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Optimising Community Development through Corporate Social
Responsibility: An Examination of the Tourism Industry in Livingstone,
Zambia

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Abstract

This thesis explores the potential for corporate social responsibility (CSR) practices of hotel and lodge companies to contribute to community development. A critical review of relevant literature is followed by focused discussions of the CSR practices of these companies, their community engagement approaches for seeking community voices in CSR, and policy frameworks for promoting CSR and managing stakeholder relationships. The empirical domain is the practices of hotel and lodge companies on Mukuni community land in Livingstone, Zambia.

The discussion in each of the main empirical chapters is based on the analysis of perspectives and experiences of participants. Primary data was collected by conducting document and website reviews, and interviews with senior government officials, hotel and lodge managers, the local tourism association, leaders of relevant local and international NGOs, and leaders from Mukuni communities. Data was also collected through group interviews, network mapping, and pairwise ranking and comparison analyses with community farmers and crafts traders. Site observation of some CSR projects in communities was also undertaken. Thematic analysis was applied to code and analyse data. A theoretical framework focusing on “ensuring equity in CSR through multi-stakeholder measures” was developed and applied to understand the findings.

Study findings suggest that power relations are a critical issue in CSR when initiatives are carried out in poor communities. It is shown that dominant corporate power and traditional power and cultural influences of community leaders, coupled with weak policy frameworks for promoting CSR and managing stakeholder interactions, are the main factors that determine the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development. These findings show that although criticisms are justifiably targeted mainly at corporations, communities and government also fall short in a number of ways as parties in promoting CSR.

In view of these findings, key stakeholders, including government, hotels and lodges and communities, are challenged to adapt their respective policies, structures, mentalities and practices to ensure equity in CSR. The study has shown that multi-stakeholder involvement in CSR can encourage equity and might be helpful in shifting CSR from reflecting company interests alone to interests and needs of communities. This argument is based on evidence that in some cases, measures that seek to encourage multi-stakeholder involvement in CSR have proved to contribute to promoting equity and to widely spreading opportunities and benefits. It has also been shown that the role of government and other stakeholders is important for improving the overall effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development.

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CHAPTER ONE

1 Community Development through Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)

1.1 Searching for a Better Understanding

Part of the mandate for the Ministry of Tourism in Zambia, is to contribute to community development. Fulfilling this mandate has not been an easy task. My experience as an official in the Ministry has been that while government and private sector revenues from tourism development have kept increasing, the livelihoods of poor communities that are adjacent to tourism destinations, such as Livingstone, have remained significantly unchanged. Confronted with this challenge, my concern has been to assist the Ministry to identify strategies and approaches that will help it to fulfil its goals of directing more benefits at poor communities in tourism destinations. Because of this, I needed a better understanding of pro-poor growth strategies, and how they can best be applied in the tourism industry to promote direct and significant positive impacts on the livelihoods of the poor. Reading about corporate social responsibility (CSR) and how the concept was being applied in Zambia's mining industry, my interests were stimulated to explore more on the subject.

An important moment occurred in 2006, when I attended the 55th Pacific Asia Tourism Association (PATA) annual conference in Pattaya, Thailand¹. One of the presenters, a researcher and development practitioner in Thailand, made a striking presentation on CSR and community development. The presenter advocated for a shift of focus in CSR, tourism and pro-poor growth from welfare-led approaches to business partnership approaches between government, companies and communities. The statement that interested me most was when he stated that:

“...traditional welfare approaches have failed to eradicate poverty because they incorrectly view the poor in one narrow window that they need charity...the only sustainable way to reduce poverty is to empower the poor by providing them the opportunity to get themselves out of poverty through approaches that will facilitate transfer of needed skills and provide them with sources of finance for their small local business

¹ The 55th PATA annual conference was held from April 23-27, 2006 in Pattaya, Thailand. Web site: <http://www.pata.org>

activities which they do each day...the business approach is the right doctor and the needed skills is the right medicine... “(Mechai Viravaidya, Chairman, PDA², 2006).

This presentation reinforced my conviction to pursue my doctoral research on CSR, tourism, and community development. Considering the above, the rationale for my studies is to seek a better understanding of CSR strategies and practices and how they can be applied to increase the pro-poor contribution of tourism to community development in Zambia.

1.2 Background

Community development through CSR is a highly contested topic among academics and development practitioners. This topic evokes a wide range of discussion issues. One of the issues relates to concerns about inequitable power relations in CSR. This is the issue of interest to this thesis. Accordingly, this thesis seeks to address the following question: what is the significance of power relations in determining the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development in Mukuni communities in Zambia? This question stems from the background that some hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone have shown willingness to contribute to community development in Mukuni communities, also known as Mukuni Chiefdom, through CSR. However, they are not achieving as much as they might. Therefore, I saw the need to find out why. Because of this, I focused my inquiry mainly on the “how” of the CSR practices (types of CSR initiatives, approaches and outcomes).

The central research question above was framed after a broad review of academic literature on CSR and community development in developing countries. Firstly, the assumption arising from the review of literature on the study topic is that power relations and weak government policy and institutional capacities can undermine the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development. However, fewer studies have been conducted to verify this assumption and some scholars have suggested for more research on the topic (Manteaw, 2008; Muthuri, Moon, & Idemudia, 2012; Newell & Frynas, 2007; Van Alstine & Afionis, 2013).

² PDA Stands for Population and Community Development Association (mechai@pda.or.th and www.pda.or.th)

Flowing from the assumption, the study aim was formulated: to establish the significance of power relations in determining the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development in Mukuni communities. Contested views on CSR as a vehicle for community development in developing countries were encountered during the literature review. Concerns have been raised that CSR will fail to deliver on its promises in developing countries if it does not recognise and incorporate local contexts. There is also extensive scholarly literature that points to adverse effects of power on community participation, governance, and accountability in CSR. Broadly, these are examples of the issues of concern for this study (see more in Chapter 2).

Moving forward, from my work experience, I have observed that in initiatives where “power” is not recognised as an issue and managed properly, delivery of benefits to, and within communities, is adversely affected and it is often the poor majority who are disadvantaged most. The situation is worse in initiatives where government and external stakeholders does not get involved to protect the interests of the poor majority. This is irrespective of whether the initiative is between a company and a community, or between leaders and members within the community. This situation indicates the need to deliberately encourage equity (equal access to opportunities and benefits) in interventions that aim to improve the lives of the majority in poor communities in Zambia. As described above, if “power” problems exist between companies and communities, and within communities, this can have serious implications for the effectiveness of CSR and, particularly, on the distribution of opportunities and benefits. Therefore, part of the concern of this study is to suggest ways to encourage equity in CSR.

In view of this background, the doctoral research seeks to generate a deeper understanding of the significance of power relation issues in CSR; and to inform decision-makers and practitioners in Government, hotel and lodge companies, and donors/NGOs about how the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development in the study area can be improved.

1.3 CSR as a tool for Development

This doctoral research is also informed by optimistic claims from a wide range of scholars on the potential of CSR. For example, there are claims that CSR offers prospects for community development and poverty reduction in communities of

developing countries (Ashley & Haysom, 2006; Ite, 2004; Kabir, 2011; Sharp, 2006). This view is supported by arguments that CSR presents an important opportunity for governments in developing countries to collaborate with the private sector to optimise the impacts of CSR for community development in poor communities (Fox, Ward, & Howard, 2002). Imperatively, this asserts that governments are presented with the opportunity to harness the potential of CSR and to align CSR initiatives with priorities for community development. There are also optimistic arguments from a business perspective, that CSR is a strategic concept that not only improves the competitiveness of a corporation, but also contributes to the wellbeing of the society or community within which it operates (Burke & Logsdon, 1996; Porter & Kramer, 2002, 2006). Some scholars have even suggested that CSR should be broadly rooted in the understanding that corporations and society need each other (Porter & Kramer, 1999, 2011).

However, criticisms of CSR also exist. These criticisms include claims that there are too few empirical studies that have been conducted to verify the contribution of CSR interventions to community development and poverty reduction in developing countries (Banerjee, 2002; Frynas, 2005; Jenkins & Obara, 2008). Furthermore, some academics have argued that unless CSR adapts to local contexts, it will fail to sustainably contribute to the development of poor communities in developing countries (Banerjee, 2008; Hamann, 2006; Idemudia, 2011). Still others have questioned how companies whose main aim is to make profit (Blowfield, 2007; Hamann, 2003) and who lack essential expertise to undertake development, can effectively play the role of development agents (Blowfield & Dolan, 2010). Companies have also been criticised for “smoke-screening” community development without substantial emancipation (Clark, 2000), and for using CSR to justify their neo-capitalistic goals (Jenkins & Obara, 2008). This brief analysis of literature shows that there is yet no consensus in the global arena about what CSR can and cannot do, especially when it comes to community development (see more in Chapter Two).

Furthermore, there are relatively few studies that have been done on CSR in the tourism sector and in the Southern African region, particularly, in countries like Zambia. As Holcomb, Okumus, and Bilgihan (2010, pp. 316-317) have observed: “there is still limited knowledge about the CSR practices of companies in the tourism industry”. Moreover, Nyahunzvi (2013, p. 596), further states that there are very few such studies undertaken in developing countries, particularly from the African Continent compared

to elsewhere in the world. These arguments make this study an important one and provide a particular motivation for this research, to contribute to filling the information gaps that exist on CSR, tourism and community development.

1.4 Tourism and Corporate Social Responsibility in Zambia

As noted in the arguments above, the growing importance of CSR in development presents an important opportunity for governments in developing countries such as Zambia to partner with the private sector to improve lives of people living in poor rural communities. Although on the one hand, the country has witnessed increased enthusiasm among companies in the tourism industry, that are investing in CSR in recent years, on the other hand, there is a worsening poverty situation in rural communities adjacent to tourism destinations. However, it is surprising that CSR has not yet been fully embraced by the Zambian Government, particularly, the Ministry of Tourism, as one of its strategies for achieving community development goals. This is in spite of reports that some companies in the tourism industry have voluntarily decided to support community development through CSR.

Taking into account the arguments above, this study is still optimistic that optimisation of the impacts of CSR for community development in Mukuni communities may be feasible if issues of power relations and related challenges are recognised and resolved.

Another point to note is that the Government has not put in place wholesale measures to regulate the CSR behaviour of companies. Therefore, CSR is still regarded as voluntary. This situation tends to make companies to feel very powerful. In the tourism sector, the only exceptions are those companies involved in safari hunting activities in very remote, poor communities that live adjacent to game management areas (GMAs) where hunting activities take place. In these cases, safari hunting companies are required by law to sign concession agreements with the Government through the Zambia Wildlife Authority (ZAWA) in consultation with affected communities. Under concession agreements, safari hunting companies identify the types of community projects (CSR initiatives) they will undertake in communities neighbouring their hunting areas, including elaborating on how and when they are going to carry out those initiatives (GRZ, 1998). Although the institutional capacity of the Ministry of Tourism is weak, at least there is a provision to officially monitor and regulate the behaviour of safari hunting companies. The same demand is not made on other tourism companies such as hotel and lodge

companies, whether or not they are located in GMAs. As such, there is no legislation in Zambia that seeks to regulate the corporate behaviour of hotel and lodge companies in poor communities.

It is also important to state that CSR is not a new concept in Zambia, particularly in the mining industry. It has been an integral part of the mining industry since 1964 after Zambia's independence. From about 1964 to the early 1990s, the Government jointly owned and operated mines with mining multinational companies. During this period, the Government and its mining partners provided services such as free education, free water supply, free electricity, community welfare activities and other benefits through CSR directly to mining communities until the early 1990s when mines were privatised (Eweje, 2006; Kivuitu, Yamayamba, & Fox, 2005; Mayondi, 2014). Perhaps these free services stopped because CSR was not emphasised to the new mine owners. Because of this, the reappearance of CSR after mines were privatised (in early 1990s) has been unique in that it has come back with noticeable public and community demands for relevant, direct and sustainable benefits from companies that are using local resources to do their businesses. In the case of mining, these demands are clearly based on the negative impacts that arise from mining activities such as defacing of the environment, causing air, land and water pollution which adversely affect neighbouring communities and spiral out into more people-problems that include disease, displacement, and loss of sources of livelihoods (Eweje, 2006; Negi, 2011; Van Alstine & Afionis, 2013).

In contrast, environmental impacts caused by tourism are not as visible and extensive as those caused by extractive industries such as mining. However, the most important adverse effects on the livelihoods of people in communities adjacent to tourism areas arise from demand for more customary land for tourism development and expansion. This demand for customary land inevitably leads to displacement, disruption and loss of access to sources of livelihoods of poor people in rural communities in Zambia. This is the case with people in Mukuni communities who have surrendered their customary land to allow for tourism expansion in exchange for promises to benefit from tourism development. Studies have shown that rural communities in Zambia, and elsewhere in Africa, are becoming more aware of their losses and are beginning to demand a share of the development gains (Eweje, 2006; Negi, 2011).

Partly, this awareness is as a result of the efforts of special-interest groups and NGOs working in affected rural communities on various community development and environmental protection programmes (Warhurst, 2001). Negi (2011, p. 33) notes that in response to “localist” demands, a mining company operating in the North-Western Province of Zambia bowed to community and public demands and is implementing a recruitment system that reserves various unskilled and semi-skilled positions for the “indigenous” ethnic group of the area - the Kaonde - and has placed three Kaonde chiefs as gatekeepers of this system. It is rather too early to comment on how this recruitment system is benefiting the majority in the Kaonde area in view of obvious corporate, traditional and cultural power relations’ concerns. However, Negi has elaborated that “in Zambia a critique of a new paradigm of mining and society is increasingly occurring around the perceived inadequacy of capital’s developmental activities, the consequence of which has attracted myriad of political forces, including NGOs, religious institutions, and unions pushing for a greater redistribution of mining revenues through CSR...” (Negi, 2011, p. 34). It is not clear from Negi’s account how all these players recognise power as an issue and the extent to which they are involved in CSR to ensure greater parity in distributing opportunities and benefits for the majority in communities.

The changes taking place in the tourism industry are benchmarked and shaped by those that have taken place in the mining industry. Before the 1990s, the Anglo-American Company (AAC) and the Roan Selection Trust (RST) which explored and developed Zambia’s copper mines from the time of independence carried out many CSR initiatives. As mentioned earlier, studies by Eweje (2006) and Negi (2011) have confirmed that these companies built schools, hospitals, roads, water supply and sanitation infrastructure and offered education scholarships in their immediate township communities through CSR, presumably voluntarily. There was not such public and community scrutiny of what these private companies did that time, as there seems to be today. This clearly shows that things have changed on Zambia’s CSR front. Resulting from the scrutiny of mining companies by the public and communities, there is a domino-effect that is leading to an increase in the number of companies, in other sectors (including tourism), that are directly investing in CSR initiatives in neighbouring communities in Zambia.

However, at present, there are fewer scholarly studies to empirically account for what is happening, and the issues that have emerged in the tourism industry in Zambia in the

wake of this new era of CSR. This study is an attempt to contribute to filling this information gap. Comparatively, there are more studies that have been undertaken in the mining areas such as the mining towns in the North-Western and Copperbelt Provinces of Zambia, than in the tourism industry in areas such as Livingstone and South Luangwa. The next section elaborates the need for community development through CSR initiatives in the tourism industry.

1.5 The Need to Promote Community Development through CSR

From a tourism destination perspective, it is generally preferable for companies to be surrounded by prosperous communities in the areas where they do their businesses. If surrounding communities are prosperous, there would be a reduction in disruptive tendencies such as excessive begging and illegal trespassing on tourism business property. These tendencies can be a nuisance to tourism business operations. Besides, tourism is a uniquely sensitive and fragile business which depends a lot on the quality, peacefulness and hospitable experiences that a destination offers to its guests, including contributions from surrounding communities. To achieve progress in this area requires the genuine involvement of hotel and lodge companies in the development and improvement of the wellbeing of people in adjacent poor communities, beyond the interest of only seeking the social licence to operate model. Thus, the need for community development through CSR is especially important for hotel and lodge companies operating in tourism areas surrounded by poor rural communities. As Muthuri et al. (2012) put it:

“...the continued criticism levelled at corporate community initiatives in developing countries makes it even more paramount for companies to engage in processes of innovation where they adapt ideas, products, and processes that significantly benefit the business, the community stakeholders, and the wider society, as opposed to simply viewing community needs as opportunities to address core business issues...”(2012, p. 372).

For reasons cited above, hotel and lodge companies cannot afford to separate themselves from the communities around them. Wherever possible, surrounding communities should be taken as part of the totality of the experience guests should be offered. For example, the livelihood activities (such as small community businesses)

that a hotel or lodge company supports in the community through CSR, and the traditional life-style of the community can all be packaged as part of the tourism product of a destination, so that when guests book their stay at the hotel or lodge, they can take tours of the CSR initiatives the hotel or lodge supports, and relate with people in the community and the things communities do. Arising from this situation would be mutually beneficial relationships. Furthermore, some of the people that work in hotels and lodges come from communities around the business. The assumption is that the conditions in which they live in their communities may affect their morale at work or influence how they relate with guests. Thus, improving the conditions in employees' communities through direct and sustainable CSR initiatives should be seen to be of business value to the hotel and lodge business beyond just a business case model.

The need for community development through CSR in the tourism industry is also important to government, firstly, because the hotel and lodge companies can complement Government' efforts for community development and poverty reduction. Secondly, the hotel and lodge companies exist in the same communities as the poor, and therefore, have the closest first-hand experience of the needs of neighbouring communities, and perhaps also the best or most appropriate solutions to meet those community needs. Thirdly, CSR provides an important opportunity for Government and the private sector in tourism to come together to increase the pool of resources to tackle community development challenges through CSR in a more direct, innovative, and sustainable way (Mitchell & Ashley, 2006, p. 91; UNPD, 2002). Furthermore, some scholars have argued that once properly harnessed, in certain circumstances CSR can offer more opportunities for the private sector to create positive impacts in terms of community development and poverty reduction compared to Government and its development partners (Spenceley & Meyer, 2012).

There is also a need for community development through CSR on the grounds that the majority of people in Mukuni communities are still poor (Mbinji, 2012). From a human rights angle, hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone have a moral obligation to engage in CSR that will uplift the living standards of people in neighbouring Mukuni communities. Therefore, the enthusiasm already shown by these companies provides an opportunity to optimise the impacts of CSR for community development and poverty reduction in Mukuni. However, the optimisation of the impacts of CSR will require

government and the private sector to work in partnership - to innovate and to “pool resources together” and to act in the affirmative.

The next section briefly elaborates the contribution this study seeks to make.

1.6 Need to Adapt CSR Practices to Ensure Equity

Some academics have argued that the failure of CSR is as a result of its narrow view of development issues and the failure by decision makers and practitioners to analyse and incorporate the local context (Banerjee, 2002, 2008; Blowfield, 2007; Hamann & Kapelus, 2004; Idemudia, 2011). The contribution that this study makes in this regard is for the need to adapt CSR to local community contexts and to ensure greater equity in CSR practices among different stakeholders. It is particularly important to ameliorate the strong social-cultural practices (traditional power and cultural influences) and the weak government policy and institutional systems that seem to favour powerful groups and individuals at the expense of the majority in poor communities in developing countries like Zambia (Kivuitu et al., 2005; Van Alstine & Afionis, 2013). As enshrined in the study aim, this doctoral thesis explicitly investigates the CSR practices of hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone and power relations with respect to how these issues affect majority community participation, governance and accountability in the administration and implementation of CSR initiatives.

The findings of the study are discussed based on the analysis of the views and experiences of various participants selected from government, hotel and lodge companies, NGOs operating in Livingstone, and leaders, groups and individuals selected from Mukuni communities. The views and experiences were collected through the use of individual and group interviews. Network mapping and pairwise ranking and comparison analyses techniques, site observation, and document and website reviews were also applied to collect relevant information to this study. To understand the findings of this study, a theoretical perspective was framed and used as the “lens”. This framework is underpinned by the idea of *adapting* CSR practices to ensure greater *equity* in CSR (see Chapter Two).

Based on academic literature insights, adapting CSR practices is framed as the process of innovating CSR ideas: initiatives, approaches and processes to suit the local context (see theoretical arguments in 2.3). Equity is framed as the process of encouraging equitable power relations in CSR practices through the reduction of relational and

structural constraints to human freedoms (agency) (see theoretical arguments in 2.6). The study proposes that these two “frames” can be achieved through multi-stakeholder involvement in CSR issues. The terminology of equity is used to refer to ensuring equitable access to opportunities and benefits in CSR while equitable power relations are construed as relations that allow for significant incorporation of local community interests (agency) in CSR. Therefore, in this study, the presence of mechanisms for encouraging wider community participation (negotiation and/or consultation), governance and accountability in CSR issues have been used as indicators of equitable desirable power relations.

1.7 Main Research Issues and Objectives

In order to achieve the study aim noted earlier – “to establish the significance of power relations in determining the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development in Mukuni communities” – four specific research objectives have been developed (see Table 1). Table 1 also outlines the specific research questions and shows the chapters that have addressed respective study issues. The shaded phrases are the *frames* for this study.

Table 1: Specific research objectives and questions

Specific Research Objectives	Specific Research Question	Chapter where covered
To explore and analyse the different perspectives and arguments for and against CSR as a vehicle for community development in developing countries	What are the different perspectives on CSR that feature prominently in development and business debates in connection with community development in developing countries?	Chapter 2: Debates on CSR as a Vehicle for Community Development in Developing Countries
To investigate the CSR practices of hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone and the challenges faced (if any) in promoting CSR and community development in Mukuni	How are hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone overcoming the challenges of power relations in CSR in order to effectively contribute to Mukuni community development?	Chapter 5: CSR Practices of Hotel and Lodge Companies in Livingstone
To examine the practices and processes in community structures in Mukuni for opportunities and challenges for promoting CSR and community development in the area	How are the practices and processes in community structures in Mukuni communities facilitating or undermining the need to seek out community voices in CSR ?	Chapter 6: Seeking out Community Voices in CSR
To examine the tourism policy and local development coordination frameworks for opportunities and challenges in promoting CSR and community development in Mukuni	How are the tourism policy and local development coordination frameworks facilitating or undermining the promotion of CSR in the study area?	Chapter 7: Frameworks for promoting CSR and Managing Stakeholder Relationships

- The first research objective seeks to identify the different perspectives on CSR that feature prominently in development and business debates in connection with community development in developing countries.
- The second objective is intended to reveal power relations issues in CSR practices of companies with respect to community participation, governance and accountability at company-community level of CSR relationships.
- The third objective seeks to examine the power relations issues in CSR within the community (i.e. community level relationships). The specific purpose of this objective is to assess community structures used to undertake CSR initiatives for deliberately designed mechanisms or approaches that aim to encourage (i) deep relationship-building (ii) broad-based and equity-enhancing and (iii) significant control and ownership of CSR initiatives by the majority in communities.
- The fourth objective considers whether frameworks for connecting CSR and community development and for managing relationships between different stakeholders in CSR, have been put in place and whether they are supportive to CSR.

These four objectives provide an original and deep understanding of the significance of power relations in determining the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for broad-based community development in Mukuni communities in Zambia. Using a qualitative research approach, the study has provided empirical answers to a wide range of research questions as it makes an original contribution to the body of knowledge on CSR and community development in developing countries. The next section provides an outline of this thesis report.

1.8 Outline of the Thesis

This section outlines the structure of this thesis. This introductory Chapter, Chapter One, ‘Community Development through Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)’ has contextualised this study by presenting the background to the study. It has explained the motivation for undertaking the study topic described above and given insights about the CSR space in Zambia. It has also justified the need for promoting community development through CSR. The chapter has outlined the overall aim, the objectives, the central research question and the four specific research questions as well as the principal methodological considerations of this study.

Chapter Two, 'Debates on CSR as a Vehicle for Community Development,' is a review of existing literature of relevance to this study. The chapter starts by discussing literature on the definitions of CSR and then moves on to review CSR prospects and practices from business and development perspectives. Next, it reviews some prominent perspectives on CSR drivers. This leads to a discussion on the growing importance of CSR in community development and poverty reduction in developing countries. This is followed by a review of literature on power relations and delivery of CSR benefits in communities. The chapter then gives a general overview of the CSR agenda in the tourism industry. Furthermore, the chapter reviews emerging issues and status of the tourism CSR agenda in Zambia and its SADC neighbours, thus revealing the research gaps of interest to this doctoral research, and finally articulates the theoretical framework of the study.

Chapter Three, 'Situating Tourism CSR in Zambia's Agenda for Social and Economic Development', describes the importance of tourism to Zambia and its SADC neighbours. Starting with a regional overview, the chapter critically reviews literature on tourism's potential for social and economic growth in SADC countries. The chapter then highlights on-going debates on the development importance of tourism at the continental and SADC levels and the impact this is creating in individual countries. Following this, a specific discussion to profile Zambia's poverty challenge is provided to give the general context of this doctoral study. Included in this, is a discussion on how Zambia can establish strategic links between tourism, CSR and community development. The rest of the discussion focuses on the CSR growth trends in Zambia and major constraining issues. Flowing from this, the chapter presents the social-cultural settings of Mukuni communities and justification for selecting Mukuni communities as the study area.

Chapter Four, 'Study Methodology, Methods and Data Sources', explains the methodology of this doctoral study. The chapter begins with a discussion of some terminologies used in scientific research before moving to discuss how the philosophy of the research methodology (the research approach) was determined. This is followed by the presentation of the research process, the fieldwork phases and how research ethics were applied in the field. This leads into the description of research methods and techniques used in data collection, the types of data sources, and how methods and techniques were applied in the field. After this a description of how raw data was coded

and analysed and used in writing up the doctoral thesis report is explained. This is followed by a discussion of the standing and reflections of the researcher relative to the research.

Chapter Five, 'CSR Practices of Hotel and Lodge Companies in Livingstone', is the main findings chapter of this thesis. It discusses the prominent types of CSR initiatives and approaches of hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone and the outcomes associated with the initiatives in Mukuni communities. To do this, it focuses on CSR practices in relation to measures put in place to encourage community-based participation, governance and accountability, which it uses as indicators to characterise the nature of power relations issues at play. Most importantly, the chapter examines how companies have engaged in innovative processes to adapt and encourage greater parity in CSR practices to benefit both the community and their business interests. Next, the chapter discusses CSR drivers that hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone apply for engaging in CSR. The rationale is to highlight factors (particularly local) which can be used to stimulate appropriate CSR practices for optimising the impacts of CSR for community development in the area.

Chapter Six, 'Seeking out Community Voices in CSR' examines the presence of deliberate mechanisms by hotels and lodges to seek the voices of communities in CSR from a community perspective. It starts by assessing whether there are opportunities for communities to negotiate their expectations from CSR with the hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone. By doing this, the chapter tries to find out the audience companies in the area have in mind when making their decisions to undertake CSR in Mukuni, and whether they care about incorporating the expectations and interests of communities. This analysis provides insights about the company-community level CSR relationships with respect to participation, governance and accountability in CSR. The chapter then examines how majority community voices in community structures used to undertake CSR by hotel and lodge companies is sought. The intention here is to generate deeper understanding of the CSR relationships within the communities in relation to majority participation, governance and accountability in CSR.

Chapter Seven, 'Frameworks for promoting CSR and Managing Stakeholder Relationships', examines the national tourism policy framework for opportunities to connect CSR and community development and the district development coordinating

committees (DDCC) framework for managing relationships between different stakeholders in CSR. It first reviews the policy issues, objectives and strategies in relation to community development to establish opportunities in the tourism policy framework for linking CSR and community development. Included in this review, is the presence or absence of these opportunities and how that effects or affects equity in CSR with regard to participation, governance and accountability. The chapter also discusses the views of participants on the possible role of government and other stakeholders in promoting CSR with a particular focus on the appropriateness of the DDCC framework as a framework for increasing interactions between different stakeholders in CSR.

Chapter Eight, 'Prospects for Equity in CSR Practices', discusses issues that have emerged from the study. Overall, it illustrates the significance of power relations in determining the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development thereby contributing to the broader argument of "community development through CSR". Emerging issues such as the importance of understanding and encouraging a unified local conceptualisation and application of the concept of CSR, the value and need to encourage change of practices towards sustainable community development in the tourism industry, the importance of promoting stronger community-based governance and accountability structures and policy frameworks for promoting CSR, and the implications of all these factors on prospects for community development through CSR have been discussed.

Chapter Nine, 'Conclusions and Recommendations', present the main conclusions and recommendations of this study.

CHAPTER TWO

2 Debates on CSR as a Vehicle for Community Development

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores issues which have generated a great deal of interest in corporate social responsibility and community development. The main purpose is to establish the most relevant arguments in literature that relate to the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development in developing countries. The chapter starts by considering what CSR is understood to mean by different scholars and contextualises the definition of CSR for this study. After this, the importance of CSR in business and development issues is discussed and the increasing role of private sector entities as critical development actors is highlighted. Then, a discussion of some prominent perspectives on CSR is presented, and the growing importance of CSR in community development and poverty reduction in developing countries. This is followed by a review of literature on power relations and delivery of CSR benefits in communities. After this the chapter makes a general review of the CSR agenda in the tourism industry, and specifically reviews and critically discusses literature on the growth of the CSR agenda in Zambia and its SADC neighbours and other parts of Africa. This leads to identification of research gaps and framing of the study argument about CSR as a vehicle for community development. Finally, the chapter articulates the theoretical framework of this doctoral study.

2.2 The Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) Concept

The best starting point is to explain what corporate social responsibility (CSR) means. Currently, almost every researcher observes that there is no one definition for CSR. Instead there is an abundance of definitions (Dahlsrud, 2006), which are often biased towards specific interests (Van Marrewijk, 2003) and tend to present challenges in implementing and measuring the impact of the developmental interventions relevant to CSR (Blowfield, 2007, p. 685). For example, some perspectives emphasise corporate compliance which tends to narrow the definition and development impacts of CSR to simply meeting certain legal requirements in the countries where businesses operate.

Thus, some scholars have suggested that what is needed is a broad definition of CSR that goes beyond mere corporate compliance. They have argued that a definition that frames CSR to be an overall business commitment to sustainable development would be

best suited to understanding the roles of other stakeholders in CSR (Fox et al., 2002). As noted by Dahlsrud (2006), some definitions have encompassed either environmental, social, economic, stakeholder or voluntariness factors, or a combination of these. Other scholars have defined CSR from the perspective of an approach. They have argued along the lines that CSR is an approach by which the private sector role in development can be increased (Carroll, 1999; Klein & Dawar, 2004; Matteraa, Baena, & Cervino, 2012; Moir, 2001; Nicolau, 2008; O'Dwyer, 2002). In Zambia, CSR is commonly referred to as an act of “giving back” to communities in which companies operate (see more details in Chapter Three). Thus, there is no single universally acceptable definition of CSR (Blowfield & Murray, 2008; Crane, Matten, & Spence, 2008; Dahlsrud, 2006). As seen from this review, corporations seem to dominate the right to define and shape CSR.

Apart from the definition, Coles, Fenclova, and Dinan (2013), noted a multiplicity of terms used interchangeably to refer to the same idea or concept such as social responsibility, corporate responsibility, corporate social and environmental responsibility, corporate citizenship, corporate social investment, company stakeholder responsibility, business environmental and social responsibility, corporate sustainability management and corporate social responsibility. This situation adds confusion to attempts to understand and apply the concept of CSR from CSR literature. However, the World Bank has broadly defined CSR as “the commitment of business to contribute to sustainable economic development - working with employees, their families, the local community and society at large to improve the quality of life, in ways that are both good for business and good for development” (Fox, 2004; Ward, 2004, p. 3).

Therefore, for the purposes of this doctoral research, I have defined CSR as “community initiatives to which a hotel or lodge company in Livingstone has committed its resources to generate some positive impact on people in Mukuni communities”. This is a tourism-sector-specific and localised framing of CSR for purposes of this research. The initiatives covered under this definition broadly include support towards improvements in housing, health, education, food security, water supply and sanitation, support of all sorts to orphanages and community associations or groups, support for capacity building and facilitation of income generating activities, or creating business and job opportunities in communities, and the like. In essence, the definition embodies activities undertaken by hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone

that aim to enable the community to meet its basic needs and to attain aspirational needs. Since the meaning and interpretation of CSR is still a matter of intense academic debate, and generates different and often conflicting perspectives, this study found it also necessary to investigate how different participants view and interpret CSR, which stakeholder dominates, and how this in turn helps to shape CSR practices locally (see Section 8.2 in Chapter Eight). The next two sections analyse debates on prospects for business to deliver on CSR.

2.3 CSR, Business and Development: Debating CSR Prospects and Practices

CSR has increasingly become an important concept in development and business debates. In development discourses, it is claimed that CSR offers new prospects for addressing poverty and underdevelopment in developing countries (Bohdanowicz & Zientara, 2008; Moon, 2007; Porter & Kramer, 2006; Sharp, 2006). For instance, the United Nations (UN) has officially recognised the important role the private sector plays in development and called for a ‘global partnership’ for development (United Nations, 2012). State governments, especially in developing countries, have been translating and domesticating this partnership.

The UN further demonstrated the importance of the role of the private sector in development by including private sector representation on the UN formal process for designing the post 2015 global development agenda to replace the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (United Nations, 2004, 2012). The prominence of CSR and the private sector’s role in development, has also been demonstrated by players such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation who have invested billions of dollars in CSR-related philanthropic activities (McCoy, Kembhavi, Patel, & Luintel, 2009; McNeil Jr., 2011; Ravishankar et al., 2009; Smith, 2011). In Nigeria, Ite (2004) concluded, with no doubts, that multinational corporations, such as Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC), are capable of making significant direct and indirect contributions to poverty elimination through CSR strategies and initiatives. The President of the World Bank made the following statement in 2000:

“In the space of the last ten years, the private sector has taken an increasingly important role in terms not only of our economic life, but of development. Ten years ago, the flow of funds to developing countries was \$30 billion [from the private sector]. Nine years later, it was \$300 billion.

Ten years ago, official development assistance was \$60 billion. Ten years later, it's \$45 billion. So, from being half the size of development assistance ten years ago, the private sector is now five, six, seven times the size, depending on the year”³.

In similar debates from a business perspective, it has been argued that CSR is a strategic concept that not only improves the competitiveness of a corporation but also contributes to the wellbeing of the society or community within which it operates (Burke & Logsdon, 1996; Porter & Kramer, 2002, 2006). Porter and Kramer have suggested that CSR should be broadly rooted in the understanding that corporations and society need each other: they have called this idea - the concept of ‘shared value’ (Porter & Kramer, 1999, 2011). In this concept of shared value, they have argued that by integrating the values of business with those of society through strategic CSR practices, business and society will achieve mutual benefits and progress. However, some academics have contested these propositions, particularly in terms of what CSR can and cannot achieve. For example, CSR and the concept of shared value have been criticised for mainly focusing on interests of corporations more than those of communities and society (Hamann, 2003; Jenkins & Obara, 2008, p. 9; Muthuri et al., 2012).

Furthermore, contrasting views hold that there are still few empirical studies, particularly in southern Africa, that verify that CSR significantly contributes to community development and poverty reduction (Blowfield, 2007; Jenkins & Obara, 2008; Nyahunzvi, 2013; Van Alstine & Afionis, 2013). These scholars do not deny the fact that CSR offers new prospects for development, they are simply sceptical as to how corporations, whose core business is to make profits and which lack essential expertise to undertake development, could become the drivers of poverty reduction and development in developing countries (Blowfield, 2007; Blowfield & Dolan, 2010; Fox, 2004). These limitations of CSR being pointing out here are relevant, especially considering the fact that there is a huge power relations gap between corporations and poor communities. These arguments can be important for refining and redefining CSR practices, especially in some developing countries where the concept is still at an immature stage. In fact, the concept should not be viewed as a static construct, but a

³ Remarks at the National Press Club; ‘Challenges facing the Bank in the 21st Century’, by James D. Wolfensohn, President, The World Bank Group, Washington, DC, 14th March 2000.

dynamic one that can be changed and adapted to meet local demands according to different local community contexts.

Further critiques of CSR have questioned how CSR can contribute to sustainable development, when it clearly fails to recognise and incorporate the local context (Banerjee, 2008; Hamann, 2006; Idemudia, 2011). The concerns in this regard are that the failure to recognise the local context might ignore the traditions, cultures and power dynamics of local communities and end up inadvertently harming local cohesion, resilience and livelihoods of poor communities. When such things are harmed, that could worsen the situation for poor communities, especially those who may already be marginalised and impoverished by government and donor-led neo-liberal development policies. Apart from the need to incorporate the local context, the CSR agenda in developing countries requires concerted efforts of all stakeholders: the private sector, donors, civil society and governments (Jenkins & Obara, 2008, p. 19). This is because achieving the overall effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development may require the interventions and complementary roles of different stakeholders through measures that encourage multi-stakeholder involvement in CSR.

Turning to contentions by corporations to keep governments from getting involved in CSR issues on grounds that CSR is voluntary, some scholars have warned of the implications of excluding the role of government and other stakeholders from CSR practices (Fox et al., 2002; Hamann & Kapelus, 2004; Ite, 2004; Jenkins & Obara, 2008). They have cautioned that this situation may just create unsustainable dependencies in poor communities on corporations, which can lead to chaos and misery in circumstances where the corporation closes down or relocates to other places (Banerjee, 2008; Jenkins & Obara, 2008). In fact, other academics have argued rightly that the expansion of CSR could be a deliberate “apparatus” designed to legitimise and consolidate the power of large corporations over society (Banerjee, 2002, 2008; Mitchell, 1989). In this regard, this critique presumes that the emancipatory intent of CSR serves to marginalise and control large groups of people including poor communities. This argument links back to the criticism of the concept of ‘shared value’ advanced by Potter and Kramer (Porter & Kramer, 2011).

Similarly, CSR practices that are largely motivated by minimalist and philanthropic reasons, in tokenistic-ad hoc fashion (for example, simple donations) have been

criticised for the same reasons (Ashley & Haysom, 2005; Jenkins & Obara, 2008, p. 17). These simplistic CSR interventions, in reality, show that corporations are only interested in using CSR to obtain the cooperation (or social license-to-operate) of communities to get away with ecological and social abuses of their activities (Ite, 2004; Warhurst, 2001). This is a power relations tactic too, because it relies on coaxing the unsuspecting communities to cooperate. Besides, tokenistic practices are often characterized by a donor-recipient relationship, low levels of corporate–community interaction (Austin, 2000) and unequal power relations. Still in connection with CSR practices, other scholars have called CSR as just a form of ‘smoke-screen’, ‘green-washing’ and an attempt to improve a company’s image without real changes on the ground in poor communities (Hamann, 2003, p. 239). While these criticisms have been applied mainly to CSR practices of oil and mining multinational companies operating in some parts of Africa, they could equally apply for companies involved in CSR in other sectors such as tourism in similar circumstances.

It is important to note that these arguments serve the purpose of deepening our understanding of CSR in terms of opportunities and limitations. As highlighted by Sharp (2006) and Hamann (2006), critiques have not only contributed to the maturation of the contemporary CSR agenda, but have also generated rich insights with regard to the strengths and limitations of CSR within developing countries. For example, there is still no clear consensus yet on the issue of the role of government and other stakeholders in CSR (Frynas, 2005; Idemudia, 2011). Understanding the opportunities and limitations of CSR and incorporating them in CSR practices associated with community development is critical if CSR is to generate sustainable outcomes for communities in developing countries.

Another important aspect of the local context is availability of transparent mechanisms of engagement with communities. Currently, private sector-community CSR engagement approaches are not yet explicitly defined to foster clear participation, governance and accountability in the administration and implementation of CSR initiatives (Frynas, 2005; Lund-Thomsen, 2005; Manteaw, 2008; Muthuri et al., 2012; Newell, 2005; Van Alstine & Afionis, 2013). The arguments of these academics suggest that if CSR is to enhance local systems and build local resilience and contribute to sustainable development of communities, the roles of other stakeholders and the means of engagement should be developed, analysed and put to test and re-testing in

communities. This is why a shift in research focus from the business perspective which uses the ‘private firm’ as a unit of CSR analysis, to studies focusing on CSR and development practice with ‘the community stakeholders’ as the unit of analysis, is not only profitable, but also inevitable at this point from a community development perspective.

2.4 Prominent Perspectives on Drivers for Corporate Social Responsibility

There are several perspectives in mainstream literature to explain why corporate leaders make varying decisions to engage in CSR with communities. Porter and Kramer (2006) have presented four arguments in an attempt to explain beliefs or philosophies that drive corporate leaders to do CSR in communities. The first is moral obligation, which they say entails that corporations have a duty to be good citizens and to do the right thing. This CSR factor relies entirely on the prerogative of the leaders of the company to do something to help communities as an act of moral responsibility. Hence, this dependence on the corporation skews power to shape CSR practices greatly towards corporations. In connection with this belief, some scholars have argued that CSR should remain voluntary (Merwe & Wöcke, 2007). However, the weakness of the moral and voluntary CSR perspectives is that in reality the “eye” of the leaders of corporations is more on the core-business interests than it is on the interests of communities. Therefore, there is need to involve “others” in CSR, to protect the rights of poor communities to benefit from the exploitation of resources around them from the business-centred actions of corporations.

Their second CSR factor is sustainability. Under this, Porter and Kramer (2006) claim that companies emphasise the need for environmental and community stewardship. They have described corporations that are driven by this belief as long-term thinkers: that operate in ways that secure long-term economic performance by avoiding short-term behaviour that is socially detrimental or environmentally wasteful. They have argued that this philosophy is applied by corporations in situations that coincide with the company’s economic or regulatory interests. However, similarly, the “eye” of the leaders of such corporations is still centred more on their core-business interests in their CSR practices than on poor communities. As pointed out earlier, this skewedness towards their business interests might account for much of the criticism levelled against companies that their CSR practices are just a form of “greenwashing” or smoke-screening, tools mainly serving to marginalise rather than to emancipate communities.

As Hamann (2003, p. 249) has observed, to reverse these criticisms requires corporations making conscious efforts to embrace “sincerity” and “trust” as vital resources in their practices. Practically, sincerity and trust should be demonstrated by corporation through their willingness to engage in processes of innovation to adapt appropriate CSR practices that significantly encourage greater parity in CSR and seek to direct more benefits to communities, and the wider society, as opposed to simply viewing community needs as opportunities to address their core business issues (Hamann & Kapelus, 2004; Muthuri et al., 2012).

The third factor is licence to operate or social contract, which is derived from the argument that every company requires tacit or explicit permission to operate from local stakeholders such as government and the communities in which it intends to operate. The ‘licence to operate’ or ‘social contract’ factor can most likely be more effective for community development when there is the presence of a ‘social threat’ to the business (Nyahunzvi, 2013). Warhurst (2001, p. 63) uses the phrase ‘voice of society’ to refer to ‘social threat’. It can be established from this that the presence of a ‘social threat’ can ignite pressure on corporations to act in a socially responsible way and to seek a ‘social contract’ to buy the cooperation of the communities. In this way, the presence of a social threat is able, through a ‘social contract’, to shape CSR relationships and practices that involve and include the interests of the communities.

Porter and Kramer (2006, p. 4), have argued that the licence to operate or social contract factor is pragmatic. However, it is Moir (2001)’s argument which is more insightful. He has argued that companies that adopt a view of social contract or license to operate would describe their involvement as part of ‘societal expectation’. He further states that “however, whilst this can explain the initial motivation, it might not explain the totality of their involvement”. This view agrees with ideas that companies engage in CSR for a range of reasons and one factor is insufficient to explain their behaviour (Moir, 2001, p. 10). Although the presence of a social threat might leverage some power for the community to negotiate their expectations, the roles of government and other stakeholders such as NGOs can augment more reliable opportunities for communities to negotiate. For example, it is reported that the involvement of NGOs in CSR is helping poor communities in some mining areas in Zambia to negotiate a fair share of benefits with mining companies (Negi, 2011; Van Alstine & Afionis, 2013).

The fourth factor is reputation which, according to Porter and Kramer (2006) tends to entice most companies to justify their CSR practices on the basis that they will improve the company's image, strengthen its brand, improve the workforce morale and, more importantly, raise the value of its stock. This philosophy has been linked to the argument of financial profitability also known as the "business case" as well as the "shared value" model advanced by Porter and Kramer (2011). In this belief, the power to shape CSR practices is clearly in the hands of the corporation. Incidentally, more efforts and time has been focused on this argument which appears to be currently 'over researched' when compared to other aspects of CSR. Reputation, business case and shared value have triggered immense debates in CSR literature with respect to companies targeting CSR as a tool for image building and re-branding (Du, Bhattacharya, & Sen, 2007; Klein & Dawar, 2004; Lee & Park, 2009; Luo & Bhattacharya, 2006; Matteraa et al., 2012; Nicolau, 2008; Werther Jr & Chandler, 2005). As a matter of fact, it has been noted that most corporations have raised the importance of their public relations (PR) units and PR strategies rather than the CSR development practice cadre, mainly to achieve their image building and re-branding goals and meeting all annual reporting and public disclosure requirements (Frankental, 2001; Luo & Bhattacharya, 2006).

In contributing to this process of mapping the factors that drive companies to engage in CSR, Warhurst (2001, pp. 63-65), presents these factors from a global and project-specific perspective. This perspective makes it easy to compare global and specific factors that might drive companies to engage in CSR. She came up with: globalisation; 'voice of society'; voluntary codes of conduct; action groups; regulation; conditions of finance; supply-chain pressures; industry peer pressure; internal pressures; and environmental change. She argues that corporations are persuaded to engage in CSR as they attempt to uphold global ethics on the need to transfer technology, economic benefits and social investments through their expanded activities in developing countries. According to Warhurst (2001) and (Nyahunzvi, 2013) the "voice of society" also acts as a driver for CSR when the public and communities demand that corporations should broaden the distribution of business benefits from natural resource exploitation in developing countries. Public or community concerns have also given rise to various codes of conduct for CSR in a similar way (Hughes & Scheyvens, 2015; Warhurst, 2001). Warhurst (2001) notes that special interest groups such as NGOs and

other civil society organisations are also increasingly becoming important drivers of change through their advocacy and advisory activities in communities of developing countries. This agrees with recent findings of a study conducted by Van Alstine and Afionis (2013) in the North-Western mining province of Zambia, which has recognised the need for a greater role of NGOs and Civil Society Organisations if corporate-community interactions are to yield more beneficial outcomes for communities.

As Warhurst (2001) explains, the act of integrating environmental and social controls at the onset of the business operation to ensure companies deliver net positive development benefits to communities and society at large, has become an important driver for CSR. In addition, she explains that conditions of finance equally act as effective drivers for CSR through the environmental or social conditions to reduce future liabilities that may be attached to equity investment or credit obtained by a company's financiers. She says drivers such as supply-chain pressures have also pushed firms to subcontract local suppliers to source products instead of doing it all alone, thereby facilitating CSR.

On the other hand, industry peer pressure has also driven corporations to engage in CSR on the grounds that the performance of a firm is often judged against its peers (Warhurst, 2001). In response to these peer pressures; companies seek management system accreditation, which in turn tend to prop up responsible behaviours through CSR. Internal pressures work in a similar way, except in this case, it is the shareholders and employees pressuring corporations to be more responsible. Last, but not least, Warhurst (2001) explains that environmental change is also a driver of CSR in that it invokes proactive CSR responses from companies, governments and communities to reduce the risks of environmental and social disasters prompted by environmental changes, which can be extended to the risk of eroding traditional and cultural assets of communities. However, it can be noticed in all these arguments that the issue of power relations, although inherent, is not explicitly treated, especially when CSR is to do with poor communities.

