits substantial budget to support tourism marketing and promote the Victoria Falls which is the greatest natural attraction for Zambia as seen from the connection between international arrivals to Zambia and number of visitors to the Victoria Falls. It is furthermore necessary to address the challenge of a seasonal nature of tourism in order to have tourists all year round. This can be made possible by investing in the development of a range and scope of tourism product offerings that are competitive and attractive to different tourism segments from domestic, regional and international markets and institute targeted marketing and increasing length of stay which depends on a number of factors including tourism assets in the destination, quality accommodation, leisure excursions and tours (which Livingstone has in stock). Investing in these aspects would go a long way at improving tourism performance and increasing demand for food that would contribute to strong linkage and greater inclusion and pro-poor impact.

The study revealed that the policy environment under which the accommodation sub-sector operates is quite restrictive and as argued by Bakker (2019:579) restrictive policies and regulations hinder tourism development. Among the challenges experienced in the accommodation sub-sector is the volatile nature of operating tourism businesses resulting from restrictive and changing regulations such as high taxes, levies and licence fees. There is an unclear basis for estimating taxes and levies, inadequate tax education and lack of a communication framework to facilitate coordination and information sharing among government agencies, which result in duplicate charges by the different agencies (Water and Sewerage, park fees, taxes). All these affect the overall cost for tourists which is considered high compared to other countries in the region, and renders Zambia uncompetitive. The ease of doing business is one of the indicators measured by the WTTC (2017) and World Economic Forum (2017) on country rankings where countries such as South Africa and Namibia were ranked as the most competitive economies in Africa.

Therefore, the government through its agencies and other stakeholders in the tourism and agriculture sectors ought to create a favourable business climate that supports tourism businesses in navigating the regulatory business environment that is considered unfavourable and volatile. One of the key aspects in this regard includes the inconsistency in the classification and grading system for accommodation establishments, which are a core sub-sector of the tourism industry. Currently, not all accommodation enterprises are graded and this is the responsibility of government through the responsible agencies. The lack of consistency in regulating and implementing hotel classification is one of the restrictive factors in growth of tourism opportunities (Bakker, 2019: 579).

8.4.4. Enhanced and Sustained Role of the State

The tourism economy is multi-sectoral in nature as it depends on and contributes to other economic sectors and sub-sectors for growth and success. According to Bakker and Messerli (2017:389), *'the tourism sector should be developed by the private sector while the government plays a role of facilitator offering complementary investments that could also benefit other sectors'*. This requires that private institutions in the tourism sector function in a synergistic manner with the government. The researcher supports the argument by Mitchell (2007), that pro-poor tourism and its potential to develop strong backward linkages to other economic sectors do not happen by default, they are not guaranteed but rather depend on government

policies and actions at a grassroots level. The influential role of government in engagement and collaboration with other destination stakeholders is acknowledged (Liu, 2003; Weaver, 2006; Laws et al., 2011) and can influence conditions necessary for ensuring sustainable tourism with a pro-poor impact.

Similarly, destinations' governance and the recognition of stakeholder participation in destination success is articulated as important though complex, and is essential in the pro-poor tourism initiatives as a measure to allow communities to contribute and benefit from tourism (Ashley & Roe 2002). According to Bakker (2019), one of the enablers for attainment of inclusive growth pertaining to government is its role in prioritising tourism including budget, developing clear strategic direction, making decisions and plans informed by evidence and coordinating intergovernmental cooperation (2019:578). The importance of coordination and co-operation between government ministries and agencies has long been spotlighted by Tosun (2000:620) yet coordination challenges between different regulatory agencies and levels of government continue to negatively affect tourism enterprises (WTTC, 2017; Charles, 2019). It is therefore imperative that the Zambian government adopts a leading role as facilitator and enabler in developing and implementing tourism regulatory frameworks that are conducive for operating tourism business and making the destination more competitive within the region.

Furthermore, the state should commit substantial budget for the tourism sector to develop and maintain tourism products as these are key to attracting tourists, extending their length of stay and tourist expenditure (Auditor General Report, Republic of Zambia, 2020). Because tourism as a sector depends on other economic sectors such as agriculture, it is necessary to ensure that there are co-ordinated efforts across the tourism and agriculture sectors and policies are coherent in positioning tourism as a catalyst for local economic development, so that tourism businesses are supported. This is important as argued by Khan, et al., (2020) that for tourism to be competitive and sustainable, policies must be integrated, coherent and consistent. The state should take responsibility in institutionalising mechanisms to minimise challenges specifically relating to production (supply) and demand, adopting measures to strengthen cooperative movements and creating a policy environment that is progressive, consistent and coherent for developing Zambia as a competitive tourism destination. It is imperative for government to implement its policy objectives on tourism linkages as stipulated in the National Tourism and Arts Policy (2015) to avoid a breach in connection between the rhetoric of

inclusive growth and practice as found by Jeyacheya and Hampton (2020:9) in their study in South East Asia.

8.5. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study focused on a narrow examination of market linkages between the accommodation sub-sector and smallholders as producers and as suppliers to the tourism market. The scale of participation in the tourism market and the benefits and challenges experienced by smallholder farmers were identified. It is recommended that further research on linkages is undertaken that focuses on how environmental change may challenge local producers' role in future compared to large non-local suppliers. In addition, it is recommended that research be conducted on the factual impacts of linkages on communities and households in order to gain in-depth understanding on the actual contribution of tourism at grass-roots level.

It is recommended that a far more extensive investigation that includes voices from wider tourism businesses, including the restaurant sub-sector, producers and suppliers in the complex tourism supply chain be undertaken. Such an investigation would provide greater insights into understanding the extent of the linkage, opportunities and threats of the linkage to local producers and suppliers and the associated socio-economic outcomes.

The study further recommends investigation into institutional environments and institutional arrangements that affect the performance and behaviour of cooperatives. Similarly, as government delivers tourism support through a number of national, sectoral and sub-sectoral agents, future studies on the principal-agent relationship, coordination and implementation of tourism regulatory agencies are recommended for sustainable tourism development.

8.6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This research was aimed at establishing the extent to which market linkages between the accommodation sub-sector and smallholder farmers in the tourism supply chain in Livingstone contribute to inclusive growth, and how the market linkage can be strengthened in order to foster inclusive growth in Livingstone, Zambia. Research study analyses of qualitative and quantitative data demonstrate that although tourism- agriculture linkages exists and have a pro-poor nature, the inclusiveness of smallholders in terms of access, participation and socio-

economic outcomes are marginal relative to the scale of tourism development in the destination. From a smallholder producer's perspective, the tourism-agriculture market linkage is weak and fragmented and the scale of the impact on the lives and livelihood of participating smallholders is minimal given the low experience scores of inclusive growth indicators tested in this study. With the understanding that pro-poor tourism develops and promotes linkages between tourism businesses and poor people in a specific destination (Fang, 2020:153), this research has demonstrated that the quality of tourism-agriculture linkage in Livingstone results in minimal pro-poor impact as it does not unlock opportunities for economic accomplishment, other livelihoods' benefits and opportunities for smallholders to engage in economically meaningful market linkage within the tourism sector.

While opportunities for smallholder farmers to access, participate and benefit from the tourism economy are evident, findings highlight the centrality of multiple and interrelated barriers categorised as production, demand and marketing challenges that constrain smallholder producers from optimally participating and benefiting from the tourism economy in ways that significantly contribute to their well-being and poverty reduction. This study has demonstrated that as a result of these limitations, tourism-led inclusive growth both as a process and as an outcome is marginal for smallholder producers in the market linkage. This finding collaborates with theoretical literature that characterizes smallholder producers (Narrod et al., 2009; Ma & Abdulai, 2016; Mojo et al., 2017; Kamara et al. 2019) and is consistent with empirical findings on constraining factors found in other SSA countries (Rogerson, 2013; Pillay & Rogerson, 2013; Hunt et al., 2012; Welteji & Zerihun, 2018; Anderson, 2018). The study advances the call for consideration and sensitivity to internal and external supporting environment factors that enable or constrain the attainment of PPG as pointed out by Spenceley (2003) and the necessary enabling environment for the attainment of inclusive growth as provided by George et al., (2012) and Bakker (2019). The researcher recognises that identifying enablers and constraining environment from a dual perspective of accommodation enterprises juxtaposed with voices of smallholder producers, has the benefit of a rich and clearer representation of converging or conflicting experiences in the market linkage than relying solely on a single perspective.