Furthermore, other researchers maintain that corporations will act in a responsible manner as a result of legal or ethical reasons that are motivated either internally or externally (Holcomb, Upchurch, & Okumus, 2007; Moon, 2007). The legal or ethical construct seems to straddle the moral, human rights, sustainability and licence to

operate constructs. Thus, inasmuch as several studies support self-regulation, as explained by Burke and Logsdon (1996) basing their argument on the fact that it is the corporations that define their own CSR, the proponents of legal or ethical constructs seem to suggest the importance of the involvement of other stakeholders, such as governments in a formal regulation of CSR practices (Coles et al., 2013). However, in situations where policy and institutional capacities are weak, poor communities still remain unprotected from adverse effects of undesirable power relations in CSR.

It is important to acknowledge that all these drivers have limitations, and none of them individually offers sufficient guidance on how corporate leaders make decisions that determine their CSR practices, or how they ensure greater equity in CSR so that more benefits are directed at poor communities. Holcomb et al. (2007), Juholin (2004), McIntosh, Thomas, Leipzinger, and Coleman (2003) and Gan (2006), explain that there is a wide range of reasons that motivate companies to act responsibly. In this regard, this study is also concerned with identifying prominent factors (beliefs or philosophies) that drive hotel and lodge companies to undertake CSR in Mukuni communities. The purpose is to recommend options for applying the understanding of CSR beliefs or philosophies to invoke appropriate CSR practices to optimise community development. This is pursuant to the main objective of establishing the significance of power relations in determining the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development in Mukuni communities in Zambia.

The next section explores literature on the growing importance of CSR in community development.

2.5 CSR and Community Development in Developing Countries

As highlighted earlier, the global recognition of CSR and increased private sector roles in issues of development (Sharp, 2006), have potentially conferred the private sector with a responsibility to contribute to an inclusive sustainable development effort globally or locally. Some official development agencies and members of the OECD⁴ and DAC⁵ have been enthusiastic about the perceived development capabilities of CSR. For example, the Department for International Development (DFID), in the UK, argues that the private sector through CSR is capable of generating equitable, poverty reducing and more inclusive growth by following socially responsible practices (DFID, 2001-

⁴ OECD stands for Organisation for Economic Corporation and Development

⁵ DAC stands for Development Assistance Committee

2004). Although this optimism is good, it may be too simplistic considering the potential problem of power relations between companies and poor communities, and the fact that local contexts, especially for communities in developing countries, face extremely varied and complex problems.

First, CSR needs a strong policy framework that is supportive to communities for CSR to function effectively as a vehicle for community development. Supportive or enabling policies aim to protect poor communities from undue exploitation or exclusion from sharing benefits of development taking place around them (Scheyvens & Momsen, 2008; Scheyvens & Russell, 2012). As observed by Fox et al. (2002), policy choices can be a critical driver in shaping CSR relationships, activities and community benefits. In situations where policies are weak, poor communities, for lack of voice, are at the mercy of companies that are mostly favoured by neo-liberalisation policies of governments in developing countries.

The scenario is that lowest income countries in Southern Africa, as elsewhere, are in a hurry to develop. As a result, they are desperate for foreign investment. But in the absence of community-enabling and equity-enhancing policies, as observed by Scheyvens and Momsen (2008), poor communities have not benefited from investments made on their customary land, instead they have lost both ownership and access to their communal land assets and livelihoods to large foreign companies. In the absence of policy mechanisms that protect poor communities and allow them to benefit from development around them, poverty is exacerbated. For this reason, in conceptualizing and practising CSR, the concept should also recognise the local issues relating to policy and policy practices that affect community development in different localities.

Second, CSR needs a supportive social-cultural setting for it to function effectively as a vehicle for community development. Contextual-process issues such as corporate-community power relations, traditional power and cultural influences have been acknowledged as a potential problem in academic debates (Hamann, 2003, pp. 247-249; Hamann & Kapelus, 2004; Jenkins & Obara, 2008; Jick, 1979; Muthuri et al., 2012; Newell, 2005). However, they have not been fully researched empirically to determine how they affect the effectiveness of CSR in practice as a vehicle for community development and poverty reduction in communities of developing countries. However, suggestions have been made in academic literature that in order to overcome these

issues, there is need for sincere commitment on the part of corporations and other stakeholders to innovate CSR practices (initiatives and processes/approaches) to ensure proper involvement of community stakeholders in CSR initiatives (Muthuri, 2008).

The power relations problems cited above, coupled with the lack of innovation have a bearing on participation, governance and accountability in CSR initiatives. So far, little is known about how companies are endeavouring to involve communities in CSR processes in communities of developing countries in Southern African, how the corporate-community relationships are working and the effects of the whole situation on the effectiveness of CSR. To this end, Muthuri (2008, p. 185), states that “Research on how communities participate in decision-making and governance structures in [CSR] programmes is largely lacking. [CSR] approaches as examined still demonstrate business dominance in decision-making processes and practices....” Similarly, governance and accountability concerns in CSR undertaken in communities are raised in academic literature but have not been fully researched empirically. Muthuri (2008, p. 185) again rightly points out that prominent models and arguments on CSR scholarship have focused more on preconditions, antecedents, trends, and outputs at the expense of questioning the [CSR] process.

Moving on to the types of CSR initiatives, Denzin (1978, p. 35) notes that tokenistic and philanthropic practices are often characterized by a donor-recipient relationship and low levels of corporate–community interaction. Conversely, systematic – more coordinated and community involving CSR initiatives would involve more corporate–community interactions. Therefore, effects of undesirable power relations discussed above become more pronounced in CSR, if not addressed, as companies shift their corporate behaviour from tokenism and philanthropy to more systematic – more coordinated and community involving CSR initiatives. As such, studies on process issues in CSR, particularly regarding situations in communities of developing countries, are very important as they serve to inform decision-making and development practice.

2.6 Power Relations and Delivery of CSR Benefits in Communities

It is said that power is indispensable in human social, economic and political practices, but at the same time, power may be both productive and repressive and both enabling and constraining (Allen, 2002; Lukes, 2002). According to Morriss (1987, pp. 30-36), in the social context, power can be understood as the “ability to shape one’s own life or to

have control over others”. Barnett and Duvall (2005, p. 42) similarly argue that “power is the production, in and through social relations, of effects that shape the capacities of actors to determine their circumstances and fate” and in this regard, it can be argued that it is the power structures and relations that limit or enhance the ability of actors to determine their fate and the fate of others. These arguments include the effects of ‘the power’ that resides within individuals which predisposes the individual’s ability or agency to act or not to act, whatever the case may be, to change their circumstances and fate within their social world. This implies that power influences the practices and outcomes of structured behaviour and development processes and outcomes as well, in all human social, economic and political situations.

In demonstrating the relationship between power, human agency and social structures, Hayward and Lukes (2008) have concluded that power shapes human freedom. They have argued that for this reason, issues of freedom, domination and hierarchy should be central to studies involving human social, economic and political practices. Lukes (2002, p. 491), explains that such practices include (i) the mapping or structuring of our social world, which involves knowing who to influence, who to appeal to and who to avoid in seeking to achieve our end, (ii) assigning responsibility for imputing praise or blame for what we do or not do and (iii) evaluating social inequalities with the aim of distributing power to individuals to acquire the ability to shape and control their own lives. Hayward and Lukes (2008, p. 6) further explained that in power structures, “the powerful are those actors (individual or collective) who can reasonably be held responsible for limits imposed on the freedom of other actors”. Paraphrasing Hayward and Lukes (2008)’s views, it can be argued that development is badly served when the power structures and relations tend to largely serve the interests of those who are socially, economically and politically privileged in comparison with those who are underprivileged in these spheres.

This means that if the formal structures that have been put in place to deliver development incline towards disempowering the underprivileged by providing structural constraints on the freedom of participation, then development is badly served as a result of the formal structures. Furthermore, development can be badly served as a result of the action or inaction of those imputed with the responsibility to bring about development outcomes to others. Ball (1976, p. 249) states that, “when we say that someone has power or is powerful we are...assigning responsibility to a human agent or

agency for bringing (or failing to bring) about certain outcomes that impinge upon the interests of other human beings”. Therefore, if the goal of the development process is to target the improvement of the social wellbeing and empowerment of underprivileged communities, the development space in which development actors interface and interact should be devoid of relational and structural constraints that may act as barriers to human agency, or at worst give room for the hidden agendas of the most powerful actors to influence the ‘real’ interests of those excluded from direct negotiations by way of the structures or power relations.

Although there is diversity of arguments and opinions on power and agency, this study takes a practical application of the concept of power - it categorises the effects of power simply into equitable and inequitable power relations. From this perspective, *equitable power relations* is framed as “power” from those who are powerful that empowers those who are lower in the “power chain” (Chambers, 2006; Scheyvens, 2009) while *inequitable power relations* is framed as “power” from privileged actors that exerts a negative influence over those who are less privileged (Chambers, 2006; Scheyvens, 2009; Warhurst, 2001). Therefore, the subject of this study is about how actions or inactions of power holders effect or affect equity in CSR for differently placed people in communities.

There are contestations for and against the ability of CSR to act as an effective vehicle for development, especially the development of poor communities in developing countries. As already established, proponents of CSR point to corporate social investments in education, health, social infrastructures, micro-credit schemes, and employment opportunities, which stimulate economic growth and thus allow for poverty reduction (World Bank, 2001). To this end, empirical evidence by several scholars such as Idemudia (2009b), Ite (2004), Muthuri (2007), Lindgreen, Swaen, and Campbell (2010), Kamlongera (2013), Ashley and Haysom (2006), Rein and Stott (2009), Negi (2011), Van Alstine and Afionis (2013), and Nyahunzvi (2013) attest to such investments in countries such as Nigeria, Kenya, Botswana, Malawi, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. However, critics of CSR argue that in most cases such corporate social investments often have minimal to no effect in terms of improving the lives of intended beneficiaries mainly because of poor project execution, misplaced priorities, lack of accountability and lack of project sustainability (Banks, Scheyvens, McLennan, & Bebbington, 2016; Blowfield, 2012; Idemudia, 2014; McEwan,

Mawdsley, Banks, & Scheyvens, 2017; Rajak, 2016) perpetuated by little or no emphasis on aspects of equality and equity in CSR process and practices (Utting, 2007). This points to the fact that there may be a power relations problem in CSR which may be acting as a constraint on agency when it comes to participation, and distribution of opportunity and outcomes.

In connection with this, some scholars have argued that while CSR tends to contribute in a fragmented manner to the substantive aspects of development as mentioned earlier, CSR tends to neglect the process aspect of development such as social protection, empowerment, equality, equity and redistribution (Utting, 2007; Utting & Marques, 2010). The non-involvement of community members in CSR decision-making processes, as noted by Idemudia (2014, p. 427), by virtue of them occupying the lower end of the power chain, tends to reduce agency and consequently, denies communities the opportunity to dialogue and negotiate the development space to their own benefit (Banks et al., 2016).

This goes to show that spaces and mechanisms for ensuring proper corporate governance and accountability in CSR, especially for the delivery of sustainable community outcomes have not yet fully crystallised. In the absence of spaces and mechanisms for communities to genuinely engage in the CSR process and practices, powerful corporate and political individuals and organisations are likely to dominate CSR opportunities and outcomes at the expense of the disempowered and disadvantaged (Utting, 2007, pp. 704-707). Utting (2008, pp. 968-970) has suggested and explained that power relations need to be reconfigured if the challenge of corporate capitalism is to be tamed and more inclusive and equitable patterns of development are to be promoted.

Furthermore, Utting (2007, p. 705) suggests that multi-stakeholder initiatives could open up some spaces for dialogue and negotiation between corporations, communities and those who can speak on behalf of communities. Idemudia (2007, pp. 399-400) also proposes a change of strategy in CSR to reflect contemporary realities and concerns for transparency and accountability, to foster effective corporate-community dialogue. Similarly, drawing upon findings by Hooft (2006) from three case studies on supply chains and SMEs in Ghana, organisational and cultural challenges in CSR can be ably overcome through multi-stakeholder cooperation. These insights provide a strong

theoretical basis for this study which has conceptualised that multistakeholder initiatives could offer solutions to the problem of undesirable power relations and bring about equity in CSR undertaken by corporations in poor communities of developing countries.

As some scholars (Blowfield, 2010; Utting, 2007) have warned, attention should be paid first to clarifying concerns about the questions of 'who speaks for whom' and 'how and for whose benefit', if any multi-stakeholder initiative is to appropriately and accurately represent the voices and interests of disempowered and disadvantaged communities. Thus, this study contends that the central purpose of multi-stakeholder initiatives in CSR should be to 'uplift and empower' as opposed to the old notion of relations of patronage and clientelism, which tend to recreate the coercive bonds of the gift, inspiring deference and dependence, on the part of the recipient, rather than autonomy and empowerment (Rajak, 2008). Forthwith, this study embraces the idea that there should be a change from treating communities as passive recipients of development from corporations to espousing tenets of equal and mutual partnership involving active participation if CSR-related relationships and impacts are to lead to sustainable community development.

The next section looks at CSR trends in tourism.

2.7 CSR in Tourism

Corporations in various sectors including tourism have been increasingly investing in CSR over the last decade (Coles et al., 2013; Gan, 2006; Holcomb et al., 2007; Juholin, 2004; McIntosh et al., 2003). However, whether these CSR efforts actually contribute to poverty reduction and meaningful development in poor communities in developing countries requires more proof. It is argued that tourism offers the potential to contribute to the growth of the economies of low income countries (Christie, Eneida, Messerli, & Twining-Ward, 2014, pp. 22-25).

In Africa, although two-thirds of international tourism receipts are concentrated in four key countries - South Africa, Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia - tourism is important to a much broader range of countries (Mitchell & Ashley, 2006). Roe, Ashley, Page, and Meyer (2004) argue that tourism constitutes more than 10% of the total exports for more than half the African countries. The contribution of tourism to national economic growth in most African countries is indisputable. However, this growth has not yet translated into significant benefits for the poor rural communities, probably due to the

non-inclusive, government-centric and corporate-centric development strategies that are often applied. If development is done properly, CSR in tourism presents a great opportunity for governments in developing countries to partner with tourism companies in the fight against poverty, and efforts to achieve sustainable development in poor communities.

Recent studies have shown that tourism is one of the sectors, though renowned globally as the fastest growing sector and employing millions, which is lagging behind in almost all aspects of CSR practices and research (Coles, Dinan, & Fenclova, 2009; Dodds & Joppe, 2009). Based on their recent findings, Coles et al. (2009) have suggested that the focus of tourism CSR research should now move to asking how to make CSR function more effectively for the benefit of as wide a range of stakeholders as possible. They have also noted the existence of several meta-analyses of mainstream CSR research which, they propose offer specific benchmarks against which to gauge the current research effort on CSR in tourism. Coles et al. (2009) established that the mainstream CSR research effort has merged around five broad themes identified by Lindgreen and Swaen (2010) as (i) Implementation (ii) Motivation or Business Case (iii) Measurement (iv) Stakeholder Engagement and (v) Communications. Based on these findings, they analysed the literature and have demonstrated some notable research advances in three broad areas namely; (i) implementation; (ii) the (narrow) business case; and (iii) stakeholder engagement. In contrast, they have observed comparatively little research work on measurement of CSR impact and communication of results.

According to Coles et al. (2009) tourism research on implementation has focused on understandings and practices. Assessments of the business case have focused on the financial aspects, while studies of stakeholders have concentrated on how they interpret and respond to greater responsibility in business organisations. They conclude that more basic empirical research is needed in almost all aspects of CSR in the tourism sector. From this trajectory it seems that the focus of current research, both in mainstream CSR and CSR in tourism is biased towards the corporation and its interests. There is little explicit focus on poor communities as legitimate stakeholders also in tourism businesses. The account above clearly presents substantial research gaps in tourism. One of the gaps is the need for more explicit research on stakeholder engagement-in the whole CSR process - this is needed particularly, to inform decision-makers and practitioners (Muthuri et al., 2012).

The search for ways of repositioning the role of tourism so that it can contribute to the poverty reduction drive for most countries in the southern African region and Africa as a whole is crucial (Christie et al., 2014; Mitchell & Ashley, 2006). The reported involvement of tourism corporations in CSR relationships with neighbouring communities seems to be a step towards this reposition. Governments in southern African will definitely need more insight and information to assist in policy decisions on CSR in tourism as a tool for community development and poverty reduction. However, few studies have been conducted to document or explain what is happening in the CSR relationships between poor communities and tourism companies, and what the outcomes of CSR activities are in practice (Kivuitu et al., 2005; Lindgreen et al., 2010; Merwe & Wöcke, 2007; Nyahunzvi, 2013).

2.8 Status of the Tourism CSR Agenda in Southern Africa

This section seeks to establish the status of the tourism CSR agenda in Zambia and SADC. However, as a result of few empirical studies conducted on what actually goes on in practice in Zambia and SADC regarding tourism and CSR, as noted by some scholars (Kivuitu et al., 2005; Lindgreen et al., 2010; Nyahunzvi, 2013), the review is extended to other African countries with similar situations to draw lessons from the issues that have emerged there.

In Kenya and Zambia, for example, studies show that CSR is slowly gaining prominence in policy debates, but the concept is still not applied widely. The issue that Kivuitu et al. (2005) have noted is that stakeholders in both countries have not come to a common understanding on the meaning of CSR, not even on what activities constitute CSR. In terms of factors driving CSR practices, these scholars concluded that in both Kenya and Zambia, CSR is voluntary and only activities that are associated with philanthropy are usually widely agreed to be CSR. They explain that there are also many private sector-related initiatives and business activities in both countries that might be described as CSR. This justifies why more research like this study is needed to document what is exactly happening on the ground in all aspects of the CSR processes and practices in order to draw lessons for policy decisions and development practice.

Kivuitu et al. (2005, p. 2) noted that both Kenya and Zambia host emerging specialist CSR organisations. However, they still lack capacity and mainly tend to focus their efforts on sensitising local stakeholders on CSR. They further noted that the two

countries also face capacity constraints among public and civil society institutions that need to be tackled and strengthened if the CSR agenda is to be effectively supported. They further explain that there is lack of a base for building the drivers for responsible business, nurturing social-oriented companies, and encouraging local business linkages.

Kivuitu et al. (2005) concluded that Kenya and Zambia need to create spaces for national dialogue between government, business, civil society and donors on the role of the private sector in development. It is believed that this could help to localise the CSR agenda, and to build trust and mutual understanding of the potential and limits of the business' contribution to development. From grey literature and personal knowledge the National Tourism Policy and national and local planning structures/frameworks do not affirmatively enshrine CSR as a strategy for community development and are weak on supporting community involvement in tourism development (DSI, 2008). For example, the Provincial and District Development Coordinating Committees (PDCC and DDCC), which are the local level policy frameworks that the national tourism planning structure links into are all silent on CSR and weak on community participation, and as such, these issues are rarely deliberated on, if at all, in PDCC and DDCC meetings (see more in Chapter Seven).

Likewise in Zimbabwe, Nyahunzvi (2013) notes that the CSR agenda in tourism is a recent phenomenon and it remains mostly a voluntary act. He hints that “whilst there is a lack of the necessary policy framework to guide and motivate corporations to implement CSR, there is increasing expectation among the general public, civil society and the government, that corporations will address some of the socio-environmental problems the country faces” (Nyahunzvi, 2013, p. 597). As a result, various companies, both national and multinational, are investing in CSR, although at the moment most of them are undertaking mainly philanthropic related CSR activities. As in Section 1.4 in Chapter One, this scrutiny of corporations is also happening in various industries in Zambia, including tourism.

Similarly, in Botswana and Malawi, Lindgreen et al. (2010) undertook a ‘business case’ research-focus to study CSR practices and found out that on average, most corporations engaged in voluntary-philanthropic CSR practices. They explain that the highest emphasis by corporations was on the economic responsibilities of the corporation, followed by philanthropic (social) responsibilities. They have argued that philanthropy

is an expected norm and is given second priority by corporations, firstly because the poverty needs of African societies in which companies operate are so great, secondly, because many African societies have become dependent on foreign aid and thirdly, because Africa is still at an early stage of maturity of CSR practices (Lindgreen et al., 2010). Lindgreen et al. (2010) concluded that though corporations both in Botswana and Malawi engage in socially responsible practices, key decision makers are reluctant to engage in wider CSR activities because they have no clear positive perception of CSR improving business performance. This is in spite of the fact that all managers involved in the study in both Botswana and Malawi displayed a relatively positive perception that CSR practices can improve business performance (Lindgreen et al., 2010). The indications from this finding is that the basic driving factor for CSR for most companies operating in this region of Africa is still predominantly the business interest.

Merwe and Wöcke (2007) have also given an account of the growth of the CSR agenda in South Africa. They explain that following the hosting of the World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002 and the resulting Cape Town Declaration, which was based on the responsible tourism guidelines developed by the South African Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT), various responsible tourism membership initiatives in South Africa have emerged. Merwe and Wöcke (2007) equally noted confusion in the meaning of the CSR concept among hotel companies in South Africa and the lack of awareness of what actually constitutes CSR. The scholars further established that although the South African government enacted a responsible/CSR policy and published guidelines, tourism businesses that engaged in responsible/CSR initiatives did so more as a result of the need to comply with industry-based initiatives than the government led initiatives.

Generally, Merwe and Wöcke (2007) observed that despite many government and industry-based drivers, overall, only a few companies participated in responsible/CSR initiatives. They concluded that the reason why few hotel companies participated in responsible/CSR is because doing so is still a voluntary act in South Africa. That is, there is no real incentive to attract companies to engage in CSR, or to be members of government or industry-based CSR organisations. Therefore, in order to effectively drive the adoption of responsible/CSR guidelines across the tourism industry, these scholars have recommended the need for the South African government to instead support the responsible tourism industry associations to become representative of the

whole industry. Their findings also suggest that policy and non-policy incentives can be an important CSR factor in driving greater adoption of desired CSR practices for community development.

The above findings on CSR in these SADC countries to some extent match with the findings in Nigeria in a study that aimed at exploring the meaning and practice of CSR. In this study, Amaeshi, Adi, Ogbechie, and Amao (2006) found out that Nigerian indigenous organisations equated the meaning of CSR with corporate philanthropy, while the practice of CSR emphasized philanthropic responsibilities of corporations over and above economic, ethical and legal responsibilities. They explain that the meaning and practice of CSR among indigenous Nigerian organisations was mainly shaped by socio-economic conditions (poverty alleviation, healthcare provision, infrastructure development, and education) in which the organisations operate and is informed by socio-cultural influences (communalism, ethnic religious beliefs and charity). Lindgreen et al. (2010, p. 431) observed the same findings in their study of Botswana and Malawi. Therefore, it can be argued that the local context (socio-economic and socio-cultural) is critical and can be instrumental, not only in shaping the meaning of CSR in a place, but also in determining the practice and effectiveness of CSR. This also implies that as part of the process of rooting the meaning and practice of CSR, CSR needs to be fully adapted and understood in any locality by local actors.

This review of literature shows that the nature of tourism CSR practices by companies in poor communities is not sufficiently studied, established and documented in Africa, especially in Southern Africa. Some of the prominent concerns associated with the implementation of the CSR agenda in poor communities in most African countries, include unclear stakeholder engagement mechanisms, unsubstantiated impacts of CSR on the poor communities, unclear roles of governments and other stakeholders and lack of consensus on the meaning of CSR and what CSR activities actually constitute. Furthermore, literature indicates that in most countries, CSR is still at an immature stage, and existing CSR initiatives are mainly driven by voluntary/philanthropic actions that reflect a great deal of corporate power dominance.

Similar issues emerge about CSR practices when we compare tourism with other industries such as the oil industry. For example, Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC) in the Niger Delta in Nigeria is one of the special CSR “business

case” in Africa. Shell has been criticised by some scholars for its earlier poor engagement with the community, government and other stakeholders and its reactions to criticisms provides a great deal of lessons. From the literature, it is shown that Shell’s direct engagement with the community initially produced remarkable results in terms of the physical development of the community in which it operated (Ite, 2004). However, the aftermath of the withdrawal of the company’s operations revealed negative effects on the community in the form of air and water pollution caused by its activities. This shows that when Shell Company first engaged in CSR, the company had no clear objectives to contribute to community development and poverty reduction, but rather to build its corporate image by securing a social licence-to-operate (Ite, 2004). This is a clear display of corporate power dominance and lack of regard for the role (voice) and long-term needs of the poor community. This corporate behaviour is a reminder that companies may not be voluntarily expected to engage in CSR with intentions to tackle poverty or to develop poor communities (Newell, 2005).

After its operations in the community were criticised, Shell decided to change its CSR strategy from risk and reputation management to integration of sustainable development (Ite, 2004). Therefore, it can be argued that at this point, Shell departed from community assistance (CA) approach to a community development (CD) approach. The CD approach placed emphasis on the empowerment of communities with a view to significantly reduce dependence on the company for socioeconomic development (Ite, 2004). This new approach considered the social capital of the various communities, including their traditional knowledge, skills and adaptive strategies, and ensured a full participation of population segments of the communities in CSR. This shift in corporate behaviour by Shell in the Niger Delta case in Nigeria provides practical lessons for other companies to take heed when framing CSR for community development. However, Ite (2004) still identified weakness in this new approach. He argued that the lack of proper links between national strategies and the CSR programmes of corporations still had significant adverse implications for the overall effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development in developing countries.

On the need for sufficient studies on CSR practices, Newell and Frynas (2007, p. 676) have rightly pointed out that a great deal of CSR literature has focused on the output - including improved auditing and benchmarking of firms’ performances in relation to specified standards and codes than on the process of CSR, especially where poor

communities are targeted. Therefore, there is a need for studies that put emphasis on the importance of process in CSR, if poorer and marginalised groups and communities in developing countries are to benefit from these community initiatives. In recognising this issue, Hamann and Kapelus (2004) and Newell (2002) have also argued that the role of power in social partnerships is often downplayed in the promotion of CSR.

On the same issue Van Alstine and Afionis (2013, p. 186) argues that a critical evaluation of corporate–community interactions allows the opportunity to explore the diversity, dynamics, and complexity of power and thus to explore issues of power and participation in corporate-community involvement [which includes CSR initiatives]. These academic arguments reveal the need for more research on CSR practices, particularly on process issues in CSR initiatives that are implemented with the aim to deliver long-term benefits and community development in poor communities of developing countries like Zambia. Therefore, this study seeks to make a contribution by researching the significance of power relations in determining the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development in Mukuni communities in Zambia. The fact that this study is undertaken in a region and country evidently under-researched makes it an important contribution to the body of academic knowledge on CSR.

The next section explains the theoretical perspective of this doctoral research study.

2.9 Theoretical Framework of the Study

This study is situated within the broader theoretical perspective which, *inter alia*, is concerned about the inevitable failures of pre-determined-structural development initiatives that tend to exclude the socio-cultural and political issues of local people to be developed from the analysis and plans (Ferguson, 1994; Negi, 2011). In connection with this perspective, theorists have called for “alternatives to development” (Escobar, 2000; Mathews, 2004; Pieterse, 1998; Schuurman, 2000). This integral concern forms the central theoretical argument of this study. The argument hinges on the fact that development initiatives in many communities of developing countries that ignore the realities of local development contexts, including power relations issues, often end up failing to achieve their goals and outcomes.

Likewise, the failure of CSR to deliver on its promises on community development as some scholars have argued (Eweje, 2006; Glaser, 1965; Rajak, 2006) can be attributed to failure by decision-makers and practitioners to recognise and incorporate local

contexts in the promotion of CSR. Thus, some scholars are very critical of company practices in the communities and have described them to be paternalistic, context-insensitive, corporate-centric, and for not being development-orientated (Austin, 2000; Newell, 2005; Rajak, 2006). It has also been claimed that the core problem with business involvement with sustainable community development is that the business perspective is more often privileged over the community perspective (Newell, 2005) and, as a result, CSR is often insensitive to local priorities and does not address the root causes of poverty or underdevelopment (Fox, 2004; Lund-Thomsen, 2005). Other scholars suggest that weak governance and weak institutions are also critical factors in this cycle of failure (Newell & Frynas, 2007; Spenceley & Meyer, 2012). In addition, this study observes that in development models where “the community” is treated as a “spectator” or “passive recipient of “development”, waiting for things to be “fixed” for them, failure is inevitable (Ite, 2004). Therefore, it is fitting to assume that sincere “community development” will be achieved when reality is rearranged (Ferguson, 1994) - that is, when the disempowered and disadvantaged communities are given the opportunity to dialogue and negotiate the development space and are able to exert claims on the powerful (Banks et al., 2016; Utting, 2007).

Taking into account all the power relations concerns raised in this chapter, it follows therefore, that the sincerity of hotel and lodge companies to contribute to community development in Mukuni communities, will be demonstrated when these companies willingly adapt their CSR practices to ensure greater equity in CSR, particularly in connection with processes that significantly benefit not only the businesses, but also the community stakeholders, and the wider society (Hamann & Kapelus, 2004; Muthuri et al., 2012, p. 372). As Muthuri et al. (2012) advocate, companies must be clear about their own and stakeholders’ rationale for participation [in CSR] and be able to facilitate the creation of appropriate participatory structures and processes that contribute to a sustainable decision-making process and, thereby, to sustainable communities. These scholars have stated that this requirement demands that corporations enact community participatory processes that do not entrench corporate domination in the governing of community development initiatives but encourage the creation of policy and institutional arrangements where actors can collectively set goals, strategies, and principles for local governance and development processes.

Reflecting on the concerns of some theorists (Ferguson, 1994; Ferguson & Gupta, 2002) about the political character of the state (government) which allows a few bureaucratic elites and other individuals to take advantage of the inefficient and corrupt government apparatus for their individual expediency and corruption, draws interesting parallels with the character of some traditional and cultural communities in Zambia. In these communities, chiefs and village headmen, and some few powerful elites around them, use their positions, and take advantage of the weak and inefficient community structures and processes to secure benefits for themselves at the expense of the majority in the communities. The chiefs and headmen purport to represent “the community” and, just as the powerful government leaders in government want to be “worshiped”, the chiefs and headmen are not only revered as royals, but also taken to have no other interests of themselves except the development of their communities. Any royal failures and mismanagement are not seen as the result of traditional inefficiencies and corruption but other external causes. This is because culturally, community leaders cannot be criticised or challenged by any ordinary community member, as this is considered taboo (see Chapter Three). Therefore, whenever development initiatives under their care “fail” in the communities, the blame for “failure” is always attributed to some outside influences.

Taking the argument by Ferguson (1994, p. 178) that, “the state is said to represent the people” and the claims made by chiefs that they represent “the community” a step further, this study observes that the usage of the terms “chief or headman” and “the community” from a representation perspective, requires some operational differentiation. The study argues that “the chieftaincy” should be understood as an institution in its own right and therefore, should be treated separately from “the community”. Flowing from this argument, having a meeting (or dealings) with the chief should not necessarily be construed as having a meeting with “the community”. Overlooking this operational differentiation can have far reaching ramifications on the achievement of intended goals and outcomes of development initiatives for a wider community population. These arguments have reinforced the position of this study that pre-determined-structural models of development that ignore local contexts will continue to be characterised by failure to achieve desired goals (outcomes) for community development. Some scholars have argued that most companies take advantage of these weak and corrupt government and community systems to advance their business interests at the expense of the majority in poor communities in developing

countries (Newell, 2005, pp. 553-555). These issues tend to encourage inequitable power relations between government, companies and communities, which often affect the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development.

In narrowing down the theoretical arguments above, this study has framed the idea of adapting CSR practices to ensure equity in CSR, as its theoretical perspective (see Figure 1). It conceptualises adapting CSR practices as a process of innovating CSR practices “to best suit” local contexts, and ensuring greater equity in CSR as a process of encouraging equitable power relations in CSR practices through the reduction of relational and structural constraints to human agency. The study proposes that “adapting CSR practices” and “equity in CSR” can be achieved through measures that seek to encourage multi-stakeholder involvement in CSR issues. The theoretical argument is that multi-stakeholder involvement in CSR will encourage adapting of appropriate CSR practices, the need to seek community voices in CSR, and the need for appropriate frameworks to facilitate stakeholder interactions in CSR. Furthermore, this study proposes that multi-stakeholder involvement will encourage equitable participation, governance and accountability in CSR practices, which in turn, will improve the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development.

Figure 1 below, illustrates what this study seeks to explore. In the Figure, “changing CSR practices” refers to evidence of the change of behaviour of companies - going beyond paternalistic and corporate-centric practices – to include “developmental-oriented interventions” with real CSR-relevant local community impacts in their business practices. This component of the theoretical framework is explored in Chapter Five. Next, “community voices in CSR” refers to the presence of mechanisms and opportunities for community involvement in CSR processes and equitable distribution of benefits from CSR. This component of the theoretical framework is examined in Chapter Six. Finally, “frameworks for promoting CSR in tourism” refers to the presence of opportunities in the national tourism policy framework for connecting CSR and community development, and to the appropriateness of district development coordinating committees (DDCC) framework for managing interactions between different stakeholders in CSR and community development locally. This component of the theoretical framework is examined in Chapter Seven.

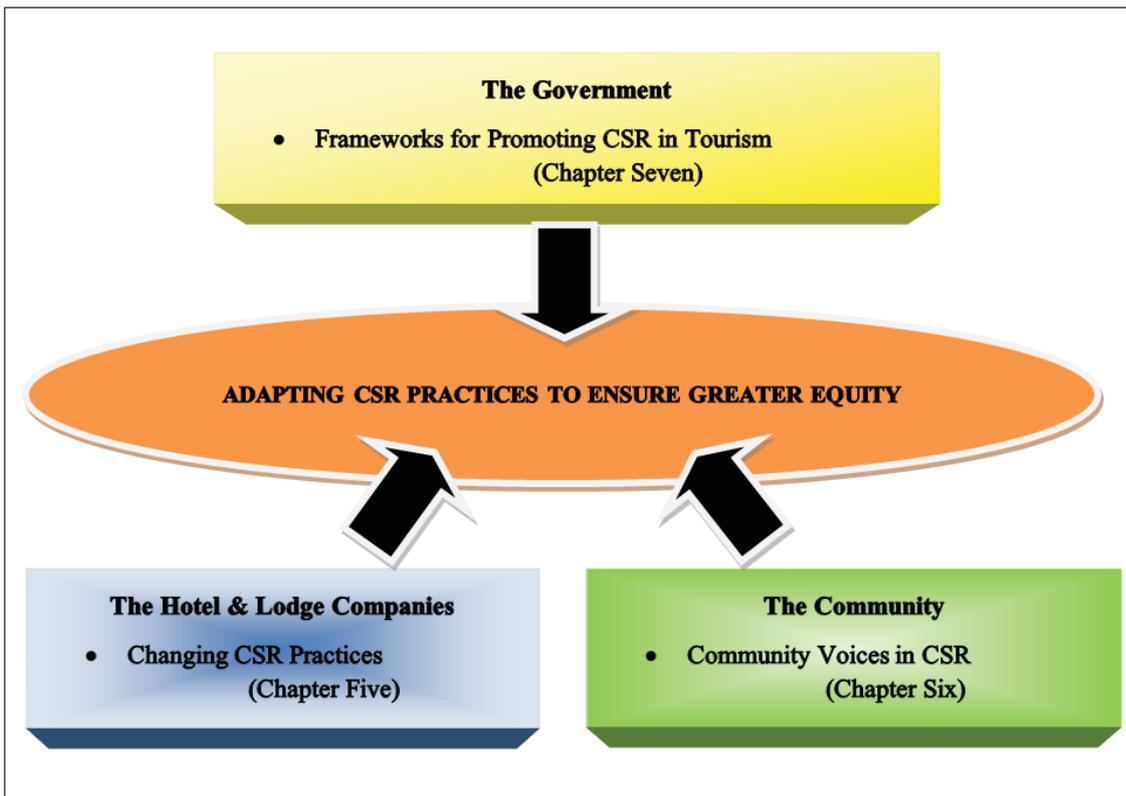


Figure 1: The theoretical framework of the study

2.10 Summary

CSR literature analysis shows that there is no unified position on the definition and interpretation of CSR, the factors (beliefs or philosophies) that drive companies to engage in CSR and what CSR can and cannot do in terms of community development. It also shows that while CSR offers prospects for community development in communities of developing countries, it also presents varied potential limitations towards achieving its own claims, most of which have only been theorised and have not fully been empirically researched to verify their value. One of these limitations relates to the failure of the concept to recognise and incorporate the local contexts of communities in developing countries, especially the issues of power relations.

Linked to this failure, this study has isolated and explored the following power relations concerns: corporate dominance, traditional power and cultural influences. This study has connected these concerns to the lack of genuine community participation, poor governance and accountability in CSR, which in turn, adversely affect the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development and poverty reduction in communities of developing countries. The need to establish community-based governance and accountability structures and processes to improve corporate-community relationships

has also been emphasised. This idea implies the need to formally adopt community-centred (localised) strategies for holding companies and community leaders accountable for their developmental promises or obligations to poor communities through CSR (Newell, 2005; Newell & Frynas, 2007, pp. 678-679). Such strategies could include multi-stakeholder involvement in CSR processes, public hearings, public posters and notices, publishing clearly defined guiding principles for responsibilities and expected conduct of different stakeholders in CSR, particularly, government, companies and community leaders. Therefore, this idea is about helping poor communities to build their own strong structures and augmenting systems for regulating the roles and behaviour of actors in CSR-driven community development.

This study's theoretical perspective argues that the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development can be improved if CSR practices are adapted to ensure greater parity in CSR through processes of innovation to allow for the role of government and broader community voices via multi-stakeholder involvement. The chapter that follows provides the general and specific background context for this study.

CHAPTER THREE

3 Situating Tourism CSR in Zambia's Agenda for Social and Economic Development

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the importance of tourism to Zambia and its SADC neighbours. The need for tourism to contribute to improvement of the lives of people in poor communities cuts through the discussion in this chapter. The chapter starts with a regional overview of the investment potential in tourism in the sub-Saharan Africa (SAA) and SADC region. These groupings form Zambia's regional and sub-regional contexts. As part of this overview, it critically reviews literature on why tourism's potential for social and economic development still remains relatively unexploited. A discussion is then presented on some of the challenges faced by countries like Zambia in their attempts to direct significant benefits to poor communities from the tourism sector. In doing this, it draws a comparison between governments that have made successful attempts to turn tourism into a powerful transformative tool for social and economic development and those that have yet to realise the sector's potential. It also highlights ongoing debates on the importance of tourism to development at the continental and SADC levels, and how these debates are trickling down to national governments like Zambia. This includes a discussion on the implications of prioritizing tourism in words only, without corresponding commitment to careful planning for the sector's contribution to sustainable development. As a way of setting the general context for this study, the chapter reviews Zambia's poverty issues, the need to establish a strategic link between tourism and CSR, and the need to remove challenges that seem to undermine efforts to direct significant benefits at poor communities. It then outlines some contextual issues constraining CSR growth in Zambia. Flowing from this, the chapter presents the social-cultural settings of Mukuni communities, and justifies their selection as the study area.

3.2 General Overview of the Importance of Tourism

It is generally believed that if properly harnessed, tourism can bring about both growth and improved livelihoods in poor communities of developing countries (SNV & ODI, 2006). Both Zambia and SADC are part of sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) which, according to reliable global forecasts, has shown resilience to global socioeconomic challenges,

and offers opportunities for increased tourism growth in the coming years (UNWTO, 2010).

Recent studies on tourism in SSA show significant and compelling potential for growth (Christie et al., 2014). According to Christie et al. (2014), global hotel chains are poised to spend hundreds of millions of dollars in tourism investments over the next few years in Africa and SSA in particular, to meet increased demand from both international tourists and the continent's own fast-growing middle class. UNWTO studies show that between 2009 and 2010, despite the global financial crisis, international tourist arrivals to SSA increased by eight percent, making SSA the second fastest growing region in the world after the Asia Pacific region (UNWTO, 2010). However, the challenge still remains of how this growth will be harnessed by individual countries to meet both the objective for increased growth in the economy and the need to improve livelihoods of rural communities.

It is reported that tourism growth in countries like Egypt, Mauritius, Morocco, South Africa, Cape Verde, Tanzania and Tunisia, for example, shows how some proactive governments can make tourism a powerful and transformative tool for social and economic development (Christie et al., 2014, pp. 110-246). Suffice to acknowledge, that the growth in tourism reported in these countries may not necessarily be sustainable. However, some countries like Zambia, although they have prioritised tourism, they still need to find an appropriate strategy to link tourism and community development. Furthermore, they need to go beyond the prioritisation of tourism to giving more attention and commitment to planning for sustainable development of the tourism sector. Doing this carefully, could transform growth in tourism into sustainable impacts on local livelihoods, especially of people living in adjacent poor communities. Therefore, Zambia needs to adopt strategies that seek to involve adjacent communities in tourism development – strategies that will provide them with opportunities to get out of poverty on their own. This includes identifying and removing major challenges that seem to undermine the active involvement of local communities in tourism development (Ngwira & Musinguzi, 2011) and the equitable distribution of benefits.

Still on the overview, the African Union (AU) has also endorsed the importance of tourism for social and economic development (Rogerson, 2011). Rogerson (2011), cited in Christie et al. (2014, p. 18) observes that the New Partnership for Africa's

Development (NEPAD), which is an organ of the AU, in its Tourism Action Plan, recognizes tourism “as one of the sectors with the most potential to contribute to the economic regeneration of the continent, particularly through the diversification of African economies and generation of foreign exchange earnings.” Following this position taken by the continental body to support tourism and establish a framework to promote the sector, the onus remains on individual governments in Africa to recognise the importance of tourism as a vital tool for social and economic development. As noted by Christie et al. (2014), it is expected that in the coming years, tourism growth in Africa and SSA in particular, will be strongly influenced by governments through their policies, regulations, public investment, expectations, and actions intended to harness the power of tourism for social and economic development.

Equally, at the SADC regional level where Zambia is a member state, there are fervent debates about the prospects and development role of tourism in promoting economic growth, employment opportunities, sustainable development, and poverty reduction (Christie et al., 2014; SNV & ODI, 2006). According to SNV and ODI (2006) and Christie et al. (2014), tourism is still considered to possess considerable unrealised potential in individual SADC member states. However, how poor communities can benefit from this unrealised tourism potential is often overlooked. This is because in these regional discussions the focus is often on economic growth, and the interests and needs of poor communities are rarely a priority. As stated earlier, in countries like Zambia: firstly, there is a problem of lack of a strong strategic link between tourism and community development in policy frameworks; and, secondly; challenges such as power relations that deny people in poor communities an equitable share of opportunities to be involved and to benefit from tourism are not discussed, resolved or incorporated into community initiatives intended or used to direct opportunities and benefits at people in poor communities. Therefore, unless this situation is reversed, the majority in poor communities in Zambia will not access significant benefits from community initiatives such as CSR in the tourism industry.

Besides the challenges noted above, it is also important that the tourism sector is properly supported and financed. Undoubtedly, the effective promotion of CSR requires high sector performance. In this regard, the Zambian government needs to provide increased support for growth to the tourism industry than it is currently doing. Comparative studies undertaken in the SADC region have shown that funding support

for Zambia's tourism sector is both insufficient and inconsistent (Hamilton et al., 2007; Mitchell & Ashley, 2006). This situation may not have changed significantly, as another study undertaken six years later still shows that decision makers in Malawi and Zambia have not scaled up plans and resources to harness the development potential of tourism (Christie et al., 2014). In addition, these studies show that tourism in most SADC countries is supported by only a few development agencies. This state of affairs can undermine the growth of CSR and potential to achieve increased community development through tourism CSR. As Hamilton et al. (2007) and Mitchell and Ashley (2006) have observed, this inconsistency has severely affected, not only the effectiveness of tourism as a vehicle for community development, but also possibilities for CSR to create a noticeable impact on the lives of people in poor communities adjacent to tourism development areas in respective SADC countries.

Zambia's tourism product is mainly based on its diverse cultural and natural resources. Although the cultural product currently attracts only a small range of international tourists, Zambia's 73 different ethnic groups provide a huge base of unexploited potential for sustainable tourism development. In contrast, nature-based products particularly, the Victoria Falls and the wildlife or safari products currently stimulate most of the tourism demand to Zambia. These two products are a "must-see and must experience" offerings that appeal to a larger range of potential consumers, and their demand elasticity is high. Apparently, most of these cultural and natural resources are located in rural areas surrounded by poor communities. Sadly, although the tourism policy recognises the important role local communities can play in tourism development, strategies applied to implement the policy focus mainly on generating government revenue and foreign exchange earnings. It lacks neat strategies for connecting tourism and community development (see more in Chapter Seven).

In terms of industry structure, Zambia's tourism is comprised of several types of enterprise, each of which faces different circumstances and cost structures. These include hotels, lodges, guesthouses, tour operators, activity and transport providers. Several large international chains/franchises are present in Zambia (including Intercontinental, Radisson Blu, Best Western, Marriott/Protea Hotels, Avani, Southern Sun, Sun International and Taj Group). In addition, there are a number of small luxury lodges (mostly foreign-owned) and many small, informal enterprises (mostly Zambian-owned). Zambia's tourism sector, however, is dominated by small and medium sized

operators that are not vertically integrated. Hence, they are largely reliant upon overseas providers for services such as representation, marketing and flights.

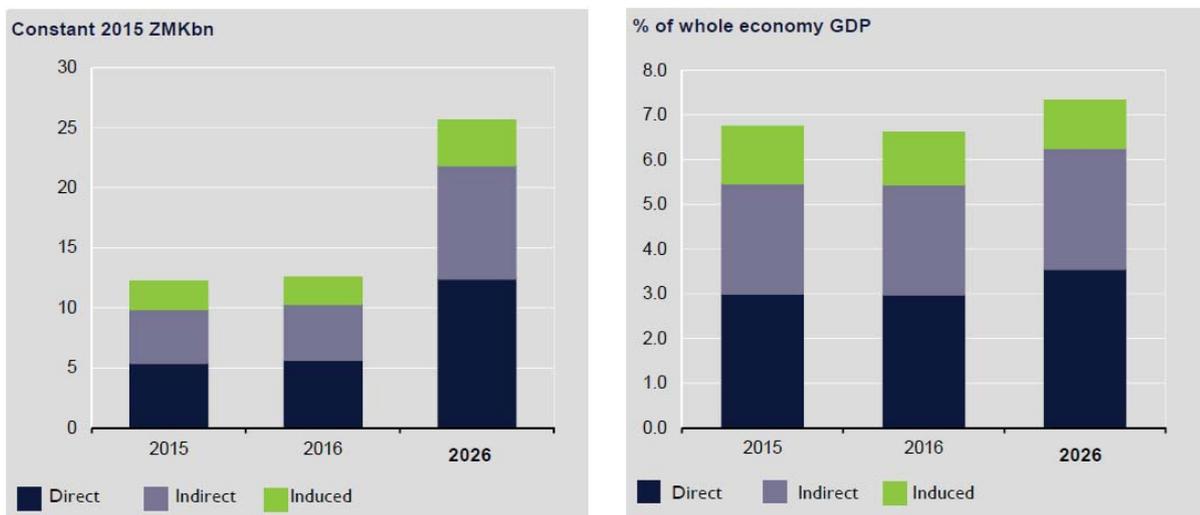
In terms of industry performance, Zambia's tourism has underperformed over the years, both in relation to other countries in the region and in relation to its own potential (Christie et al., 2014; Hamilton et al., 2007). A study conducted to provide answers on what it would take for Zambia's tourism to achieve its potential revealed that government needed to address the challenges of high cost of supplies, labour and finance; it also found the government needed to invest more in product development, provision of travel options to and within Zambia, destination marketing, and in creating an enabling authorising and regulatory environment for the industry (World Bank & DFID, 2011). These challenges were found to be the major barriers to achieving increased investments, visitor numbers, occupancy rates, length of stay and expenditure in the tourism industry. However, the study by World Bank and DFID was optimistic that once these challenges were addressed and genuine community participation in tourism development was facilitated, the growth of the industry could have a significant pro-poor impact, raising prosperity and providing more jobs and better livelihoods for many Zambians, especially in rural areas. This performance is what would give tourism more potency to contribute to community development effectively through CSR.