Empirical evidence from this study confirms what other studies in SSA have found in common, the need for multiple and coordinated approaches and policies that foster sustainable backward linkages (Rogerson, 2012; Pillay & Rogerson, 2013; Hunt et al., 2012; Welteji & Zerihun,

2018). In this case tourism-agriculture linkage as a pro-poor tourism strategy requires that the government plays a role in creating favorable policies and to partner with stakeholders in paying particular attention to the practices, dynamics and challenges that form and shape the quality of market linkages between smallholder farmers and the accommodation sub-sector in Livingstone. If efforts to improve the quality of participation among small-scale producers in the tourism market are not considered, tourism-led inclusive growth will remain a pipedream for smallholder producers. For the tourism industry, embracing the findings of scientific research not only takes the profession forward (Jafari, 2001) but creates opportunities for evidence-informed planning to influence the sustainability of the sector and *'how its benefits and impacts are distributed'* (McLoughlin & Hanrahan, 2021:1). In conclusion, the researcher is of the opinion that Zambia's tourism growth and development agenda should prioritise, strategically position and enhance the cooperative movement to take up the role of intermediary in the market linkage and serve the interests of small-scale producers. The state ought to strengthen localised strategic partnerships, engagement and collaboration between existing tourism organisations and farmer cooperatives in implementing and monitoring policy and practical strategies for optimal tourism-led inclusive growth impact.

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Annexures

ANNEXURE A:

Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LOCAL FARMERS

INTRODUCTION

This questionnaire will be used for the PhD study and the information given will be treated confidential. To participate, please tick in the box provided to indicate that you give your consent to participate in the study on a voluntary basis.

Date _____

This questionnaire has five sections with open ended and closed questions.

SECTION A - PROFILE OF ENTERPRISE

1. Number of years as a farmer and farming practices (e.g., type of farming, farm size, production, association membership)

.....

2. Number of years providing food products to the accommodation sector.

.....

SECTION B – POSITIVE INCLUSIVE GROWTH OUTCOMES

EXPECTED SOCIO-ECONOMIC OUTCOMES

3. Before you started supplying farm produce to the accommodation enterprises, what was your expectation of the following inclusive growth outcomes listed from 3.1 to 3.9?

For question 3.1 to 3.9, you are required to tick the number that best represents your **expectation level** for each of the following inclusive growth outcomes. The meaning of each number on the scale is explained below.

1 = **Very low expectation**

2 = **low expectation**

3 = **Neutral expectation**

4 = **High expectation**

5 = **Very high expectation**

Expected socio-economic Outcomes	Very low expectation	Low expectation	Neutral expectation	High expectation	Very high expectation
3.1 Employment generation	1	2	3	4	5
3.2 Income generation	1	2	3	4	5
3.3 Skills development	1	2	3	4	5
3.4 Access to financial loans	1	2	3	4	5

3.5	Improved access to markets	1	2	3	4	5
3.6	Support on advice to improve product quality	1	2	3	4	5
3.7	Support on training to improve product quality	1	2	3	4	5
3.8	Linkage to networks in the tourism sector	1	2	3	4	5
3.9	Improved wellbeing	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION C – EXPERIENCES AS A STAKEHOLDER IN THE TOURISM SUPPLY CHAIN.

4. Please list the products that you supply to accommodation establishments?

4.1. Main products

.....

4.2. Other products

.....

5. Do you supply the accommodation establishments on personal business terms or through an association? Explain

.....

6. Which local accommodation establishments do you supply your farm produce? Please name them.

.....

7. Do you supply your products as raw materials or with value-added benefits? Explain your response.

.....

8. How frequently do you supply farm products? Please **tick** relevant box.

Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Few times per year

9. As a producer supplying the accommodation sector, do you work with local brokers or middlemen?
Explain your response

.....

10. As a supplier of farm produce to the accommodation enterprises, what kind of support do you receive from:

10.1 The local government?

.....

10.2 Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)?

.....

10.3 The Tourism industry?

.....

11. What kind of support do you need?

.....

SECTION D- EXPECTED AND EXPERIENCED CHALLENGES

12. Before you started supplying farm produce to the accommodation enterprises what was your expectation of the challenges listed from 12.1 to 12.16.

For questions 12.1 to 12.16, you are required to tick the number that best represents your **expectation level** for each of the following challenges. The meaning of each number on the scale is explained below.

1= Very low expectation

2= low expectation

3= Neutral expectation

4= High expectation

5= Very high expectation

Challenges Expected		Very low expectation	Low expectation	Neutral expectation	High expectation	Very high expectation
12.1	Inadequate transportation	1	2	3	4	5
12.2	Uncompetitive pricing	1	2	3	4	5
12.3	Seasonality	1	2	3	4	5
12.4	Lack of capital investment and credit	1	2	3	4	5
12.5	Inability to meet health, sanitation and safety standards	1	2	3	4	5
12.6	Language barrier	1	2	3	4	5
12.7	Late payment by accommodation enterprise	1	2	3	4	5
12.8	Inability to meet quality standards	1	2	3	4	5
12.9	Poor growing conditions	1	2	3	4	5
12.10	Inability to meet quantity of demand	1	2	3	4	5
12.11	Inadequate farming	1	2	3	4	5

	implements					
12.12	Farm Labour deficit	1	2	3	4	5
12.13	Poor economies of scale	1	2	3	4	5
12.14	Marketing challenges	1	2	3	4	5
12.15	Lack of or inadequate post-harvest handling facilities	1	2	3	4	5
12.16	Lack of communication and exchange of information	1	2	3	4	5

13. What knowledge/skills have you gained as a supplier of farm products to the accommodation sector?

.....