The tourism private sector in Zambia is organised around an apex membership organisation called the Tourism Council of Zambia (TCZ) whose major role is to advise Government on policy matters and to lobby Government for a favourable business environment in the industry. In contrast, communities have no similar representative body through which to voice and receive feedback on their concerns. This situation limits the ability of communities to influence policy or advance their development interests in tourism, and presents a participation challenge. This limits their options on how to deal with such issues as power relations concerns in CSR of hotel and lodge companies.

In spite of these shortcomings, tourism in Zambia is growing steadily. According to the World Economic Forum (WEF) report on travel and tourism competitiveness, Zambia's tourism industry was ranked in the 108th and 107th positions (indexes) in the world out of 141 economies and 11th and 10th positions in SSA in 2013 and 2015 respectively (WEF, 2013, 2015). The travel and tourism competitiveness index (TTCI) measures a

set of factors and policies⁶ that are envisaged to enable the sustainable development of the travel and tourism sector. The indexes assist to understand the tourism sector's contribution to sustainable social and economic development in respective countries.

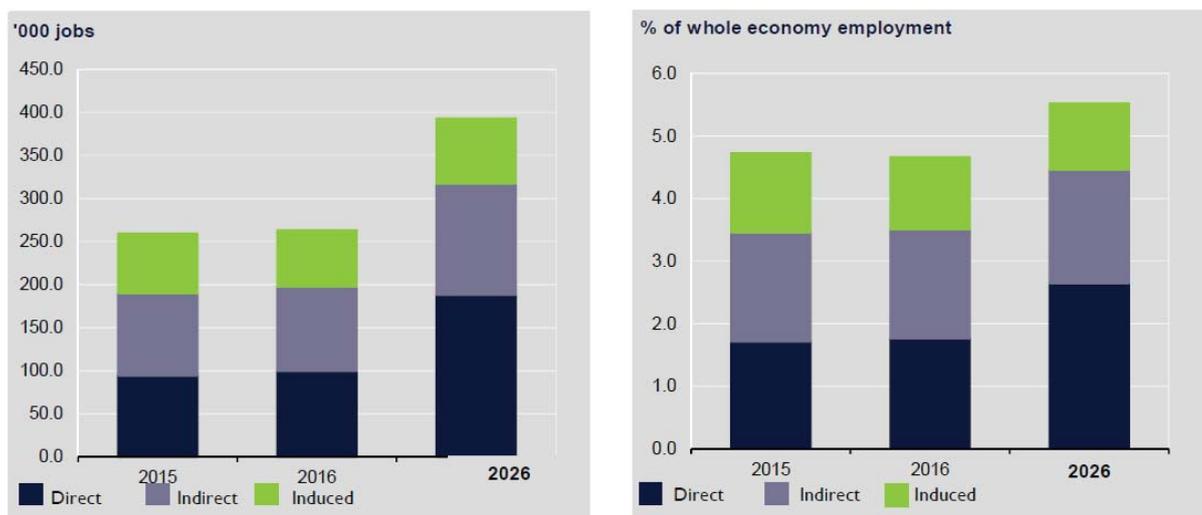
Furthermore, the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) has reported that the direct contribution of Zambia's tourism to GDP in 2015 was \$0.54bn (3.0% of GDP) (WTTC, 2016, pp. 2-4). This is forecast to rise by 4.2% to \$0.57bn in 2016. WTTC also reports that the direct contribution of tourism to GDP is expected to grow by 8.2% pa to \$1.25bn (3.6% of GDP) by 2026. On the other hand, the total contribution of the sector to GDP was \$1.22bn in 2015 (6.7% of GDP) and is expected to grow by 2.9% to \$1.25bn (6.6% of GDP) in 2016. It is forecast to rise by 7.4% pa to \$2.56bn by 2026 (7.3% of GDP) (see Figure 2). The report puts the contribution of travel and tourism to employment at 94,000 jobs directly in 2015 (1.7% of total employment) and this is forecast to grow by 5.8% in 2016 to 99,500 (1.8% of total employment) (see Figure 3). This includes employment by hotels, travel agents, airlines and other passenger transportation services (excluding commuter services). It also includes, for example, the activities of the restaurant and leisure industries directly supported by tourists. Projections are that by 2026, travel and tourism will account for 188,000 jobs directly. This is an increase of 6.6% pa over the next ten years.



[Source: WTTC (2016, p. 3)]

Figure 2: Total contribution of travel and tourism to GDP⁷

⁶ The travel and tourism competitiveness index applied in the 2013 framework focused on the travel and tourism regulatory framework, business environment and infrastructure and travel and tourism human, cultural and natural resources while the 2015 framework covered enabling environment, travel and tourism policy and enabling conditions, infrastructure and natural and cultural resources.



[Source: WTTC (2016, p. 4)]

Figure 3: Total contribution of travel and tourism to employment

The report argues that money spent by foreign visitors to a country is a key component of the direct contribution of tourism. It states that in 2015, Zambia generated \$0.52bn in visitor exports. In 2016, this is expected to grow by 5.2%, and the country is expected to attract 1,104,000 international tourist arrivals. By 2026, international tourist arrivals are forecast to total 2,119,000, generating expenditure of \$1.25bn, an increase of 8.5% pa. In terms of investments, tourism is expected to have attracted capital investment of \$0.09bn in 2015. This is expected to rise by 10.6% in 2016, and rise by 3.1% pa over the next ten years to \$0.14bn in 2026. It is forecast that the sector's share of total national investment will fall from 2.5% in 2016 to 1.8% in 2026 (see Figure 4).

⁷ Zambia's world rankings (out of 184 countries) in terms of the relative importance of travel and tourism's total contribution to GDP are: 131 (Absolute size in 2015); 135 (Relative size contribution to GDP in 2015); 96 (Growth 2016 forecast) and 4 (Long-term growth forecast 2016-2026).



[Source: WTTC (2016, p. 5)]

Figure 4: Visitor exports and international tourist arrivals

However, it is doubtful that these globally-driven measures and projections of tourism performance pay much attention to whether in practice the tourism sector is able to generate a real positive impact on the livelihoods of people in adjacent poor communities now and in the future. As observed earlier, there is need for countries like Zambia to ensure tourism development is planned carefully in order to guarantee an equitable flow of benefits from tourism growth into adjacent poor communities. If careful planning is considered, the contribution of tourism to sustainable development, particularly, poverty reduction in adjacent poor communities would be more evident than it is now in Zambia.

3.3 Situating Tourism and CSR in Zambia’s Fight against Poverty

Poverty remains one of the most important problems with which developing countries, including Zambia, grapple (Mutesa & Nchito, 2003; Taylor & Banda-Thole, 2013; Thurlow & Wobst, 2006). Although there is no firmly agreed definition of poverty, it is considered to include all the most important areas in which people are deprived and perceived as incapacitated in different societies and local contexts. This understanding of poverty includes economic, human, political, social-cultural, protective, gender, and environmental dimensions (OECD/DAC, 2001, p. 26). In this study, poverty is looked at as being in a cycle of deprivation to adequately meet one’s bare necessities of life and wellbeing and an inability to attain one’s aspirations.

In terms of prevalence, poverty is generally higher in Zambia’s rural than urban communities. A GRZ and UNDP (2011) study reveals that about 77% of Zambia’s rural

population is poor compared with 27% of the urban population. This picture is not likely to have improved since this study was conducted; if anything the situation may have gotten worse, considering the recent fluctuations in copper prices, a resource on which Zambia's economy largely depends. The following section discusses the historical perspective of poverty in Zambia, its probable causes and how it has evolved over the years.

Zambia became independent in 1964 after many years of colonisation by Britain. The country's economy was, at that time, largely dependent on copper mining as it still is today (Thurlow & Wobst, 2006). At independence, Zambia's economy was comparatively strong, with the highest per capita income in Southern Africa, primarily based on mining (CSO, 2006; Eweje, 2006). However, the poor performance of Zambia's economy over the years led to a dramatic decline in per capita income from US\$4,752 in 1965 to US\$351 in 2002 (DFID, 2004). Karmiloff (1990) explains that from the 1970s, due to a global recession, declining copper prices, the oil price shocks and probably, also due to the ever-changing aid development models, the Zambian economy plummeted from crisis to crisis. Mutesa and Nchito (2003) have argued that the implementation of economic reforms such as the removal of subsidies on social services, required by the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in return for development assistance have widely contributed to worsening Zambia's poverty situation. Since the 1970s, Zambia's economic performance has largely been determined by the fluctuations in copper prices and the prevailing aid development paradigms (Karmiloff, 1990; Thurlow, Zhu, & Diao, 2008).

As a result of these economic challenges, the country fails to meet the needs of most of its citizens, especially those in rural communities where livelihoods have deteriorated tremendously. For example, access to basic services such as health and education has declined greatly as a result of the introduction of cost recovery and user fees in the provision of these services (Booth, Milimo, & Bond, 1996). Unemployment has also increased resulting from closure of companies that could not cope with the competition from outside the country as a result of economic liberalisation policies of the early 1990s. The abolition of food subsidies and the removal of price controls that were undertaken in order to usher in market forces as key drivers of the economy, without adequate provision of social safety nets to cushion the negative impacts of a harsh economic environment that had been created, compounded the poverty problem in

Zambia. Along with these events, came the debilitating effect, especially on the rights of the majority of Zambians living in rural communities that to participate and benefit from economic development was now in the hands of powerful private sector companies.

In this economic trajectory, successive Zambian governments have attempted to diversify the sources of growth for the economy from copper mining to other sectors such as agriculture and tourism to remedy the situation. However, the country's agricultural sector is still largely underdeveloped and is dominated by subsistence farming which largely relies on rain-fed crops. Owing to increasing uncertainties of climate variability, subsistence production is often failing (Ngwira & Musinguzi, 2011; Thurlow et al., 2008). Furthermore, the free market economic policies are too competitive and unfavourable for most peasant farmers. As a result, the marketing of subsistence agricultural produce by poor rural farmers is often uncertain. As observed by Thurlow et al. (2008) and Mutesa and Nchito (2003, p. 16), this situation is compounded by a combination of factors including poor and unreliable infrastructure for accessing markets, outmoded technologies, lack of credit, and weak extension services. All these factors have become a great barrier to peasants in poor communities and since most of the rural population depends on subsistence farming, this situation has tended to push most of Zambia's rural population further into extremes of poverty.

To worsen the situation, a highly contested wave of communal land "grabbing" for the development of large scale business enterprises has been going on in Zambia like in other neighbouring countries in the SADC region (German, Schoneveld, & Mwangi, 2011; Mbinji, 2012; Metcalfe, 2006; Metcalfe & Kepe, 2008b; Nolte, 2012; UNECA, 2003). The chiefs are often under pressure from investors seeking shortcuts to acquire communal land without considering the impacts on the majority poor. As reported by German et al. (2011) and Nolte (2012, pp. 13-14), easily sourced communal land through traditional leaders is in high demand for development of large scale mining, farming and tourism development enterprises too. This poorly managed situation has indiscriminately displaced poor peasants and caused loss of access to their legitimate sources of livelihoods (Mbinji, 2012; Metcalfe & Kepe, 2008; Palmer, 2007).

Against this background, for the past couple of decades, Zambia has turned to tourism in attempts to fight rural poverty. Several pro-poor tourism strategies have been tried to

link tourism and community development. However, to-date, most of these tourism strategies have not significantly empowered and improved the wellbeing of people in adjacent communities to tourism destination areas (Dixey, 2005; Taylor & Banda-Thole, 2013; Thurlow & Wobst, 2006). Examples of these strategies include, but are not limited to; community based tourism projects, eco- and ethno tourism, Pro-poor Tourism initiatives, the UNWTO Sustainable Tourism for the Elimination of Poverty (ST-EP).

The Government, however, still considers tourism to have a comparable advantage similar to agriculture in terms of creating opportunities for empowering and improving the wellbeing of people in poor rural communities (Ngwira & Musinguzi, 2011). Tourism is also considered to have significant rural reach for fostering rural development and poverty reduction (Thurlow & Wobst, 2006). What has been the real challenge for the Ministry of Tourism for the past decades is to identify a workable strategy to link tourism and community development and how to apply that strategy to practically transform the inherent potential of tourism into a powerful vehicle for directing opportunities and benefits to people in poor rural communities that are adjacent to tourism destinations such as Livingstone.

Scholars have argued that Governments have a critical role to play in setting the framework under which tourism develops and in shaping its impacts on poverty reduction (Goodwin, Roe, & Ashley, 2004). However, as observed by Goodwin et al. (2004, pp. 5, 29) “experience to date with poverty reduction strategies demonstrates that the pro-poor potential of tourism is largely unrecognised and often poorly articulated”. Historically, the Zambian government considered tourism as a mere social sector and regarded the sector as ‘a drain on public resources’. Tourism did not receive appropriate government recognition until the early 1990s when the sector’s potential to contribute to economic growth became apparent. Since the early 1990s, the tourism sector has undergone stages of repositioning. In 1991, the sector was reclassified from a social to an economic sector. In 1996, the sector was prioritised on the national economic development agenda as an important growth sector (GRZ, 2007; World Bank, 2007). This was followed by the enactment of the first tourism policy in 1997 (GRZ, 1997). By 2002, tourism was ranked second to agriculture as one of the sectors to drive Zambia’s economic diversification and growth on one hand, and rural development and poverty reduction on the other hand. Therefore, the need for a strategy to connect tourism and

community development is not just important, but inevitable. If properly harnessed, the potential of CSR to play this strategic link is both considerable and promising in the tourism industry. The following section presents the growth trends of CSR and relevant local context issues at play.

3.4 CSR Trends and Issues in Zambia

Zambia continues to witness growing enthusiasm among both local and international companies across different sectors of the economy that are getting more involved in some forms of “giving or ploughing back into communities”, as CSR is locally known (McLachlan & Binns, 2014; Van Alstine & Afionis, 2013). This trend has been unfolding from the early 1990s (Eweje, 2006; Kivuitu et al., 2005; Mayondi, 2014; Negi, 2011). However, officially, Government has not yet taken a policy position and does not officially participate in CSR. This means Zambia still has no specific legislation to compel companies to practice CSR as the case may be in some other countries. A recent example to enact a mandatory minimum CSR spending law for companies operating in the country comes from India (Aggarwal, 2016, pp. 1830-1831). Companies that have engaged in CSR in Zambia do it on a voluntary basis.

However, there are a few instances in which companies are expected to fulfil certain regulatory conditions. As explained in Chapter One, safari hunting companies are expected to undertake CSR in rural communities in which they operate in order to have their hunting concession agreements renewed by Government (GRZ, 1998). In these instances, regulatory incentives appear to be making an ambivalent contribution to (community) development projects (Rein & Stott, 2009, p. 81), but this is nothing close to the Indian scenario where government has officially recognised CSR as an important development strategy across all sectors for sustainably conveying benefits to communities and society at large. Aggarwal (2016) explains that in India, CSR activities (see Box 1) are well defined in the CSR legislation (see Box 2) for all companies to legally follow.

BOX 1:**Companies Act, 2013 lists following as CSR activities**

No.	Activities
1.	Eradicating extreme hunger and poverty
2.	Promotion of education
3.	Promoting gender equality and empowering women
4.	Reducing child mortality and improving maternal health
5.	Combating human immune deficiency virus, AIDS, malaria and other diseases
6.	Ensuring environmental sustainability
7.	Employment enhancing vocational skills
8.	Social business projects
9.	Contribution to the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund or any other fund set up by the centre or states for socio-economic development and relief and funds for the welfare of the SC, the ST, other backward classes, minorities and women
10.	Other matters may be prescribed

Source: Aggarwal (2016, pp. 1830-1831)

BOX 2:**In India CSR is governed under section 135 of the Companies Act, 2013. The provisions relating to the CSR are as follows: -**

- 1) The companies that have any one of the following have to spend at least 2% of their average net profit in the previous 3 years on CSR activities.
 - Net Worth of INR 500 crores or more
 - Net profit of INR 5 crores or more
 - Turnover of INR 1000 crores or more
- 2) Any profit arising from CSR activities is to be reinvested only in CSR activities.
- 3) In case a company has failed to spend 2% of their average net profit in the previous 3 years, then reason should be mentioned in annual board meeting.
- 4) CSR activities undertaken outside India will not be considered.
- 5) Companies which fall under the category specified in section 135(1) have to give details of amount spent on CSR activities in prescribed format in the director's report and on the website of the company.
- 6) The companies may pool their resources with companies to fulfil their corporate responsibilities and the amount spent will qualify for the CSR's spending.
- 7) Section 135 of the Companies Act, 2013 requires that board of directors must form a CSR committee
 - CSR committee will consist of at least three directors one of which must be an independent director.
 - Formulate and suggest a CSR policy
 - Suggest activities to be done
 - Recommend the expenditure to be incurred on CSR activities.
 - Monitor CSR activities from time to time.

Source: (Aggarwal, 2016, pp. 1830-1831)

It is assumed the Indian government has established strong partnerships with the private sector as well as strong institutional capacities for ensuring adherence to the legislation on CSR. Unfortunately, Zambia's policy and institutional capacities are still weak. Studies reveal that capacity constraints exist among Zambia's public and civil society institutions that are supposed to support the growth of the CSR agenda (Kivuitu et al.,

2005; Mayondi, 2014; Negi, 2011; Rein & Stott, 2009). Kivuitu et al. (2005, p. 3) made the following observations:

“A critically important contextual factor for business activities generally in Kenya and Zambia, as well as CSR more specifically, is the relative lack of capacity within many of the institutions that could exert pressure on companies to operate responsibly. This applies in particular to the public sector – the limited capacity of regulators and inspectorates means that compliance with even basic legislation can be in effect voluntary. But it also applies to a lack of capacity within other supporting institutions, including businesses and business associations; specialist local CSR intermediary organisations; and NGOs working on particular aspects of CSR. Investing in these institutions would provide a stronger enabling environment for responsible business activity”.

In view of this statement, making CSR mandatory through legislation in Zambia at the moment would still leave CSR effectively voluntary unless the capacity issues in key institutions are first resolved. Secondly, the statement also assumes that the limited capacity in government institutions (which includes the Ministry of Tourism) is a serious hindrance to the growth and effectiveness of CSR. Thirdly, the statement suggests the need to strengthen capacities of public and private institutions relevant for promoting CSR if more responsible business behaviour is to be encouraged in Zambia. Therefore, to decisively resolve these capacity issues the commitment and role of government in CSR is indispensable. As Hamann (2006, p. 181), puts it “...CSR in developing countries needs to include the role of the state to ensure adherence to rules and regulations” and says that this aspect “cannot be taken for granted...”.

Several studies have shown that these capacity issues are also among the main barriers to tourism growth and prosperity in most southern African countries and have undermined tourism’s contribution to growth, community development and poverty reduction (Christie et al., 2014; Goodwin et al., 2004; Mitchell & Ashley, 2006). This situation underscores the need for government to invest in relevant public and tourism private sector institutions to establish a strong enabling environment for responsible business behaviour as pointed out in the statement above. It has been noted in a study undertaken in South Africa that strengthening tourism sector membership institutions

can play a critical role in supporting the growth of the CSR agenda in the tourism industry (Merwe & Wöcke, 2007, p. 3). Therefore, the role of government and private sector institutions together is necessary in promoting responsible CSR practices.

At the moment, in Zambia there are still no locally-based tourism industry accreditation institutions to incentivise companies to engage in responsible CSR practices in communities. In addition, there are no active stakeholder forums or frameworks to coordinate and manage CSR issues and relationships. Studies seem to suggest that the absence of such mechanisms in developing countries has ‘blurred the lines of accountability’ and has unintentionally created an unethical situation where companies have to self-regulate (Campbell, 2012). In contrast, in developed economies such as America, United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand where there are strong regulatory systems, such initiatives have helped to encourage responsible behaviour among companies (Hilson, 2012; Merwe & Wöcke, 2007; Van Alstine & Afionis, 2013). One of the effects of these capacity and institutional challenges is that poor and voiceless communities, like the Mukuni, have been inadvertently put into a position of having to depend on what companies in the tourism industry decide to be fair and equitable distribution of benefits (Jenkins & Obara, 2008). This means that their access to CSR benefits much depends on the company’s voluntary actions and self-regulation policies.

The situation above of leaving communities at the mercy of company actions, gives an impression that Zambian authorities assume that sustainable benefits and community development through CSR can easily be attained through voluntary actions and self-regulation of companies. This strategy, as Newell (2005, p. 553) puts it, assumes that there are both high levels of trust and responsible companies that are serious about delivering benefits to poor communities. This assumption disregards the point that companies engage in business mainly to make profits, and connected to this objective, companies have many reasons why they get involved in CSR with communities. This study considers this unpredictable behaviour of companies as one of the main reasons why voluntary action and self-regulation are insufficient for promoting CSR in poor communities such as Mukuni. Another reason why voluntary action and self-regulation are insufficient is that poor communities like Mukuni have a fundamental problem of lack of voice to stand up to very powerful companies when promises made to them are

not fulfilled, or when things are going wrong. The dilemma of communities like Mukuni is as summarised in the quote below:

“...many communities lack the capacity to negotiate in the consultation process. Communities may not be well organised around a leader or a civic movement and are therefore unable to collectively negotiate... Some companies exploit this weakness by insisting on negotiating -with individuals who often end up getting a raw deal. This leads to a situation of powerlessness - if a community lacks the power to influence an outcome it must rely/depend on those who do, and hope that a positive outcome is achieved” (Jenkins & Obara, 2008, p. 9).

The quote above could commonly describe the situation prevailing in some adjacent poor communities in Zambia who seek to benefit from the “fruits” of tourism development taking place around them. People in such communities lack the voice to demand for an equitable share of benefits due to weak community structures and ensuing power relations that are against them in CSR processes. In addition, the poor majority lack reliable support from their community leader (s) and they do not have NGOs to speak on their behalf. As Blowfield (2007) points out, depending only on the voluntary action and self-regulation of companies is not a guarantee that companies will deliver on their promises to bring about positive impacts on the livelihoods of the poor in communities where they operate. Although their intentions may be genuine, it is not automatic because undesirable power relations in the corporate-community relationships and within communities often can undermine majority participation, governance and accountability. Thus, in the absence of a specific CSR legislation, this research argues that new measures of strategies need to be applied to protect the interests of the poor majority.

In terms of issues that are shaping CSR practices in Zambia, available literature reveals that the most significant issues in communities which influence development, generally, and through CSR more specifically, are the high prevalence of extreme poverty and HIV/AIDs-induced vulnerability (Kivuitu et al., 2005; Mutesa & Nchito, 2003). In terms of HIV/AIDS, the Livingstone area recorded the highest infection rate in 2004 (at 32%) compared to other cities in Zambia (US Census Bureau, 2008) and only dropped slightly in 2015 (at 30.8%) (Chibwe, 2015). The high infection rate in the area has led to

high numbers of terminally ill people and high numbers of orphaned children who need basic support in almost everything, including education and health care. Assistance towards these needs is expected mostly from hotel and lodge companies through their philanthropic CSR initiatives.

The next section specifically discusses social-cultural settings of Mukuni communities that have relevance and can affect community development through CSR.

3.5 Links between Culture and Community Development

Rural communities in Zambia present interesting, but complex social-cultural settings. Communities have their own local structures and value systems which form the context for community development. Sometimes the local structures and value systems of a particular community can be strong, entrenched and in conflict with contemporary or westernised value systems. The task becomes that of making choices in terms of “whose interest counts” (Chambers, 2007, pp. 19-20). For example, trust, equality, transparency issues such as governance and accountability, individual freedoms, consultation, power and decision making in a community may be viewed and treated differently from one place to the next. Culture plays a conditioning role in the lives of people brought up in these community circumstances (Kempner, 1987). Therefore, it is important to first analyse these local context issues with a view to understand how to provide development opportunities to the majority of people in such localities to benefit from community development initiatives.

Hofstede (1991) defines culture as “the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes one group from another”, while Kempner (1987) defines it as “the sum total of beliefs, knowledge, attitudes of mind and customs to which people are exposed during their social conditioning”. Implied in these two definitions is the fact that culture influences ways in which the members of that culture view the world (Stewart & Bennett, 1991), how they deal with uncertainty, the degree to which individuals are integrated into groups, the extent to which the less powerful members accept and expect that power is distributed (Hofstede, 1991), how information is processed, conceptions of time (Hall & Hall, 1990), how individuals establish relationships with others, the modality of human activity, and what a human being’s relationship to nature is (Trompenaars, 1994).

Thus, when implementing community initiatives using contemporary concepts such as CSR in the Zambian communities, the effects of the overall social-cultural settings of a community need to be examined, and appropriately incorporated in CSR practices. Some of the common basic problems experienced in community development initiatives in Zambian communities linked to traditional and cultural practices are: problems with community participation, governance and accountability. Traditional power and cultural influences are strong in most Zambian communities and, if ignored, they have the propensity to preclude the majority from having equal access to opportunities and benefits of community development initiatives intended for the majority. The next section provides a profile of Mukuni, which is the study area for this research.

3.6 Mukuni Communities

3.6.1 The Place

Mukuni Chiefdom is located about 10 Km south-east of Livingstone City in southern Zambia (see Figure 5 below). The Chiefdom is part of the priority tourism development zone called the Greater Livingstone tourism development area (GRZ, 2007, 2011). The community is located near the Victoria Falls, which is listed as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO and as the seventh wonder of the world. The area receives a higher proportion of tourists (54%) than any other part of Zambia (Hamilton et al., 2007). Moreover, the community is part of the Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area (KAZA TFCA) envisioned by five countries (Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Zambia) to be established as a world-class tourism destination, in a context of sustainable development (GRZ & ZAWA, 2008; Hanks, 2006). KAZA TFCA covers approximately 300,000 km² of the territories of the five countries. According to Cumming (1999) and Metcalfe (1999), the KAZA TFCA is broadly 40% state protected area and 60% communal land (Land in Mukuni communities is 100% communal land). Strategies to incorporate the interests of communities in the KAZA TFCA development initiative are still on paper. But the social and cultural capital of communities has been identified as an important asset and contribution to the realisation of the KAZA TFCA development dream.

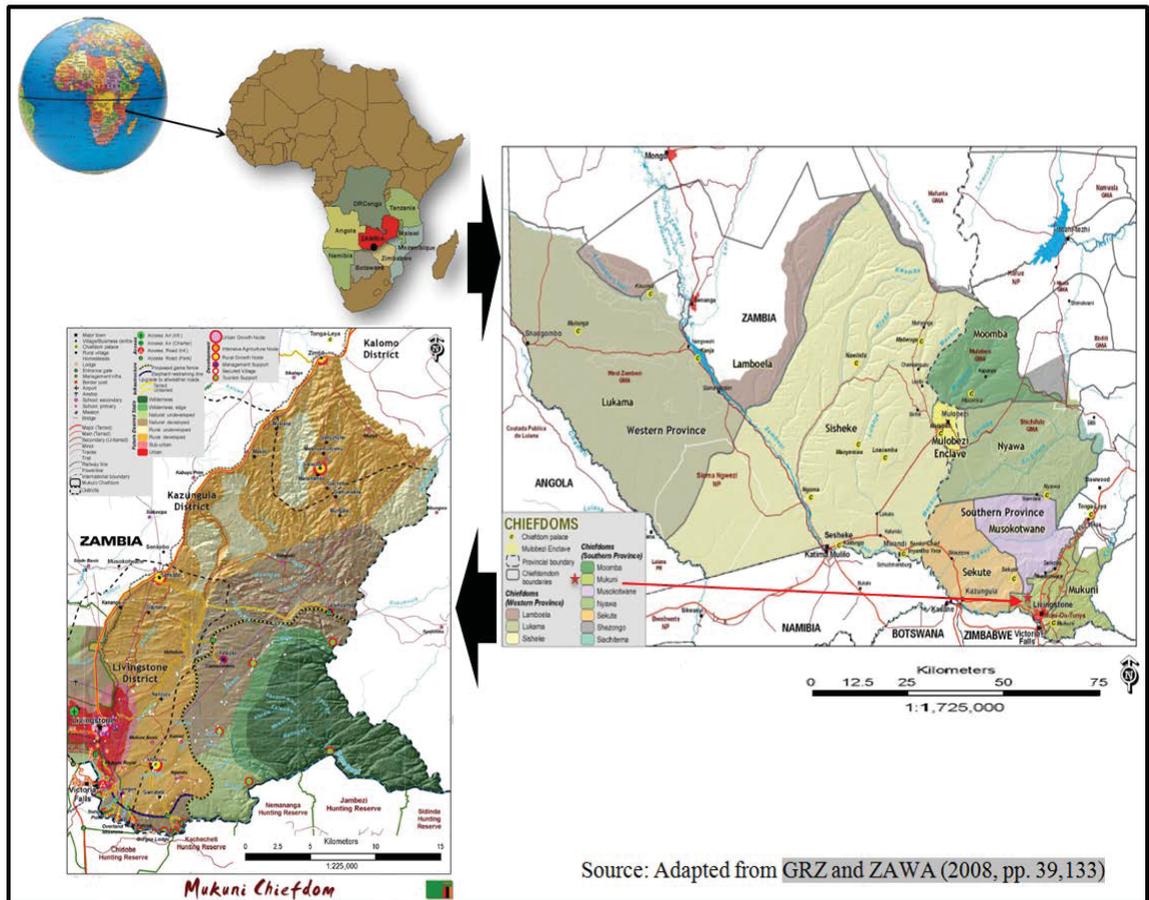


Figure 5: Location of the study area

The capital of the Chiefdom is Mukuni village. According to Metcalfe (2006), Metcalfe and Kepe (2008) and Mbinji (2012), the Mukuni Chiefdom consists of approximately 120 hamlets/villages divided into 12 zones, each containing 10 villages. The chiefdom population is approximate 30,000 people and covers about 2000 Km² or 200,000 hectares of land bordering the Zambezi River in the South and Livingstone City on the North-West. Mukuni Village, the capital, has a population of between 8,000 and 10,000 people.

The Mukuni Chiefdom has a rich culture and history. It consists of a unique dual traditional rule between male and female rulers. The present rulers are His Royal Highness Munokalya (Senior Chief Mukuni) and Her Royal Highness Bedyango (African Queen). This set-up dates back to the 13th century when a migrating prince fell in love with a female ruler who was then in charge of the area. When the two got married, they agreed to share the traditional rule. The current Senior Chief Mukuni the 19th and Her Royal Highness Bedyango the 18th are cousins. They are both based in Mukuni village, the capital. This rich history and culture forms part of the huge cultural

capital endowed in this chiefdom which hospitality and other tourism companies now package as part of tourism company-community business partnerships.

3.6.2 The People and the Customs

As stated above, Mukuni Chiefdom is divided into zones. In terms of traditional power distribution, each of the 12 zones is headed by a senior headman, sometimes also called a sub-chief, while each of the 120 villages has a headman as its leader. Furthermore, in each zone, a representative of the African Queen, or female ruler, is chosen from among the women to represent her in decision making (Metcalf, 2006; Munjoma, 2003). The structure of the traditional leadership in Mukuni Chiefdom below shows how traditional power and cultural influence cascades down to the lower structures at village level (Figure 6). The inclusion of a woman to represent the female chief is an arrangement that attempts to ensure gender representation of women at various levels of the Chiefdom and this is based on the dual Chieftaincy tradition of the Mukuni Chiefdom.

The Mukuni people have lived in the Victoria Falls area since the 1600s and have rich cultural traditions including deep-rooted religious beliefs, ceremonies and rituals centred on the Victoria Falls (Metcalf, 2006). The fact that the Victoria Falls has now been commercialised and entertains thousands of visitors a year from all over the world, can be seen as both reinforcing and disturbing to the cultural flavour. Unless the cultural capital is carefully harnessed and enhanced for sustainable tourism purposes, there is a possibility that some of the cultural assets can be lost entirely. The Mukuni Chiefdom also prides itself in an annual colourful “Lwiindi” ceremony held yearly every July, and is supported by tourism companies in the area. For the above reasons, over the years Mukuni people have come to fully embrace tourism as their most important source of livelihood.

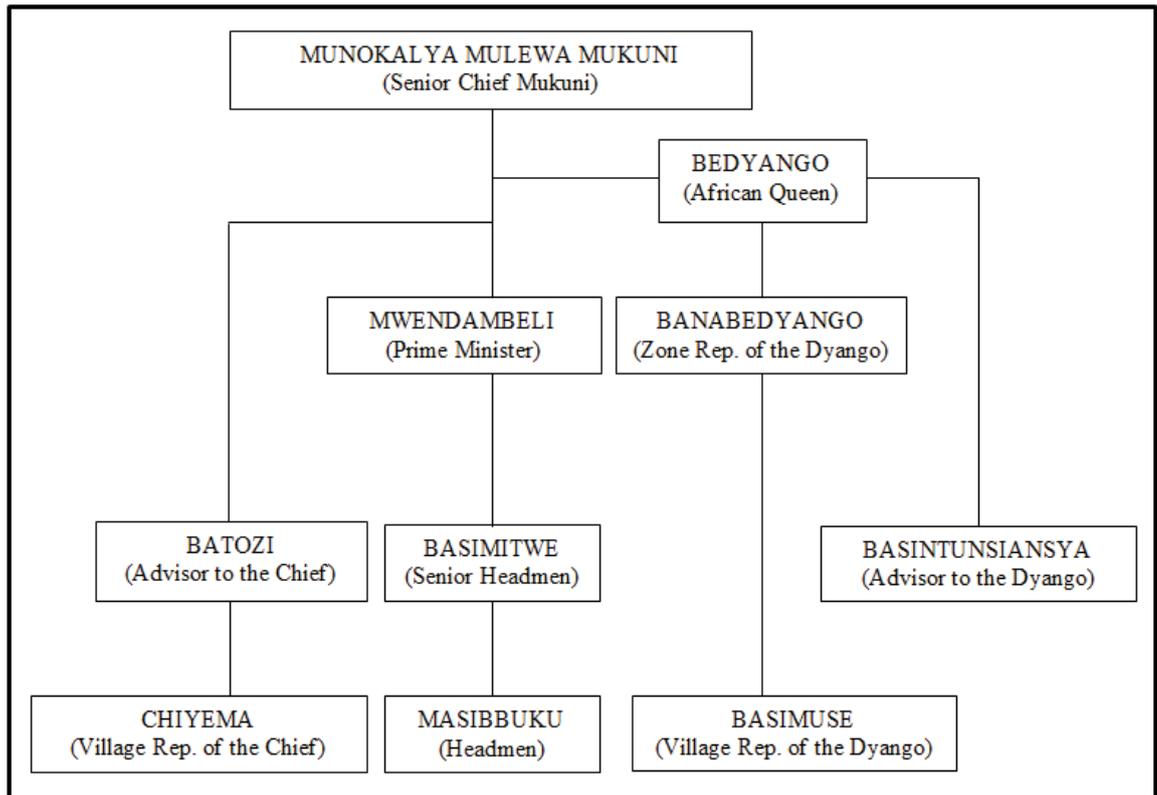


Figure 6: The traditional leadership structure of the Mukuni Chiefdom

3.6.3 Why Mukuni Communities?

Mukuni Chiefdom is suitable for this study because its people depend on tourism (especially on hotels and lodge companies) for their livelihoods and development, particularly those activities connected to vegetable growing and crafts trading. As explained earlier, most rural communities in Zambia depend on subsistence farming as the main source of their socioeconomic wellbeing. This is not completely true for the Mukuni communities. A large part of the geographical area on which Mukuni is established is sandy, rugged and broken. Coupled with unreliable rainfall patterns, this geographical signature makes much of the area unsuitable for settlement and commercial agriculture (GRZ & ZAWA, 2008; Metcalfe, 2006). Furthermore, there is also a problem of poor access to markets and weak government agricultural extension service systems for most of the chiefdom. The combination of these factors renders agricultural production for commercial purposes unprofitable. Sometimes even subsistence production is affected in the same way. Another fundamental problem communities face is increased human-wildlife conflicts resulting from increased wildlife populations in the nearby Mosi-oa-tunya National Park (GRZ & ZAWA, 2008). This challenge leads to frequent losses of crops for the community and in turn affects

the livelihoods of people in the communities negatively. Thus, many people in these communities have opted to depend mostly on tourism activities such as crafts trading and small vegetable and fruit gardening businesses as the main sources of their livelihoods.

Furthermore, from around the early 1990s, communities have suffered loss of access to most of the Zambezi River waterfront, because of expanding tourism development and demand for more prime land for setting up private hotels, lodges, luxury campsites or tourism adventure activities (DSI, 2008). Sadly, community interests and needs are often not fully recognised and taken into account in these processes. As a result, people in Mukuni communities have not fully participated and benefited from tourism development in the area as expected. However, the situation seems to be changing. This started in the last 10 years, and there is now evidence that people from Mukuni communities are negotiating for increased participation in tourism through CSR initiatives undertaken by some tourism companies in Livingstone. Although there are still unresolved challenges, particularly the problem of power relations, the situation is making steady improvements. People in the area have also realised more that tourism is an important vehicle for attaining long-term community development. The next section looks at “why Mukuni communities” from the tourism potential of the area.

3.6.4 Tourism Resource Potential of Mukuni Communities

Mukuni community is endowed with a rich and diverse tourism resource-base. The area around Victoria Falls, Mosi-oa-Tunya National Park, and Mukuni Palace possess resources of natural and cultural significance to tourism, which are currently being utilized as tourism attractions and products (GRZ & ZAWA, 2008). These resources, however, can be expanded and incorporated into wider ecotourism products in the region especially taking advantage of the merits of the proposed KAZA TFCA development, as noted in section 3.5.1. It is reported that Mukuni Chiefdom community stands as a ‘glowing’ example to the rest in the KAZA TFCA regarding its cultural tourism products (GRZ & ZAWA, 2008; Metcalfe, 2006). In addition, the Victoria Falls and Mosi oa-Tunya National Park are both iconic tourism products and popular to tourists worldwide. Tourists travel to the area to view this magnificent natural wonder and wildlife in this close-by national park. The ‘Mighty’ Zambezi River (as it is locally renowned) has provided another great opportunity for development of a variety of water-based tourism activities. It is on these cultural and natural resources that tourism leisure and adventure activities are based. These act as “pull” factors for tourists visiting

the Livingstone area and, due to this, the town of Livingstone has become a relatively well-developed and commercialised tourism area compared to those in other regions in Zambia (GRZ, 2011; GRZ & ZAWA, 2008; World Bank & DFID, 2011, p. 2).

In view of the above, Mukuni people can significantly participate and benefit from tourism development through CSR if the constraints they face are resolved. It is generally held that “real” community participation in community-based initiatives is important if the community is to benefit through improved livelihoods and develop itself (Scheyvens, 1999). Therefore, the eagerness of hospitality companies in Livingstone to change their business behaviour by incorporating elements of community development in their business practices, promises real prospects for a development change that should be nurtured by all stakeholders and makes an interesting situation for this research on CSR.

The next section looks at changes that have occurred recently in the area resulting in some measure of legitimacy for Mukuni people to benefit directly from tourism development.

3.6.5 Mukuni Community Development Trust: An Important Innovation

Mukuni Community Development Trust (MCDT) is still a relatively new community innovation in the Chiefdom. This community structure was established in 2003. It is an important innovation whose purpose is partly to help tourism companies in Livingstone and Mukuni communities to overcome the challenge of limited community participation in tourism and to help build mutual trust in CSR. Its main purpose is to function as a community development “apparatus” for the majority of Mukuni people. Prior to its creation, during the early 1990s, the demand for land for tourism development in this area increased tremendously. Initially, Chief Mukuni acted unilaterally (using his power) to allocate land to tourism companies for the development of luxury hotels and other tourism activities (Mbinji, 2012; Metcalfe, 2006). It is alleged that the chief and his sub-chiefs later realised that by converting land into private ownership (leasehold by hotel, lodge and other tourism companies), the community was losing access to this valuable source of livelihood without corresponding, and sustainable benefits to the community as a whole. Thus, this unilateral action by the chief lasted only until 2003 when the MCDT was established (AWF, 2006; Mukuni Community Trust, 2003). Since then, land negotiations and development issues are done through the community trust.

According to Metcalfe and Kepe (2008), following the establishment and registration of the MCDT, all the verbal contracts that were entered into earlier between the chief and tourism companies, were renegotiated and re-entered into through the MCDT. They have also stated that the chief went on to allocate 10,000 hectares of Mukuni customary land to the MCDT. This is land on which some of the top hotels and lodges in Livingstone operate their businesses. The obvious reason of these actions was to establish legitimacy for people in Mukuni communities to have equal access to opportunities and benefits from tourism CSR initiatives through the MCDT. However, although legitimacy for Mukuni people to benefit from tourism development has been established, the majority of the Mukuni people still face constraints to participate and benefit from tourism through CSR because of prevailing inequalities (see Chapter Six).

The main function of the MCDT is to promote/facilitate development for people in Mukuni Chiefdom (DSI, 2008; Mukuni Community Trust, 2003). As stated earlier, the chiefdom is divided into 12 zones (Figure 7); each zone has a local board giving a total of 12 local boards.

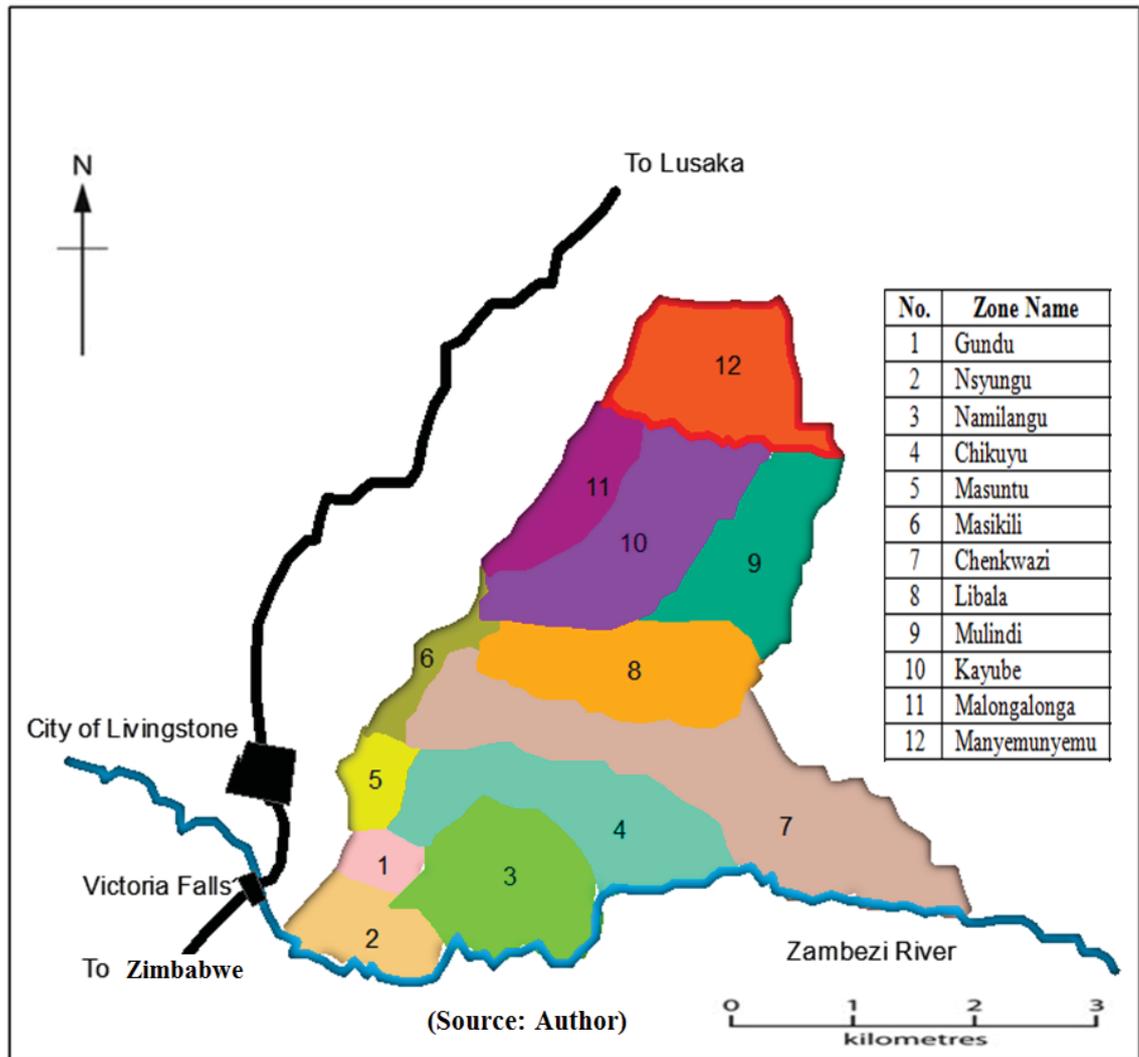


Figure 7: Zonal Map of Mukuni Chieftdom

The Board of Directors who run the MCDT are drawn from these 12 local boards. Then the 12 local boards plus the Board of Directors make up the Annual Congress which is mandated to meet once a year. Potentially, the majority of Mukuni people have the opportunity to express their expectation from CSR through these mechanisms of the MCDT and consequently, to benefit. The MCDT is the main structure that negotiates the development interests and needs of Mukuni people with all tourism companies operating on its land. However, in spite of these opportunities, studies show that Mukuni people are among the poorest communities in Zambia (Metcalf, 2006; World Bank, 2007). Therefore, the interest of this doctoral research to establish the significance of power relations in determining the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development is important, and will provide answers as to why the situation in Mukuni communities, described above, has occurred that way.

The next section describes tourism opportunities in which Mukuni people can potentially participate and draw benefits from tourism development happening around them.

3.6.6 Opportunities for Mukuni People to Participate and Benefit from Tourism

The opportunities for Mukuni people to participate in tourism and benefit socioeconomically are mainly galvanised by the hotel and lodge companies, the M.I.C.E activities⁸, local culture, transport and tours subsectors. These tourism subsectors offer varied possibilities for community members in Mukuni to participate in different tourism-related activities. Specifically, the subsectors offer potential opportunities in the form of short and long-term employment; entrepreneurial activities ranging from crafts and curio selling and vegetable and fruit gardening businesses. The hospitality subsector for example, potentially offers opportunities to people from communities to work on short-term and medium to long-term basis as security guards, porters, landscapers, tour guides, chefs, cooks, waiters, front office staff, housekeeping staff and event organisers, and as managers. All the well-paying jobs demand higher qualifications, which only a few in the communities might possess. However, hotel and lodge companies also provide opportunities in which any member of the community can potentially participate and draw substantial benefits such as offering a market for locally produced goods and services such as locally grown vegetables and fruits and traditional (cultural) entertainment for guests respectively.

In addition, more benefits can be directed into communities if more hotels and lodges were involved in taking their guests for village tours in communities and deliberately included community interests in their packaged tours and marketing information. More local employment opportunities in the form of village tour guides can also be generated when more hotel and lodge companies decide to take part in village tours to communities. This is because market visibility for cultural products such as crafts and curios sold by different community groups can only increase when corporate assistance increases. Community owned shops providing tourist accessories can also grow and benefit from tours by companies. On the other hand, the cultural, the M.I.C.E activities, the transport and tours subsectors can also increase community benefits because they are essentially linked to the hospitality business. For example, the M.I.C.E subsector has continued to grow in Livingstone lately. This is good for Mukuni communities because

⁸ M.I.C.E stands for meetings, incentives, conferences and events

if well organised, during leisure time or as part of the conference programmes, guests can take a tour to the Mukuni communities.

Furthermore, more Mukuni people are offered opportunities to own, or to be employed as taxi drivers, to serve visitors who come to Livingstone as tourists. Some hotels also run boat cruises on the Zambezi River for leisure tours for their guests. Similarly, opportunities potentially exist for people from Mukuni communities to be employed as coxswains, tour narrators or guides and traditional entertainment groups for guests during cruises. Thus, cultural, M.I.C.E activities, the transport and tour subsectors are critical for creating linkages through CSR to direct more benefits to the majority of people in Mukuni communities. In addition, some of the materials such as timber, grass, rattan and sand, which are needed for construction of some hotel and lodge facilities and cruise boats, can be supplied by people from Mukuni communities instead of being imported. If opportunities through CSR are created, people in Mukuni communities with various construction skills can sell their labour to hotel and lodge companies. Mukuni community was thus suitable for this doctoral study because it is a site of major tourism development. However, potential for most people to benefit from this has not been fully harnessed, despite the CSR efforts of some hotel and lodge companies in the area.

3.7 Summary

This background chapter has situated “CSR in tourism” within Zambia’s social and economic development context. It has shown that tourism’s potential for social and economic development has not been fully exploited in Zambia, particularly for directly generating significant benefits for poor communities living adjacent to tourism destinations. The chapter shows that although CSR is undeniably making a positive contribution to improve this situation, there are some constraints that are still limiting the equitable participation and distribution of benefits to the majority in these communities. In this regard, the chapter has established that CSR is increasingly becoming an important potential strategy that can be used to connect tourism and community development in Zambia’s tourism destinations. However, if CSR is to be adopted as a strategy, this chapter has stressed the need to put in place measures to ensure equitable participation, governance and accountability. In this way, the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development could be greatly enhanced.

The need to establish the significance of some of the possible major constraints that can undermine the effectiveness of CSR as vehicle for community development and possible ways to resolve them is the concern of this study (see Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight for more details). Mukuni communities in southern Zambia have been selected as the study area for this purpose because of their proximity to the Livingstone tourism development area.

CHAPTER FOUR

4 Study Methodology, Methods and Data Sources

4.1 Introduction

The previous three chapters dealt with the scope, perspectives and context of this doctoral research respectively. This chapter will move on to describe the epistemology and methodology of this doctoral research and how this was put into practice during the whole research, from research design to fieldwork and to writing up of this doctoral thesis report.

The chapter begins with a discussion of some terminology used in scientific research. It goes on to discuss the philosophy behind the research methodology and presents the research process. After this, a discussion on the fieldwork phases and how research ethics were applied in the field is provided. This leads into a description of research methods and techniques used in data collection, the types of data sources, and how methods and techniques were applied in the field. Later, a description of how raw data was coded and analysed and used in writing up the doctoral thesis report is presented. Finally, a presentation of the researcher's standing relative to the research is made and research reflections are shared.

4.2 Understanding Theoretical Issues and Terms in Research Philosophy

Understanding theoretical issues before embarking on designing or selecting research methodologies and methods is very important (Scheyvens & Storey, 2003). Therefore, this researcher first undertook a journey to understand the theoretical issues behind research design, and became familiar with important terminologies and how they applied to the research.

4.2.1 Ontology and Epistemology

The world of reality, also known as ontology, is often understood in different ways. According to Murray and Overton (2003), ontology refers to theories about the nature of the world. Various assumptions exist that explain how people view reality. Desai and Potter (2006) have defined epistemology as theories of how we come to discover, or find what it is that is possible to know about the world. In this process of discovering reality, different research methodologies and methods have to be applied.

4.2.2 Methodology, Methods and Philosophy of the Research

Methodology is simply defined as research theories of how the world can be interpreted while methods are sets of tools or techniques used for interpreting the world (Murray & Overton, 2003). From this standpoint, methodology and methods are important components of the research design that bridge between theories and practice. The research design thus situates the researcher in the empirical world and connects research questions and data (Punch, 2006, p. 49). On the other hand, the research philosophy of any particular research is that internal logic that flows through the research design and threads together ontology, epistemology, methodologies and the methods of the research (O' Leary, 2004; Punch, 2006). This means that the biggest task of designing this doctoral research was about putting philosophy into practice and linking together ways of exploring theoretical ideas. As Murray and Overton (2003, p. 20) have observed, proper application of the research philosophy makes the design, practice and defence of the research arguments far easier.

4.3 The Research Approach

In this doctoral research, my intention is to inductively generate understanding about how long-term opportunities and benefits from CSR initiatives can be increased and spread to the majority (not only to a few privileged individuals) in Mukuni communities. This intention is at the core of this doctoral research. The thrust is about establishing why hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone are not significantly contributing to community development in Mukuni communities despite having shown willingness. In connection with this, as stated earlier, this research aims to “establish the significance of power relations in determining the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for broad-based community development in Mukuni communities”. The research aim is firmly connected to the central research question (see Chapter One). This inquiry requires a hybrid approach to allow for deeper probing of participants' views and experiences in their natural settings (Patton, 2002) – one that combines the interpretation of perceptions and experiences of participants and capabilities to uncover underlying issues. For this reason, I chose an exploratory research methodology. In addition, an exploratory research methodology was suited for this kind of study because of a dearth of scholarly literature on CSR and community development in this region of Africa.

My main focus in this study is to collect and interpret “perceptions and experiences” of participants (senior government officials, managers of hospitality companies and Mukuni community participants) on CSR practices, and to uncover the “underlying causes” of undesirable power relations in CSR undertaken by hotel and lodge companies in Mukuni. . The need to communicate findings to participants, especially government, is also an important goal of this doctoral research. In broad terms, this doctoral research was situated between historical-hermeneutic and critical science research approaches. A historic-hermeneutic approach rejects the empirical view of the world. It argues that facts do not exist independently of experience and, as such, it emphasises the interpretation of processes and patterns rather than prediction (Murray & Overton, 2014, pp. 22-24). In contrast, critical science research is strong on uncovering non-explicit processes and relations, and puts more emphasis on the need to communicate findings to the researched in order to promote progressive social change. This framework of thinking guided this piece of research. The “situating” of the research in this manner also placed the researcher in a strong position to benefit from the comparable strengths of these two broad scientific research philosophies.

Given the exploratory nature of the study, and the lack of literature on CSR and development in Africa, and particularly, the Southern African Region, the researcher found it appropriate to use qualitative research methods. This is because qualitative methods allow for a detailed exploration of the kind of research questions that this study interrogated, and are sensitive and flexible to the rural research context of the Mukuni (see more details in later sections).

4.4 Research Process

Flowing from this approach, the research applied a range of methods that appropriately drew upon the strengths of both approaches to cover for the limitations of each. Broadly, these methods are: interviews; document and website reviews; site observation; network mapping (NET Map) and Pairwise Ranking and comparison (PRC) analysis techniques (See procedure in Figure 8).

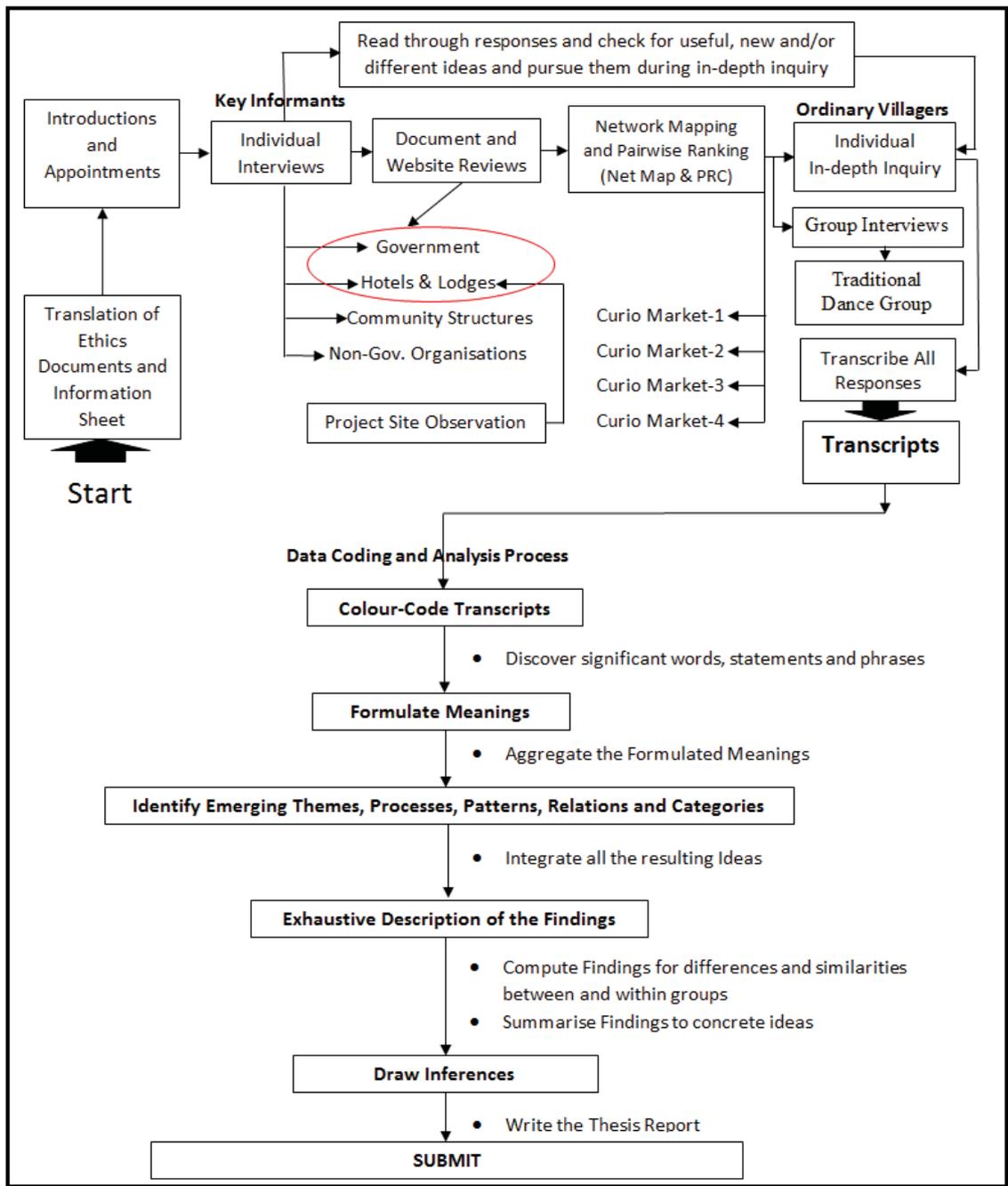


Figure 8: The field research and data analysis process

4.5 Fieldwork Phases

To collect both primary and secondary data, fieldwork was carried out in Livingstone, Zambia, in two phases: *phase 1* and *phase 2*. Phase 1 involved an initial visit to the study area. This phase was undertaken between December 2013 and January 2014. The purpose of the initial visit was to test the relevance of the research design on a reference group. Initial data collected during this visit assisted in refining the research aim, objectives, questions, elements of the theoretical perspective and research methods. The

visit was also used to make preliminary contact with potential participants that were identified to participate in the research and to obtain their consent to participate.

Preliminary information that was collected is summarised in Table 2. Interview, document and website reviews proved to be the most useful research methods during phase 1.

Table 2: Preliminary information collected during the initial fieldwork phase

Participant	Preliminary Information
Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Position, name and contact details of officials • Date and time they would be available for interviews • Collection of policy documents and government ministry website address (s)
Hospitality Companies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Name and contact details of managers • Date and time they would be available for interviews • General overview of their CSR portfolios • Collection of CSR annual reports (where applicable) and website addresses
Communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Names and contact details of community and group leaders • Date and time for individual and group interviews, and focus group discussions (where applicable) • General overview of their individual and group activities • Collection of constitutions that govern groups and membership information
NGOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Names and contact details of NGO leaders • Date and time they would be available for interviews • General overview of their activities in Mukuni communities

Phase 2 was the main fieldwork. This phase was undertaken between July and December 2014. To guide data collection in the field, three *frames* were developed based on the last three specific questions of the doctoral research (see Table 1 in Chapter One). These frames are: (i) *CSR practices of hospitality companies*; (ii) *majority community voices in CSR initiatives*; and (iii) *national and local frameworks for promoting CSR*. To collect data in line with these frames, the following research methods were applied: document and website reviews; interviews; Net Maps and PRC analyses; and site observation (see Table 3).

Table 3: Fieldwork: Data Sources and Research Methods

Type of Participants	No. of Participants	Method
Government - Senior Officials		
Ministry of Tourism	8	Individual Interviews
Ministry of Agriculture	4	
Ministry of Community Dev	1	
Ministry of Mines	1	
Total	14	
Companies - Managers		
Large Resorts	6	Individual Interviews, Document and Website Reviews, Site observation
Small Resorts	4	
Total	10	
Communities		
Leaders	4	Individual Interviews
5 Groups	44	Group Interviews, NET Map and PRC
Individual Community Members	36	Individual and In-depth Interviews
Total	71	
5 NGOs	5	Individual Interviews
Grand Total	113	

4.6 Selection of Research Participants

In terms of selecting participants shown in Table 3 above, key informants [senior government officials (14), hotel and lodge managers (10 from 8 companies), leaders of NGOs (5), and community leaders (4)] were all selected for interviews using purposive methods. These participants were selected because of their roles, connections or involvement in tourism development and CSR in Mukuni communities/Livingstone. Similarly, the four community groups that participated in Net Map and PRC analyses and one traditional dance group (on which a group interview technique was applied) were also purposively selected. Individual community members were randomly selected for individual and in-depth interviews. To select these participants, random sampling was applied by targeting the main routes that community farmers usually use (at appropriate times in the morning) to take their produce to the market⁹ from the different villages/hamlets. This insight was provided by my local contacts. Individuals were selected for interviews based on their willingness to participate.

⁹ Hotels and lodges turned out to be the most preferred markets because they offer a higher price per kilo. However, as a last resort, produce is also sold at low wholesale prices at main local markets in Livingstone city when there is a low demand for the produce by hotels and lodges.

On the other hand, crafts and curio traders were selected by using serial numbers marked on their local market stalls as my sampling frame. Using this frame, participants were randomly selected by a raffle method. The serial numbers for each stall were first written on pieces of papers, and placed in a container. After shuffling the papers, the required number of participants in the research was picked in this manner. It is important to note that traditional dancing, vegetable selling and crafts trading are the three most important tourism-related livelihood activities most Mukuni people rely on. Table 6 shows the total numbers of participants that were selected in each category for this doctoral research. For the purposes of thesis report writing, the identities of participants have been abbreviated (see Appendix 2).

4.7 Ethics: Permission, Consent and Confidentiality

Research ethics were upheld during in the research process as is required. This commenced with this study being peer reviewed during the Development Studies in-house ethics process at Massey University. Issues such as selection of participations, confidentiality, and protection of the researcher and researched from harm, and sharing of information, were discussed. Based on this peer review, I was granted a low risk notification by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee (see Appendix 6).

During fieldwork, research ethics were mainly applied by presenting a copy of the information sheet to each participant and clearly explaining the doctoral research project using the sheet. Consent to participate in the research was obtained from each participant before the interview, after clarifying that participation was voluntary. This was done by first explaining the contents of the consent forms and then requesting each participant who was willing to go ahead to show consent by signing a copy of the consent form, which also detailed issues of anonymity and confidentiality. Using consent forms, the researcher sought written permission from participants to disclose (or not) their names in the thesis document and other publications, to use their photographs as well as permission to record audio interviews.

Furthermore, the researcher's new role and the rights and privileges of participants were also explained. As explained above, most participants knew the researcher as a government official in the Ministry of Tourism. Therefore, the task of explaining research ethics had to be done repeatedly to ensure there were no conflict of interest

concerns. Any situation that propped up in the field was dealt with in a similar way, with the aim of cultivating trust and cooperation.

4.8 My Initial Entry Experiences

My experiences when setting up interviews in the field proved that establishing early and good relationships is very important. For example, some hotel and lodge managers with whom I had existing good relationships, readily welcomed me and accepted my invitation to participate in my doctoral research. In addition, I easily engaged in conversations with them. These informal conversations during this early phase were deeply insightful. Apart from learning about the most prominent types of CSR practices, company philosophies on CSR and who was doing well with their CSR, I also learnt about some pertinent issues about the dishonest practices of some companies. I would not have obtained this kind of information if I did not have a good rapport with some of the managers. My experience was that when any one of them had something sensitive to reveal, they asked me not to record and not to write it down. In most of these cases we met somewhere else other than their usual environments. The value here is that informal settings made them feel more comfortable to reveal more information. On several occasions it was the issue of lack of accountability in CSR among some big companies and the influence of some powerful community leaders in Mukuni that characterised our conversations. These conversations helped me to gain more insight and to position myself better in readiness to execute my research.

To contrast with the above, my experience with those participants to whom I was relatively unfamiliar was completely different. These people were not readily willing to venture into such deep, revealing conversations with me. Our conversations were strictly official. As I recall, two managers of international hotels even rejected the invitation to participate. They both cited internal restrictions by their head offices and advised me to officially contact their head offices directly for permission to participate. I believe if I had existing relations with them, this would not have been the case. In contrast, only one Zambian owned hotel refused the invitation to participate in my research. Similarly, I did not have prior contacts with anyone in this establishment. I made an interesting observation that while at the two international hotels the managers frankly refused and explained why they could not participate, in the Zambian owned hotel, I was sent from one office to another to request permission from different people until I realised that the hotel was unlikely to accept my invitation to participate.

However, in spite of these experiences, I managed to obtain a good number of participants for my study.

Participants from government and Mukuni communities that I contacted willingly accepted to participate in the doctoral research. They were more open and easily engaged in deeper and revealing conversations. From my initial informal talks with senior government officials, I gained insights relating to issues of poor participation, governance and accountability in CSR among companies and communities alike. Most of the issues revealed related to the problem of power relations in CSR. The officials also readily admitted weaknesses and shortcomings in the tourism policy and its implementation. Likewise, conversation with community participants, especially leaders of community groups, disclosed similar issues which included the lack of Government policy support and protection of small community businesses. My conclusion is that the reason I found it easier to relate with Government officials in the Ministry of Tourism as well as hotel and lodge managers and community participants is because of my good previous working relationships with them (see more on my experiences in 4.8).

The next section describes these methods and techniques in detail in relation to the data sources that were targeted and how and why the methods and techniques were applied to collect appropriate data and the type of data that was collected.

4.9 Methods and Data Sources

4.9.1 Interviews

The interview method was one of the key methods of data collection applied in this doctoral research (see interview guide in Appendix 1). The semi-structured category of interviews was particularly used because it offers both structure and considerable researcher flexibility. While the structure helps to retain the possibility to replicate the research, flexibility permits topics to be covered in the order most suited to the interviewee, to allow responses to be fully probed and explored, and to allow the researcher to be responsive to relevant issues raised spontaneously by the interviewee (Bryman, 2012, pp. 472-473; Legard, Keegan, & Ward, 2003, p. 141). In the field, this combination of the two features made it possible for me to invite participants to put forward ideas and suggestions and to propose solutions for problems that emerged during interviews.

In this study, an individual interviews technique was used, initially, to collect data from key informants (senior government officials, managers of hotels and lodges, community and NGO leaders) who were purposefully selected based on their involvement in CSR and CSR-related activities. Individual interviews were also used to collect data from some Mukuni community participants. A group interview technique was applied with community producer groups which did not meet the requirements to apply Net Map and PRC analyses to collect data from them. After stepping back to look at data collected, there was a need to probe deeper into some key issues that emerged. The technique applied for this purpose was the in-depth interview technique. In-depth interviews provide much more detailed information than what is available through other data collection methods (Bryman, 2012, pp. 472-473; Legard et al., 2003, p. 141). Therefore, the list of techniques applied within the interview method was: individual, group and in-depth interviews in that order (see Figure 8).

The ultimate purpose of applying multiple interview techniques was to be able to triangulate and cross-reference the key data collected from different data sources (participants) within and between methods. The idea of triangulation is broadly defined by Denzin (1978, p. 291) as "the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon." The idea of "within-method" triangulation essentially involves cross-checking for internal consistency (or reliability) while "between-method" triangulation tests the degree of external validity (Jick, 1979). In this study, the "within-method" kind of triangulation (Denzin, 1978, p. 301) was achieved by the application of three interview techniques described above to collect data from senior government officials, hospitality company managers, Mukuni community participants and NGO leaders. It was also achieved by carrying out "multiple-comparison-group" triangulation (Glaser, 1965, p. 7) of data as described above. Through this rigorous triangulation, more confidence in the emerging theory of this study was established. The data collected using techniques described in this section was about the respective perceptions and experiences of participants in relation to *CSR practices of hotels and lodges; community voices in CSR; and national and local frameworks for promoting CSR*, as well as collecting data on *underlying causes* of undesirable power relations in CSR.

As a method, interviews offered unique capabilities to explore both explicit and non-explicit information. Most participants willingly disclosed underlying causes of contextual challenges and deeper issues in individual interviews than was the case in

group interviews or Net Maps and PRC. This was seen as the strength of this method. The limitation of individual interviews was the lack of generality of data collected due to its reliance on individual opinions, impressions, perceptions and experiences. However, this was partly countered by “within method” triangulation and partly by “between method” triangulation. The latter refers to the triangulation of the interview method with document and website review; application of pairwise ranking and comparison and network mapping techniques in group sessions; and site observation methods, which are described in the next sections.

4.9.2 Net Work Mapping and Pairwise Ranking and Comparison Analyses

In this study, Net Map and PCR analyses were conducted with four groups that met group attributes for the application of participatory techniques to collect data. The researcher considered the following group attributes to be critical: (i) group representation and (ii) having a common agenda. In this regard, community groups whose members did not know each other closely and whose members did not have a common agenda were considered not to meet these two critical group attributes. The researcher’s concern was that if data was to be collected from a group whose members do not closely know each other that data would lack representation and if the group has no common agenda, the problem of group dynamics could arise. According to the researcher, these two problems can negatively affect the integrity of data as well as conclusions drawn from that type of data. Therefore, because of these reasons, Net Map analysis and PRC analysis techniques were applied only with four community groups involved in crafts and curio trading. As earlier explained, these four groups were purposefully selected.

The rationale for applying Net Map analysis and PRC analysis techniques was to empower community participants to do their own analysis of the problem situation, to take command, to gain confidence, and to make their own decisions (Chambers, 1994, pp. 1-2). This approach enabled both participants and researcher to discover together and to learn new information and practical solutions to problems related to the research topic.

a) Application of Network Mapping (Net Map) Technique

Network mapping (Net Map) is an interview-based tool. The justification of using Net Map analysis in this research is that it helps to improve the understanding of any

situation in which different groups of people or organisations interact to achieve common, or even conflicting goals (Schiffer, 2007). In this research, Net Map was used to understand, visualise and discuss the situation of the different actors involved in CSR initiatives implemented by hospitality companies in Mukuni communities. The researcher used this tool to collect data on how the planning, coordination, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of CSR initiatives can be improved, how governance and accountability in CSR practices can be enhanced, and how community engagement and participation in CSR can be facilitated and made more inclusive.

The process involved each community group of ten members answering the following four key questions in a sequence; (i) who is involved in CSR initiatives implemented by hotels and lodges in Mukuni community?; (ii) how are the actors (stakeholder) linked in CSR?; (iii) how influential is each actor/stakeholder in CSR?; (iv) what are the interests of the actors/stakeholders in the CSR? The data collected as a result of this process is in the form of (i) the list of key actors/stakeholders in CSR in the area, (ii) network maps showing links between key stakeholders, (iii) network maps showing how influential each stakeholder is in CSR, and (iv) the broad categories of stakeholder interests (see full procedure in Appendix 3).

(i) List of stakeholders in CSR in Mukuni community

As pointed out earlier, community groups were asked to identify the key stakeholders involved in CSR in Mukuni communities. To guide themselves, groups first agreed on five main categories of stakeholders namely; national government, local government, private sector, donors/NGOs and community. Then, using these broad categories, each group generated a list of stakeholders which was discussed in plenary and agreed among the four groups before proceeding to the next question. Table 4 shows the list of the key actors/stakeholders that was generated by the four groups.

Table 4: List of key actors/stakeholders identified by network mapping

National Government
Ministry of Tourism and Arts
Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational Training and Early Education
Ministry of Health
Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock
Ministry of Community Development Mother and Child Health
Ministry of Mines, Energy and Water Development
Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Industry
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Ministry of Home Affairs
Ministry of Labour and Social Services

Ministry of Lands, Natural Resources and Environmental Protection
Ministry of Transport, Works, Supply and Communications
Ministry of Local Government and Housing
Zambia National Tourism Board
National Museums
Zambia Wildlife Authority
National Heritage Conservation Commission
Hotel and Tourism Training Institute
Zambia Police Service
Department of Immigration
Zambia Revenue Authority
Export Board of Zambia
Small Enterprises Development Board
Patent and Company Registration Agency
Zambia Development Agency
Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation
Local Government
Livingstone City Council
Office of the Livingstone District Commissioner
District Development Coordinating Committees
Private Sector
Tourism Council of Zambia
Hotel and Catering Association of Zambia
BIDVEST Zambia Ltd
Livingstone Tourism Association: Hotel Companies, Lodge Companies, Tour Operating Companies, Tourism Activity Companies
Airline and Airport Corporation
Financial Institutions
Donor/NGO
United States Embassy/USAID in collaboration with the following institutions: Agribusiness in Sustainable Natural African Plant Products, PURDUE University, RUTGERS University, Stellenbosch University, University of Michigan, International Development Enterprise, Horticulture Innovation Lab
Zambia National Farmers' Union
Livingstone Farmers' Cooperative Society
Agribusiness Agents (includes BIDVEST)
Faith Based Organisations
Butterfly Tree
Mukuni communities
His Royal Highness Senior Chief Mukuni
Mukuni Community Development Trust
Community Producer Groups
Community Individual Entrepreneurs

(ii) Network maps (Net Maps) showing links between key stakeholders

The four groups produced Net Maps to show links between stakeholders (see work in progress in the two examples below in Figure 9).



Figure 9: Groups producing Net Maps to show links between actors/stakeholders

(iii) Network maps (Net Maps) showing how influential each stakeholder is in CSR

To show how influential each stakeholder is in CSR, groups produced influence Net Maps (see examples below in Figure 10). From the Net Maps below, it can be seen that groups used bottle-tops to build towers of influence according to how influential each actor/stakeholder is perceived to be in comparison with others. Therefore, the more the bottle-tops (or the higher the tower), the more influence or power that particular actor/stakeholder possesses. The Net Maps were discussed within the group and in plenary to generate meaning and deeper understanding of the results. In addition, the interests of the actors/stakeholders were also identified in the processes (see iv).

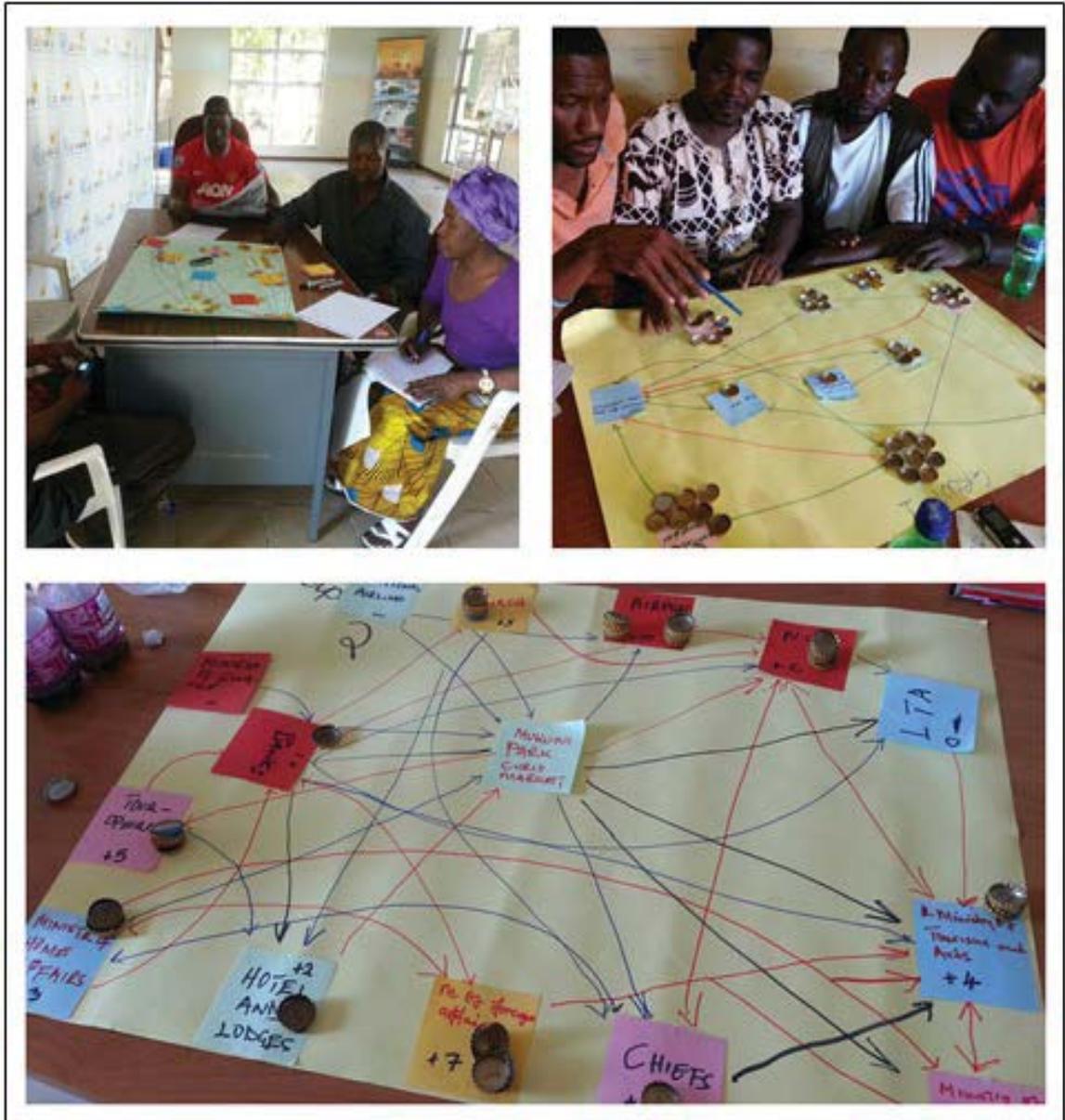


Figure 10: Groups producing Net Maps to show stakeholder levels of power influence

(iv) Broad categories of stakeholder interests

In terms of interests and power influence that link the different actors/stakeholders in CSR, during plenary discussions of the Net Map results, the groups listed: *information, training, markets, income, employment, government revenue and foreign exchange earnings* as the “on the surface” broad interests of the different actors/stakeholder. Further inquiry revealed: *political, corporate, academic, traditional and cultural, and NGO membership control* as the possible “under the surface” interests (see Table 5). For consistency, interests were understood as the links (or what flows) between

stakeholders and power influence as the ability to affect or effect action (Morriss, 1987, pp. 30-36). During thesis report writing, a consolidated Net Map has been generated (see Figure 12 in Chapter Seven).

Table 5: Stakeholder interests and power influence

On the Surface Interests	Stakeholders Involved in the Network
Disseminate and enforce policy and development requirements (information)	Between government and its agencies and its development partners
Providing community capacity building through skills training, mentoring (skills transfer) and advice (training)	Between NGOs, donors, academic institutions, hospitality companies and communities
Improve community livelihoods through improved market linkages for local products (markets)	Between NGOs, donors, academic institutions, hospitality companies and communities
Stimulate procurement of local products to increased income generating opportunities for communities (income)	Between NGOs, donors, academic institutions, hospitality companies and communities
Generate employment opportunities (local employment)	Between communities and hospitality companies
Increase revenue and foreign exchange earning opportunities (government revenue and foreign exchange earnings)	Between government, hospitality companies and community leaders
Under the Surface Interests	Stakeholders with Power Influence
Political control	Government
Corporate dominance	Hospitality companies
Academic research project	International NGOs, donor and Academic institutions
Traditional power and cultural influences (individual benefits)	Community leaders
Membership driven benefits (money)	Local NGOs

In view of the assumptions of this doctoral research (see Chapter One and Two), these interests (in Table 5), especially the under the surface types, are of great concern because of their propensity to constrain majority participation, governance and accountability, if the processes used to implement CSR are not adapted and lack equity. As part of the objective to generate better understanding, in-depth interviews with individuals in Mukuni were applied concerning the under the surface interests.

b) Application of Pairwise Ranking and Comparison (PRC) Technique

As a tool, pairwise ranking and comparison (PRC) is commonly used for prioritising the lists of problems, projects or development issues identified by the community (Russell, 1997). In this research, PRC was used to gain understanding of the most important community development concerns in CSR initiatives implemented by hotel and lodge companies in Mukuni communities. Like in Net Map processes, the PRC

process required the same four community groups to answer two key questions in a sequence: (i) what are the most important development concerns communities have in connection with CSR initiatives undertaken by hospitality companies in Mukuni communities?; what is the order of importance of these development concerns? As part of the PRC process to answer these two questions, groups were required to list as many development concerns as possible. The researcher acted only as the facilitator of the process. All the concerns that were identified were written down on paper and stuck on the wall for all to see, and then later all the concerns/issues identified were put into categories through a consensus process. Figure 11 and Figure 12 show the groups doing the pairwise ranking and comparison exercises and results respectively (see full procedure in Appendix 4. Data collected from this process was in form of key issues and their overall order of importance (see this data under (i) and (ii) below).

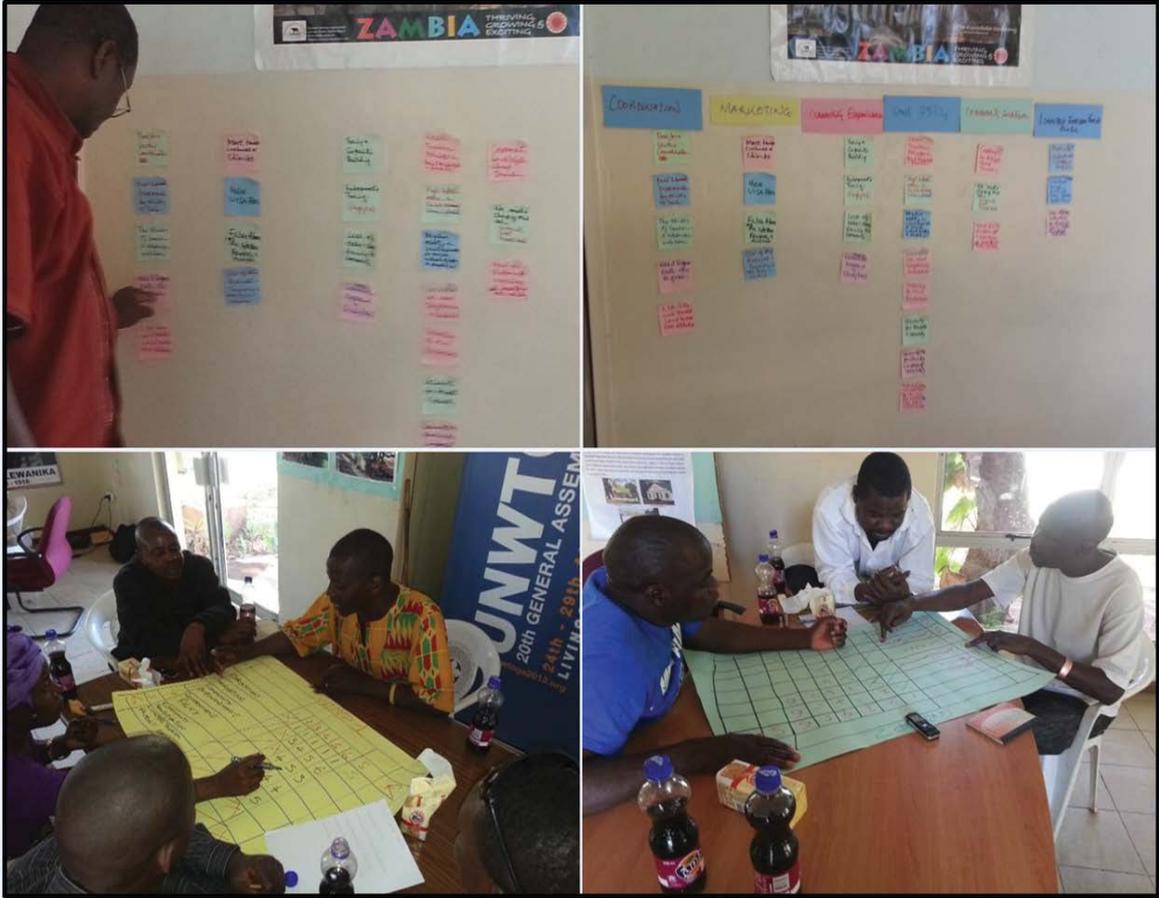


Figure 11: Pairwise ranking and comparison exercise in progress



Figure 12: Pairwise ranking and comparison results from the group exercises

(i) Broad categories of development concerns (issues)

The most important development concerns/issues affecting CSR in Mukuni that emerged from the PRC group exercises are: lack of coordination, lack of community empowerment, the need for marketing of community products and unsupportive policies. Participants in each group ranked these issues according to their views and experiences (see Table 6).

Table 6: The most important development issues in CSR initiatives in Mukuni

Group-1		Group-2	
Issue	Rank	Issue	Rank
Coordination	1	Government Policies	1
Government Policies	2	Community Empowerment	2
Community Empowerment	3	Marketing for Community Products	3
Marketing for Community Products	4	Coordination	4
Group-3		Group-4	
Government Policies	1	Government Policies	1
Coordination	2	Coordination	2
Community Empowerment	3	Community Empowerment	3
Marketing for Community Products	4	Marketing for Community Products	4

A further consolidation of the rankings of the four groups reveals that weak or lack of appropriate government policies to protect community interests is the most important concern for communities. This is followed by lack of development coordination, then lack of community empowering interventions and the fourth was lack of markets and marketing for community products. This consolidation was arrived at by carrying out a simple frequency count. The concern with a highest frequency under rank 1 was considered to be the overall most important development issue according to community participants. This was done for ranks 2, 3 and 4 as well (see Table 7). This information provided a base for a deeper probe of the CSR practices and processes in the study area, especially, when examining the tourism policy framework and the local development coordination framework in Livingstone (see Chapter Seven).

Table 7: Overall ranking of the most important development issues linked to CSR

Issue	Group Consolidated Ranking			
	1	2	3	4
Coordination	√	√√	0	√
Government Policies	√√√	√	0	0
Community Empowerment	0	√	√√√	0
Marketing for Community Products	0	0	√	√√√
Final Ranking of the 4 Key Issues				
Issue	Final Rank			
Government Policies	1			
Coordination	2			
Community Empowerment	3			
Marketing for Community Products	4			

In order to triangulate this data collected on the most important development concerns and to gather deeper insights, another exercise was undertaken with 36 randomly selected vegetable sellers and crafts traders from Mukuni communities. The question that was asked to these individuals was: what are your five most important expectations (in order of priority) from CSR initiatives implemented by hotel and lodge companies in Mukuni communities? (See Chapter Six for more details).

4.9.3 Document and Website Reviews

As earlier stated, document and website reviews were applied in Phase 1 to collect initial data for refining the doctoral research proposal. These methods were also used in the main fieldwork (Phase 2) and through to the actual writing of the doctoral thesis report. In both phases the documents collected were mainly in the form of policy

documents from government ministries and agencies, constitutions and trust documents from community groups, and CSR annual reports from some hotel and lodge companies. Research relevant information about the CSR programmes and philosophies of companies was also collected by reviewing websites (see Table 8 for websites visited) in line with the research frames (see Table 1 in Chapter One). Table 8 also shows the kind of information that was extracted from these documents and websites. To clarify any information deciphered from these documents or websites, relevant participants were contacted mostly through emails and occasionally by phone calls.

Table 8: Type of data collected through document and website reviews

Research frames	Broad types of data collected from documents and websites
CSR practices of hospitality companies	Indication of the: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Types of CSR initiatives and outcomes Types of approaches/processes applied Sources of funds for CSR initiatives
Majority community voices in CSR initiatives	Indications of the: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Composition and leadership Participation, governance and accountability guidelines Opportunities in community structures for seeking voices of the majority in CSR initiatives
National and local frameworks for promoting the CSR concept	Indication of the: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Opportunities for connecting CSR and community development Opportunities for interaction of different stakeholders in CSR Opportunities for involving communities in government planning and coordination structures and vice versa
Websites Visited Companies, Government and Communities	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> http://www.suninternational.com/stories/business/sustainable-development-in-zambia-the-royal-livingstone/ http://www.marriott.com/corporate-social-responsibility/corporate-responsibility.mi http://www.courtyardhotel.co.zm/ http://tongabezi.com/ (http://tongabezi.com/doing-good/tujatane-school) http://www.chapaclassicslodge.com/ http://www.chanters-livingstone.com/ http://www.lsk.mosiotunyalodge.co.zm/ http://www.backpackzambia.com/ http://www.zambia.gov.zm/index.php/ministries-all-government-ministries http://blog.horticulture.ucdavis.edu/2015/06/videos-from-zambia-aivs/

4.9.4 Site Observation

The site observation method involved touring CSR-related community projects supported by some hotel and lodge companies in Mukuni communities. The purpose was to fill the information gaps in the raw data collected through document and website review, interview and group methods by making field visits to some CSR project sites.

Site observation assisted in deepening the understanding and interpretation of data (Mason, 2010; Trochim, 2006). While making observations, I took notes in a diary and also took photos (see examples in Figure 13), which provided a real help during the doctoral thesis report writing process, in recalling facts that were observed by making references to data that was recorded in this way.



Figure 13: Examples of CSR initiatives in Mukuni communities

4.10 Data Coding and Analysis

The first step in data coding and analysis was to transcribe all the audio interviews. Following this step was data coding. Data coding was achieved by colour-coding all research relevant statements in the transcripts to separate the core-research issues from the background information. This process was done by colour-shading and marking the most relevant phrases in the transcripts based on the research frames (see Table 1 in Chapter One) using the computer “Comment Function” in MS Word. The shaded and marked phrases were extracted from transcripts to construct master tables.

When the tables were finally complete with all the relevant core-research issues from all the transcripts, the next process was to derive codes and then themes. This was a forward-and-back process involving the scrutiny of each phrase to formulate meanings, comparing with other phrases, and making final decisions before proceeding. The coding and allocating of themes was done by keeping research objectives and questions in mind. The rationale was to maintain a firm link between research objectives; questions; theoretical arguments in the literature; the theoretical framework; and emerging issues from field data.

Because of the need to maintain a firm link, a process of going back on the completed coding results became necessary, to check and recheck the correctness and appropriateness of the codes and themes as well as correcting errors and omissions until the final master table was finally constructed, and was complete with all phrases and codes. A master table was constructed for each group of participants (senior government officials, managers of hotels and lodges, NGO leaders, community leaders and individual community participants). The flow chart in Figure 8 under section 4.4 exemplifies the process that was followed from field data collection to data coding and analysis.

The master table contains the total number of issues (or phrases) documented from each group of participants that took part in the study. From these phrases, broad categories of issues were generated, then themes and subthemes as appropriate. The code assigned to each theme links the theme to the phrases in the master table and helps in tracing the different themes back to the phrases from which they were originally derived. In the final stage of the coding process, code books were generated for each group of participants, which are kept for any future reference. For example, about 210 relevant

phrases (or issues) were extracted from the managers' statements and 472 from senior government officials and were used to generate themes and code books (see Tables 9 and 10).

The data analysis process followed suit, relying on formulation of meanings from emerging themes. The process included explaining processes, relationships, differences and similarities between and within groups of participants and derivation of concrete ideas from all the findings. Thus, the data analysis method that was applied in this study is thematic analysis, which manually utilized the themes derived through the coding process described above. The advantages of this manual coding and analysis of data are twofold: firstly, it has developed an intimate relationship between the researcher and the data; and secondly, it has deepened the researcher's data manipulation and analysis skills.

Table 9: Codes and themes derived from responses of hotel and lodge managers

Total No. of phrases from the statements of hotel and lodge managers on the most relevant research issues	Broad Themes	Code	Sub-themes	Code	Number
n=210	CSR Practices	CP	Types of Community CSR initiatives	CCIs	51
			Types of Community CSR approaches	CCAs	31
			Types of Community CSR Outcomes	CCOs	17
			Markets and Marketing for Community Products	MCP	14
			Motivation to Engage in CSR	MEC	18
	CSR Process Issues	CPI	Transparent Mechanisms,	TM	05
			Community Involvement Mechanisms	CIM	21
	Power Relations in CSR	PRC	Power Influence	PI	04
			Cultural Influence	CI	03
	Constraints in CSR	CC	Sector Constraints	SC	07
			Community Constraints	CC	12
	Government CSR Policy Strategies and Practices	GPSP	Policy Strategies	PS	10
			Policy Practice	PP	17
Total					210

Table 10: Codes and themes derived from responses of senior government officials

Total No. of phrases from the statements of hotel and lodge managers on the most relevant research issues	Broad Themes	Code	Number
n=472	CSR Practices	CP	142
	CSR Process issues	CPI	57
	Power Relations in CSR	PRC	28
	Constraints in CSR	CC	90
	Government CSR Policy Strategies and Practice	GPSP	155
Total			472

4.11 Standing and Reflections of the Researcher

I became aware that my positionality as researcher can influence the outcomes of my research if not properly managed when I was reading literature on qualitative research approaches. I came across many statements on this subject, but I was particularly

directed by the statement that stressed the need for the researcher to be “an active learner who can tell the story from the participants’ view rather than an expert who passes judgement on participants” (Creswell, 1998, p. 18). The emphasis I got here was on the need for me as the researcher to be aware of my own personal subjectivities and the ways in which my actions may impact the research process and knowledge production (Stewart-Withers, Banks, McGregor, & Meo-Sewabu, 2014, pp. 61-62). From these readings, I realised that it was not only important to be aware, but to also acknowledge that if not appropriately managed, my positionality, relationships and personality (that is, who I am) can affect the research process and outcomes.