14. On what do you spend the income received from supplying farm products to the accommodation enterprises?

.....

15. As a supplier of farm products, do you understand the food needs of the accommodation enterprises? Explain your response

.....

16. As a supplier to the accommodation enterprises, what has been your actual experience with the challenges listed from 16.1 to 16.16 below?

.....

17. For question 17.1 to 17.16, you are required to tick the number that best represents your **experience level** for each of the following challenges. Note that the meaning of each number on the scale is explained below.

1= **strongly agree**

2= **Agree**

3= **Not agree or disagree**

4= Disagree

5= strongly disagree

Challenges Experienced		Strongly Agree	Agree	Not agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
17.1	Inadequate transport system	1	2	3	4	5
17.2	Uncompetitive pricing	1	2	3	4	5
17.3	Seasonality	1	2	3	4	5
17.4	Lack of capital investment and credit	1	2	3	4	5
17.5	Inability to meet health and safety standards	1	2	3	4	5
17.6	Language barrier	1	2	3	4	5
17.7	Late payment by accommodation enterprise	1	2	3	4	5
17.8	Inability to meet quality standards	1	2	3	4	5
17.9	Poor growing conditions	1	2	3	4	5
17.10	Inability to meet quantity of demand	1	2	3	4	5
17.11	Inadequate farming implements	1	2	3	4	5
17.12	Farm Labour deficit	1	2	3	4	5
17.13	Poor economies of scale	1	2	3	4	5
17.14	Marketing challenges	1	2	3	4	5
17.15	Lack of or inadequate post-harvest handling facilities	1	2	3	4	5
17.16	Lack of communication and exchange of information	1	2	3	4	5

18. What other challenges do you experience as a supplier of farm produce to the accommodation sector in Livingstone?

.....

.....

.....

19. Are there formal agricultural programmes that assist you in meeting the needs of the tourism industry?

.....

20. What do you suggest should be done to strengthen the supply-demand relationship between farmers and the accommodation sector?

.....

SECTION E - INCLUSIVE GROWTH OUTCOMES

EXPERIENCED SOCIO-ECONOMIC OUTCOMES

21. As a supplier of farm produce to the accommodation enterprises, what has been your actual experience with the following inclusive growth outcomes listed from 21.1 to 21.9 below?

For question 21.1 to 21.9, you are required to tick the number that best represents your experience level for each of the following inclusive growth outcomes. Note that the meaning of each number on the scale is explained below

1= strongly agree

2= Agree

3= Not agree or disagree

4= Disagree

5= strongly disagree

Experienced socio-economic outcomes		Strongly agree	Agree	Not agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
21.1	Employment generation	1	2	3	4	5
21.2	Income generation	1	2	3	4	5
21.3	Skills development	1	2	3	4	5
21.4	Access to finance	1	2	3	4	5
21.5	Improved access to markets	1	2	3	4	5
21.6	Support on advice to improve product Quantity	1	2	3	4	5

21.7	Support on training to improve product quality	1	2	3	4	5
21.8	Linkage to networks	1	2	3	4	5
21.9	Improved wellbeing	1	2	3	4	5

22. What other benefits have you experienced as a supplier to the tourism sector?

.....

SECTION F - BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION OF PARTICIPANT

Mark with an **X** in the appropriate box or complete your responses in the spaces provided

23. What Year were you born?

.....

24. How long have you lived in the region?

.....

25. Gender (Mark with an X in the appropriate box)

Male	
Female	

26. Your nationality

.....

27. You are involved in the business of supplying farm products to the accommodation enterprises as:

Farm Owner	
Farm Manager	
Other	

28. What is your highest educational level? Mark with an X in appropriate box

1.No schooling		2.Primary schooling		3.Secondary schooling		4.Tertiary education	
----------------	--	---------------------	--	-----------------------	--	----------------------	--

Thank you for your participation.

ANNEXURE B:

Interview schedule

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR ACCOMMODATION ENTERPRISES

This interview schedule was designed according to the research objective that seeks to find out how accommodation enterprises can contribute to creating strong agriculture-tourism linkages that foster inclusive growth.