Therefore, while undertaking my fieldwork in Mukuni communities and Livingstone I continuously reflected on my personal attributes and any knowledge I held relative to my topic to minimise any negative influence on my research. The need to ensure a continuous critical self-scrutiny while undertaking fieldwork has been emphasised (Mason, 2002). Desai and Potter (2006, p. 19) have also emphasised the need for self-scrutiny that “while undertaking fieldwork, it is essential to reflect constantly on how you as an outsider should relate to local people”. Howard (1994) has pointed out that the positionality of the researcher can affect interviews, especially when there is a marked power inequality between the two. When I considered this information in relation to my positionality, my potential sources of biases would be from: (i) my position as an official in the Ministry of Tourism; (ii) relationships and networks that I have established as a result of a long stretch of work experience in the study area; (iii) my personal attributes which include my age, sex and personality; and my socio-economic status or class (coming from the Capital City in Lusaka).

Therefore, being aware of these potential sources of my biases, I approached my research with a polite character, honesty and a self-searching “pair of research glasses”. My passion and goal in the research was to bring out the reality surrounding CSR and make suggestions as to strategies that Government could adopt as a vehicle for community development in the tourism industry. However, I kept my biases in constant check by sticking to all the main elements of my research design (objectives, questions, theory (literature and study theoretical framework).

Moving on to the details of my research experience and how ethics were applied in the fieldwork, my experience shows that a researcher cannot change who they are (they

need just to be natural) but they can influence how participants perceive or think of them. Better still, they can make use of who they are (their advantages) positively for their research and try to limit the negatives. For example, I was unsure at the start of my fieldwork whether to consider myself an “outsider” or “insider” to my participants and their environment. This uncertainty stemmed from the fact that while I had worked in the study area for many years, and built relationships with most of the participants, I would not claim to be “one of them” and to know all about the issues they face daily. However, I discovered that it is also possible to be in the middle ground: “outsider-insider”.

My experience was that Mukuni community participants considered me as “one of them” because during my past work experience in the area as an official from the Ministry of Tourism, I had identified with their issues. In my past work experience, I supported community development in the area, which positively spoke for me in spite of the negative working reputation of the Ministry in the communities. On these grounds, community participants took me “in” as an “insider” and I used this research positionality to the advantage of my research. However, occasionally reality dawned and revealed that I was an “outsider”. This was in terms of community experiences (issues) versus city issues. I hailed from Lusaka, the capital, and I knew very little about their day to day struggles (Adams & Megaw, 1997). To properly manage the evident social status gap when it emerged so that I did not negatively impact on my research, I changed the mode to that of listening and learning more from them. This strategy worked successfully for my research. To prepare for this situation, in the early days of my fieldwork when I was making appointments for interviews and focus group discussion sessions, as I explained my research topic and ethics issues to my participants, I deliberately shared common social stories I experienced about community life, we lunched together where it was possible, for participants that were selling crafts I even bought some of their items. Overall, using my local knowledge, I conducted myself with a humble demeanour to win the trust of my participants and used these occasions to obtain local useful perspectives.

Similarly, managers from hotels and lodges took me as “one of them” owing to my past good working relationships with these tourism industry stakeholders. Although I had no concerns of any negative effects of a “social status” gap, to most of the participants in this group, I was part of the industry’s network and plainly an official from the Ministry

of Tourism. This was a real challenge I had to overcome to avoid any adverse effects on my research. Therefore, I had to regularly/repeatedly emphasise my different role as a doctoral researcher as opposed to my usual official title in the Ministry of Tourism. I dealt with senior government officials in a similar manner as my positionality with them was the same as managers. With this explanation and emphasis, both groups understood my new role as a doctoral researcher and aptly supported my research on these grounds. On this basis, issues of conflict of interest did not arise with any of the groups of participants during fieldwork. On the basis of my experiences in the study area which I have explained above, especially for Mukuni participants, I found myself to be in the middle ground as an “outsider-insider” researcher. The value of this unique position is that it reduces power imbalances between the researcher and the researched (Scheyvens, 2014, pp. 61,62,256). I was conscious of this fact and thus I was seen to be a learner too and not mainly as an expert.

However, there were still some challenging experiences during fieldwork. I document here two of the most extraordinary examples. Firstly, on two separate occasions Mukuni community participants (group sessions) raised concerns about researchers who had been to the area before me. They explained that: “many researchers, especially from government and NGOs have been to us, explained their topics and how their research will benefit our communities. When they are leaving fieldwork, they have made promises to solve our problems, but we have not seen or heard of them again and nothing has changed about our lives. What makes you and your research different from them? We want to know our benefits from your research?” Participants iterated a list of issues that communities have struggled with for many years and sadly researchers who had gone before me promised to do something about those specific issues and report back to the participants. However, as reflected in the statement above, researchers made promises they could not fulfil and the issue was now confronting me. This is something commonly faced by other researchers (Sidaway, 1992).

Participants also added that they are fatigued with researchers and research which amounts to no benefits to them, asserting that they deserved compensation: “...we will start charging researchers for our participation...” As I was still thinking of how to respond, they asked me again: “how different is your research from those ones? ...what are your promises and how do we believe that you will be different?” These were tough questions from very serious participants and I was not sure what my response would do

to my research. I recalled from my literature reading that making promises to participants, "...it is important not to promise anything that you as a researcher cannot deliver..." (Desai & Potter, 2006, p. 18). However, there is also a serious caution that well before fieldwork the researcher should give careful thought as to how the community might be repaid for their help so that his/her research does not fall in the category of being "parasitic" or being characterised "data mining" (Desai & Potter, 2006).

From these statements, I came to understand that it was not a simple act of refusing to make promises, but a carefully thought out and honest response about the value of the research to the participants and their communities. Therefore, in my response, I explained to these community participants that I was not going to promise to solve their problems because I did not have power to change their circumstances. However, if they gave me genuine responses in my research perhaps the Government could adopt some of the recommendations of my research and develop some community interventions that could bring some benefit to their communities. I reiterated that without their honest support to my research, I would not be able to make a strong case in that regard in my doctoral thesis report. This explanation was followed by a deep silence and I thought I had ruined my research. However, I am glad they did not pull out of my research and they did not charge me for participating in my research. Instead, a good relationship and trust emanated which was proven throughout the sessions and at the end of my fieldwork, participants admitted that they had learnt some new things and requested to have copies of the worksheets which they generated during group sessions. Looking back, I see my objectives and strategies for data collection with these community groups were successfully applied and the groups gave me very useful responses for my doctoral research.

The second example is about flexibility in field plans and time management. One particular day, I was running late for an interview because the previous participant would not summarise his points in a few sentences and I found it culturally rude to interrupt him each time he overshot the time. As a result of this situation, I was late for the next appointment. While in a hurry for the next appointment, there was right in front of me, a large herd of elephants that had blocked the border road into the city and most motorists had even left their vehicles after being tired of waiting and started taking pictures of the elephants. I called it an "elephant" check-point when I notified the next

interviewee about the probable delay in making it on time. Because of the elephants, I was late by about half an hour. However, the interview still went ahead because the person understood the situation, agreed to wait and to be interviewed. Desai and Potter (2006, p. 12) have stressed the need for researcher preparedness to deal with any circumstances that arise in fieldwork and have particularly emphasised the need for researchers to allow a great degree of flexibility and reflexivity in the fieldwork plans. The important lesson I learnt from this experience is that as a researcher I need to allow for an appropriate buffer of time between interviews to avoid causing disappointments when unforeseen circumstances arise.

As I reflect, my personal attributes were also a great factor in the success of my fieldwork, particularly my friendly disposition and demeanour. I understood that personal attributes can not only influence the way the researcher perceives and interprets the meaning of reality, but also how participants perceive the researcher and respond to data collection techniques (Howard, 1994). My personal attributes assisted me to easily engage with participants of different backgrounds. Engaging too easily can make the researcher more vulnerable socially, but I was careful not to put myself in social danger or conflict of interest. As Desai and Potter (2006) have advised, I also made use of the services and advice of my local contacts not only in terms of research issues, but also on practical things (logistical, social, traditional, cultural and safety issues). My personal attributes included my past experiences as a researcher and my exposure and expertise in tourism development and industry issues in Zambia as an employee in the Ministry of Tourism. These aspects were a great motivation for me in the research as I looked for answers. However, I was also aware that I needed to critically and self-consciously rely more on research facts and not on my ordinary ideas and popular views (Wolf, 1996).

Put together, my personal attributes not only strengthened my standing relative to my research in terms of abstraction and collation of facts, but also helped me to guard against my own research biases that could have arisen from my presumptions, values, preferences and convictions. Instead, I relied on collecting and interpreting the perceptions and experiences of my research participants who are the "...masters of their experiences" (Kariuki & Njuki, 2013, p. 92) and "whose reality and interests count" (Chambers, 2007, pp. 19-22) in the research. In addition, emphasis on triangulation and cross-referencing data collection contributed to addressing any potential biases

connected to my positionality. Reflecting on my overall research experience in fieldwork, I can conclude that communities in Mukuni are desperate for real development interventions and not just for researchers and research that only seeks to generate stories and debate in books and academic journals. I take my research experience as a challenge for me to channel my knowledge and skills I have gained from my doctoral studies into making a difference in the lives of people living in poor communities in tourism destination areas. I can state here that my fieldwork was successful and participants happily acknowledged having discovered new information and new ways of dealing with some of their problems and, as earlier stated, they requested copies of Net Maps and PRC posters. Overall, my fieldwork was the best experience of my doctoral research.

4.12 Summary

In summary, this chapter has explained how data collection methods were applied in relation to the main data sources. Qualitative data was targeted and collected based on the perceptions and experiences of the different participants in the study area. Of particular value to this study was the need to generate deeper insights about the research problem. The emphasis was to understand the nature of relationships between actors in CSR and why certain things happen or not, and how they can be improved. However, if the study was to be repeated or replicated elsewhere, a mixed-methods approach is suggested in order to fully understand the relationships between CSR, tourism and community development. In addition, a combination of qualitative and quantitative research could assist to minimise subjectivity in the methods, and thereby increasing the attractiveness and precision of research conclusions and render a more convincing argument for suggesting policy reforms. Another important suggestion is to apply a multi-disciplinary research approach that considers the linkages of tourism with other sectors and other issues from a sustainable development perspective. This was another research limitation of this doctoral research. Furthermore, a case study of Mukuni and other nearby chiefdoms or communities with which it shares boundaries and social-cultural-economic setting is also suggested. Such an approach could improve the generalizability of study conclusions. These are the three main research limitations encountered in this study.

However, these limitations were partially overcome by intensely triangulating data collection methods and sources (see section 4.6). As shown in Table 11, some

participants were involved in more than one data collection method. This was done to develop more confidence in the emergent theory. In summary, the methods of data collection were successfully applied in this study.

Table 11: Summary of how the four research methods were applied in fieldwork

Methods	Participants
Individual Interviews (Senior Officials, Managers, NGOs, Comm. Leaders & Members)	69
Group Interviews (Craft Traders & Traditional Dancers)	24
In-depth Interviews	36
Document and Website Reviews (Companies, Government & Communities)	10
Pairwise Ranking (Craft Traders)	20
Net Maps (Craft Traders)	20
Total	179

CHAPTER FIVE

5 CSR Practices of Hotel and Lodge Companies in Livingstone

5.1 Introduction

This research seeks to answer the question: what is the significance of power relations in determining the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development in Mukuni communities in Zambia? In order to address this question, a theoretical framework, as outlined in Chapter Two, is employed. The framework has three components: firstly, an exploration of **changing CSR practices** of eight hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone; secondly, an examination of community structures that companies use to seek out *community voices in CSR* in Mukuni; and thirdly, a review of *frameworks* used for promoting appropriate CSR practices for community development. It is hypothesised that if these three areas converge, and undesirable power relations are managed or removed and opportunities are optimised, then prospects of community development through CSR are increased.

As explained in Chapter Four, thematic analysis was applied to empirical materials which were primarily generated by means of in-depth interviews (individual and group), document and website reviews, Net Map, and PRC analyses. The findings drawn from these methods are presented in this chapter and the next two chapters. This chapter explores the CSR practices implemented by eight hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone to support community development in Mukuni along Ashley and Haysom's ideas that:

“...changing or adapting business practice involves a change in mind-set, the attention of management staff, hands-on facilitation and a willingness to change. [And that] spreading this approach further across the industry will depend on other executives trading-off initial effort against long-term strategic benefits, and finding ways to incorporate pro-poor approaches into their own commercial context...” (Ashley & Haysom, 2006, p. 278).

As reflected in this statement, changing practices that aim to incorporate pro-poor approaches could potentially improve economic opportunities for the poor to significantly benefit from tourism development around them. This is why changing practices is an important focus of this chapter.

The first section of the chapter explores the types of CSR undertaken by hotel and lodge companies, the approaches used and outcomes for Mukuni communities. The second section explores the beliefs or factors (drivers) that are shaping CSR practices in the study area. The purpose of this chapter is twofold: first, to illustrate the CSR practices and what this means for Mukuni community development; and, second, to identify the main factors that adversely affect progress for changing CSR practices. The factors that are identified in this chapter are explored in detail in subsequent chapters (Chapter Six and Chapter Seven).

Chapter Six explores the effects of power in CSR from a community perspective. The purpose is twofold: first, to find out whether communities are given opportunities to negotiate their expectations from CSR, and second, to find out whether community structures that are used to implement CSR initiatives in Mukuni provide opportunities to incorporate majority voices. The rationale of examining the approaches/mechanisms used to negotiate and seek majority voices in CSR is to get a deeper understanding of the types of relationships that exist between companies and communities; and also within Mukuni communities. Chapter Seven explores the issues from a government perspective to find out the appropriateness of the national tourism policy framework and the district development coordination committees as frameworks for promoting CSR in the study area. The purpose is to find out the roles played by Government and other stakeholders to support community development and poverty reduction in Mukuni through the CSR of hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone.

The next section now explores the CSR initiatives of hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone, the approaches and outcomes for Mukuni communities.

5.2 CSR Initiatives, Approaches and Outcomes

5.2.1 Sun International Hotel

Sun International hotel in Livingstone (SIL) regards “giving back” to communities as an act of corporate social investment (CSI) and not corporate social responsibility (CSR)¹⁰. According to the SILmger²¹¹, this is because SIL considers CSR as investing in

¹⁰ A visit to the company’s website reveals more details on this belief:

<http://www.suninternational.com/stories/business/sustainable-development-in-zambia-the-royal-livingstone/>

¹¹ This was the SIL CSI manager interviewed during the main field research trip undertaken between July and November, 2014. She took over the CSI responsibility from the manager who was interviewed during the initial field research trip and left the position.

communities for the benefit of its business, the communities and the wider society. This principle of “mutual benefit” between business and communities is inherent in most of SIL’s successful CSR initiatives described later in this chapter. It is the key philosophy that shapes its CSR practices. Nevertheless, they are engaging in CSR, thus CSR/CSI will be the term used in this chapter to describe their activities.

Among the eight companies that took part in this study, SIL had the largest CSR/CSI programme portfolio. According to the findings of this study, the company formalised its CSR/CSI programme in 2004 and subsequently, established a CSR/CSI unit with dedicated staff. SILmger2 explained that when SIL started its CSR contribution to community development in 2002, it used to respond to community requests in an ad hoc way. However, this changed after the company formalised its CSR programme in 2004. This was also the first time it allocated a specific amount of resources for implementing CSR/CSI initiatives. Therefore, between 2002 and 2004, the company only allocated a fixed amount of US\$200,000 to CSR (for a period of 2 years). SILmger2 explained that in the years that followed after 2004, the company up-scaled its resources for those CSR/CSI initiatives that had demonstrated satisfactory outcomes for community development. Although communities are still not involved in its CSR decision making processes, the company claimed to have made a shift from responding to community requests in an ad hoc way to developing a strategic plan; identifying partners; and establishing formal agreements with partners as reflected in the statements below from two of SIL’s managers:

“...To be honest, the company does not involve communities in its CSR decision making processes. Sometimes leaders are consulted. But the company tries as much as possible to partner with other companies and organisations in its CSR/CSI activities. An example is the NGO called Agribusiness in Sustainable Natural African Plant Products (ASNAPP) whom the company has partnered with to support the Nsongwe Women Club CSR/CSI project and others. This is part of our sustainability plan. The company does not want the CSR/CSI activity to be a one-off project, a case where the company comes in, does it and leaves and then the project falls apart...”(SILmger2, 20th October, 2014).

“...the initial CSR initiatives that Sun International did in Mukuni communities can be put into 3 categories namely (i) Education (very primary) (ii) Agriculture and (iii) Women’s Empowerment. Later in 2006, the hotel brought in a partner who runs an NGO in the UK. The role of the hotel changed to that of advising the NGO on which areas to focus. The founder of the NGO comes every 6 months. The NGO has supported water and sanitation projects, school services and infrastructure projects, orphan support, and health issues, especially HIV/AIDS awareness campaigns etc...”(SILmger1¹², 24th January, 2014).

The progress that SIL has made in its CSR practices includes the establishment of consistent sources of funds for its CSR programmes. At the time of this research, SIL had established three main sources of funds. The first source was its own allocation of about 2% of revenues to CSR programmes, which had been used to create a CSR/CSI community trust fund. This % is centrally determined by the Hotel Group at head office in South Africa. The second source is its CSR partners. SIL collaborates with local and international NGOs, universities and corporations as reflected in the extract below from its CSR Annual Report:

“Where does SIZ get the money for such extensive CSI projects? The CSI funding for Sun International Zambia comes from three sources: [first], the Sun International Zambia Community Trust amounting to \$500,000 [raised via a contribution of] 2% of revenue; [second], partnerships: Local and international NGOs, Think Tanks, Universities and even corporations [donors) that we partner with for specific projects usually bear some of the costs...sometimes, we are simply facilitators and our partners cover the entire cost of a project from beginning to end; and [third], individual guest donations: guests that come to our property are interested in helping communities...their donations range from just a few dollars to others that take up a bigger commitment... they also fundraise for [CSR/CSI]causes when they return home. For example, the Butterfly Tree Project has done incredible work at Mukuni Village like sponsoring children, simply because its founder, Jane Bailey, visited the resort...” (SIL, 2012, p. 18).

¹² This was the SIL CSI manager interviewed during the initial field research trip undertaken between November, 2013 and January, 2014.

This extract shows that companies in the tourism industry have a unique advantage compared to companies in extractive industries. For example, tourism companies can easily enter into partnerships with donor/NGOs and academic institutions that are usually prepared to meet part or even entire costs of some CSR initiatives. This may not be the same for extractive industries such as mining and oil industries where most NGO work is in conflict with companies. The extract also reveals another advantage for hotel and lodge companies: the possibility for them to source funds for CSR initiatives from guest donations. This is not possible for extractive industries. According to SILmger1, SIL raises substantial financing for CSR initiatives from guest donations. He explained that the company uses two strategies to encourage guests to donate. It first showcases its CSR programme on TV monitors mounted in guestrooms; and second, it uses word of mouth. In this later strategy all the staff of SIL are sensitised about the company's CSR beliefs and are encouraged to be ambassadors of its CSR programme to guests. This is reflected in his statement below:

“...the strategies used to collect donations from guests are: first, the hotel runs a DVD in the guest rooms and whoever the CSI manager or practitioner is speaks to the guests about the CSI programme of the company. The practitioner talks about the projects, the advantages of making donations to support the projects and showcases the project in a way that motivates guests to make donations; and second, all staff at Sun International hotel are inducted to talk about the CSI programme of the company and help to guide guests who want to make donations or need more information to find the right officers.... This strategy also works well – that is, the word of mouth using the staff...” SILmger1, 24th January, 2014).

Guest donation is complementing the CSR efforts of hospitality companies and is accounting for the apparent increase of company investments in CSR as the case here is for SIL. However, the two CSI managers could not disclose specific details on amounts donated by guests or what CSR partners (NGOs, academic institutions and donors) contribute towards SIL's CSR programme as a matter of company policy. The changes that SIL has recorded in its CSR programme in connection with its strategies to mobilise funds for CSR is an indication of progress and change taking place in its

business (CSR) practices as the trajectory shows that the company first moved from a fixed allocation of funds in 2002 to multiple sources and partners by 2014.

The types of SIL's CSR can be categorised into: simple donations; local employment; social investment projects; local procurement; and support for small community business development initiatives. SIL's support for small community businesses has benefited Mukuni communities at Nsongwe, Maramba, Nakatindi, Mapenzi and Linda that are involved in vegetable and fruit gardening. Most of the beneficiaries in these communities are women. SIL buys most of the produce from these business initiatives. Therefore, while the communities earn income by selling their produce to SIL, the company also benefits in some way by buying the produce cost-effectively (at reduced transport costs). According to SILmger2, there are also additional benefits for both communities and the company when tourists are taken to see what communities are doing as reflected in her statement below:

“...Through visits, taking tourists to see what they [communities] are doing [CSR projects], out of that comes for them (beneficiaries) opportunities for raising resources whether it is material, financial or otherwise...”
(SILmger2, 20th October, 2014).

These remarks imply that community gardening businesses are packaged into the overall “tourism product” by the hotel, which allows tourists the opportunity to learn about Zambian typical community life around resorts. This business-community link signifies the potential that exists for connecting tourism business (tourists) through CSR initiatives to rural Zambian communities (the product). An official from the Ministry of Tourism, the Principal Tourism Standards Inspector (TPSI) recognised this link and remarked as follows:

“...you see tourism can benefit all stakeholders...these farmers and their plots can be additional tourism products in Livingstone, that is, hotels can take their clients to interact with community farmers, see what and how they grow, how much they get from their sells and what they use their money for etc. This is happening in other places such as Thailand. The result is that the farmer is happy, the tourist is happy and the hotel or lodge is happy too...everyone benefits...” (PTSI, 2nd July, 2014).

To achieve these benefits and outcomes described in the remarks above, companies, communities, and government need to work together to innovate and link the activities in a way that significantly benefits businesses, communities and wider society (Muthuri et al., 2012). Of the five communities that SIL support directly, the Nakatindi community is the only one that is involved in a tie and dye business project. Although it might be argued that the company supports the Nakatindi community altruistically (without expecting business returns), as illustrated above, Nakatindi community potentially offers mutual benefits for both the company and the community through tourist visits to community project sites if it is to be innovatively packaged as a tourism product. The SILmger2 disclosed that the hotel donates used linen to Nakatindi community then the women recycle the material to produce assorted items such as, doormats, tablemats, dolls, handbags, pouches and other such diverse items. Some of these items are sold to tourists and others to the general public. The community at Nakatindi was very happy with the company's gesture:

“...we are happy with Sun International hotel, it provides us with a source of income through its donations of used linen to us...our business deals with tie and dye...we make school uniforms, doormats, and all sorts of material products...then we can sell these items and raise money to pay for school fees and to meet some household needs...” (CommunityGp-6, 12th November, 2014).

However, it was noticed that the company has not offered support to the Nakatindi community to market or sell some of the items produced by the women at its premises. In connection with this issue, some community groups involved in the crafts and curio business raised a serious concern that some hotels and lodges have joined in the crafts trading business right on their premises. SIL was among the hotels that were cited in this concern. This could be the reason why SIL does not help to sell craft and curio items on the resort on behalf of Nakatindi community. Women at Nakatindi community explained that finding a market for their items was a big struggle and that they were seeking external support.

In another arrangement, the company has contracted a local traditional dancing group called Amazulu Traditional Dance Group, to perform welcome songs to its guests at the resort every day. The group is happy with its relationship with the hotel. The group

stated that although the contract to perform welcome songs is verbal, the arrangement has provided a steady source of livelihood for its group of 40 youths:

“...our group is made up 40 members [youths] which includes both men and women. However, our contract with Sun International hotel only allows 4 performers per day... therefore the group is forced to rotate its members in order for everyone to share the benefits. Women are not allowed to take part in the welcoming and farewell routines because they have to take care of homes...However, when there are special evening events such as a dinner for guests at a place called the “BOMA¹³”, the hotel requests the whole group, including women, to perform and entertain the guests....” (CommunityGp-9, 20th October, 2014).

“...for BOMA performances, payment is done at the end of the event and the amount depends on the number of performances....we are paid immediately after the performances. Similarly, in the case of welcome and farewell singing we are also paid at the end of the day...also during our performances, guests donate to dancers as a form of appreciation and sometimes this is what pays well especially when the guests are the type that is rich and very generous...” (CommunityGp-9, 20th October, 2014).

“...our contract with Sun International hotel is renewable on an annual basis. We are happy with the hotel...although the arrangement does not pay much, this is far better than just sitting home doing nothing at all...” (CommunityGp-9, 20th October, 2014).

As part of the company’s policy, as noted earlier, SIL makes purchases of locally produced items, particularly vegetables and fruit. According to its CSR annual report, the company increased its weekly local purchases of vegetables and fruit from about 400 community farmers in 2008 to 800 in 2014 (SIL, 2012, p. 6). The report states that each of the 400 farmers in Mukuni earned an average of \$2,500 for their produce sold to the company in 2008 (see details on how the supply chain works below). SILmger1 and SILmger2 both confirmed this information during individual interviews:

¹³ B.O.M.A is a term that was used in colonial time in Zambia to signify the location of offices for the elite colonial administrators. It stands for British Overseas Management Administration. The term is now assimilated in everyday usage and could mean many things but mostly it loosely means a place of elite gathering or headquarters of events.

“...what is written in the report is correct, the company does a lot of local procurements of fresh vegetables and fruit from community farmers ...but there is a system...our NGO partners are involved in the whole system governing the supply chain...” (SILmger1, 24th January, 2014 and SILmger2, 20th October, 2014).

These sentiments were also echoed by one of the two international NGOs involved in supporting farmers in Mukuni who made the following remarks:

“...the role of ASNAPP in the chain is first to train local farmers in vegetable and fruit production, then negotiates and signs MOUs with hospitality companies such as Sun International hotel, Protea hotel and major supermarkets in Livingstone such as Shoprite and spur supermarkets on behalf of all the community groups that ASNAPP has been supporting...but another organisation [BIDVEST] takes over the role of transporting these commodities to these markets. So, local farmers in Mukuni communities benefit from this chain in terms of technical know-how, market linkages and transportation...” (ASNAPP Leader, 29th August, 2014).

Leaders of two local NGO that support farmer cooperatives in the area revealed that hotel and lodge companies are very particular about the conditions under which vegetables and fruit are produced and how they are handled during transportation. During separate interviews, the Facilitator for Zambia National Farmers’ Union (ZNFU) office in Livingstone and the Livingstone Farmers’ Cooperative Society (LIFCS) Coordinator explained in detail how farmers are strictly interrogated (see comments below):

“...tourism companies first ask farmers for information about where they stay and how they manage their vegetable production. They want to know and look at the sanitary facilities, the type of water used to irrigate their vegetable gardens andhow the produce is handled and stored and the mode of transportation used to take the farm produce to them or other markets...” (LIFCS Leader, 17th August, 2014).

The LFICS leader further highlighted 5 things which companies are particularly concerned about regarding community products as being sanitation, water, chemicals, storage and handling (see more from his comments):

“...hotels and lodges do not want vegetables that taste bitter or show traces of chemicals, vegetables that look splashed with mud because the water used to irrigate is muddy and the handlers are not clean, they do not want to receive weathered or broken vegetable leaves but full grown fresh leaves and intact...” (LFICS Leader, 17th August, 2014).

The leader admitted that communities in Mukuni have a challenge in meeting these requirements and emphasised the need for more training, sensitisation and a change of mind-set. He specifically emphasised the need to train community farmers in the whole range of entrepreneurship skills in the tourism and agricultural sectors. In his opinion, the Ministries of Tourism and Agriculture need to re-orient their policies and support to communities along these lines if they are to effectively support sustainable development in poor communities. Similarly, the ZNFU leader acknowledged the fact that community farmers have a challenge to meet the requirements of hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone:

“...the challenge for the communities is now at the production level. So, the concerns of companies about the standards of the produce from communities may be genuine...companies want a supplier who meets their standards...how they want and when they want.... So, if they can find one, they would do business with them...” (ZNFU Leader, 20th August, 2014).

The ZNFU leader further explained that his organisation works with others to provide market-oriented training to community farmers on membership basis to produce quality market-ready vegetables such as tomatoes, cabbages, green, red and yellow peppers, eggplants, melons, cucumbers and many more (see also Chapter Six). He stated that:

“...Since we know that these crops have market, and also that the Supermarkets, hotel and lodge companies demand for consistent supply, the focus of our community outreach is to train our members to produce these crops... we also advise our farmers to get loans from ZNFU to buy equipment so that they are able to produce more...” (ZNFU Leader, 20th August, 2014).

The NGO leader stated that although the process of change among local farmers appears to be slow, change is happening as a result of the training they are receiving. These sentiments tie in with the concerns raised by SILmger2 about the low standards (quality, quantity and consistency of supply) of locally produced vegetables and fruit. She explained that this concern had hindered further expansion of the company's local vegetable and fruit purchasing programme in Mukuni as reflected in her statement below:

“...As an international hotel, we are dealing with international guests; ...as such we require very high quality vegetables and fruit, which have to be organic and exposed to as low the amounts of pesticides and artificial fertilizers as possible. So, before agreeing to buying produce from any local community group, the hotel first undertakes an audit of the sites where these products have been produced, how much pesticides and artificial fertilizer has been used. Depending on the outcome, a decision is made to purchase or not to purchase...” (SILmger2, 20th October, 2014).

The manager disclosed that during 2002 to 2003, the hotel made efforts to sensitize community farmers about its requirements as reflected in her statement below:

“...the company has tried to communicate [sensitise] community farmers on high standards and to offer training in some cases, but the change...well, it is a slow process, you must understand, and...that it will take a long time to completely change people's mind-set...” (SILmger2, 20th October, 2014).

During the 2002-2003 period, SIL locally procured 2-3 trucks per week of vegetables and fruit. During this period, the company undertook the training needs of all the farmers from which it procured vegetables and fruit. However, the company found that the challenge of training more community farmers in new horticultural skills was an enormous task to handle by itself alone. Hence, the hotel decided to enter into partnership with a donor, two international NGOs and several academic institutions. In the course of time, Protea hotel joined the partnership too. Other companies talked to during this study are interested to be part of this partnership. The use of a partnership approach by SIL shows they have changed their CSR practices.

SIL reported that as a result of its partnership initiative, by 2007 improvement in farming skills began to show among farmers in Mukuni communities. For example, some farmers gave up the use of artificial fertilisers and pesticides and started producing organic vegetables and fruit. Furthermore, there was an encouraging response from farmers who took part in the community outreach training programme when it was launched in 2007 in Mukuni by the hotel and its partners (ASNAPP and other partners). The shift from the use of artificial fertilizers and pesticides, in the production of vegetables and fruit to meet the requirements of hotels and lodges, is a clear indication that farmers are also changing their practices. These changes, both among companies and communities, are essential for harnessing the impacts of CSR for the benefit of communities. Thus, this process of change needs to be harnessed by encouraging more innovation and the involvement of appropriate “other” stakeholder in CSR.

To give more details on the partnership, the main NGO partner, ASNAPP, heads the horticultural training sessions for community farmers in Mukuni using open-field farming techniques (SIL, 2012). The NGO specifically teaches farmers about: the types of crops to grow, how to grow, which fertilisers to use and amounts, how to spray the crops with pesticides and how to treat the crops at harvest time, and then finally links the farmers to SIL and other partner hotels and lodges, including supermarkets for market. As a result of these training sessions, SIL increased its local purchases of vegetables and fruits from Mukuni farmers between 2008 and 2014. In the same year that ASNAPP launched the community outreach training programme for local farmers (in 2007), SIL went on to establish a special “Monday market” to buy locally produced vegetables and fruit from local farmers in Mukuni. Over a period of 3 years of this partnership approach, SIL reported in 2008 to have established Monday and Friday Markets to locally procure horticultural products.

In this innovative partnership, the hotel and the NGO further collaborate with USAID and the Department of Agronomy at Stellenbosch University in South Africa, the International Development Enterprise (IDE), the University of Michigan, the HortCRSP, and two American-based universities namely; Rutgers and Purdue Universities. The SILmger2 explained that there was still a challenge of changing the mind-sets of the majority in Mukuni communities with respect to producing more organic vegetables and fruit from which they can earn more.

ASNAPP uses local community cooperatives to organise community farmers for training. The study uncovered the hidden interests of SIL's partners listed above. Their main interest in providing training to Mukuni farmers to produce organic vegetables and fruit is primarily for research purposes while the need to uplift the livelihoods of poor farmers is secondary. However, ASNAPP is also concerned about improving the livelihoods of people in Mukuni by linking them to hotels and lodges as markets for their produce. On days when the demand for vegetables and fruit by hotels and lodges is low, ASNAPP also assists the farmers by linking them with local supermarkets to sell their surplus. Thus, as long as the produce is of high quality, the elasticity of the local market for vegetables and fruit appears to be great. For this reason, ASNAPP is interested in ensuring that the standards of vegetables and fruit produced by communities meet the requirements of hotels and lodges. The Field Technology Transfer Officer for ASNAPP had this to say:

“...ASNAPP is committed to uplift the skills of as many farmers in Mukuni as possible. We are currently considering expanding the training programme coverage in the area by 2015... potential farmers are many; the only constraint we have is the limited resources. If all the farmers were trained, they would be able to produce and supply high quality vegetables and fruit to all hotels, lodges and supermarkets in Livingstone all year round...” (ASNAPP Leader, 29th August, 2014).

According to the ASNAPP leader, the chain that links farmers, the two NGOs and hotel and lodge companies works on simple principles of standards, health and safety (see the discussion in Chapter 8). He described how the supply chain works as follows:

“...when standards are satisfied, ASNAPP collects and sells the vegetables and fruit to hotel and lodge companies, including SIL through a food wholesaling and distributing company known as BIDVEST Zambia Ltd. BIDVEST Zambia Ltd is the only company that is mandated to sell directly to companies because of its business reputation. So, in this supply chain, ASNAPP trains community farmers - the farmers produce crops - and then, BIDVEST Zambia Ltd sells the produce to hotel and lodge companies...” (ASNAPP Leader, 29th August, 2014).

These remarks show that, in the supply chain, ASNAPP and BIDVEST Zambia Ltd take care of three things on behalf of companies: firstly, they ensure the produce is of high standards by dealing only with community farmers that have received training from ASNAPP; secondly, they negotiate prices of produce and link farmers to markets (hotels, lodges and supermarkets); and thirdly, they take care of all the health and safety issues in handling and transporting the produce from sites of production to hotel and lodge company premises. As the “middle chain of trust”, these two organisations ensure that all the aspects of the supply chain are handled with the highest standards possible. From the information provided by the ASNAPP leader, it was clear that farmers are not directly involved in negotiating contracts and prices for their produce with hotels and lodges.

Apart from these initiatives, SIL also conducts packaged village tours to Mukuni communities: firstly, to enrich its guests’ experience of the destination; and secondly, as a way to provide opportunities for the communities to benefit from tourism. Benefits to communities come in two ways: on each village tour, SIL contributes an overall fee of \$5 per tourist per tour to the revenue of the Mukuni Community Development Trust (MCDT). Further benefits come during village tours when tourists make local purchases of crafts and curios as well as direct donations in the communities. The MCDT stated that it uses the money it collects from village tours to address social issues in the communities. In this way, SIL indirectly contributes to social investment in Mukuni communities.

In the past, SIL contributed funds using a philanthropic approach directly to social investment projects in Mukuni through the MCDT, but this has since changed. SILmger2 explained that this was prompted by the need to change strategy as explained next. SILmger1disclosed that in the past the company gave out funds for the construction of a primary school and a high school in Mukuni central and provided books, computers and assorted materials to several schools in Mukuni. However, when the hotel entered into partnership with an NGO called Butterfly Tree in 2006, its contributions to address social issues in Mukuni are made through this NGO, as reflected in the statement below:

“...the founder [of Butterfly Tree] first came as a guest to Sun International hotel... the role of the hotel changed to that of advising the

NGO on which areas to focus on. The NGO has supported water and sanitation projects, school services and infrastructure projects, orphan support, and health issues especially HIV/AIDS awareness campaigns...”
(SILmger1, 24th January, 2014).

This statement gives further evidence about the company’s growing collaboration with third party organisations in its CSR programme in the study area and its keenness to aspire to better CSR practices. Although managing CSR externally may be criticised as a way of keeping communities at arm’s length, this approach can have more positive impacts on community development than when managed internally (Idemudia, 2009a). Besides, a business should not be taken to be a development-conscious institution with all required expertise and resources to decisively tackle poverty and marginalisation of poor communities (Blowfield & Dolan, 2010). The examples of the benefits of the third party approach in this study include community engagement expertise and additional financial resources that are brought on board by third party organisations. According to the SILmger2, SIL has created opportunities for local employment for Mukuni people. She stated that this is an important CSR contribution to the communities. Although the SILmger2 praised her company’s achievements in recruiting its employees from Mukuni communities, this was seriously contested by community participants. Besides, the number of employees who actually originate from Mukuni was a far more difficult figure to quantify from the manager’s response (below). Moreover, defining who is “local” or “Zambian” (for local employment) is admittedly quite a bit of a challenge, even for companies.

“...The whole resort has a total staffing of 608. This total staff complement includes: 26 management staff and 582 permanent and temporary employees. Out of this total, only 7 are expatriate staff and the rest [601] are local [Zambians]. Therefore, about 95% (571) of the employees at Sun International hotel have been employed from communities around Livingstone and Livingstone town itself. Only about less than 5% (30) has been sourced from places outside Livingstone such as Lusaka and Copperbelt towns...” (SILmger2, 20th October, 2014).

The SILmger2 explained that SIL signed an employment agreement with the Government to employ local people as part of the investment contract as cited in her statement below:

“...Sun International Hotel has a formal and binding investment agreement with government through the Ministry of Finance as part of the original deed of sale. The Agreement was that the company should primarily employ locals from Livingstone communities. The Agreement does not specify the percentage of locals to be employed or the name of communities but generally refers to communities in Livingstone district. I can say that Sun International hotel is proud that it has made a huge achievement in this area because that is exactly what the company does...” (SILmger2, 20th October, 2014).

The reactions of communities on the issue of employment opportunities reflected clear-cut concerns. As summarised below, communities are concerned that most of the employees in high-paying jobs at the resort are from elsewhere, while employees from Mukuni communities occupy low-paying jobs, mostly in the manual labour categories:

“...In terms of employment, Mukuni people are not really benefiting from the hotels and lodges. Even at Sun International hotel, most of the employees are from Lusaka and Copperbelt and it also has to do with the area from which the one who is the Human Resources Manager comes... you see, in the absence of an agreement (MOU) directly with the hotel and lodge companies our communities have a weak argument... but some of these tourism companies have access to powerful political leaders in the country ...so to make progress in this area much depends on the political will of the sitting government...” (CommunityGp-3, 17th October, 2014).

These sentiments from community participants show that employment agreements should be signed directly between communities and tourism companies and not through third parties including Government. Government should only help to regulate as a third party. The views of participants are that if Mukuni communities are to benefit significantly through employment in hotels and lodges, the long-term solution is to improve the skills of youths in Mukuni

through training and support for education. This is because at present there are very few skilled people in Mukuni communities with the expertise that hotel and lodge companies seek. It was noted that apart from support to local schools by some companies, none of the eight companies that took part in the study have put in place specific programmes aimed at uplifting the tourism skills of Mukuni people to make them more employable in the future.

Moving on to donations, SIL admitted that it dominantly uses the simple donations' approach to help solve more social issues in Mukuni communities. The SILmger2 explained that the hotel mainly donates simple items as stated in her remarks below:

“... admittedly the CSR support the company gives to communities is not some sufficient contribution...it is only in terms of providing materials and resources that communities need. Although the company still makes a lot of donations to communities, this is changing...we are changing to more long-term programmatic CSI activities like what we are doing in Nsongwe, Maramba, Nakatindi, Mapenzi and Linda communities...Some of our new focus areas will include capacity building for communities, construction of schools and making sure teachers are well trained, community members are able to send their children to school, gender issues especially empowerment of women are addressed and the like...” (SILmger2, 20th October, 2014).

All in all, although SIL's CSR practices are still predominantly minimalist, findings show that the company is making some positive efforts to improve its practices. From the evidence explored, the company has included some aspects of community development in its business strategies, which seem to show a steady shift away from simple donations to more well-coordinated and encompassing CSR initiatives such as increasing its local purchases of produce in Mukuni; and is expanding its support to small community business development initiatives. If sustained, SIL's use of a partnership approach in CSR can indicate a major shift towards more transparent and sustainable CSR practices. The partnership approach leads to a further shift in the company's role in CSR to that of facilitating CSR by collaborating with NGOs, donors and academic institutions. On the aspect of fundraising for CSR, SIL has not only

applied its own revenues, but has identified new sources of funds, which have included guest donations and funds provided by its partners. These changes (innovations) are critical for the effective performance of CSR as a vehicle for community development in Mukuni if properly harnessed and nurtured. Of great interest to this research is SIL's acknowledgement of the important role other stakeholders can play in making CSR an effective vehicle for community development and improvement of the lives of the poor.

5.2.2 Protea Hotel

Protea hotel Livingstone (PHL) (which is part of the Marriot International Group) is also involved in CSR initiatives in Mukuni communities. PHLmger stated that the hotel's head office in South Africa mandates all its franchise hotels around the Southern African Region to "give back" to their communities by investing in CSR initiatives. According to the brand philosophy posted on its website, Protea hotels should be dedicated to continuous uplifting of and social responsibility towards those less fortunate through appropriate CSI programmes¹⁴. The company actively encourage a culture of philanthropy and community involvement amongst its employees. Thus, CSR initiatives are conducted as a TEAM effort. Furthermore, its CSI programmes are directed at two stakeholders being its staff and communities where the business operates. Like SIL, PHL does not involve communities in its CSR decision making processes. Instead, the head office gives focus areas every year to all its franchise hotels around southern African. PHLmger explained that these focus areas are not mandatory:

"...once received, management in Livingstone works around the focus areas to generate specific CSR initiatives...the head office does not determine the funds that should be allocated to CSR programmes...our management in Livingstone decides...this is left as a prerogative of individual hotels. For example, in 2014 one of the focus areas we were given was housing and the theme was fulfilling the dream, based on a South African concept...we worked around this concept by supporting the terminally ill people and orphaned children in Livingstone to help them achieve their dreams..."(PHLmger, 15th August, 2014).

PHL opened in 2008 and started its CSR programmes in 2009. PHLmger stated that the initial programmes were small by all means, in that the hotel only supported donations

¹⁴ <http://protea.marriott.com/social-investment/>

to children's homes and to some community farmers. According to the manager, the company began to formally allocate funds to its CSR programmes in 2010. She explained that the amount which the hotel allocated was not fixed. It only varied depending on new issues, the performance of previous CSR initiatives and mainly its business performance. The main source of funds for PHL's CSR is from its own revenues. The company allocates an average of 2% of its revenues¹⁵ to its CSR programmes. PHLmger disclosed that as the hotel grows, allocation to its CSR programme portfolio will also grow:

"...I can assure you that as business performance keeps improving, the allocation to CSR will also keep growing...our future projection is to reach a target of about 5%..." (PHLmger, 15th July, 2014).

Like SIL, PHL also collects donations from its guests although the manager indicated that the company was uncomfortable with the approach (no figures were disclosed):

"...the hotel used to have a donation box in the foyer for guests to put in their donations to support our CSR programme activities but we removed it and replaced it with a leaflet which is placed in the guest rooms...we just felt uncomfortable about this approach. The funds collected from donations are pooled together with the hotel's own resources for the support of its CSR activities in local communities..." (PHLmger, 15th July, 2014).

Most of the CSR undertaken by PHL are in the form of philanthropic donations to schools and vulnerable groups in Mukuni communities (Table 12). In terms of its support for small community businesses, Table 15 shows that the hotel has consistently funded three CSR initiatives over a period of 3 years (grey shades). One of these is St. Joseph's Hospice, where the hotel has supported a vegetable and fruit growing business since 2008. In addition, the hotel makes regular donations to the hospice.

¹⁵ 2% of the hotel's revenue covers to the whole CSR programme portfolio, not for Mukuni communities only.

Table 12: Protea Hotel's Annual Allocation of Funds to CSR for Mukuni¹⁶

No.	CSR initiative	Amount Allocated per year (in ZAR)			
		2012	2013	2014	Initiative Totals
1	Trees for Zambia (Greenpop)	15,643.00	26,241.60	27,235.60	69,120.20
2	Rising Stars Football Team	2,143.00	-	-	2,143.00
3	Katombola School of Orphans	1,500.00	-	-	1,500.00
4	Kwathu Children's Home	10,714.00	-	-	10,714.00
5	I am one in a Million	2,357.00	-	-	2,357.00
6	Maramba Old People's Home	7,857.00	1789.2	1,789.20	11,435.40
7	Zambezi River Festival	3,571.00	-	-	3,571.00
8	St Joseph's Hospices	12,143.00	25,844.00	34,790.00	72,777.00
9	SHARE HIV Awareness Campaign	4,286.00	-	-	4,286.00
10	Katombora Maternity Clinic	1,714.00	-	8,548.40	10,262.40
11	Dani's Home for Girls	-	4,473.00	-	4,473.00
12	Acacia School and Ebenezer Home	-	5,467.00	-	5,467.00
13	Farming Project for the Disabled	-	7,136.92	-	7,136.92
14	World Malaria Day	-	4,970.00	-	4,970.00
15	Public Toilets	-	3,479.00	-	3,479.00
16	L/stone City Council Town Garden Competition	-	5,467.00	-	5,467.00
17	SOS Children's Village	-	2,186.80	2,137.10	4,323.90
18	Livingstone Tourism Association Text Book Fundraiser	-	1,988.00	-	1,988.00
19	Acacia International Fundraiser	-	1,988.00	-	1,988.00
20	Wild Geese Society- St Patricks Fundraiser for Abused Women	-	3,976.00	-	3,976.00
21	Victoria Falls Primary School	-	-	1,988.00	1,988.00
22	Dambwa Hospice	-	-	11,928.00	11,928.00
23	Spray is the Way	-	-	4,274.20	4,274.20
24	International Rowing Regatta	-	-	6,262.20	6,262.20
25	Ceshire Children's Home	-	-	4,274.20	4,274.20
26	Mulungushi Boat Club Challenge	-	-	4,274.20	4,274.20
	Total (in ZAR)	61,928.00	95,006.52	107,501.10	264,435.62
	Total (in USD) (1 USD = 9.94 ZAR)	6,230.18	9,558.00	10,815.00	26,603.18

St Joseph's hospice is a home for terminally ill people. It cares for both children and adults, many of whom suffer from HIV/AIDS. The hospice is administered through a board by a faith-based organisation. With the vegetable project, the hotel has financed all the requirements for vegetable and fruit production at the hospice. This support includes buying seed, fertilizers, and irrigation equipment for the hospice. In turn, the

¹⁶ Please, note that the hotel does more CSR initiatives than the ones presented in this table: CSR initiatives which the hotel does in other communities were excluded. Also note that details for the previous years, 2008, 2009, 2010 and 2011 were not readily available. The company only had information for 3 years.

hotel buys all the surplus vegetables which the hospice produces. The hotel confirmed that at least 40% of the vegetable purchases that it makes come from St. Joseph's hospice's gardens. This is another example of a CSR relationship that had generated benefits for both the company and the community. In terms of challenges, PHL recounted how two community initiatives which it supported in partnership with a third party organisation failed and ended up being abandoned. The first one was a mushroom project, which did not last long:

“...the hotel supported a mushroom project in Maramba community through an NGO called ASNAPP. The project was started by ASNAPP which is funded by the USAID. But the project ended up failing mainly as a result of mismanagement and cultural issues, which the hotel had no control over...” (PHLmger, 15th July, 2014).

The second one was a vegetable and fruit gardening business. PHLmger explained that the hotel provided funds to a community in Mukuni to purchase a pump for irrigation purposes in community vegetable and fruit gardens. It also provided funds to cover operational costs for things like fuel and repairs to the pump. This initiative also failed for similar reasons as the mushroom initiative:

“...the initiative failed probably as a result of some elders in the community group misusing funds meant for the project on individual needs and no young person was able to challenge them. In the end, even though the younger members of the group were keen to get the project going, there were no funds left to repair and maintain the water pump to irrigate their vegetable and fruit gardens...” (PHLmger, 15th August, 2014).

These incidences show that traditional power and cultural influences are present in Mukuni communities and if not carefully considered and sufficiently addressed in CSR approaches, they have potential to negatively affect the outcomes of CSR initiatives. The PHLmger informed this researcher that it is culturally “taboo” to publicly challenge opinions of leaders and elders in Mukuni communities. The manager felt that while respect for leaders and elders is expected; it should not come at costs for development. The downside of these taboos is they tend to undermine governance, accountability and wider distribution of benefits to the majority in communities as is the case in the failed initiatives. These sentiments are clearly reflected in the manager's remarks below:

“...there was no system to hold the elders in communities accountable and as I said earlier no young person was able to challenge them because culture does not allow them...until things really got worse and the project closed. This was frustrating for the young men and for the hotel too...” (PHLmger, 15th July, 2014).

In terms of local procurements, PHL also makes purchases of its daily requirements from other community farmers other than St Joseph’s hospice as noted in the manager’s comments below:

“...our hotel promotes local Zambian dishes on its food menu which include Zambia’s local delicacy: nshima with kapenta [which is a dried sardine], fresh fish – the Zambezi bream, free range chickens, locally grown okra and other vegetables and goat stew. We procure all these food items locally from people in Mukuni communities. For example, the hotel procures goat meat from a local community farmer called Mr Sifukwa on an on-going arrangement...” (PHLmger, 15th July, 2014).

PHL also supports social investment projects in Mukuni communities. This support is mainly channelled through NGOs which are its partners. The manager disclosed that the hotel collaborates with NGOs such as Butterfly Tree, ASNAPP and SHARE International in a number of its CSR initiatives in the area as indicated in her statements below:

“...the hotel works through its partners such as USAID, SHARE International, Butterfly Tree and ASNAPP or other NGOs... we give funds to our NGO partners who constantly work in communities... For example, Butterfly Tree is there [in communities] for a long time to see to it that the investments we make in communities does not fall away in the short-term. The NGO is even building a school...it also brings volunteers, mainly retired school teachers, nurses and doctors who come for a period of six weeks...to work in schools, work with teachers, guiding and training them in new trends, new things etc. giving them suggestions on how to deal with situations and they get this done for the clinic side as well. We are happy to be part of this support...” (PHLmger, 15th July, 2014).

Regarding local employment opportunities, the PHLmger boasted that all its 55 employees were locally recruited from Mukuni communities with a few exceptions coming from outside Livingstone. Like SIL, philanthropic donations feature prominently in PHL's CSR approaches as reflected in the manager's statement below. It is clear from this that the PHL's CSR practices are greatly shaped by the overall Protea hotel brand philosophy quoted earlier.

“...the hotel mainly makes small donation of money and not only in monetary value...however, we are trying to go for [CSR] initiatives that are more sustainable...we plan to do more in the areas of education (sponsoring and supporting), providing support for health [HIV/AIDs] issues, vulnerable women and children issues, environment [recycling], local procurement and local employment.... As the saying goes, “you can feed a man on fish everyday but if you teach him how to fish, you have fed him for a life time...” (PHLmger, 15th July, 2014).

These sentiments show that although PHL still emphasises philanthropy as its main CSR approach in Mukuni communities, there are also indications that change is taking place. PHL is also including more elements of community development in its business strategies like SIL and that the company is collaborating more with local and international NGOs when implementing its CSR in recent years. This shows evidence of an on-going process of change in the company's CSR practices. However, there is need to determine the influence of this change (positive or negative) coming from its brand philosophy.

5.2.3 Tongabezi Luxury Lodge

In contrast to SIL and PHL, it is the senior management at Tongabezi Luxury Lodge¹⁷ (TLL) that makes all the CSR decisions. They do not have to consult any head office staff. This is because they are a standalone company. Tongabezi Lodge was the only company that appeared to fully involve communities in its CSR decision making processes. According to its brand philosophy posted on this website, Tongabezi lodge believes CSR is about “doing good”¹⁸.

¹⁷ Ranked as one of the top 100 Hotels of the world by *Fodor's Hotel Awards*, voted number 1 Safari Lodge in Zambia by *Condé Naste Travel*; best Family Safari Experience by *The Safari Awards*, Most Enchanting Lodge in Zambia by *Lux Hospitality Awards* (<http://tongabezi.com/>).

¹⁸ <http://tongabezi.com/>

The CSR programmes of TLL involve direct support through the Mukuni Community Development Trust (MCDT) and the Tujatane Community Trust School (TCTS). The MCDT is at the higher chiefdom level with Chief Mukuni as its Patron, while the TCTS is at a lower community level, and the chief has no direct role. Through the MCDT, the company supports a number of CSR initiatives with a focus on addressing various social issues in Mukuni communities, and through the TCTS, it specifically supports an education project, just a kilometre away from the location of the Lodge. The Lodge boasts of creating 113 job opportunities. Out of this number, only three are expatriates. Although the manager could not disaggregate these figures, he explained that most of the employees are locally sourced from Mukuni communities. According to senior management at the Lodge, the company directly allocates 10% of its revenues from one of its tour operations (the Livingstone Island) to support social investment projects in Mukuni:

“...Our Company has another business operation on the Livingstone Island [on the Zambezi River]. The island is a popular destination for international tourists because of its great historical significance in connection with the old Scottish explorer David Livingstone...10% of the revenues from this tourism business operation is given to Mukuni communities through the Mukuni community development trust...”
(TLLmger1, 29th August, 2015 and TLLmger2, 17th October, 2014).

In addition, management at the Lodge disclosed that these funds are given to the MCDT on a quarterly basis as part of its CSR contribution to development in Mukuni communities. The agreed purpose of the funds is to address specific social issues in communities by the MCDT especially related to health, education, water supply and sanitation. Management at the Lodge stated that it is satisfied with some of the results achieved so far as reflected in the comments below:

“...the community trust negotiated with Tongabezi Lodge management to use part of the funds we give them to build teachers’ houses in various schools in the Mukuni communities...So far we are happy 8 houses have been built. The other part of the money has been used to improve the supply of clean drinking water for the community...” (TLLmger1, 29th August, 2014 and TLLmger2, 17th October, 2014).

Chief Mukuni's Legal Advisor and the Administrative Secretary of the MCDT confirmed that eight teachers' houses have already been constructed using funds given by TLL:

“...Tongabezi Lodge is exceptional...the lodge has constructed teachers' houses in schools in Mukuni communities (Mukuni High School in Mukuni central and Ng'andu community in Mukuni east), so far in total 8 houses have been completed... [The company] provides this support to our communities through the MCDT...here is an example of a company that is interested to see change and improvement to take place in our communities...” (Legal Advisor to Chief Mukuni, 17th October, 2014 and MCDT Admin Secretary, 24th January, 2014).

As stated earlier, TLL also supports an education project in the nearby community. Initially the lodge supported the construction of the school from the start and now supports the management of the school through the TCTS board. The TLLmger2 stated that the school project was a joint idea of the lodge and the community in 1996. He disclosed that the major source of funds for construction projects in school and funds for the management of the school has been through philanthropic donations from TLL's guests, and that the lodge has been instrumental in facilitating this fundraising process. In an earlier interview, TLLmger1 promptly disclosed how the company raises funds for the school and who manages these funds as he briefly talked about the history of the school:

“...yes, we financed the start of this school in 1996 - which is a community school for the local community near our lodge – we started with only 15 pre-school children but currently we have over 250 children from the community attending primary and secondary school levels. We have continued providing support although most funding is now raised from contributions from our guests...these funds are managed by the Tujatane community school board and not by our [lodge] management...” (TLLmger1, 29th September, 2014).

The deputy head at the community school (DH-TCTS) also confirmed these facts. He made additional remarks below about the good (CSR) relationship the school management and the community share with management of Tongabezi lodge and how

the company's consistent support over the years has contributed to the success of the community school project:

“...when the school started in 1996, the aim was to provide only pre-education... however, after the first year...when pupils were supposed to move to primary school elsewhere, parents in the community demanded that the school should expand to primary and secondary education ... However, the school had no money to undertake an investment of such a magnitude. It was at this time in 1997 that Tongabezi lodge came to the aid of the school...it helped to raise funds to expand the school through guest donations. Basically, starting in 1997, the school management has worked hand in hand with the lodge to secure sponsorship to develop the school to what it is today...” (Deputy Head Teacher-TCTS, 17th October, 2014).

These remarks show that there is continuous close interaction between the lodge, the community and school management. Interactions occur through the community school board.

It was also clear from findings that this CSR arrangement has generated mutual benefits for both the company and the community through repeated visits and the support from guests. The assumption that CSR is able to generate significant benefits for businesses and communities in the tourism industry needs to be fully investigated to provide a better understanding about how it actually works in practice. The research experiences show that return visits to the lodge are occasioned by the fact that guests that have made donations in the past to the school end up coming back again to check on the progress of their contributions, as summarised in the comments of TLLmger2 and the school deputy head below made in separate instances:

“...guests who sponsor the school are our traditional visitors...they are our partners in creating a base for the community to start doing something for themselves...” (TLLmger2, 17th October, 2014).

“...When guests return to see the progress of the projects or pupils they have supported in the community...they stay at the lodge...” (Deputy Head Teacher-TCTS, 17th October, 2014).

These sentiments show that long-term relationships have developed over the years between some TLL guests who sponsor the school, the lodge, the school and the community. As part of its school project, TLL also provides education scholarships, feeding programmes for children, and offers evening classes for parents in the community who wish to return to school. In his remarks, the school deputy head commended the lodge for its support:

“...the lodge does not only connect the school and its guests for sponsorship, but also provides transport for pupils who have gone to senior secondary education to go to schools 30km away to Livingstone and back to the community every week day. It also provides transport to the school to undertake education tours; it finances Christmas parties for pupils; acknowledges parents that offer free labour to the school; pays bills for doctors and nurses from Livingstone General Hospital, who treat community members with varying health problems on health days and responds to social emergencies...” (Deputy Head Teacher-TCTS, 17th October, 2014).

These remarks show that the lodge applies a well-coordinated and encompassing approach to ensure long-term impacts on the community from this education CSR project. In addition, this approach reflects a great deal of innovation, in that the presence of the lodge in the area is used as a catalyst for social change and improvement in the nearby community. At the time of this research, the company and the school had started implementing a comprehensive trades training programme in design and tailoring for women from the community. The school deputy head teacher made the following remarks about the partnership and progress made:

“...The lodge and school management are working together to complete a sewing room and equipping it. Once the room is completed, the school plans to recruit and train women from the community in skill-based projects or trades so that after training, women can find employment and generate a livelihood as a result. But for the start those trained will be supported to produce and sell uniforms for pupils to the school...” (Deputy Head Teacher-TCTS, 17th October, 2014).

These efforts by the lodge and school management will consequently make the women employable to the school to sew uniforms for students and in tailoring businesses elsewhere, and will make them able to earn a better living. The lodge and school had also decided to include a sensitisation programme for the community about HIV/AIDs and girl empowerment issues in the school project as reflected below:

“...the lodge and school management are in the process of designing a project aimed at sensitising the community about HIV/AIDS. In this regard, the school has set aside a health fund from its sponsorship money which will be used for this purpose. This is in response to dialogue and negotiations between the community and some of the sponsors to the school whose interests are directed to health issues with special emphasis on HIV/AIDS. We have also designed a girl empowerment course whose aim is to sensitise and equip parents on how to protect a girl child from all sorts of negative things that happen in the community which have potential to disadvantage a girl child. This programme has also received overwhelming support from parents in the community...” (Deputy Head Teacher-TCTS, 17th October, 2014).

In contrast with the other two companies already discussed, TLL puts more emphasis on social investment projects in communities in areas of education and skills training, health, water supply and sanitation. It goes beyond tokenistic CSR approaches, to approaches that seek positive change in the community (Ashley & Haysom, 2005, p. 268). For example, the TLLmger2 made the following comments regarding making simple donations:

“...Although we do not totally dismiss the importance of donations, simple donations as the main support-line to communities is not the answer... there is still a lot that needs to be done specially to change the mind-set of the community to begin to do something for themselves, to improve their lives using their own hands instead of always expecting hand-outs from tourism companies. A bit of this is budding in some sections of Mukuni community like Tujatane. ...” (TLLmger2, 17th October, 2014).

There was no evidence to show that TLL was involved in local procurement initiatives with this or any other Mukuni community as is the case with SIL and PHL.

Furthermore, the company did not collaborate with NGOs, donors or academic institutions in its education CSR initiative. However, the lodge has used a transparent CSR approach to engage the nearby community. The evidence for this is that, unlike the MCDT, the TCTS has allowed the involvement of external stakeholders, including public volunteers to be represented on its board, in addition to the lodge management and community leaders. This move shows that the TCTS is a good example of a CSR initiative that is well-adapted and allows greater parity in CSR. This seems to improve participation and enhances governance in the administration and activities of the structure (see Chapter Six). Overall, the evidence shows that the company is making progress in its CSR practices and, in spite of the differences, the three companies (SIL, PHL and TLL) have demonstrated that they are changing their CSR practices by including elements of community development in their business strategies.

5.2.4 Courtyard, Chapa Classics, Chanters, Mosi-oa-tunya and Jollyboys

The CSR practices of the last five companies out of the eight that took part in the study: Courtyard Hotel Livingstone (CHL), Chapa Classics Lodge (CCL), Chanters Lodge Livingstone (CLL), Mosi-oa-tunya Executive Lodge (MEL) and Jollyboys Backpackers Lodge (JBL), have been presented together in one section because their CSR practices are simplistic in type and approach and they do not involve communities in their CSR decision making processes.

For example, all the five companies have not yet formalised their CSR/CSI programmes and their main CSR support-line to communities is through simple (tokenistic) donations and provision of low value opportunities for community benefits (see below). This implies that there is little or no close interaction with the communities. The managers of these businesses, especially locally owned ones, cited the high cost of doing business, linked to high taxes and cumbersome licensing procedures, as the main reasons for not doing more in terms of CSR. The concerns of these five managers suggest that the tourism policy framework has generally undermined the promotion of the CSR in the area.

The common characteristic among these five companies is that they all did not have a systematic pattern of allocating funds to their CSR initiatives, but used an open-door policy. This is a situation where managers mostly respond to community requests for assistance in an ad hoc fashion. In addition, they also do not generate annual reports and

have very scanty information on their websites about CSR, except tag-lines that encourage responsible tourism such as “let your holiday leave a positive impact on the communities you choose to visit - environmentally, socially and economically”¹⁹ and blogs on tourist volunteering activities and experiences around communities in Mukuni²⁰. These companies mainly engage in tokenistic CSR initiatives and approaches (donations, local employment and packaged village tours). The exceptions in this case were Chapa Classics Lodge (CCL) and Jollyboys Backpackers Lodge (JBL) whose CSR practices went a bit beyond tokenism. These two companies have made some successful trials by offering education scholarships and trying out the viability of homestay experience trips respectively. In this regard, CCL has made attempts to offer education scholarships as a trial to three orphaned children in Mukuni communities. At the time of the research, the company had successfully sponsored these three orphans through to university (2) and college (1). This result has been very positive and encouraging to the company as expressed by the manager in the following statement:

“...We ran a trial scholarship programme for 3 orphans from the community... the 3 have finished college and university and are now independent. We are excited with the outcome...we plan to roll out the programme to more orphans in the community...” (CCLmger, 17th August, 2014).

Similarly, JBL is doing village “homestay” experiences as a trial run in one of the communities in the area. The manager enthusiastically explained that village homestay trips provide opportunities for its guests to experience a traditional lifestyle in a Zambian village. According to the manager, the trips have been very successful and have become popular among student guests. This initiative involves taking a trip to a nearby community (about 30km) where interested guests stay with a particular household in the village at a fee for a night or more. The manager explained as follows:

“...Jollyboys works with one of the neighbouring communities to provide a traditional life experience to our guests...that is, the lodge organises “home stay” trips for the guests into Simonga village for a night or more...the way this is structured is that part of the money paid to the village goes to the village development fund and part of it goes to the

¹⁹ <http://www.backpackzambia.com/responsible.php>

²⁰ <http://www.chanters-livingstone.com/lodge-blog/>

family that hosted the guests...in this way the lodge is creating extra sources of income for the community and its households...” (JBLmger, 17th August, 2014).

The manager stated that the lodge does not take a commission from what it charges its guests for homestays. However, she acknowledged that the lodge has benefited in business terms from longer guest stays and from repeated visits as expressed in her remarks below:

“...the lodge now has long term relationships with overseas school volunteer groups who have been on homestay trips and want to continue to help households in this community. Most of these groups are part of our return guests ...some of these volunteer groups are even helping the lodge to achieve its goals of helping surrounding communities through donations, labour and overseas fundraising for our CSR initiatives...” (JBLmger, 17th August, 2014).

These comments were confirmed by a leader of one of the groups that was at the lodge at the time of this research – that is, the chairman of the ITALA Foundation²¹ registered in the UK. He disclosed that every year he brings a group of up to 25 students and adults who stay at JBL and often participate in “village experience” trips. He made the following statement that:

“...14 years ago, I brought a group of students to Zambia from the school I used to teach at in South Wales to go bush tramping...as a result of this trip, later we began to fund a school project in Mkushi District of Zambia. Now we have a big school with 3 main buildings and over 800 students... we also registered a charity in the UK, called ITALA Foundation...So, each year I bring out students from the UK and we go out to spend a week there painting, teaching, playing with the kids and just interacting with children. At the end of that week we come here [at Jollyboys Lodge] ...we participate in many activities...so far, I have made several return visits to the lodge with volunteer, school and adult groups for nearly 14 years...” (Trust Chairman- ITALA Foundation, 17th July, 2014).

²¹ For more details about the ITALA Foundation visit: <http://www.italafoundation.com/>

A careful examination of these comments shows that there is a connection between the support and benefits to the community and business benefits for the company. This idea of mutual benefits from CSR for both the company and the community appears to be uniquely possible in the tourism industry. Thus, there could be ground for linking tourism business interests with community development through CSR to achieve better and sustainable outcomes for both (Ashley & Haysom, 2005, 2006).

In general terms, the five companies made varying CSR contributions to community development in the area. This contribution includes creating opportunities for jobs for people in communities. In contrast with large companies, small companies found it quite easy to quantify employees recruited from Mukuni communities (Table 13).

Table 13: Local Employment

Company	Total Staff	Staff originally from Mukuni communities	Staff from elsewhere
CHL	47	46	01
CCL	14	14	00
CLL	11	11	01
MEL	10	10	00
JBL	27	24	03

This disaggregation of employment data was not readily available with large companies whose managers gave excuses of the lack of it. Another CSR initiative that is common to all the five is conducting packaged village tours to Mukuni communities. As stated earlier, this activity has created opportunities for communities to generate income through increased sales of crafts and curio items to tourists. It also brings other benefits such as tourist donations to households and revenue generation for the MCDT (through fees paid by companies for village tours²²). See a summary of comments from some community participants below:

“...Community benefits include fees that tourism operators pay per tourist that they bring for village tours, which is \$5 per tourist per village tour, then tourists also buy crafts and curios from the local community markets, village grocery shops, and sometimes tourists also make donations to schools, clinics and to families in the village during the tour...”
(CommunityGp-3, 12th August, 2014).

²² The MCDT has signed agreements with respective tourism companies to pay \$5 per tourist for village tours.

These findings show that smaller lodge companies could also progress in their CSR practices if well supported and encouraged through strategic policy actions. Although these companies have not yet started including substantial elements of community development in their business strategies, there are some indications of their readiness to shift beyond just simple donations to more substantive CSR initiatives. For example, they all expressed admiration of the CSR practices of the three large companies examined in this study. This readiness to change practices makes the need to resolve local context challenges even more paramount so that the greater impacts of CSR on community development in Mukuni becomes a reality.

The next section describes the factors that drive or motivate hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone to engage in CSR in Mukuni communities.

5.3 CSR Drivers

This section explores factors that are shaping CSR practices in the study area. In line with Moon (2007, p. 300)'s recommendations, this section seeks to identify the most appropriate CSR drivers that offer higher prospects for achieving long-term community development in the area. In this study, CSR drivers are treated as the beliefs, philosophies, reasons or factors that motivate companies to engage in CSR with Mukuni communities. The primary purpose of uncovering this information is to inform policy-makers and practitioners in tourism companies, donors/NGOs and government about the most appropriate CSR drivers and initiatives that could acceptably meet the interests of businesses, society and government.

In order to achieve this purpose, managers from eight tourism companies were asked to give the most important factors that determine why their companies engage in CSR in Mukuni communities. Managers were also asked to include any proposals of factors that they felt could increase private sector participation in CSR in the tourism industry. They each stated their beliefs, factors and various reasons which are summarised into seven broad categories: economic; incentives; voluntary (ethical codes); legal compliance; philanthropy (investment donations); moral ('doing good'); and social threat (social contract or social-license-to-operate). In turn, these seven categories were presented to senior government officials in the Ministry of Tourism and also to community participants for their views.

Therefore, the discussion below describes the responses of hotel and lodge managers and the views collected from government officials and community participants. In the course of discussing these responses and views, the emphasis that is placed on each category of drivers by the three groups of participants is framed. This framing is meant to provide understanding on how CSR is shaped by the different perspectives of participants and the implications this could have in the planning and promotion of CSR as a vehicle for community development in the study area. This discussion starts with economic drivers.

5.3.1 Economic Responsibilities

Economic responsibilities or drivers are more emphasised by hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone than the other six factors in making their CSR decisions. The main explanation given was that economic drivers provide opportunities for companies to meet their profitmaking interests, as well as to foster some improvements in the lives of people in Mukuni communities through CSR that offer mutual benefits. According to the philosophies of two of the large hotel companies in Livingstone, CSR is an investment (see sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2). Furthermore, all the eight managers considered CSR as a “selling point” for their businesses which some companies connected, especially large ones, with improving corporate image and staff morale. This finding is in line with Moon (2007, p. 300) who states that many companies see CSR as part and parcel of their competitive edge. From a local procurement perspective, CSR is viewed by hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone as a means to cut down on input costs. Selected sentiments of managers below reflect these views:

“...We engage in CSR to be seen to have good public relations...it is good for our business and good for staff morale because it motivates our workforce...when they participate in CSR activities run by the hotel in their communities, a certain sense of achievement makes them happier and motivated in their work. It is also good for our guests to visit to see what we are doing to help communities ...But in earnest, it is a selling point for the business and helps to improve our corporate image for visitors who want to stay at a hotel that gives back to communities and want to see this in practice...” (Tourism Resort Managers, July – November, 2014).

A comparative scrutiny of these views shows that the need to improve corporate image and cutting down input costs are more emphasised by large companies than smaller ones, while staff motivation was emphasised by both large and small companies. These company philosophies outlined above are dominant in shaping CSR in the study area.

Senior government officials and community participants were thus concerned about a lack of commitment among tourism companies. These participants were of the view that hotel and lodge companies have not done as much as are expected in terms of giving back to communities in Mukuni. They claimed that most of them focus more on CSR that offer them high business returns than those that can emancipate communities from poverty. They argued that emancipating communities seems to be the last thing on the agenda of these companies in Livingstone:

“...companies always claim that they make losses and give this as a reason for being overly simplistic when giving back to surrounding communities on whose land they operate...we are yet to see one of these companies that will come up and say am making a profit...when it comes to CSR and taxes, they want to claim that they are making losses, at the same time they do not want to go out of business. If they are making a loss, why are they still in business? It means they are hiding something. We are concerned about poor working conditions and low wages of employees recruited from communities...” (Tourism Department Officials, July, 2014).

“...Mukuni people were promised benefits and improvements for allowing big hotel companies...to invest on Mukuni land. However, these benefits have not come forth...we have not seen much change...but companies continue to make profits and have forgotten about their earlier promises...some even discourage their guests from visiting local crafts and curio markets...besides, they display crafts and curios in their premises creating undue competition with us poor community traders. This shows that these companies are not interested to see change and improvement in communities...maybe we need to sign more agreements if communities will ever benefit from tourism developments in the area...” (Community Participants, August- November, 2014).

However, in spite of these sentiments, senior government officials and community participants both acknowledged that if companies were doing well in their businesses they would be more likely to participate in CSR and would be able to support communities more. At the same time, they recognise that this is not a guarantee in itself that high benefits will automatically materialise to communities. They suggested the need to have measures put in place to check or regulate the behaviour of companies with regard to CSR issues (see next section). In connection with the business environment, senior government officials admitted that concerns had been registered by companies operating in the tourism industry, particularly with the tourism policy framework and licensing issues. They disclosed that companies had already appealed to Government through the Ministry of Tourism to address licensing issues and to remove challenges that negatively affect their businesses and their abilities to roll out their CSR plans in Mukuni and other communities. On the other hand, community participants emphasised the need to search for factors that can motivate a real change of behaviour among hotel and lodge companies in the area to commit more to community development through CSR than are the current indication.

5.3.2 Incentives, Voluntary Regulation and Legal Compliance

Although government incentives, voluntary legislation (industry-based ethical codes), and legal regulation are not yet applied in Zambia as CSR drivers, managers of hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone recognised them as important drivers for CSR. Some managers proposed the introduction of these drivers and made suggestions of the relative importance of each one of them to CSR practices in the area. The views of managers on incentives, voluntary and legal regulation are interconnected. Therefore, the three will be presented and discussed in this section together starting with legal drivers.

Legal compliance was interpreted by both company managers and senior government officials in the Department of Tourism as making CSR compulsory for all tourism companies through government legislation. The two groups of participants are opposed to mandatory legislation of CSR. They explained that companies in the tourism industry were the most taxed companies in the country, being subjected to too many licences and permits already. Studies conducted on Zambia's tourism licensing regime also confirm these sentiments (Hamilton et al., 2007; World Bank, 2003, p. 183; World Bank & DFID, 2011). Their common view was that making CSR compulsory through

legislation could only hurt the industry. A specific review of managers' responses revealed that all the eight hotel and lodge managers in Livingstone, except one are opposed to mandatory legislation of CSR. Therefore, they gave legal compliance the least priority position among the seven possible CSR drivers. Even community participants supported the positions taken by the officials and managers. They argued that mandatory regulation of CSR by government will just create antagonistic relationships between government and companies and will end up dampening the enthusiasm of companies to invest more in CSR, and could narrow down opportunities for communities to benefit from tourism development.

Going back to the issue of licensing, the eight tourism senior government officials disclosed that a process to streamline licences and licensing procedures was underway at the time of the research. They explained that the aim of the process is to reduce the licensing burden on companies. Therefore, they all felt that making CSR a legal requirement would be counterproductive to this licence review process. To this effect, the Chief Tourism Standards Inspector (CTSI), who deals with tourism licensing, stated the following:

“...The reason why Government would not want to come up with a legislation to compel tourism companies to do CSR is that it does not want to overload companies with too many legal demands. It is wary about the practice of tourism companies to always pass on costs to tourists... Already there is a perception among both tourists and companies that Zambia is an expensive destination. So, government is mindful not to exert too much pressure on companies...I should emphasise, the concern is that if government tries to regulate CSR, companies will find a way to pass the cost of doing CSR to guests instead of this coming from their profits...”
(CTSI, 9th July, 2014).

Another official, also dealing with licensing stated that Government made a decision to comprehensively review tourism legislation in Zambia:

“...The whole purpose why government decided to review/overhaul its tourism legislation is with the intension to reduce the cost of doing business which has been the cry of the private sector in tourism. Government has taken the concerns of companies seriously and has

decided to take steps to improve the situation. The concern by companies is that there are too many licences in the tourism sector and the licensing process is cumbersome and long...” (PTSI, 2nd July, 2014).

These sentiments confirm that senior government officials are not in favour of making CSR a legal requirement for companies in the tourism industry. Thus, there was a general consensus among the three groups of participants that CSR should remain voluntary. However, two of the senior officials suggested that Government should work with, or through tourism associations, to build a strong tourism industry-based regulatory system for CSR practices and to generate an agreed code of ethics for companies. In this regard, senior officials supported the views of managers on voluntary regulation of CSR. The eight managers fully endorsed the suggestion for a partnership between government and the tourism industry players. They also supported the idea to jointly generate codes of ethics to regulate CSR in the industry. This was re-echoed by the chairman of the Livingstone Tourism Association (LTA) who made the following remarks:

“...CSR must remain voluntary because it is something that comes from your heart, something that you are passionate about...it should not be forced by legislation...if compelled it could infringe on the business performance of companies and end up killing the industry especially smaller players... So, for me I would say let it remain as it is, we just need to find better ways of encouraging companies to look at the welfare of communities where you are operating, to let them feel that you are part of them and they are part of you...I speak on behalf of our members...” (LTA Leader, 26th August, 2015).

The LTA chairman stated that companies operate at different levels and capacities. Therefore, differentiating companies in connection with their involvement in CSR would be better understood only if tourism industry associations are the ones leading the regulation of CSR. However, he admitted that LTA lacked capacity to undertake this task. In this regard, he acknowledged the need to initially partner with Government for the purpose of building capacities. According to him, the best option is for Government to support capacity building of all tourism associations in the country without necessarily getting involved in the whole process.

In comparison, findings show that hotel and lodge managers had put more emphasis on voluntary regulatory of CSR than on incentives, philanthropy, moral, social contract and legal compliance. As stated earlier, their lowest rating was government legislation (legal compliance). The main reason for putting more emphasis on voluntary regulation of CSR was the need for more flexibility because of the fragility of the tourism business:

“...The performance of the tourism industry is dependent on the ever changing customer preferences and trends. This can be a serious limitation for a government-based regulatory system to understand. Therefore, an industry-based regulatory system would work better and be able to detect and respond to changes in tourist source markets and to how these changes affect the ability for companies to do CSR far better and faster than government...” (Tourism resort managers, 15th July - 30th November, 2014).

Managers argued that government legislation inherently lacks flexibility. Therefore, the eight tourism resort managers gave the second highest priority position for an industry-based system of regulating CSR. Most senior government officials made similar observations:

“...an industry-based regulatory system is more flexible than a government-based one. [You] are aware that Government uses a “one-fits-all” approach which lacks flexibility...an industry-based regulatory system has more advantages, it would easily take care of industry dynamics, encourage participation of its members, and determine when two or more companies could partner together to do a bigger project or programme...” (Tourism Department Officials, 15th July - 30th November, 2014).

“...government regulation tends to cut across all levels without differentiating which could be unfair to some companies, especially smaller ones. In contrast an industry-based regulatory system would be able to tell to what extent a resort that has only 20 rooms can engage in CSR and differentiate it from those with 300 rooms or more...” (PTSI, 2nd July, 2014).

These sentiments explain the reasons of the seven Government officials for supporting tourism industry-based CSR regulation as opposed to government regulation (legal

system). However, although the Director of Tourism (DoT) supported these views on voluntary (or industry-based) regulation of CSR, he was concerned about the lack of transparency that was reported among tourism companies regarding their CSR as reflected in his statement below:

“...Although Government cannot compel companies to engage in CSR at the moment the proper way of doing it is to establish transparent boards to allow for community involvement. The biggest problem I have seen in the tourism industry is lack of transparency among the private sector...companies should show what they are investing in communities, and say to Government: this is what we have done and this is how we did it; it went to action-A, action-B, action-C and so forth, and here are the records;....we had a governing body which included communities in making financial decisions and plans for community projects, this is how we involved them. If there is that kind of transparency, Government cannot fail to appreciate the CSR efforts of tourism companies...” (DoT, 10th July, 2014).

The issue of lack of transparency highlighted in these sentiments is commonly raised in CSR literature as concerns about companies and their CSR practices. These views indicate Government’s main concerns about the claims of companies about what they say they are doing and achieving in local communities in terms of CSR. These concerns cover not only the tourism industry, but also other key sectors of the Zambian economy, such as agriculture, tourism, mining and the services industry. Because of frequent reports of lack of transparency and limited community participation in CSR, some senior government officials in the Ministry of Tourism advocated for the need for Government and other stakeholders to get involved in CSR processes with a view to neutralise some of these bad practices before they take root and bud.

These concerns brought to light the fact that, although there are more advantages in supporting an industry-based CSR regulatory system to promote CSR in Zambia than going the legislative way, the lack of transparency among hotel and lodge companies can undermine potential benefits for communities. Nevertheless, all senior Government officials in the Ministry of Tourism still considered an industry-based CSR regulatory system to be more suitable for the Zambian situation because of its potential to improve

relationships between government and hotel and lodge companies, and to encourage transparency and community participation in CSR. According to the officials, by pairing the industry-based CSR regulatory system with appropriate policy and non-policy *incentive strategies*, more benefits can be achieved and directed into communities. They considered additional benefits would include using incentives to boost private sector participation in CSR and to create opportunities to align the impacts of CSR towards long-term community development outcomes. However, they also recognised that all these benefits are possible provided the CSR regulatory system is jointly designed and managed and incentive strategies are carefully designed, implemented, monitored and evaluated by Government to ensure progress.

Thus, all the participants recognised “incentives” as possibly another important driver that could offer good prospects for community development in the area (see some suggestions in Chapter Seven). Seven managers gave incentive drivers the second highest priority position same as voluntary (ethical) regulation. This finding on incentives shows some consistency with findings of a study conducted by Merwe and Wöcke (2007, pp. 6-7), in South Africa where the majority of tourism companies (that is, those who did not take part in CSR) cited the lack of incentives as the main reason for their behaviour. Based on findings by Merwe and Wöcke (2007) and the findings of this research, there is a strong assumption that if incentives are appropriately applied, they can be an important driver for promoting appropriate CSR practices for community development, including, to increase participation of companies in CSR and aligning the impacts of CSR to long-term outcomes for community development.

5.3.3 Philanthropic Responsibilities

Philanthropy²³ was given the third position by managers for two reasons. First, the social needs of people in Mukuni communities are many; ranging from needs in the areas of education (both services and infrastructure), health (both services and infrastructure, especially issues connected to HIV/AIDS), water and sanitation, which required considerable investments, time and a project or programme type of approach. The second reason given by managers of large companies was that traditional power and cultural influences in community structures are a limiting factor to effective use of philanthropy in Mukuni (see more in Chapter Six). In contrast, the limiting factor for

²³ This study found it important to draw a distinction between long-term impact investment donations (philanthropy) and short-term impact welfare donations (moral). This is because in practice the CSR development impacts of the two practices are not the same.

small locally-owned lodge companies is the high levels of investments required to undertake social investment projects in the communities. Managers of these small companies explained that due to unfair tax policies by Government, most of the locally-owned tourism companies are most concerned about meeting the financial obligations of their businesses. They found philanthropy too demanding for them and unfavourable to do. To this effect, one of the managers of a small locally-owned lodge made the following remarks:

“...As a lodge we just struggle to make profits...Government should consider relaxing some of the taxes which are putting too much pressure on small tourism businesses like ours...there are too many taxes which are a constraint on our business and affects what we can plough back into communities in terms of CSR activities. At the moment Government discriminates against local investors in tourism...it provides incentives to foreign investors to operate tax-free in their first 6 years of establishing their business in the sector, this is not the case with locals, we have to start paying taxes from the word go. This makes small tourism businesses to struggle to grow or expand and thus, cannot do large social investments in local communities...” (MELmger, 25th September, 2014).

These sentiments support findings of a study in Zimbabwe which concluded that some tourism companies there consider investing in social and environmental issues as a peripheral issue. The study summed up its conclusion by stating that; “the preoccupation of the majority of hotel chains in Zimbabwe remained the profit motive” (Nyahunzvi, 2013, p. 607). In this research experience, in addition to the profit motive, weak community structures and tax policies appear to adversely affect the ability of some hospitality companies to engage in CSR, especially through philanthropy. However, the senior Government officials and community participants favoured philanthropy. They explained that philanthropy offers high prospects for community development as evidenced by social issues (such as education, health, water needs) that have been addressed through social investment projects and programmes in Mukuni by some hotels and lodges. Nevertheless, they did not dismiss the presence of limiting factors as reflected in the following statements by two senior government officials in the Ministry of Tourism:

“...Under wildlife concession agreements with communities, safari companies pledge to do projects such as building clinics and schools. There are also stories that some companies do not do much for communities but only for chiefs and a few powerful people around them, just to ensure that they hold onto concessions year after year, without spreading benefits to a wider community population. These things could also be happening in Mukuni...” (CTSI, 9th July, 2014).

“...It is often mistaken that a powerful chief will provide a voice to his or her subjects, but when the chief crosses over on the side of tourism companies, the situation is even worse, like in Mukuni, culturally, the subjects cannot reprimand or criticise their chief. So, the subjects end up with two [hurdles] to deal with: (i) the chief - who chooses the persons that should be employed or do business with companies and communities in which projects should be done and (ii) to deal with companies who claim that they are working with communities and supporting communities when actually they are only dealing with the chief...either way the poor majority still lose...” (CTDO, 3rd July, 2014).

These sentiments show that communities need strong institutions and strong community leaders. As reflected in these sentiments, because of these limitations philanthropy was given a low priority at third position by tourism resort managers. A comparison of these findings with the findings of a study by Lindgreen et al. (2010), in Botswana and Malawi shows a slight contrast. In their study, philanthropy was given a second priority position by companies as reflected in the quote below from the study conclusions:

“...philanthropy is given second highest priority for three reasons. First, the socio-economic needs of the African societies in which organizations operate are so great that philanthropy is an expected norm – it is considered the right thing to do by business and the most direct way to improve the prospects of the communities in which business operates. Second, many African societies have become reliant on foreign aid. Third, Africa is generally still at an early stage of maturity in CSR rather than the more embedded approaches now common in developed countries...” (Lindgreen et al., 2010, p. 431).

Considering that Zambia, Botswana and Malawi are close neighbours, in the same African region, the possible explanation for this contrast might be differences in local contexts (institutional frameworks, people and practices) which might play some critical role in shaping the CSR practices at a local level.

5.3.4 Moral Responsibility

Hotel and lodge managers in Livingstone partly “give back” to surrounding communities in Mukuni as a matter of moral concern – the drive to “do good”. The only downside is that, as outlined earlier in section 5.2, CSR initiatives that are influenced by moral responsibilities are predominantly tokenistic. From the responses collected, hotel and lodge managers gave moral drivers the fourth priority position for two reasons: firstly, social needs in Mukuni start from very small basic needs to bigger ones; secondly, hotel and lodge companies find it easy to donate some of the things people lack from items that resorts no longer need but which can still be useful to households in communities such as kitchenware, bedding and some food stuff. Besides, managers seem to find “making simple donations” to be less complex, and less distracting to business, as well as making a quick response to basic needs of communities.

In contrast, the senior government officials in the Department of Tourism and most community participants did not favour simple donations. They both stated that simple donations have not led to long-term individual and community improvements. Senior government officials were also concerned about the growing risk of entrenching laziness and dependency in communities on companies because of minimalist donations, which they claimed had become a common practice among both large and small hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone. As stated in the remarks below, officials expressed concern about a possible distorted view of CSR in which CSR seems to be locally framed simply as “donations” from companies:

“...It has become common for some people in government to assume that these simple donations are improving people’s lives in communities when this is not so. Companies are making simple donations to seem as [THE] acceptable form of CSR for contributing to community development. What may be true is that companies are merely using donations as the means for securing a good rapport with politicians for their business convenience...”
(Tourism Department Officials, July-November, 2014).

Senior officials maintained that proper CSR should aim to empower communities to be able to stand on their own, that is, to create a lasting community impact. It should not be about making small donations of such things as: used linen from hotels and lodges, food stuff and groceries to communities in the presence of media and politicians. Two tourism senior officials, the Principal Tourism Development and Research Officer (PTDRO) and the Senior Tourism Development and Research Officer (STDRO) recommended donations only in situations of community emergencies (such as disasters, illnesses, support to hospices, disabled, children's and old people's homes). Their sentiments are summarised below:

“...simple donations may be necessary as a CSR approach to deal with small, short-term urgencies that happen in communities, but not when it comes to galvanising long-term improvements in people's lives in communities, there should be something beyond just giving simple donations...” (PTDRO and STDRO, 1st July, 2014).

Community participants also disclosed that politicians from sector ministries such as the Ministry of Tourism and Ministry of Community Development often officiate at donation events organised by hotel and lodge companies. A group of community women involved in vegetable growing made the following remarks:

“...we are happy to get some help through donations, but we need more support for other activities where we can earn income such as gardening, poultry, piggeries, fish ponds and such things. But most especially gardening...if hotels would buy our produce...” (CommunityGp-4, 17th October, 2014).

These sentiments show that most of all, communities want support by purchasing local produce from them rather than wanting hand-outs. This may suggest that a business approach could be important if the needs of the communities in the area are to be suitably addressed. Some managers who wanted to be sincere disclosed that large hotels are motivated to make donations because it offers companies an easy option to gain business visibility and publicity, especially with high ranking government officials:

“...mostly it is about being seen to be doing something to help Government to solve community problems and to be part of our local communities. But also in terms of ramping up the company's corporate reputation and staff

morale... because most of our employees stay in these same communities...” (Tourism resort managers, July – November, 2014).

These sentiments show that a “donations approach” is favoured most because it offers a company good PR and more flexibility. As Ashley and Haysom (2006) have stated “... a ‘donations approach’ offers the tourism company several advantages: donations can be relatively easy to administer without interfering with day-to-day operations. They can be highly visible, meet local priority needs...” (Ashley & Haysom, 2006, p. 269).

5.3.5 Presence of Social Threat

It was rather unexpected to find that some companies in Livingstone were concerned about future social threats to their businesses and, consequently, influenced to engage in specific CSR initiatives. The meaning that was given to social threats by some managers corresponds with other terminologies used in literature, such as social contract or social licence to operate. According to some academic views, achieving a status of good neighbourliness ensures the security of the business from disruption that could arise from a potential social threat in neighbouring communities (Moir, 2001; Nyahunzvi, 2013; Porter & Kramer, 2006; Warhurst, 2001). “Social threat”, “social contract” or “license to operate” is better considered as a form of unwritten laws that require companies to give back to communities, as Ashley and Haysom (2006) have conceptualised:

“...it is not only the legal or official licences that matter; acceptance of a company’s legitimacy among local institutions also matters... social licence [may] be seen in the way [a company is] able to form partnerships with local organisations, in indicators of appreciation by Government,...access to decision makers to present [its] view of local developments, and in the way new initiatives proposed [by the company easily find] an audience, and often subsequent acceptance...” (Ashley & Haysom, 2006, p. 269).

Three out of eight managers considered the presence of a potential social threat in communities as an important philosophy to drive them to engage in specific types of CSR initiatives. These three managers cited issues such as the growing nuisance of begging, illegal trespassing, vandalism and thefts as examples. The managers considered the increase in these vices as indication for companies to engage in the types

of CSR that engender a real social change in communities, as reflected in their statements below:

“...as a company we are conscious that if we do not invest in building a good society around the communities in which we do business, there could come up, in the near future, unruly groups of people in these communities who could rise up against everyone looking more successful than them, including hotel and lodge businesses...” (TLLmger2, 17th October, 2014).

“...hotels or lodges should not be the only “rich person” around in their surrounding communities, we have the choice through CSR to create several “rich persons” around and minimise the nuisance of begging...” (MELmger, 25th September, 2014).

“...to support and promote sustainable community development...to minimise visits from people in communities coming to ask for money...rather, coming with their business proposals is more desirable...” (JBLmger, 17th July, 2014).

As a result of these sentiments, social threats ended up in the fifth priority position. Senior Government officials agreed with these sentiments although their views were that these philosophies offered low prospects for long-term individual benefits and community development in the area. Their reasons are that there is a very low expectation of such social threats being widespread so much that they end up compelling hotels and lodges to do more in terms of CSR. One senior official suggested that social threats can be more effective in motivating CSR if applied in the situations of communities living adjacent to wildlife areas where it could aim at minimising illegal poaching activities from communities.

5.3.6 Framing the CSR Drivers in Livingstone

Table 14, below summarises the rating of CSR drivers by hotel and lodge managers in Livingstone. This summary of ratings does not incorporate the views of senior Government officials and community participants. Thus, economic drivers are the most highly prioritised factors on which the companies in Livingstone base their philosophies that motivate them to engage in CSR. Requirements for voluntary regulation (ethical codes) and incentive strategies are both given second highest priority followed by philanthropy in third priority position. Moral responsibilities and social threat (that is,

social contract or social-license-to-operate), are given fourth and fifth priority positions respectively and the least is legal compliance which is given the sixth priority position (Table 14).

The first column of Table 14 presents examples of raw responses of some managers on each of the substantive and prospective CSR drivers. The middle column shows CSR drivers, while the last column gives the number of times each driver was preferred by tourism resort managers. For example, only one manager favoured the idea of making CSR compulsory. That is, making CSR a mandatory legal requirement (see narrow top-end of the triangle in Table 14) and all eight managers emphasised economic responsibilities (see wider base of the triangle in Table 14). This Table shows that different drivers are and can play a fuzzily graduated influence for a variety of reasons (and philosophies) in determining whether, and to what extent, a company will engage in CSR, and this is varied for different companies too.

Readings from scholarly literature show that managers go through a complex process of weighing different factors/reasons before deciding to engage in CSR (Coles et al., 2013; Fox, 2004; Holcomb et al., 2007; Moon, 2007). This complexity is reflected also among hospitality companies in Livingstone. Importantly, however, the factors or CSR drivers presented in Table 14 are a guide to understanding the philosophies that shape CSR practices among hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone. In turn, taken together, the philosophies (or beliefs) of the companies and the types of CSR that they engage in help to understand and to confirm whether corporate power is dominant or not in CSR practices in the area. Therefore, the findings in this section, particularly the summarised responses of managers in Table 14, are important in this regard.