Introduction:

- A brief introduction of the study will be given an explanation of why the questions will be asked
- The researcher will declare that the interview will be used for the PhD study and that the information given will be treated confidential
- Permission will be sorted to record the interview

Business profile

- Business status
- Number of years in Operation
- Which tourism market does the establishment cater for?
- Position of the interviewee in the business (Owner, manager, Chef, Procurement manager)
- Nationality and training

Procurement of food products

- What farm products do you procure? (e.g. Fruits, vegetables, poultry, meat, fish)
 - Which ones are the main farm products?
 - What are the other products?
 - Do you import some of these products and if so, where do you import from and why?
 - Which ones do you source from local farmers?
- Who are the local farmers that supply you with food products?
 - What percentage of your total food supplies is sourced from local farmers___ %?
- What percentage of your operational budget is spent on procurement of food products?

- How frequently do you require supply of food from local small-scale farmers?
- Are there intermediaries that you engage in the supply of products from local small-scale farmers and if so, please provide more details on this engagement?
- Based on your experience, what are the benefits and challenges of procuring food products locally from small-scale farmers?
- What do you recommend should be done to maximise the benefits and address the challenges in order to strengthen and sustain the supply system?
- Do you have a formal business agreement with the local small-scale farmers (i.e., terms of agreement), if so, describe the agreement and if not, explain why?
- What is your food procurement strategy based on (e.g. price, quality and variety)
- Overall, what are your procurement policies and regulations?

Views on support provided for local farmers as suppliers of food.

- Do you provide support and if so what kind of support do you provide (training opportunities, mentorship, technical advice, financial support) to create capacity, ensure quality food products and timely delivery?
- What kind of opportunities do you provide to create awareness for small-scale farmers to meet your procurement needs?
- How do you communicate your procurement needs to local small-scale farmers on a daily basis?

Challenges experienced in sourcing food locally from small-scale farmers

- What has been your experience with your local suppliers on meeting your current and future needs in the following aspects: quantity, quality, product consistency, reliability, health and safety, local prices, tourist needs, lack of skills, transportation and packaging?

Views on investment opportunities, tourism policy and procurement values.

- Do you consider expanding the business?
- In terms of tourism policy, what do you think can be done to strengthen the tourism-agriculture linkage and to ensure sustainable tourism development in Livingstone?
- What are the business values that inform your procurement activities (e.g., involvement of emerging businesses, unemployed people, women and youth)?

Views on collaboration, networks and partnerships

- Does your business collaborate with other accommodation enterprises to source food from local farmers?
- What challenges do you experience as a stakeholder in the tourism supply chain?
- From your experience, what are the benefits of partnerships with the local networks and co-operatives in the agriculture sector?
- What do you think can be done to improve the current partnerships with these local players?

Final thoughts

- Is there anything you would like to add?

END OF INTERVIEW, THANK YOU

Annexure

ANNEXURE C:

Letter of Informed Consent

ANNEXURE C



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Faculty of Economic and
Management Sciences

Department of Tourism Management

Title of the study:

Evaluating Tourism-agriculture linkages for inclusive growth in Zambia

Research conducted by:

Ms. B.M.K. Nsanzya (04596839)

Cell number: 0786421284

Dear Participant,

You are invited to participate in an academic research study conducted by Brenda Nsanzya, Doctoral student from the Department of Tourism Management at the University of Pretoria.

The purpose of the study is

- Evaluate how tourism linkages contribute to inclusive growth for small-scale farmers in the tourism supply chain in Livingstone
- Develop specific strategies that can enhance the quality of tourism-agriculture linkages that foster inclusive growth and sustainability of the tourism industry.

Please note the following:

- This is an anonymous study survey as your name will not appear on the questionnaire. The answers you give will be treated as strictly confidential as you cannot be identified in person based on the answers you give.
- Your participation in this study is very important to us. You may, however, choose not to participate and you may also stop participating at any time without any negative consequences.
- Please answer the questions in the attached questionnaire as completely and honestly as possible. This should not take more than 30 minutes of your time.
- The results of the study will be used for academic purposes only and may be published in an academic journal. I will provide you with a summary of my findings on request.
- Please contact my study leader, Prof. J. Saarinen on jarkko.saarinen@oulu.fi if you have any questions or comments regarding the study.

In research of this nature the study leader may wish to contact respondents to verify the authenticity of data gathered by the researcher. It is understood that any personal contact details that you may provide will be used only for this purpose, and will not compromise your anonymity or the confidentiality of your participation.

Please sign the form to indicate that:

- You have read and understand the information provided above.
- You give your consent to participate in the study on a voluntary basis.

Participant's signature

Date