Table 14: Prioritisation of CSR Drivers by Resort Managers in Livingstone

Description of response of tourism resort managers in Livingstone, Zambia	CSR Driver	Number of Responses
Government should put a deliberate policy to compel tourism companies to engage in CSR initiatives. If it is left to be voluntary some companies who are not passionate about supporting local communities in Zambia will never do something about it.	Legal Compliance	01
We are conscious that if we do not build a good society around the communities in which we do business, there could come up, in the near future, unruly groups of people in these communities who could rise up against everyone looking more successful than them, including lodge business	Social Threat (License to operate)	03
Ensuring our moral responsibilities to communities and helping to alleviate suffering in communities in which we operate which also provides an easy option to gain business visibility (publicity) in the public domain, but especially with government	Moral Responsibility	04
We consider it as an investment in communities...as our social corporate investments in the community in which we operate and a way to contribute towards government’s efforts for community development.	Philanthropic Responsibilities	05
If government reduced the cost of doing business and instead introduced innovative incentives, we could increase our investments in CSR initiatives and more companies would want to participate	Incentives Strategies	07
Government should support industry-based CSR regulation connected to policy (such as tax holidays or breaks, license fee exceptions etc.) and non-policy incentives strategies (such as annual awards, recognition and accreditation certificates)	Voluntary Regulation (Ethical)	07
But in earnest, it is also a selling point for the business and helps to improve the corporate image for visitors who want to stay at a hotel that gives back to its community and want to see this in practice and also see it as a motivating factor to our workforce that comes from the same community	Economic Responsibilities	08

5.4 Summary and Implications

This chapter has explored the CSR practices of eight hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone. Findings reported in this chapter show that three (SIL, PHL & TLL) of the eight companies that took part in this doctoral research are evidently changing their CSR practices towards those which offer long-term benefits for more people in Mukuni communities. However, simple donations are still a common feature among most hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone. In contrast, despite possessing potential for widespread community benefits and long-term “empowering” impacts, local procurement and small community business development initiatives are still not yet popular types of CSR among hotel and lodge companies in the area. For example, local purchases of vegetables and fruit from communities are still low even for the two companies (SIL and PHL) that are more involved in applying this approach. However,

in spite of their small purchases, SIL and PHL are helping to stimulate incremental community benefits through their weekly purchases of vegetables and fruit locally from Mukuni farmers and through providing support to related small community business development initiatives for some community groups. The key summary points and implications of these findings are discussed below.

First, although three of the eight companies have shown a clear indication of advancing their CSR practices, overall, the findings reveal that tokenistic CSR initiatives and approaches still dominate. ‘Tokenistic’ initiatives are those initiatives that are superficial in nature/‘ticking the box’ types of initiatives that might be good for a company’s image but that are not comprehensive enough to make a real difference in poor communities. According to literature, tokenistic initiatives may show the company’s commitment to CSR; however, they do not represent an approach that will benefit the community in the long-term, instead resembling a public relations act (Jenkins & Obara, 2008, p. 17). Fox (2004, p. 34) confirms that “a development-oriented agenda represents a challenge to those companies who adopt CSR practices on a tokenistic basis, as it is often the core business activities such as purchasing that have the greatest impacts, both positive and negative, on development outcomes”. In addition, practices that deny communities the opportunity to contribute to the decision-making process of projects reflect elements of tokenism (Manteaw, 2008, pp. 439-440; Tang-Lee, 2016, pp. 28-33), that tend to undermine the long-term transformative aspects of CSR (Habisch & Moon, 2006).

In further development discourse, it has been argued that tokenistic practices are often characterized by a donor-recipient relationship and low levels of corporate-community interaction (Austin, 2000, p. 35). This being the case, these tokenistic practices reported among hotel and lodge companies in the study area are an indication of low levels of interaction among stakeholders (companies, communities, government and others) in CSR, and a sign of the dominance of corporate power in CSR decision-making practices and processes. This corporate dominance was fervently reported in the responses from government and community participants who described companies in the tourism industry as lacking transparency, or being too secretive about their CSR practices (see more in Chapter Six). According to the theoretical perspective of this study (see Section 2.9 in Chapter Two), this finding implies that hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone have not yet widely adapted their CSR practices to ensure greater equity.

Second, the findings reported in this chapter show that although economic reasons are the dominant factors that motivate companies to engage in CSR with Mukuni communities, hotels and lodges in Livingstone are also willing to adapt more. From managers' responses, incentives by Government, working with other stakeholders in CSR, and developing a jointly derived tourism code of ethics for an industry-based CSR regulatory system, could be important options to use to direct more benefits to people in Mukuni communities. This implies that the role of Government and other stakeholders in CSR practices and processes is slowly becoming an acceptable norm among hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone. The support for jointly-derived tourism codes of ethics for CSR could break new grounds in Zambia's tourism industry. As Dodds and Joppe (2005, p. 36) have also observed, "CSR could help with a number of issues facing tourism with regard to promoting sustainable tourism practices" and have stressed the need for government involvement and support for CSR if the companies in tourism are to increase their own involvement in CSR. Moreover, their extensive elaboration and recommendations on different tourism codes of ethics can provide invaluable insights in this regard.

Third, in terms of creating opportunities and delivering benefits to communities, this study has demonstrated from the findings reported in this chapter that CSR initiatives that satisfy the interests of both the businesses and communities have a higher rate of success and sustainability than those that do not. Findings in this chapter further suggest that CSR initiatives that are undertaken through community cooperatives, in which Government and other stakeholders are also involved, have minimal problems with traditional power and cultural influences in their practices and processes (this issue is explored further in Chapter Six). These two findings have important implications for the promotion of CSR in the study area. The first implication is that commercial interests of the companies should be recognised by decision makers and practitioners in government to be of equal importance as the interests/needs of communities in the promotion of CSR. This proposition supports the statement by Ashley and Haysom (2006, p. 278) that if "...approaches that recognise the commercial driver of corporate behaviour, but require companies to pursue their business objectives while simultaneously exploring how this can be achieved in ways that open up opportunities for the poor,can be adopted across the whole tourism industry, the potential for improving economic opportunities for the poor would be significant". The second implication is that the role

of Government and other stakeholders is critical if the negative effects of power relations in CSR practices and processes are to be minimised.

Fourth, findings indicate the presence of traditional power and cultural influences in CSR at community level. The evidence for this is that almost all the managers from the eight hotels and lodges in Livingstone identified traditional power and cultural influences as serious causes of failure of some of their CSR initiatives that they have attempted to implement in Mukuni. Encouraging explicit roles of the Ministry of Tourism or core-tourism NGOs in CSR could assist to resolve these issues. If these issues remain unresolved, they might continue to seriously undermine the effectiveness of CSR, particularly, the equitable distribution of opportunities and benefits to more people in the communities. Some of the hotel and lodge companies cited these issues as the reason why they no longer prefer to carry out their CSR through the MCDT (see more details in Chapter Six). The affected companies registered frustration arising from the consistent failure of CSR initiatives, which has, in turn, lowered their interests to do more to contribute to community development in the area.

As indicated in Chapter One, this study set out to explore the significance of power relations in determining the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development. In the light of the findings above, it is clear that the theoretical framework of this study (see Section 2.9 in Chapter 2) is helpful in understanding the significance of power relations in determining the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development in Mukuni communities. Therefore, further and widespread change in CSR practices is needed among hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone. This change is needed to improve relationships (to ensure greater equity) and to foster direct benefits and long-term CSR impacts on community development in the study area.

Based on the findings of this chapter, two assumptions have been drawn. The first assumption is that there seem to be weaknesses in community structures and approaches used by hotel and lodge companies to implement their CSR in Mukuni. These issues are at the core of the discussion in Chapter Six. The second assumption is that there appear to be weaknesses also in the national tourism policy framework in terms of providing opportunities for establishing a strong connection between CSR and community development. In addition, the district development framework that is expected to act as

a forum for managing relationships in CSR among different stakeholders at local level also seems to be weak. These two later issues are the main focus of Chapter Seven.

CHAPTER SIX

6 Seeking out Community Voices in CSR

6.1 Introduction

Chapter Five explored empirical data around the first component of the theoretical framework: *the CSR practices of companies*. This second findings chapter is structured around the second component of the theoretical framework: **community voices in CSR**. This focus builds on insights from Muthuri's statement below:

“...Companies must be clear about their own and stakeholders' rationale for participation and be able to facilitate the creation of appropriate participatory structures and processes that contribute to a sustainable decision making process and, thereby, to sustainable communities. This requirement demands that corporations enact community participatory processes that do not further corporate domination in the governing of community development but encourage the creation of institutional arrangements or infrastructure where actors can collectively set goals, strategies, and principles for local governance and development processes....” (Muthuri et al., 2012, p. 372).

This statement encourages the need to ensure community voices are incorporated in local community development structures and processes that seek to sustainably develop poor communities. This is why it is important to establish whether and how community voices are incorporated in CSR. Thus, this chapter presents a critical step in understanding the prospects of CSR as a vehicle for achieving long-term improvements in the lives of the majority people in Mukuni.

The chapter first examines community engagement mechanisms to find out whether Mukuni communities are given opportunities to negotiate their most important community interests in CSR. This is done to establish understanding of specific approaches used by companies to seek out the voices of communities in CSR initiatives. The second section examines the community structures used to undertake CSR at the community level in respect of majority participation, governance and accountability in the processes and benefits from CSR.

Three ideas on genuine community engagement have been identified from literature and used to examine community structures and approaches. These ideas are about whether structures and approaches are able to: (i) encourage deeper relationship-building (Rein & Stott, 2009, p. 82) in CSR between communities and companies, (ii) ensure broad-based and equity-enhancing (Scheyvens & Momsen, 2008, p. 32) CSR practices and (iii) offer significant control and ownership of CSR initiatives by the communities (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996; Liu, 1994). These ideas have been used to compare the effectiveness of three community structures in Mukuni communities considered in this study in terms of providing equitable opportunities for voices in and benefits from CSR. The research interest here is to establish the extent to which each structure has established mechanisms for seeking out the voices of the communities in CSR and able to respond to the concerns and needs of the majority. Subsequently, issues that could potentially constrain the voices of the communities in CSR are outlined.

6.2 Negotiating CSR with Tourism Companies

6.2.1 Expectations in CSR

The legitimacy of Mukuni communities to have expectations from CSR that hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone undertake is based on their rights to the customary land on which tourism development takes place in the area. This legitimacy is officially recognised by Government and concerned hotel and lodge companies and is the basis on which the Mukuni community development trust (MCDT) is founded (see more in Section 3.6.5 in Chapter Three).

The indicator that was used in this study to assess if community voices are sought and incorporated in these CSR was whether community members felt their expectations are met by CSR initiatives that are undertaken in their communities. The assumption was that in order to achieve this community satisfaction, companies need to provide opportunities for communities to negotiate their expectations from CSR with them. In order to find out whether community members in Mukuni felt their voices were being heard by hotel and lodge companies, community participants were asked to state what they perceived as their most important expectations in CSR. As explained in Chapter Four, 36 randomly sampled farmers and crafts traders from Mukuni communities were asked to state their five most important expectations from CSR (in order of priority). A list of 180 responses was compiled from these 36 participants (see Appendix 5). Their expectations included: support for market linkages; local income generation

opportunities; local employment creation; transport to markets; education; health; water supply systems; food; clothing; information; good life; loans; and skills.

In order to analyse this diverse empirical data, a simple pairwise ranking analysis technique was designed and applied. The following steps were followed: firstly, the 180 responses were thematically analysed. This analysis resulted in the identification of six data categories: social welfare needs (SWN), job opportunities (JO), income generating opportunities (IGO), training and capacity building (TCB), financing (loan) Schemes (FS), and support for small community businesses (SCB) (Table 15). The 180 responses are thereafter coded according to the six categories mentioned above (see Table 15 and Appendix 5). This step is particularly important in setting the stage to summarise these research materials into frequencies in readiness for a ranking analysis.

Table 15: Categories of Community Expectations

Category/Theme	Code	Community Expectations
Social welfare needs	SWN	Education, health, good life, food, decent and respectable life, nice clothes, a good house and water supply
Job Opportunities	JO	Jobs in hotels and lodges
Income generating Opportunities	IGO	Markets, income and increased numbers of tourists
Training and capacity building	TCB	Skills and information
Financing (loan) Schemes	FS	Loans to start or expand small businesses, support to increase production
Support for small community businesses	SCB	Water for vegetable gardening, transport of produce to markets, electric supply for water pumps, adverts, billboards or marketing for crafts and curio markets, proper storage facilities for products, support to improve product quality, policies to protect and support small community businesses, business mentoring, more business, low cost of doing business, more hotels and lodges for more business

6.2.2 Analysis and Ranking of Community Expectations

In order to rank these expectations in the order of importance reflected by the views of participants, three further steps are followed: the first step is the analysis of the 180 responses to construct a table of frequency scores. Table 16 below shows the result of this analysis. It is important to note here that this information in Table 16 is mere frequency counts and not rankings.

Table 16: Frequency scores of the categories of community expectations

Total Number of Needs	Theme	Codes	Frequency
n=180	Support to Small Community Businesses	SCB	48
	Income Generation Opportunities	IGO	43
	Social Welfare Needs	SWN	35
	Financing (Loans) Schemes	FS	24
	Training and Capacity Building	TCB	22
	Job Opportunities	JO	08
Total			180

The second step involves a further analysis of the frequency scores. Table 17 shows how the aspect of priority, as a way of reflecting the views of participants, gets factored into the scores. This is done using the simple majority “vote” or “score” principle. The scoring is done once and the category with a high score in each column in each rank ‘wins’. To do this, the frequency score of each category is analysed and ranked according to how participants ranked their typology of expectations. As started earlier, participants were asked to state their five most important expectations and putting them on a scale of 1-5, starting with the first rank. Therefore, the category whose typologies (refer to Table 15 and Appendix 5) is most frequently mentioned under scale number 1, is ranked number 1, and is selected and marked with a red circle (Table 17). The category that gets selected and circled is the one that has the highest number in the column or rank. After this step, the scores of the highly ranked category are completely removed (row shaded blue in Table 17) from the remaining ranking analysis. This is done until the categories are all ranked. The lowest ranked category (shown by a solid red shade) marks the end of the analysis (Table 17). In this way, the end result of this ranking analysis reflects the voices of the community participants on their most important expectations from CSR (see Table 18).

Table 17: Ranking analysis of the categories of community expectations

Theme	Code	Frequency Ranking					Total
		1	2	3	4	5	
Support to Small Community Businesses	SCB	18	7	14	7	2	48
Income Generating Opportunities	IGO	11	19	6	6	1	43
Social Welfare Needs	SWN	0	4	4	10	17	35
Financing (Loans) Schemes	FS	0	2	3	9	10	24
Training and Capacity Building	TCB	2	3	7	4	6	22
Job Opportunities	JO	5	1	2	0	0	08
Total							180

According to the final result in Table 18 below, support to small community businesses (SCB) is given the highest priority rank by community participants; income generation

opportunities (IGO) is given the second highest priority followed by training and capacity building (TCB) in the third priority position; this is followed by social welfare in fourth priority position; financing (loans) schemes (FS) is in the fifth position and job opportunities (JO) in the sixth position.

Table 18: Final ranking of the categories of community expectations

Theme	Code	Final Rank
Support to Small Community Businesses	SCB	1
Income Generating Opportunities	IGO	2
Training and Capacity Building	TCB	3
Social Welfare Needs	SWN	4
Financing (Loans) Schemes	FS	5
Job Opportunities	JO	6

6.2.3 Corporate-Community Engagement and Power Relations in CSR

The outcome of the ranking analysis shows some contrast between the most important community expectations and the prominent CSR favoured by companies in Livingstone. As reported in Chapter Five, the first two highly ranked community expectations from CSR are not highly favoured among hotel and lodge companies. This finding indicates poor corporate-community engagement and power dominance by these companies in CSR processes. Therefore, there is need to adapt CSR practices to ensure greater equity in CSR. However, the change observed in CSR practices among companies, if nurtured through multi-stakeholder involvement, could provide prospects for better outcomes for the communities in future. For example, the growing interest of hotels and lodges recently in supporting skills training (TCB), if encouraged, can increase their support to SCB initiatives and spiral more and wider community benefits from higher local procurements. According to participants, the tokenistic initiatives (such as simple donations) and low paying jobs in hotels and lodges which companies seem to favour, are not of immediate importance. In their opinion, securing incremental income through small income generating initiatives such as vegetable and fruit gardening and craft and curio trading is of more immediate importance. This finding could be because most of the individuals interviewed are those involved in gardening and craft trading businesses.

Nevertheless, community participants could not completely dismiss the value of donations and job creation in tourism. Philanthropic donations associated with improvements in education and health provision and water and sanitation were particularly noted as necessary for attaining long-term individual, group and overall community development aspirations. Morally-driven simple donations were only

accepted when they were intended to address short-term needs and emergencies, and not for emancipation. When it comes to the reasons why social welfare needs are given low priority, participants explained that these initiatives have failed to address their pertinent immediate and long-term economic needs. On the other hand, they gave job opportunities low priority because only a few people in Mukuni communities are able to meet qualifications demanded by companies for better paying jobs in hotels and lodges. These comments imply that community members take a strategic view of the benefits from CSR; focussing more on prosperity and education, with a view to obtaining skills and qualifications needed for better paying jobs over the long-term.

As earlier noted, the category for small community businesses (SCB) is highly prioritised among the six categories of expectations. According to participants, the reason for this high priority position is that SCB and the income generating category stand in contrast to other categories in providing communities with a more reliable source of livelihood. The specific aspect of the SCB category that was prominently ranked by farmers is water for irrigation (see Appendix 5). In this regard, farmers stated that their highest CSR expectation is support to ensure availability of water for irrigation all year round, because the Mukuni area receives poor rainfall and most of its streams dry up in the dry season (see Section 3.6 in Chapter Three). Besides, communities now have restricted access to the only reliable source of water in the area – the Zambezi River – because of privacy blockage signs by tourism resorts that line its water front. Therefore, participants suggested that their expectation with regard to sources of water for irrigation can be fulfilled by constructing water reservoirs or drilling boreholes in communities. According to the farmers, such support could avail clean drinking water for domestic use as well as help to boost their vegetable and fruit gardening businesses and lead to increased incomes for a wide-range of families and individuals in Mukuni communities.

On the other hand, the specific aspect that featured prominently among craft and curio traders is the need for companies to support local markets and marketing of craft and curio items (see Appendix 5). Crafts and curio traders proposed that hospitality companies can promote the small local crafts and curio businesses by sensitising their guests about the local markets, by deliberately creating tour packages that include local markets and by including local markets in their local and international marketing strategies. Craft and curio traders particularly cited support for advertisements,

participation in tradeshows, and more inclusion of local markets in packaged tours as critical for augmenting a steady flow of income.

The above reasons explain why community participants ranked the income generating (IGN) category in the second highest priority position. Furthermore, farmers emphasised the need for CSR support for establishing reliable market linkages for their produce with hotel and lodge companies, while craft and curio traders stressed support for increased numbers of tourists visiting their market stalls as being important in boosting incomes. Both the farmers and craft and curio traders underscored the importance of income for meeting such needs as food, school fees, clothing, and hospital bills. On the other hand, the training and capacity building (TCB) category was ranked third, because both farmers and crafts and curio traders emphasised training in production and business skills, to improve the quality of local products and services, as requiring the support of companies. They argued that these skills are critical for long-term business success.

The two community groups (that is, farmers and craft and curio traders), indicated that micro and small financing schemes (FS) can serve as an important source of capital for starting or expanding or diversifying their small community businesses. However, both were concerned about the lack of financial lending institutions in Mukuni to provide easy access to micro and small loan schemes. They disclosed that this gap has constrained the expected incremental growth in size and number of small community business enterprises that could benefit from existing and potential CSR relationships with tourism companies in the area.

Empirical evidence reported in this section shows that there is poor corporate-community engagement and corporate dominance in CSR. This suggests the absence of specific approaches for seeking out the voices of communities, and a lack of opportunities for communities to negotiate their interests in CSR with companies. While this can be an indication of weaknesses in the composition and decision making processes of community structures used to negotiate CSR, this finding could also suggest a lack of commitment to enacting deeper relationship-building approaches by the companies. It also shows the lack of broad-based and equity-enhancing practices and processes in CSR, and the lack of mechanisms that could allow communities to have significant control and ownership of CSR. This finding reflects a problem of

power relations in CSR and, therefore, calls for the need to adapt CSR practices to ensure greater equity in CSR. The concern here is that if CSR approaches fail to seek out community voices, they directly deny some people, especially those that are poor and “powerless” in communities, a chance to advance their interests in CSR and having access to an equitable share of benefits. To explore these issues further, the next section examines community structures that are prominently used in Mukuni communities to implement CSR. These are: the MCDT, the TCTS and community cooperatives.

6.3 Community Voices in Community Structures

Following up on the findings of the previous section, this section examines community structures in Mukuni in respect of opportunities for expressing majority community voices in CSR. During field research, participants consistently identified community trusts and community cooperatives as the two main models of community structures used to organise people for development in Mukuni area. Evidence generated from in-depth interviews, group interviews and FGDs reveals that these same models are also used by hotel and lodge companies to support community development through CSR.

The MCDT and TCTS were mentioned by participants as the two notable community trust structures that hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone prefer to use to undertake CSR in Mukuni. However, participants revealed that community cooperatives are far more numerous than community trusts, and are more popular than trusts among Mukuni people (see details in Section 6.3.3).

Document analysis revealed that there are in fact five main possible types of community structures that can be established in Zambia. The first two are *Committees* and *Boards*. These two can be formed under sector-specific natural resource legislation for purposes of co-management. Their formation, membership, objectives, functions and mechanisms for benefit sharing are normally prescribed in the legislation which also regulates them. Examples include community resources boards and fisheries management committees (DSI, 2008, p. 12).

The last three are *Societies*, *Trusts* and *Cooperatives*. These three are community-based organizations (CBOs) which are legal entities in their own right. They require formal registration and must fulfil stipulated conditions in line with the legal frameworks that govern them. By definition, CBOs define their own membership and objectives, are self-regulating and have legal personality to enter into formal contracts with other legal

entities. In the Zambian context, CBOs are required to meet statutory requirements such as filing annual audited accounts, minutes of the annual general meetings and details of any changes in the name of the organization or composition of the highest decision-making organ (DSI, 2008, p. 12). Accordingly, the three most prominent structures found in Mukuni (the MCDT, TCTS and Community Cooperatives) can be characterised as CBOs and MCDT is by far the most dominant.

Information collected shows some marked differences in terms of composition and decision processes between the MCDT, the TCTS and community cooperatives. The next sections examine these differences based on views of participants and document information. Specific emphasis is placed on determining how the structures compare with each other in providing for community voices in their processes and activities and how this affects or effects CSR.

6.3.1 Situating Community Voices in the MCDT Structure

The MCDT's jurisdiction covers the whole of the Mukuni chiefdom which comprises 2000 square kilometres with an extensive boundary along the Zambezi gorge below the Victoria Falls, with 120 villages organised in 12 sub-chiefdom zones (see Chapter Three). The MCDT was established in 2003 to serve as a model for natural resource-based economic development supported by local empowerment through acquisition of legal status and improved land and resource tenure (DSI, 2008, p. 14).

Although the MCDT acquired legal status at the time it was registered in 2003, it had no rights to any natural resources in its jurisdiction (Metcalf, 2005), which presented a problem of lack of legitimacy to claim a share of benefits from tourism development in the area. However, the allocation of approximately 10,000 hectares of customary land to the MCDT by Chief Mukuni, as the traditional custodian of customary land in his chiefdom, helped to overcome this problem of lack of legitimacy and helped to secure land for Mukuni people for long-term livelihoods. As explained in Chapter Three, the chief's action to allocate land to the MCDT prompted the renegotiation of leases with all tourism companies that were operating on Mukuni land through the MCDT. The action also ensured that all new companies seeking to invest on Mukuni land negotiated their contracts with the MCDT. These changes have guaranteed a steady flow of financial resources to the chiefdom from some top tourism companies in Livingstone. Hence, it would be expected that the MCDT should be among the richest community

structures in Zambia. However, issues of composition, participation, governance and accountability in the administration and activities of the MCDT have remained problematic.

The renegotiated contracts entered into by tourism companies included arrangements pertaining to CSR matters. An official from the MCDT emphasised that:

“...the MCDT expects all tourism companies operating on Mukuni land to comply with the payment of agreed fees [lease and revenue] and to fulfil the agreed activities for the benefit of Mukuni people...” (MCDT Administrative Secretary, 24th January, 2014).

In line with these remarks, some hotels and lodges have signed agreements which include pledges to undertake CSR in Mukuni communities through the MCDT. The MCDT Administrative Secretary gave several examples which included employment agreements that the MCDT has signed with white water rafting companies on the Zambezi River, where 50% of the employees of these companies come from Mukuni communities. The MCDT official explained that the legitimacy of these agreements to employ Mukuni people (mostly youths) is that the takeout points for the rafting activities involving these companies are all on Mukuni land. Similarly, other companies conducting village tours in Mukuni communities have signed agreements to pay fees to the MCDT. These companies include all tourism businesses in Livingstone that undertake packaged village tours to Mukuni communities.

A MCDT official confidently explained the examples of some of the benefits that have accrued to Mukuni people which include: the assurance of a steady flow of revenues for the MCDT for its community projects; employment for Mukuni people, especially youths who now work as river guides and porters (carrying white water rafting boats and accessories up and down hill); and the boosting of local income for crafts and curio traders as a result of village tours (Field Notes, 24th January, 2014). The comments below summarise the views of different participants regarding the way funds accrue to MCDT; although they are ambivalent about the use of the funds:

“...when the [tourism] business is booming during peak seasons the MCDT makes more from the contribution of tourism companies than during the off seasons... for example, contributions to the MCDT from white water rafting and village tours largely depend on the numbers and

the traffic or inflow of tourists...but it is the leaders that control these funds...” (Community member, 24th January, 2014).

“...companies bring their clients who pay \$5 each for village tours. This money goes to the MCDT for community projects...the majority of people in Mukuni benefit when the guests are taken to the local crafts and curio markets as part of the village tours. Mukuni people benefit when tourists buy crafts and curios. Crafts and curio selling is our main source of livelihood, everyone sells crafts...We need more economic activities and more tourists...” (Community member, 24th January, 2014).

“...communities also benefit directly when tourists buy items from village grocery shops, which they end up donating directly to schools, clinics and to families in the village during the tours...the money paid to the MCDT does not address our individual needs and it is difficult to tell you how much is raised from tourism companies...” (Community member, 12th August, 2014).

These sentiments reveal dissatisfaction on the part of the majority who are not part of the MCDT leadership clique: in particular, women expressed concern about a lack of leadership opportunities and lack of voice concerning tourism development. Although women are represented in the traditional structure, this may only be there to reflect the duo chieftaincy history of the Mukuni people (see Section 3.6.2 in Chapter Three): there is nothing that practically translates into empowerment of women to participate and benefit from development brought about by CSR. Women still remain disadvantaged mainly because of strong gender-biased traditional practices that favour men over women as evidenced from lack of women leaders in the MCDT. It is important to note that although the gender issues encountered in this study are critical, they have not been tackled fully by this study. These issues are a broad topic in themselves that justifies another separate doctoral study to determine how and whether the voices of women are sought or not in CSR processes in practice.

In contrast to the sentiments of the majority, the Administrative Secretary, who is one of the top MCDT leaders, was happy to cite additional benefits which included the instance in which two villagers employed by one of the white water rafting company were sent for training in California, USA and, upon their return, endeavoured to train

others in communities on how to be a proper tour guide and the new white water rafting skills they learnt (Field Notes, 24th January, 2014). He also outlined various fees paid by companies for operating on Mukuni land, which confirms that the MCDT has a steady flow of revenues to fulfil some of its primary purposes for people in Mukuni communities (Table 19).

Table 19: Direct Income from CSR initiatives to the Mukuni Community Trust²⁴

Type of CSR initiative	Name of Tourism Company	Type of Company	Frequency	Amount
Village tours	All hotel, lodge and tour companies	All hotel, lodge and tour companies	Per tourist per tour	\$5
White water rafting	Safari Per Excellence	Activity company	Fixed rate	\$225
Social investment projects	Butterfly Tree	NGO ²⁵	On-going	Undisclosed
Social investment projects	Tongabezi lodge	Lodge	Quarterly	Undisclosed
White water rafting	Bundu Adventure	Activity company	Fixed rate	\$300
White water rafting	Gravity Gluttos (Zambezi Raft Extreme)	Activity company	Fixed rate	\$225

Some community participants raised concerns during individual in-depth interviews about the failure of community leaders in the MCDT and the Mukuni Royal Establishment²⁶ to incorporate the voices of the majority in decision making regarding CSR matters. Many participants could not do so probably for lack of courage to speak out publicly, especially in group interviews. However, one of the concerns highlighted was in terms of the composition of the MCDT. The MCDT is mainly composed of community leaders who are not democratically elected but appointed through a traditional process. Mbewe (2007) links the lack of accountability in community structures to the lack of democratic processes. Besides, there was no evidence of representation from “outsider” stakeholders on the MCDT board of trustees. Chief Mukuni, who is also the traditional ruler and top representative of the Mukuni Royal Establishment, is the patron of the MCDT. The chief is a powerful and charismatic leader. He is a well-known and respected champion of tourism development in the area. It is assumed that his main role in the MCDT is to improve governance as he is regarded

²⁴ This list is not exhaustive; there were several other tourism companies (hotels, lodges, activity and tour companies that contributed funds to the MDCT through CSR agreements which were not captured by this study.

²⁵ Sun International and Protea hotel support Mukuni communities through this NGO (Butterfly Tree). The founder of the NGO initially came as a guest at Sun International hotel and the company later linked her to Mukuni in 2006.

²⁶: Members of the Mukuni Royal Establishment (MRE) traditional leadership structure are the ruling elite of Mukuni.

as an external stakeholder and, being a powerful leader, he is expected to be the voice protecting his people from being disadvantaged by “outsiders”. However, the sentiments expressed above cast doubt as to whether he is being that great voice his people expect of him.

Research further reveals that all the members of the board of trustees are his subjects and most are part of the Mukuni Royal Establishment leadership structure. Available literature has shown that normally a higher level structure such as the MCDT, which is at the level of the entire Mukuni chiefdom, is expected to have representatives of external stakeholders on its board (such as from local authorities, private sector, government department or anybody chosen by the community), partly to promote stakeholder participation and partly to improve governance (DSI, 2008).

Most community participants suggested that the election process for the MCDT board members should be reviewed to allow any eligible member of the community with the necessary expertise to participate. They argued that the current process is undemocratic and rigid because it restricts opportunities to become a member of the board only to those who are community leaders (such as village headmen), and part of the MRE hierarchy. One participant particularly suggested that the annual general meeting, which by statutory requirement is the highest decision-making organ of the MCDT, should be the forum for electing trustees. The comment below summarises these sentiments:

“...to become a trustee you have to be a headman of a village in Mukuni; because MCDT trustees are chosen from among traditional leaders of respective village communities in the zones...the one chosen becomes a zone leader and at the same time a trustee on the MCDT...This is what I know...I do not know how the exact process works...” (Community member, 12th August, 2014).

Another concern was the lack of specific mechanisms for seeking out community voices, for example, in administering the funds collected from tourism companies (lease fees and revenues) by the MCDT. The comment below reflects this concern:

“...the majority is not aware about how much is collected from companies, how many companies contribute and how much has been spent on what community project...we are simply not aware how the funds are administered ...only those who are directly involved in the MCDT may

know, not everyone knows...there are no channels of communication...”
(Community members, 12th August, 2014).

Although the official from the MCDT justified the “representativeness” of the board of trustees by referring to the 12 sub-chiefdom zones of the Mukuni chiefdom who participate in the decisions made by the board of trustees on behalf of their constituents, these sentiments indicate that the processes of the MCDT are not seen as transparent by the majority in the communities. There is need for the MCDT to show more commitment to its objectives, and one way would be to establish representative lower structures from the grassroots to promote good governance, membership participation and interest in the affairs of the community structure. As some participants suggested, lower structures should be the entry point for decision-making, capacity building, information sharing, mobilisation and distribution of benefits. The lower structures could be further subdivided into smaller units based on activities. Downward and not upward accountability to the grassroots is what needs to be promoted (Child, 2003). Thus, although the board of trustees is nominally a representative body and ostensibly makes decisions on behalf of the majority, this does not preclude the need to seek out the voices of the majority through specially designed mechanisms. Research findings suggest that there are few, if any, mechanisms in the MCDT for incorporating or responding to majority views in the communities.

Most participants also pointed out the failure of the MCDT to create opportunities for the majority to benefit economically as a real concern. Community participants attributed this inability to the lack of expertise and commitment of the MCDT trustees to equity-enhancing objectives. They argued that most trustees are mere village headmen who lacked skills in governance, administration and exposure to sophisticated tourism development issues. Although Chief Mukuni was noted as the exception, there was general concern that these shortcomings, if not addressed, will ultimately lead many people in Mukuni to lose confidence and interest in the MCDT. The sentiments below of some participants show this general concern:

“...the MCDT was established to function as means for ensuring a collective voice for the people of Mukuni in development matters affecting communities. But in economic terms, the structure now serves only the interests of a few....even the few social projects that have been done with

support from tourism companies, most have been implemented mainly in communities near the Palace...” (Community members, 19th August, 2014).

Participants did not completely dispute the fact that MCDT had made some success in addressing social issues in communities through community social investment projects. What they were mainly concerned about was its failure to create opportunities for the majority to participate and benefit socioeconomically:

“...At the moment we do not see the commitment of our leaders to create economic opportunities for the majority through the MCDT ...” (Community members, 15th August, 2014).

For this reason, some suggested that MCDT needs restructuring and capacity building of its board of trustees, or a complete facelift of the board, so that it is able to function properly in meeting the expectations of the majority in Mukuni communities. From these sentiments, it is doubtful if long-term development of communities through CSR in Mukuni would be achieved without addressing the participation, governance, accountability, administrative and human capacity issues of the MCDT structure. Considering how CSR initiatives are carried out, findings show that some companies carry out CSR initiatives directly through the MCDT, while others do so through their NGO partners. The only exception was for the packaged village tours and white water rafting where all companies had no other way but to deal directly with the MCDT. However, in view of the concerns raised about the lack of mechanisms in the MCDT for the voices of the majority in communities to be sought or heard, it is difficult to imagine that CSR initiatives conducted by hotel and lodge companies can meet the expectations of the community when run in conjunction with MCDT, which is as deaf to community expectations as the companies themselves.

In spite of the issues of the MCDT outlined above, there was a general satisfaction expressed by participants, in some cases, with the CSR contributions of companies towards the improvement of people's lives in Mukuni. However, most of the participants believed companies could do better if the issue of power relations was properly managed. Of the eight hotels and lodges that took part in the study, only one company still directly undertakes its CSR through the MCDT. Others stopped mainly because of governance and accountability concerns already cited in this chapter. A deeper probe revealed that traditional power and cultural influences are among the main

concerns in the MCDT. Both community participants and companies raised these concerns. They attributed the lack of community participation, control and ownership of CSR initiatives and uneven distribution of benefits from CSR on these two issues (traditional power and cultural influences) that characterise the MCDT structure. According to participants, the same two issues have given an advantage to powerful community leaders to dominate decision-making in CSR at the expense of the majority as reflected in the comment below:

“...It is just fitting for community leaders in Mukuni to dominate decision making and secure most of the benefits from tourism [CSR] for themselves. Because it is taboo for an ordinary member in Mukuni to challenge or criticise community leaders or elders on anything....” (CommunityGp-4, 17th October, 2014).

These sentiments were also highlighted by some hotel and lodge managers as being the major factors that were responsible for the failure of some CSR initiatives in Mukuni communities (see Chapter Five) and were echoed by senior government officials who identified traditional power and cultural influences as principal hindrances to seeking community voice and equitable share of benefits from tourism CSR in Mukuni communities:

“...for sustainability, we have found the arrangement where our company has been financing community projects 100% not to be correct and in future we would like to see partnerships and more transparency in community projects that we finance...we also observe that the vast land under Mukuni could be utilized in a better way for the benefit of all people in communities if the traditional authority could be more innovative. The current situation of land utilisation appears to favour only the elite few occupying positions of authority in the traditional set-up...” (TLLmger2, 17th October, 2014).

“...traditional power and cultural issues are very prominent in CSR...some powerful community leaders have waxed rich leaving their subjects far behind. Mukuni community is an example. The chief there has become so rich and his people are still wallowing in poverty...he has accumulated property just for himself, as reported in the local media...for example it is

difficult to clearly say the Mukuni Big Five Safari business belongs to communities in Mukuni. It appears it belongs to the chief and his partners and the chief seems to benefit more compared to the community...weak community structures in Mukuni encourage manipulations and puts communities at the mercy of their leaders and companies...” (Compiled from Tourism Department Officials, 15th July - 30th November, 2014).

Research findings show that the CSR practices of hospitality companies that are linked to the MCDT generally exclude the majority from being involved in CSR. This exclusion does not only deny the opportunity for the majority in the communities to get a share of benefits from tourism development, but also limits possibilities for skills and knowledge transfer into the communities. As Rein and Stott (2009, p. 82) put it, approaches and structures that exclude the majority tend to create a more “hands-off” experience and do not encourage deeper relationship-building. Furthermore, scholars have emphasised the need for broad-based and equity-enhancing approaches and a high degree of community control and ownership if community development initiatives are to be considered “successful” (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996; Liu, 1994; Scheyvens, 1999, 2011).

The key conclusions of this section are that the MCDT lacks specific mechanisms and approaches to deliberately encourage deep relationship-building within the general community membership, especially between leaders and the rest of the people. Its mechanisms also fail to ensure equity in decision-making regarding most CSR matters. Thus, the powerful individuals in the communities seem to dominate the control and hold an advantage to benefit more from CSR. These are indications of a more critical concern which is the lack of commitment to good governance and accountability in the administration and activities of the MCDT. As has been established, the principle causes of undesirable power relations in the MCDT structure are traditional power and cultural influences, which have undermined equity in CSR. This finding is in line with literature arguments by Giddens (1976) and Sewell (1992) who argue that structures and power can affect human agency in a way that they could enable or constrain participation, ownership and distribution of opportunities and benefits.

6.3.2 Situating Community Voices in the TCTS Structure

The TCTS is a village level community trust structure. This means it is a step lower than the chiefdom community trust structure like the MCDT. However, both the TCTS and the MCDT operate under the same principles of a community trust as stated earlier, and both are used by Tongabezi Luxury Lodge (TLL) for its CSR aimed at bringing improvements in communities. A comparison of the two structures reveals marked differences in terms of participation, governance and accountability mechanisms in the administration and execution of activities. TLL has put in place better mechanisms for encouraging deeper relationship-building, broad-based and equity-enhancing participation and significant control and community ownership in CSR compared with the MCDT, as illustrated below.

Firstly, the contrast was in terms of the composition of the community structure. Unlike the MCDT, the TCTS is composed of representatives popularly elected by community members, and includes representation from the private sector (Tongabezi Lodge) and public volunteers (including local and overseas sponsors of the school-CSR programmes). This “mixed” composition has not only ensured internal and external legitimacy and credibility of TCTS as a community structure, but has also enhanced stakeholder participation, governance and accountability in its administration and activities. Community participants in the area disclosed that the Lodge involves the community through its elected members in all its decision-making processes who, in turn, inform other community members using grassroots structures. They explained that this began right from the inception of the school initiative:

“...the relationship between the lodge and our community started about 10 years ago...everyone in the village is involved in the school programmes in some way. We also offer labour and any help necessary and people who help are recognised and awarded for it. We know most of the happenings around the school and its programmes...and we have our own representatives. They inform us on all important decisions in the school or when there is a new programme and we participate when it is necessary. We have our own structures in the community which we use...”
(CommunityGp-10, 17th October, 2014).

Secondly, there is a marked contrast in decision-making processes. As seen from the sentiments above, there is evidence that the TCTS board incorporates the voices of the majority in the decisions it makes. Further evidence shows no discord between the statements from the company managers about the school project and those of community members who were randomly sampled for interviews. This harmony is an indicator that the mechanisms of the TCTS deliberately aim to encourage deeper relationships between the lodge and community, and within the general membership of the community. Furthermore, the harmony shows that TCTS's approaches have enhanced equity, broadened participation and have facilitated shared control and broad distribution of benefits from CSR in the community. The consistency shown in the responses below from randomly selected community members is a further indicator that the majority participates, and that there is enhanced governance and accountability in the administration and activities of the TCTS, and shows that greater parity in CSR is encouraged in the TCTS:

"...tourists from overseas visit the school and support the scholarship programme through donations. We are happy our children are being given quality education...our community will not remain the same in the future - it will change and it is all because of Tongabezi lodge" (Parent-1, 17th October, 2014).

"...ordinary villagers like me can now speak and understand some words in English though we have not gone far in school. This is because of the constant interactions we have with tourists who visit the school and our community from overseas...we have come to know how important school is for our children when we see the commitment of these people for the education of our children...we are fortunate to be neighbours of Tongabezi lodge..." (Parent-2, 17th October 2014).

Tujatane community trust school head teacher (a volunteer from UK) put it this way:

"The school could not exist without Tongabezi and its guests. All school management costs including teachers' salaries and everything, [mainly] depend on the goodwill of guests of Tongabezi lodge. And the model must be working because it has now been 18 years!" (Head Teacher, 17th October, 2014).

Furthermore, the lodge owner also readily confirmed that the main source of funds for the management of the school initiative is from guest donations:

“...we financed the start of this school in 1996 - which is a community school for the local community in the area - currently over 250 children from the community are attending the school. We continue providing support although most funding is now raised from contributions from our guests...” (TLLmger1, 29th September, 2014).

According to TLLmger2, the lodge management and the community work together, through the community trust school management board, to receive and administer funds from guest donations and other sources for the school projects, programmes and daily operations of the school. These statements were re-echoed by the deputy head who added the following:

“...it was in 1996 when one of our senior lodge managers (Vanessa Parker) initiated the idea of a community school through conversations with lodge staff from a nearby community...it is about 5 kilometres away. From that time Tongabezi Lodge and the community agreed to produce information cards which profiled the school project: what was going on at the site; what was being achieved; and the challenges that were being faced. Through guest donations, today Tujatane School has grown from a pre-school class of 15 children, to a primary school with over 250 students and has also acquired a charity status in the UK...” (Deputy Head Teacher, 17th October, 2014).

These sentiments further confirm the close relationship that exists between the community and the lodge in the management of the Tujatane education project. Research revealed that after the lodge agreed to place the cards to request for donations in guest rooms, some interested guests began to come forward to make donations. Guest donations are received in form of sponsorship towards: (i) a building project or (ii) a teacher or (iii) a child or (iv) a programme (including items on a wish list). Interested guest donors are given a conducted tour of the project site if they wish to check what is happening and to practically verify challenges being faced. Once a decision is made to donate, the guest is presented with a sponsorship form to complete. The sponsorship form bears information about the options and bank account details for the school

project. Thus, sponsorship funds do not go through the lodge, nor get mixed up in its accounts, but go straight into the accounts of the community trust school. This deliberate mechanism of using sponsorship forms helps to create a paper trail about donations for purposes of ensuring transparency and accountability, and reinforces the governance of the TCTS board of trustees in its administration of funds meant for the community trust school and other programmes.

However, the need to build the capacities of community representatives who sit on the TCTS board of trustees and to identify more reliable long-term sources of financing for the management of the community trust school when the lodge's help is not available, are the two current shortcomings of the TCTS as a community structure. The lodge and school management teams both acknowledged these issues as their major concerns. Notwithstanding the above, the TCTS is a good example of a community structure in the area that shows serious commitment in ensuring that voices from the community are incorporated in its administration and activities.

6.3.3 Situating Community Voices in Community Cooperatives

As stated earlier, community cooperatives are notable community structures used for CSR in Mukuni. Community cooperatives are also a village level community structure just like TCTS. Findings revealed that all CSR relevant small community businesses (whether they are vegetables and fruit or craft and curio trading businesses) are all organised as community cooperatives at village level. Research also shows that cooperatives are accessible to the majority, are democratic and have no evidence of traditional power and cultural influences. Compared with the MCDT, the executive positions in the community cooperatives are all democratically elected and run for a specific term of office. It was noted that all community cooperatives have their own constitutions that outline participation, governance and accountability guidelines. The District Agricultural Cooperatives Inspector (DACI) for Livingstone and Kazungula Districts stated as follows:

“...community farmers’ cooperatives are run by the communities themselves. The members of these cooperatives elect their own executive leaders who manage the affairs (programmes) of the cooperative for a term of about 2-3 years before new ones are voted into office...” (DACI, 18th August, 2014).

In addition, research findings reveal the inconsistent approach of central government ministries in dealing with various community structures. Unlike the MCDT and the TCTS, community cooperatives are the only community structures in the area which are formally linked to a government sector ministry right from national to district, and community levels (see Figure 14).

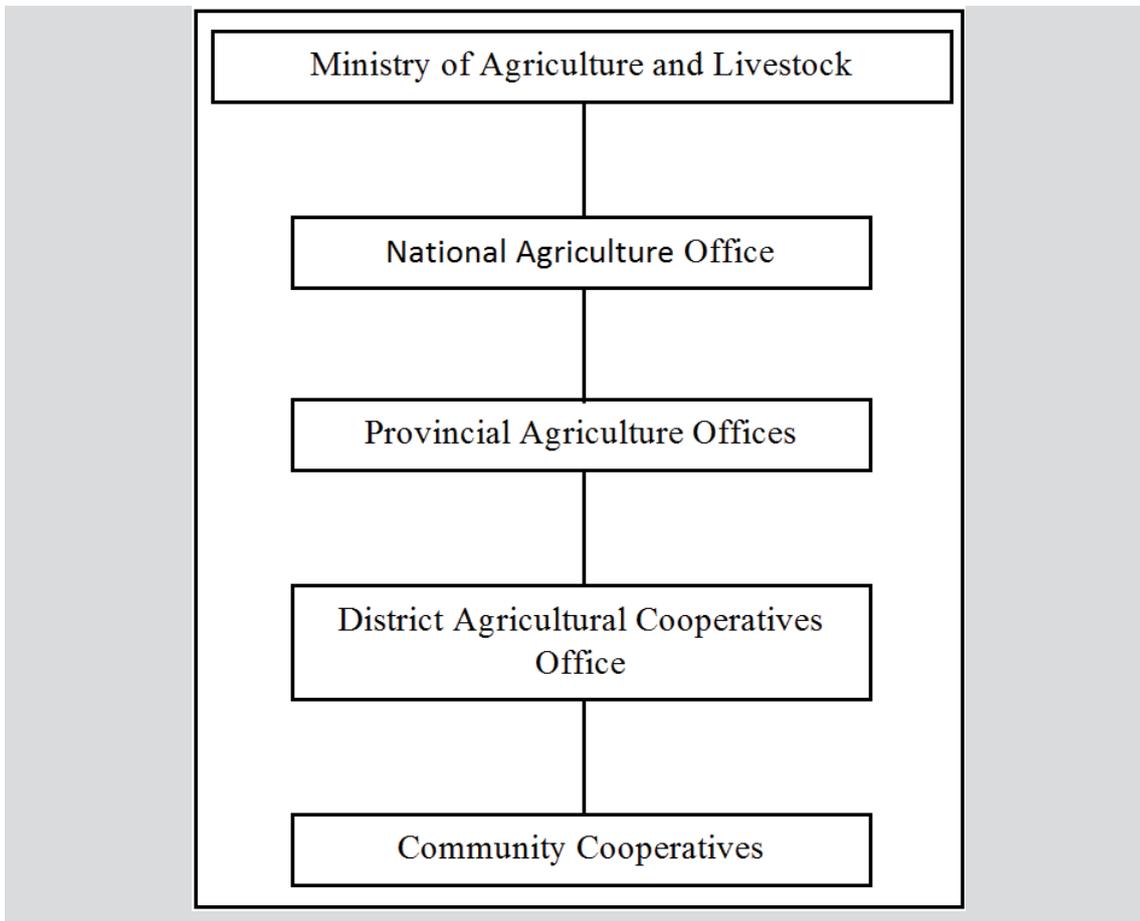


Figure 14: Formal structure linking community cooperatives to central government

Community cooperatives receive constant human and institutional strengthening from government through this formal structure and also from sector NGOs. The office of the DACI confirmed this assumption and stated that his office facilitates the registration, arbitration, training and education of community cooperatives. It is also responsible for ensuring that cooperatives are functioning properly. If for example, a certain cooperative is found lacking in particular skills, the DACI's office would arrange a training expert in that field, and would pay for the training exercise at Government expense. This is not the practice for the MCDT with the Ministry of Tourism and the

TCTS with the Ministry of Education. This seems to have profound consequences for the trusts themselves and the communities with which they interact.

Comparatively, there was evidence of some informal interaction (though with no practical assistance) between the TCTS and the Ministry of Education. The feedback from the MCDT about the Ministry of Tourism was negative and indicated an absence of any form of interaction and support from Government. Equally, crafts and curio traders expressed concerns (as shown below) that neither Government (Ministry of Tourism and Arts) nor NGOs particularly supported their cooperatives in the manner that their counterparts, the farmers, are supported:

“...we have no one to fight for us - no Government - no NGO. In the past we had meetings with some senior Government officials [Ministry of Tourism] who promised to do something about our problems...but nothing has materialised and there has not been any feedback. It is the same with NGOs...they all come to “us” when it suits them and afterwards they dump us and forget and the cycle continues. How could we even have a voice in CSR initiatives? Our products are not marketed by Zambia Tourism Board, even the tourism policy is weak...it does not protect our small businesses we are simply on our own and at the mercy of tourism companies...”
(Crafts and Curio Traders, 15th August, 19th August & 17th October, 2014).

These sentiments suggest that the Ministry of Tourism has not yet recognised any community structure or pro-poor concept by which to promote community development in the study area. The DACI's office declared that his Ministry's commitment to support community cooperatives is exceptional although he admitted that not much has been achieved yet in terms of training leaders and members of community cooperatives due to resource constraints (mainly budgetary). The DACI's office also arranges financial auditing of the books of accounts for all registered farmers' cooperatives to reinforce good governance and accountability in financial matters.

As earlier stated, community cooperatives also receive human and institutional strengthening from sector NGOs. An NGO called Livingstone Farmers' Cooperatives Society (LIFCS) complements Government efforts in supporting community farmers' cooperatives in Mukuni communities. LIFCS is a local NGO. Its role is mainly to help

cooperatives to develop sound constitutions and to ensure that they operate democratically. LIFCS also sensitises members of all registered farmers' cooperatives (executive and ordinary) on pertinent issues. The LIFCS Coordinator disclosed that his organisation works in partnership with Government through the Ministry of Agriculture and Zambia National Farmers' Union (ZNFU) (another local sector NGO) to support community cooperatives. The LIFCS Leader observed that, if appropriately administered, community cooperatives could be used to transform communities in Mukuni in many ways. He stated that Mukuni has over 100 registered community cooperatives and emphasized the need to continuously monitor how cooperatives are managed to ensure that their practices are democratic:

“...all members of community cooperatives are sensitized on the cooperative principles and helped to come up with constitutions to guide and regulate the conduct of each member. The constitutions stipulate the positions, roles, guidelines and duration of office...leaders are advised accordingly... to be listeners and not [big-talkers]...and to give voice to all members without discrimination or intimidation...” (LIFCS Leader, 17th August, 2014).

These sentiments highlight the practices upon which deeper relationship-building, broad and equity-enhancing development and shared control and community ownership approaches are entrenched in community cooperatives. Both the DACI and the LIFCS leader emphasised that attempts by some leaders to delay elections in order to stay longer in positions of power are curbed, because the ordinary members of community cooperatives have powers in their constitutions to bring their leaders to accountability. They explained that constitutions are crafted to give powers to ordinary members to call for extra-ordinary meetings to exercise their democratic right to remove old executives that are found wanting and to elect new ones. Some members of cooperatives confirmed removing their leaders from office before, when they were dissatisfied with their performance:

“...as members of a cooperative we can call for an extraordinary meeting to discuss the issues we may have at hand or what is going wrong. During the special meeting, the executive is given chance to exculpate themselves regarding the issues of concern, if as members we are not satisfied with the

explanations given, any member of the executive or the whole executive could be asked to step down from their positions, and then we could vote new leaders into the executive to carry on...” (Community members, 18th August, 2014).

These sentiments show that community cooperatives provide constitutional powers to ordinary members to demand fair participation, good governance and accountability. According to the DACI these powers are enshrined under the Cooperative Society Act No. 20 of 1998. Cooperative laws, rules and guidelines guide conduct and behaviour of all members regardless of their position. This is not the same for the MCDT where traditional power and cultural influences seem to be prevalent. In order to improve participation, governance and accountability in the administration and activities, the DACI’s office is mandated by government policy to attend all the meetings of cooperatives, usually as an observer as illustrated in the comments below:

“...I attend all cooperatives as part of my duties - like a fly on the wall. However, as a representative of government my office is expected to render expert advice and guidance in special cases when it is needed, but I only do that at the request of cooperatives – in a [big brothering] manner. For this purpose, the Ministry of Agriculture also employs block officers, also known as agricultural supervisors, and camp officers, also known as agricultural assistants...” (DACI, 18th August, 2014).

One distinct feature that emerged about community cooperatives is that the structure has attempted to put the responsibility to “develop communities” in the hands of the people themselves. This feature supports the idea of this research of giving significant control and ownership of CSR initiatives to communities. This approach allows communities to request different types of external support which is accessed and administered through the democratic and transparent systems of the cooperative structure. The approach also allows for deeper relationships to be built and encourages a hands-on experience as well as transfer of skills to occur. This makes community cooperatives best suited for promoting enterprise-based CSR initiatives in communities.

Interviews in villages reflected remarkable satisfaction among the people with community cooperatives. Most of them cited the direct benefits generated through collective marketing, external support, and equal treatment of members as their main

reasons for joining cooperatives. These sentiments were common for farmers as well as craft and curio traders.

Another distinct feature is the way in which one becomes a member of a community cooperative. Unlike the MCDT and the TCTS where membership is by traditional affiliation, membership in community cooperatives is by voluntary choice. Therefore, community cooperatives are membership organisations. Some members happily affirmed that they became paid-up members of their respective cooperatives through paying a membership entry fee. This fee provides a member with one (1) share in the cooperative business. Thus, becoming a member of any of the cooperatives is considered as buying a share (s) in the cooperative business. According to the Cooperative Societies Act No. 20 of 1998, a member is required to clear 10 shares in 3 years, if not, they would cease to be members of their cooperative. This process of acquiring shares is what imputes power or voice upon each member in community cooperatives.

From an enterprise perspective, the majority stand better opportunities to benefit from tourism through CSR in community cooperatives than the MCDT and TCTS. The sentiments of community members that have been reviewed in this section indicate that the approaches of community cooperatives encourage deeper relationship-building; broad-based and equity-enhancing, and significant control and community ownership in CSR initiatives.

6.4 Summary and Implications

This chapter has examined the approaches used by hotels and lodges to engage in CSR relationships with Mukuni communities and the community structures used for implementing CSR. The CSR approaches used by companies to engage communities in Mukuni in CSR shows lack of mechanisms for consulting or seeking the voices or expectations of communities from CSR. The chapter also shows that there is a mismatch between community expectations and the CSR initiatives that companies have focused their investments on. This finding suggests that companies have a different audience in mind other than the Mukuni communities when they are designing their CSR initiatives. The implication of leaving out the inputs of communities is that the objective to spread benefits widely in the communities and to achieve long-term “empowering” impacts is undermined. Ultimately, these findings show a lack of equity

in CSR (a power relations problem) and confirm the dominance of corporate power in CSR.

Likewise, the community structures used to implement CSR in Mukuni communities exhibit human and institutional weaknesses, which have given rise to a serious problem of power relations. In the MCDT for example, the composition of the members of the board of directors are mainly traditional leaders - there is no representation of external stakeholders on the MCDT board, not even the Ministry of Tourism (government). The implication is that traditional power and cultural influences have undermined the participation of the majority, good governance and accountability in CSR. External stakeholder representation on community trust boards was recommended in a study conducted by a local research team from Development Services and Initiatives (DSI) as a MUST if community structures such as the MCDT are to achieve their objectives for broad-based community development and creation of opportunities and benefits for the majority in communities (DSI, 2008, pp. 12-16). In contrast, this study shows that adverse effects of power relations are not reported in community structures such as the TCTS and community cooperatives which have integrated external stakeholders (including government) in their practices and processes. This suggests that multi-stakeholder initiatives could offer solutions for ensuring greater equity in the practices and process of community structures including improving the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development. The theoretical perspective described in Chapter Two which argues for the need to ensure equity, fits in with these empirical findings.

Therefore, regardless of the type of community structure, of critical concern is whether and how that structure addresses its objectives, ensures the participation of the majority and enhances governance and accountability in its administration and activities. This point underscores the need to develop approaches and mechanisms to encourage deeper relationship-building, broad-based and equity-enhancing development, and significant control and community ownership in community structures used to implement CSR. A community structure that lacks these three features in its governance style, as illustrated already, presents challenges in participation and distributing benefits to the majority and dims the prospects for optimising the impacts of CSR for community development.

The next chapter examines challenges that are caused by the lack of appropriate frameworks for connecting CSR and community development at national level and for managing relationships among different stakeholders in CSR at local level.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7 Frameworks for Promoting CSR and Managing Stakeholder Relationships

7.1 Introduction

The two previous findings' chapters focused on the two components of the theoretical framework of this research. Chapter Five explored the *changing CSR practices* of tourism companies in Livingstone, while Chapter Six focused on finding out whether *community voices* are sought out in CSR by examining community structures that companies use to undertake initiatives in Mukuni communities. This chapter now examines **frameworks for promoting CSR in tourism** in the study area. These are: the tourism policy framework (at national level) and the district development coordinating committees (DDCC) framework (at local level).

The first section reviews tourism policy issues, objectives and strategies in relation to community development. The main purpose is to establish opportunities within the tourism policy framework for linking CSR with community development and to consider how this effects or affects the flow and distribution of opportunities and benefits in communities from CSR. In doing so, the section highlights how equity is affected and brings out the views and suggestions from participants on how the tourism policy framework can be improved for it to support appropriate growth and effective community development. The second section considers the findings of the study on the need for the role of government and other stakeholders in promoting CSR. It starts by identifying stakeholders and their interests, then examines the DDCC framework and describes the appropriateness of this framework for promoting CSR at the local level. Similarly, the section brings out the views and suggestions of participants on the role(s) of government and other stakeholders in supporting appropriate growth and effective community development through CSR in the study area.

7.2 Tourism Policy Strategies on CSR and community development

The current tourism policy framework does not provide specific strategies for establishing strong links between CSR and community development. Therefore, if CSR is to be considered as an important vehicle for community development in the tourism industry, the Zambian Government, through the Ministry of Tourism needs to put in place specific strategies for connecting CSR and community development in the tourism

policy. Regarding this issue, Scheyvens and Momsen (2008) have challenged governments to play a guiding role if pro-poor tourism initiatives such as CSR should offer more than simply another way of expanding tourism with benefits for only the major players in this industry. These scholars have further argued that:

“...if tourism is to be considered a legitimate avenue for addressing social concerns and especially reducing poverty...., specific strategies will need to be put in place. If they are to be effective, these strategies require direction from the state in terms of appropriate policies, plans and a regulatory framework, and the support of [and to] private sector and community stakeholders...”(2008, p. 32).

This statement is central to the discussion in this chapter. In this study, hotel and lodge managers argued that a lot could have been achieved in terms of support for community development in Mukuni if there was an appropriate policy framework in place, supportive of CSR and community development. Government officials also agreed with these sentiments.

A specific review of the trajectory of Zambia’s tourism policies reveals some interesting findings. To start with, the tourism policy (1997) is the “first generation tourism policy” of a relatively young and immature Zambian tourism industry which formally emerged around the early 1990s. It was intended to cover the period from 2000 to 2005. This policy was strategic rather than prescriptive in perspective. Its thrust was to form the basic foundation for a more mature sector after its strategic life span of five years. However, the policy was not reviewed and has been in effect for an extended period of 15 years from 2000 – 2015. The development issues, objectives and strategies of this policy show no direct focus on increasing community participation and benefits. The review of the tourism policy document and strategic action plan reveals that only five out of fifteen objectives offer some indirect focus on community participation and benefits (GRZ, 1997, 1999). This lack of policy emphasis explains why tourism technocrats tend to push community issues in the periphery and favour national economic growth issues such as increasing government revenues, employment figures and foreign exchange earnings.

Moving on to the “second generation tourism policy” - the draft tourism policy (2015), except for a few specific phrases on community participation and benefits, this policy

framework has generally maintained the status quo established by the first tourism policy (1997) of the lack of affirmative action strategies on community development matters. Furthermore, although pro-poor phrases appear in the policy document, there is a general lack of clarity of how community participation and benefits will be increased, reflecting that community development matters are still treated as peripheral issues in the policy. Thus, although the draft tourism policy (2015) reflects positive statements about community participation and benefits, it has a major weakness of failing to adequately address the “how” questions of increasing community participation and benefits from tourism development (GRZ, 2015) .

The above shortcomings in the tourism policy framework reveal that there are more challenges than opportunities for connecting CSR with community development in Zambia’s tourism sector. The views of six out of eight senior government officials interviewed in the Department of Tourism (both at Headquarters in Lusaka and Regional level in Livingstone), confirmed that community development matters, including the roles of communities and how communities should be supported in order for them to play an effective part and consequently benefit from tourism development, are not adequately captured in the tourism policy framework. The officials acknowledged that the lack of clarity in the policy had definitely affected the growth and effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development. For example, the two excerpts taken from the policy context show that although community development matters are mentioned, the role of communities and their facilitation are not affirmatively recognised in the tourism policy (1997):

“...The Government of Zambia (GRZ) decided that the tourism industry development should be led by the private sector with the public sector providing the necessary enabling environment through policy measures and support for infrastructure improvements...”(Zambia National Tourism Policy, 1997).

“...The [tourism] sector’s potential to contribute to economic development in terms of, inter alia, foreign exchange earnings, employment and income generation, contribution to government revenues, promotion of rural development and as well as perform the role of a sustainable development catalyst...”(Zambia National Tourism Policy, 1997).

Contextually, government and the private sector have been singled out in the policy as the two most important stakeholders whose roles and for whose benefit tourism development should occur. A consistent use of ambiguous wordings and statements such as “local jobs”, “Zambians”, “rural or local development” in the policy is only confusing. Furthermore, it does not provide the guarantee that opportunities will be created for poor communities to participate in and benefit from tourism, because these phrases possess several meanings and due to their vagueness, they may not necessary refer to poor communities adjacent to tourism destinations such as the Mukuni in Livingstone. This situation provides more challenges than opportunities for policy implementation and goes to show that community issues are kept in the background and only mentioned superficially. As responses from community participants confirm, “...government involves us in their programmes only when it suits them...” (Mukuni CommunityGP - 1, 2 & 3).

The ambiguity in the tourism policy documents also reflects Government’s bias of focusing mainly at national rather than bringing local benefits from tourism. One senior Government official in Livingstone acknowledged this “policy vagueness” and observed that:

“...although some people may argue that the policy wordings provide opportunities to connect CSR to community development, the ambiguities in the wordings present more challenges than opportunities for us technocrats on the ground to effectively participate in CSR initiatives...”(SWRTC, 15th July, 2014).

This statement implies that the lack of policy clarity on CSR has constrained Government officers on the ground from being involved in CSR initiatives, and makes it difficult for them to monitor what actually happens, or to intervene in the corporate-community relationships when there are issues of concern in connection with CSR practices in the sector in Livingstone. The official explained that from his personal interest, he has seen that CSR had become an important concept for community development, and seems to offer opportunities for communities to benefit directly from tourism development in the area. However, he went on to say that the lack of a clear government policy to guide the corporate-community relationships and to motivate the

private sector has stifled the participation of more companies in CSR. Another official in Livingstone made the statement below:

“...if CSR is to be promoted, it requires policy specificity which should mandate or encourage hotels and lodges to undertake or engage in CSR initiatives that support community development. In essence, policy specificity would create a starting point for hotel and lodge companies and government officers in the field to have a rapport and work together on CSR issues...” (DACO, 18th August, 2014).

Furthermore, recognition of communities as important stakeholders and partners in tourism development is not clearly stipulated in the policy objectives and strategies. None of the 14 policy aims has explicitly reflected the roles and rights of communities to participate and benefit from tourism development (GRZ, 1997). As a result, community issues are not heard in regard to policy coordination, capacity building, product development and tourism marketing. In connection with these issues, community participants clearly registered their concerns for lack of Government support for capacity building, protection of small community businesses, and marketing and promotion of community-based tourism products. A look at the mission statement quoted below, which is the overarching objective or aim of the tourism policy (1997) reveals these serious concerns:

“To contribute sustainably to the economic well-being and enhanced quality of life for Zambians through government led, private sector driven, quality product developments which are consistent with the protection of the unique natural and cultural heritage” (Zambia National Tourism Policy, 1997).

Commenting on this vision, one senior official at the Ministry of Tourism and Arts Headquarters in Lusaka acknowledged and made the following remarks:

“...Government’s promotion of CSR among companies in the tourism sector is only to a very limited extent because CSR or any other pro-poor tourism concepts for that matter are not enshrined in the tourism policy and legislation in a forceful manner. For example, the overarching tourism policy development mission strategy on which all the policy aims and strategies are anchored leaves out communities as important stakeholders

in the sector. It should be reviewed from being, 'government led and private sector driven' to 'government led, private sector driven and community-based' ...” (CTDO, 3rd July, 2014).

Another officer commented as follows:

“...Even though the policy states that 'tourism companies should work with communities'...it does not provide for “how” this should be done. The strategy is not clear. Not even the institutional and legal framework clearly stipulates how this should be done. This is a real challenge when it comes to practicalities...” (CTSI, 9th July, 2014).

The views of most participants are that the lack of clarity in the policy has contributed, not only to side-lining community development and communities in tourism development, but also to Government's failure to provide policy facilitation and support to community structures which has, in turn, negatively affected the growth and effectiveness of the impacts of CSR in communities such as the Mukuni. Rather, it has promoted undesirable power relations.

Flowing from the lack of clarity in the overarching tourism policy aim, the importance of community development and the role of communities are greatly diminished in the policy strategies, institutional and legal framework. As reflected in the sentiments of participants, this diminished importance is reflected on the ground in form of the absence of Government's practical support to communities and companies alike in CSR issues. In turn, this has led to lack of equity in CSR and concerns in the governance and performance of community structures (see Chapter 6) on one hand, and community engagement challenges, lack of accountability among some companies and low numbers of companies participating in CSR on the other hand (see Chapter 5).

These concerns of lack of equity in CSR were reported by participants, both in Mukuni and among companies, to be on the increase in the area. Considering the prevailing weak policy environment, the majority in communities are left at the mercy of powerful community leaders and companies (see Chapter 6). Leaving communities on their own without government support and guidance is an easy way to foment a recipe for social and economic injustices to emerge where those who are more powerful and privileged thrive at the expense of the poor majority. As such, the role of Government is indispensable in CSR to mitigate the issues of lack of parity, poor governance and poor

performance of community structures and lack of accountability and a need for increased participation of companies in CSR. To expect communities to stand on their own and effectively compete in a sophisticated industry such as tourism, is expecting too much from them. As seen in the policy excerpt below, communities are not only expected to play their role in tourism development, but to also take responsibility to organise themselves:

“Local communities, as custodians of Zambia’s natural and cultural heritage of land, have a vital role and responsibility in sustainable tourism development. Accordingly, the role of the communities will be to: organise themselves to effectively participate in the tourism industry and to interact with government and the private sector in this regard; promote sustainable tourism development which enhances the local environment and culture of the area; to enter into joint agreements with lodges and hotels for the supply of locally produced agricultural and other products, including the provision of local labour; and enter into partnerships with investors in tourism facilities, so that local communities play a full part in the industry”(GRZ, 1997).

Although this policy excerpt indirectly provides opportunities for connecting CSR and community development, it actually provides more challenges. All of the above roles apportioned to communities in the policy require specialised expertise which has not been provided to them. The big question is: how are communities, without government facilitation, going to build their own capacities to effectively play active roles and benefit from tourism development? And how can poor communities understand complex technical terms and processes such as “sustainable tourism development” and be expected to play the required roles without any assistance from Government or other stakeholders? One senior official in the Department of Tourism made the following comments:

“...the weak policies, absence of government roles, and absence of its support are the main reasons why the current community structures and capacities are weak for promoting CSR...government should support the establishment of community structures and build the capacities of

community actors as it did in the past for the private sector in tourism...”
(CTDO, 3rd July, 2014).

Managers of hospitality companies expressed similar sentiments on the weakness of the tourism policy framework and stated that if Government is to encourage more private sector participation in CSR, after clarifying its policies on CSR it should also sensitise companies in the whole industry so that they become aware that they have a responsibility to contribute to the development of communities in which they operate their businesses. In addition, some managers proposed the need for Government to establish a development coordination entity for the promotion of CSR, if community benefits from CSR initiatives done by companies in the tourism industry are to be maximised and bring opportunities and benefits to the majority.

Seven of the eight managers of hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone, were in favour of keeping participation in CSR voluntary (see Section 5.3 in Chapter Five). These seven managers preferred self-regulation. The manager who did not support voluntarism in CSR argued that if not compelled, only a few companies would continue to actively support efforts to improve the living standards of neighbouring communities in the area. The manager made the following remarks:

“...government needs to put in place a deliberate policy or law to compel all hotels and lodges to engage in CSR because if it is left to be voluntary some companies who are not passionate about supporting the improvement of living standards in local communities in Zambia will never do something about it...” (CHLmger, 20th August, 2014).

Although this appears to be a lone voice, it has its own merits. The only disadvantage of this suggestion is that at present, Government institutions in Zambia, which are supposed to support CSR growth, still lack capacity to do so (Kivuitu et al., 2005; Mayondi, 2014; Negi, 2011; Rein & Stott, 2009). As explained in Chapter Three and Six, this lack of capacity (particularly weak policy frameworks) plus traditional power and cultural influences, have not encouraged broad-based community participation, governance and accountability in CSR initiatives undertaken in communities. This has ultimately adversely affected the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development in the area. Therefore, Government needs to first resolve these capacity issues before it can think of compelling all companies to undertake CSR. Because, if

these issues remain unresolved, using a prescriptive approach would not make a big difference, it will be the same as a voluntary approach. A more strategic approach of mixing options, such as voluntary plus incentive packages could work better at present until the capacities of public institutions are built (see more in Chapters Five and Eight).

Moreover, managers stated that Government has not yet implemented specific strategies to stimulate the promotion of the CSR agenda across the tourism industry. Managers emphasised the need for a forum at which CSR issues and challenges faced by companies in the industry can be discussed with different stakeholders, and where strategies for assisting communities can be mapped out in a collective approach. Participants felt that if established, a forum could create space for sharing and exchanging ideas on what is required to fully exploit the prospects of CSR for community development in the area. Their opinion is that Government should spearhead the formation of such a forum.

The next section discusses findings on the need for the role of government and other stakeholders in the promotion of CSR and community development in the study area and how the district development coordination framework (DDCCs) can be utilised to improve stakeholder interactions.

7.3 Role of Government and Other Stakeholders in Promoting CSR

7.3.1 Increasing Private Sector Participation

The absence of the role of the Ministry of Tourism was cited by managers of hospitality companies in Livingstone as the main reason there are fewer companies taking part in CSR in Mukuni communities. The managers explained that they have interacted more with other Government Ministries, such as Home Affairs, Agriculture, Health and Education, in CSR and not so much with the Ministry of Tourism. Companies particularly commended the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Health who have often moved in after companies have sponsored and constructed building infrastructure for schools and clinics to supply staff and other requirements, and to ensure the sustainability of the operations of these initiatives. One manager made the following statement:

“...government’s role in CSR is very important for purposes of sustainability, especially when infrastructure has been sponsored and built for a school or clinic. Government needs to be involved, otherwise the

infrastructure on its own is not enough to make a lasting impact on the community....you need teachers, learning materials for a school and.... doctors, nurses, equipment and medicines etc. for clinics...”(PHLmger, 15th July, 2014).

This statement highlights why managers in Livingstone view the role of Government to be critical. Furthermore, practical experiences according to the managers show that social investment projects in which Government has not been involved from the start, or which have not been linked to the Government system, have failed along the way, which means intended outcomes of such initiatives on the community have also not been fully achieved. The example of a successful project in which Government has been involved is the Nakatindi Community School, which was rehabilitated by one of the top resorts in Livingstone (see Section 5.2.1 in Chapter Five). Here the hotel rehabilitated existing school infrastructure in this community and built two more classroom blocks to expand the school. At the time of this study, the company was in the process of building an art centre as part of the school infrastructure improvement. Government through the Ministry of Education not only recognised these CSR efforts of the company, it also upgraded the status of the school and incorporated the school in the Ministry’s official structure:

“...the school in Nakatindi community which our company supported has now been recognised by the Ministry of Education and has been upgraded from a mere community school to a primary and secondary school...its teachers have moved from being volunteers to teachers on government payroll, all because of the support Sun International hotel has given to the community...” (SILmger, 20th October, 2014).

This statement shows that the involvement of the Ministry of Education in this initiative is important and has been beneficial to the recipient community. The upgrading and linking of this community school into the central government system will doubtlessly lead to additional short-term and long-term benefits and impacts on the community. From the responses of the manager, this government gesture has been a great motivation to the company to do more to assist the community. Other companies that have done similar projects in Mukuni communities in which the Ministry of Education has been involved, expressed similar sentiments. Managers confirmed that the role of the

Ministry of Education has been instrumental in providing guidance and a chance for ensuring a lasting impact of initiatives done in communities in the area.

Research evidence revealed that there are other Government Ministries that are working closely with companies in CSR initiatives. The Ministry of Home affairs, for example, has also worked closely with a group of hospitality companies that sponsored the construction of a police station meant to ensure security for tourists, tourism property and the general public in the area. The comments below from the Livingstone Tourism Association (LTA) chairman illustrate this partnership clearly:

“...government role is very important...the [project] I will talk about for example, is that police station constructed with help from tourism companies, because I went with the Police Commissioner as well as Officer Commanding to inspect the works at the site... and they showed appreciation and they said please when you are handing it over let us come as government, so that we can we can acknowledge the effort you are making to ensure this area is secure...moreover, when the construction was completed and the police station was handed over, the ministry came in and provided the staff ... then companies were motivated by this gesture...they bought a new vehicle for the police to carryout patrols in the area...” (LTA Leader, 26th September, 2014).

This statement shows the importance of involving Government in CSR and of its official acknowledgement of the effort of companies. As stated above, companies are motivated to do more when Government is involved. There is also the sharing of input costs as seen in the two examples where Government has provided staff and other requirements in order for CSR investments made by companies to have meaningful and long-term impacts on communities. During interviews, managers of the eight hospitality companies in Livingstone confirmed that official Government acknowledgement (or recognition) of the CSR efforts of companies has proved to be a powerful motivating factor for them to do more. This implies that if properly applied Government recognition of the efforts of companies can be used as a tool to increase the numbers of companies willing to participate in CSR.

In connection with this subject, managers further suggested a strategy of incentives where companies can earn points each time they invested in CSR in communities. Then,

if a company earns sufficient points, that company could earn itself an outright free enterprise operating licence for that particular year. This suggestion sounds practically feasible and, in this way, Government can strategically achieve a more direct impact in communities with less effort. While still dwelling on this issue of motivating companies, managers confirmed that there are no tax incentives applied by Government presently to deliberately promote CSR as a vehicle for community development as reflected in the sentiments of the LTA leader below:

“...at the moment government is not playing its role to facilitate the growth of CSR...there are no incentives to promote increased participation of companies in CSR ... and has also not helped to strengthen communities ...going forward, government needs to improve its policy practice...”
(LTA Leader 26th September, 2014).

A senior official in the Ministry of Tourism agreed with the sentiments above and confirmed that there are no incentives attached to CSR. She explained that this was so because, from a policy perspective, Government considers that companies engage in CSR on a voluntary basis. However, she expressed her views which are in support of the use of incentives to promote CSR as shown in the following statement:

“...CSR is a concept which can be encouraged at government level for both small and larger players in the tourism sector. What is important is to come up with good policy measures and incentive strategies targeting both the small and the large....but before government can fully promote CSR, it should first look at its regulations and tax policy as a priority...” (CTSI, 9th July, 2014).

She also added the following remarks:

“...the option that has not been deliberately explored by government is the one where government deliberately provides tax and non-tax incentives as instruments for encouraging companies to do more in terms of CSR. This should definitely come in the future where government will say if a company does A, B & C in terms of CSR, they would qualify to enjoy such and such categories of incentives and tax breaks...” (CTSI, 9th July, 2014).

However, while all participants (from Government and companies) supported the use of strategic incentives to promote CSR, one senior Government official was cautious about the idea as reflected in his remarks below:

“...my view on making CSR tax-deductible as a way for Government to promote CSR in the tourism sector is different. I would not support this idea, first, on the grounds that the Ministry of Finance would lose a lot of revenue....second, companies in tourism lack transparency, there is a risk a company will claim to have spent huge sums of money on community projects which cannot be substantiated on the ground and like what is happening in the mining sector, there is a lot of cheating and loopholes for corruption...instead of using CSR to make a contribution to build communities, companies are using CSR to run away from tax responsibilities. This can happen in the tourism sector as well...” (DoT, 10th July, 2014).

Nevertheless, the need to apply strategic incentives to promote CSR in the area was particularly supported by all the managers of the eight hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone as reported in Chapter Five (see their suggestions below). According to the opinions of managers, if Government became more innovative and applied appropriate incentive strategies, it could drastically increase the numbers of companies that would participate in CSR and would be better than enacting mandatory laws. These sentiments show that these companies in Livingstone support the involvement of Government in CSR issues through incentive strategies. Managers added that more numbers of companies participating would consequently result into a positive and greater effect in terms of improving the lives of poor people in Mukuni. In connection with the need for incentives, one of the managers made the following remarks:

“...our company feels it is not fully appreciated in its efforts to contribute to community development in Mukuni through CSR. A letter of thanks when the hotel has contributed so much is not enough. Government should provide better incentives to companies that are involved in CSR initiatives in communities. For example, government can organise an annual recognition award event accompanied with tax rebates for a specified period or exemption from paying tourism enterprise operating licence fees.

This does not only make the hotel feel nice and appreciated, it goes beyond to encourage the company to do more because at the end of it all, hotels are in business...” (PHLmger, 15th July, 2014).

This suggestion is important and feasible. If CSR is adopted, this can be an important idea to include in the strategic interventions that the Ministry of Tourism can pilot in its efforts to promote CSR and community development. While discussing the same issue of incentives, the manager described another plausible strategic proposal:

“...it would be most appreciated and fantastic if Government turned around and said, in order to promote both tourism and uplifting of our poor communities, Government is giving all our tourism enterprises a X% tax rebate on any CSR projects in the tourism sector...It would be a fantastic innovation to showcase to the world about how Zambia is using tourism and CSR to build communities that are socioeconomically progressive. The tax rebate does not have to be given for forever, but say for 2-3years. Government can propose a trial project and see if the idea is working or if it needs some adjustment to be done to it to make it a long-term development innovation. This would be a fantastic way of recognising companies that are doing something in communities and would definitely encourage those companies that are not involved...” (PHLmger, 15th July, 2014).

The PHLmger agreed with sentiments of other managers who suggested the need for the Ministry of Tourism to arrange frequent open forums and meetings with the private companies in tourism to explain and discuss CSR issues. She added that meetings could be used to explore the developments that are already taking place in the communities, the help Government/the Ministry expects from companies and the incentives Government plans to put in place to encourage more numbers of companies to participate in CSR. According to managers, the need to create basic awareness about the link between the hospitality business and the communities is still lacking among most tourism companies in the area. Managers emphasised that the role of creating awareness among companies in the industry can best be performed by the Ministry of Tourism.

To summarise the views of the managers of the eight hotels and lodges that took part in the study on the role of the Ministry of Tourism in CSR issues from a policy perspective, here are the tax incentive strategies that they suggested Government may consider:

- One way is by providing avenues for public-private sector partnerships in CSR to develop between the Ministry and companies. For example, Government could request hospitality companies to buy beds for a newly constructed hospital or clinic, or desks and chairs for a newly constructed school in a particular community by government. As gesture of acknowledgement or appreciation or recognition, Government may give the company (s) involved a tax rebate (e.g. 5%) when importing some of the items needed in the operations of the hotel or lodge that year. This can encourage many companies to get involved in CSR.
- Secondly, Government can decide to provide tax breaks/rebates for hospitality companies involved CSR initiatives in communities to import specific items needed to improve their business operations free of tax, like government did when it co-hosted the UNWTO General Assembly with Zimbabwe in 2013²⁷.
- Thirdly, government can decide to exempt companies from paying statutory fees and permits as gesture to recognise their marked contribution to community development through substantiated CSR initiatives and community development impacts.

7.3.2 Community-based Participation, Governance and Accountability

As pointed out in earlier sections, the role of Government in CSR is important particularly for ensuring greater equity in CSR. It is also important for capacity building of communities in relevant skills and for achieving community-based participation, governance and accountability in structures used to implement CSR initiatives. The best example in this research was the official role that the Ministry of Agriculture plays as a stakeholder in supporting community cooperatives. One of the important impacts of the role of the Ministry of Agriculture is that it has assisted in strengthening democratic

²⁷ In 2013, when Government (through the Ministry of Tourism) co-hosted the UNWTO General Assembly with Zimbabwe in Livingstone and Victoria Falls Town respectively, it provided tax breaks/rebates for hospitality companies in Livingstone to import specific things they needed to be used for equipping and maintenance of hotel infrastructure to improve standards before the event. Managers suggested that such a strategy can also be applied to promote CSR for community development.

systems and practices in community cooperatives (see Chapter Six) which, in turn, has improved participation for the majority in tourism-agriculture-related CSR initiatives and has encouraged good governance and accountability in these community structures.

In this regard, community cooperatives can be cited as good examples of community structures in the study area with strong community-based governance and accountability systems and practices. Apart from Government, other stakeholders such as NGOs have also contributed considerably to this comparably good status of governance and accountability that was reported in community cooperatives. For example, two local NGOs: Livingstone Farmers' Cooperatives Society (LIFCS) and Zambia National Farmers' Union (ZNFU) have complemented the role of the Ministry of Agriculture in ensuring that community cooperatives are properly managed and are achieving their development objectives in communities. The statement below by the LIFCS Leader reflects these facts:

“...the cooperatives model is established on sound democratic principles of good governance, accountability, shared roles and power (equal voices)...It is therefore, important from the onset to ensure that all the members of a cooperative are sensitized on these principles and helped to come up with a constitution to guide and regulate the conduct of each member. The constitution should stipulate the positions, roles, guidelines and duration of office...this is the area in which LIFCS plays a role in Mukuni. It ensures that cooperatives develop constitutions and are run democratically. LIFCS sensitises all members and works with other organisations that support the cooperative model including Government through the Ministry of Agriculture...” (LIFCS Leader, 18th August, 2014).

This statement underscores the need for the role of “the other” in CSR. LIFCS plays a specialised role, that of encouraging broad-based participation, good governance and accountability in community cooperatives. In addition, LIFCS helps to maintain the integrity of community cooperatives in Mukuni by ensuring that all members adhere to the provisions of respective constitutions. This intervention by LIFCS has contributed to the effectiveness of CSR initiatives implemented through community cooperatives and by no means can this contribution be effectively performed by a hotel or lodge company. In comparison, findings show that this support is lacking in the MCDT

structure (see Section 6.3 in Chapter Six). The LIFCS leader also explained that his organisation sensitises leaders of community cooperatives to allow constructive criticism in meetings as a way to give a “voice” to each member without discrimination or intimidation. He said leaders are also reminded to hold elections when they are due, and to leave office when their term comes to an end and not to hold onto positions and power. Overall, LIFCS’s role aims to ensure that cooperatives succeed and serve their purposes for which the communities established them. This account rationalizes how the role of other stakeholders can be important in the promotion of CSR in communities like Mukuni. Likewise, the statement below by the ZNFU Leader reflects the specific contribution of this NGO towards building the skills capacities of communities and linking them to hotels and lodges as markets for their produce:

“...ZNFU supports its community cooperative members with market-oriented training for the crops which have ready market e.g. tomatoes, cabbages, green, red and yellow peppers, eggplants, melons, cucumbers etc. Since we know that these crops have market, we train our members to produce these crops...we engage experts to train our members in connection with these crops which have demand in supermarkets, hotels and lodges in Livingstone and then we link them to these markets. We play another role through offering two types of loan schemes to our members...the crop seed scheme which is also called LIMA Credit Scheme and the equipment loan scheme which is also called Bunjimi Asset Plus...”
(ZNFU Leader, 20th August, 2014).

It is clear that the combined efforts of government and NGOs have ensured that CSR initiatives undertaken through community cooperatives are for the benefit of, as broad as possible, all members of Mukuni communities. This confirms that the roles of Government and NGOs are important in ensuring equity in CSR because implicitly, they have helped to expel undesirable power relations (corporate power, traditional power and cultural influences) from CSR initiatives that are implemented through community cooperatives. To this effect, the Livingstone district agriculture cooperatives inspector explained that traditional leaders are given no special role in community cooperatives:

“...the chief or his indunas (tribal councillors or headmen) have no direct role in the community cooperative structure. They only play a traditional leadership role as the leaders of the communities to maintain peace and harmony as custodians of the land. Other than that, they do not have any special role. Normally, the chief sends his representative (s) to attend community cooperative meetings...” (DACI, 18th August, 2014).

The implication of this statement is that there are some advantages in building “strong systems” as is the case with community cooperatives instead of relying on one “powerful individual or leader” as is the case with the MCDT. It shows that by building strong systems and allowing the involvement of external stakeholders (Government and NGOs) the negative influences of power such as dominating, discriminating and intimidating those who are less powerful, by those who are more powerful, can be “clipped” or managed. Therefore, as shown by the findings, although some traditional leaders are members of community cooperatives, issues of power relations do not arise (see remarks below):

“...in fact, some of the ordinary members of community cooperatives are headmen and senior headmen from the traditional leadership structure...these are considerably powerful leaders in Mukuni...but so far there have been no incidences of power relations or conflict between community cooperative structures and the structures of the traditional authority...for example, the chief, senior headmen and headmen easily facilitate land for development as long as that development will provide benefits for Mukuni people...” (DACI, 18th August, 2014).

The Ministry of Agriculture has also actively contributed to building the skills capacities of communities in Mukuni (see section 6.3.3 in Chapter Six). This intervention to build capacities of communities positively contributes to emancipating communities by empowering them to demand their share of benefits, or to demand accountability from those charged with the responsibility to develop them. This is part of the measures to ensure parity in CSR. The district agriculture cooperatives inspector in the Ministry of Agriculture based in Livingstone explained that the agricultural cooperatives officers, working together with the agricultural marketing officers, are mandated by the Government’s agricultural policy to support communities to develop.

These officers further explained that they do not necessarily initiate or lead actions but they instead support community-initiated development ideas. In this way, communities remain in control and in ownership of development initiatives. The cooperatives inspector stated that the main role of the two offices in Livingstone, being a tourist area, has been to support and facilitate the establishment of strong linkages between hospitality companies and community cooperatives through CSR involving local procurements of vegetables and fruit. This role has also involved training community farmers to improve their skills capacities to meet the (product and market) standards/requirements of the hospitality industry in the area.

As expressed in the statement below, officers in the agricultural offices in Livingstone that operate in Mukuni communities do understand and appreciate why the hospitality industry demands high standards. Therefore, they play their roles to assist and empower communities to meet the required standards:

“...hotels and lodges in Livingstone demand very high standards for the produce which at the moment most members of community cooperatives are not able to fully meet. The quality of the produce that hotels demand is in relation to the freshness, the handling, and the extent to which artificial fertilizers and pesticides have been used in the production of vegetables and fruit. Some hotels like Sun International demand for organically produced vegetables and fruits for their guests. They argue that these standards are demand-driven by their guests who pay a lot of money to come to Livingstone for their holidays...Therefore, our role is to assist community farmers in Mukuni to take advantage of these opportunities in tourism to benefit...” (DACI, 18th August, 2014).

Furthermore, the agricultural cooperatives officers described their role as that of deconditioning community farmers from their stereotypic practices and technologies to novelty through training and sensitisation activities as reflected in the statement below:

“...providing knowledge and skills to community cooperative farmers through sensitisation and training is work in progress... it is not an easy one-off task as it also requires the change of mind-set of the farmers themselves....from my experience, community cooperative farmers seem to be conditioned to the old and easy way of producing their vegetable crops -

that of applying artificial fertilizers and pesticides to their crops...probably they think that their crop grows well and looks better for the market if they apply artificial fertilizers and pesticides than using organic methods of production. But this is in conflict with the requirements of hotels and lodges...so our role is to provide information and to equip them with new skills...” (DACI, 18th August, 2014).

Similarly, the Ministry of Education has played some role in supporting CSR initiatives that are implemented in Mukuni in the education sector by hotel and lodge companies. This was confirmed by both managers and community participants. The Tujatane Community Trust School (TCTS) is a good example for the Ministry of Education (see Chapter Six). Reports showed that although there are no NGOs involved in the TCTS, the inclusion of external stakeholders has compensated for this and has assisted in encouraging broad-based community participation, governance and accountability in the TCTS (see section 6.3.2 In Chapter Six). Reports also show that the Ministry of Education is involved, although to a limited extent. However, this involvement has accounted for great parity in the TCTS. Again, the contrast is with the MCDT. The MCDT has no Government involvement, and no involvement or representation of external stakeholders to ameliorate the power relations situation in CSR (see section 6.3.1 in Chapter Six). In this particular case, participation, governance and accountability were reported to be greatly compromised in the MCDT which, in turn, has undermined the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development. Managers of hotel and lodge companies expressed concerns with the MCDT as reflected in the remarks of some below:

“...the key to ensuring a wider participation and distribution of benefits in the community from CSR is to put in place transparent systems and processes in the [MCDT]... The [MCDT] is not yet meeting these credentials...It should be reorganised appropriately...” (JBLmger, 17th July, 2014).

“...transparency is critical for the success of CSR projects in Mukuni...the structures of the [MCDT] are not that transparent...faith-based community groups run by boards are far better, they have no such issues as: ‘you cannot disrespect elders’ or ‘this is taboo’...In these groups only the rules

are used to govern the behaviour of everyone: the money from the vegetables goes to the bank and the rules are followed...and the board makes the decisions how that money is to be spent. In an open community in Mukuni [MCDT], this can be a huge challenge...” (PHLmger, 15th July, 2014).

“...power is still a great constraint in the Zambian society and ‘power’ is a real problem in Mukuni. Those who are powerful do not use their power to serve the majority but to serve their own interests...to colonise...and to even punish those who try to oppose or criticise or have different views from theirs...it is a colonial syndrome inherited from Britain...” (TLmger2, 17th October, 2014).

Community participants also agreed with these sentiments and supported the need for the Ministry of Tourism and other stakeholders to get involved in the MCDT in order to improve its operations as the case is with the TCTS and community cooperatives (see Chapter Six). As noted earlier, these findings confirm that the role of Government and other stakeholders is important, not only for purposes of community skills capacity building, but also for ensuring greater parity in CSR by improving participation, governance and accountability in community structures. The next section discusses the local framework for development coordination, CSR stakeholders and their interests in CSR in Mukuni from the “eyes” of community participants. It highlights the importance of the role of Government and other stakeholders in the promotion of CSR in the study area based on research findings.

7.3.3 Local Development Coordination and CSR Stakeholder Interactions

In terms of local development coordination, the Livingstone local authority, like all other local authorities in the country, coordinates development in the district through the District Development Coordinating Committees (DDCC). The DDCC framework is a deliberate policy attempt by Government to promote collaboration among different development actors (including the private sector) at district level – essentially, DDCC are intended to be a framework for Government to interact with other stakeholders on matters of development at district level. All heads of Government, private sector and NGO institutions are encouraged, but not mandated by law, to attend DDCC meetings, which are chaired by the district commissioner. The district commissioner is a

Government bureaucrat charged by the national Government to oversee development at the district level. For purposes of this doctoral research, the DDCC framework was examined in relation to its ability to ensure greater equity in CSR between different stakeholders that collaborate or interact via this framework.

A particular finding was that CSR issues are not among the active issues deliberated on in DDCC meetings in Livingstone. This was pointed out by all of the six senior Government officials interviewed in Livingstone from the Ministries of Tourism; Agriculture; and Community Development. As earlier alluded to, the lack of policy specificity on CSR has presented difficulties to Government officials in Livingstone to introduce any discussion on CSR in DDCC meetings. The remarks of one senior Government official were: “there is no policy mandate” (DACO, 18th August, 2014). Another official echoed similar sentiments as he stated that “...due to the lack of a clear Government policy position on CSR, my office is constrained from making efforts to officially find out what is exactly happening in connection with CSR in the tourism sector, in Livingstone” (SWRTC, 15th July, 2014). In his opinion, a clear policy is needed to guide officers in the field about the role they should play in CSR. He further argued that if strengthened, the DDCC framework can be an important framework for promoting CSR locally in Livingstone, because already Government ministries and agencies, hotel and lodge companies and even Mukuni communities (through the MRE and the MCDT) are represented in DDCC meetings.

The other weakness pointed out by senior Government officials was that the DDCC framework lacks authority as a local development coordination framework, because it is not backed by legislation. As such, some hotel and lodge managers generally do not attend DDCC meetings claiming that the meetings are a “talk shop” and lack a sense of urgency and focus on real issues. In his remarks, a senior official in the Ministry of Agriculture acknowledged the reported weaknesses of DDCC meetings:

“...LTA does not attend DDCC meetings...Unfortunately, DDCC ...do not have a legal framework to mandate every person, company, institution or organisation operating in the district to attend the meetings and be part of the proceedings...it appears LTA now takes these meetings to be only for government and the NGOs. But with an appropriate legal framework

DDCC could be used for coordinating development issues including CSR...” (DACO, 18th August, 2014).

Notwithstanding these concerns, the DDCC framework attracts an array of important stakeholders whose different expertise and roles can potentially be vital for the promotion of CSR and community development in the area. To identify these stakeholders, their potential roles (interests) in CSR in Mukuni, a Network Mapping (Net Map) analysis technique was applied with Mukuni community participants involved in crafts and curio trading (see Section 4.6.2 in Chapter Four). The empirical data generated from the Net Map sessions was complemented with the review of information on ministries, departments and agencies on the official Government website²⁸. Arising from the analysis of information collected, five broad groups of stakeholders emerged as follows: National Government, Local Government, Private Sector, Donors/NGOs and Communities. The detailed results of this analysis are presented in the next sub-sections.

a) National Government

The National Government mainly comprises relevant government ministries, departments and agencies. Primarily, their interests are policy related. When the Government structures practically cascade down to a local level, the policy interests and decisions of national Government stakeholders, or the lack of it, can have a positive or negative influence on the promotion and growth of the CSR agenda for community development. Table 20 outlines National Government stakeholders and their specific interests as described by the Mukuni community participants.

Table 20: National Government Stakeholders and their tourism CSR-related interests

National Government	Code	Roles/Interests
Ministry of Tourism and Arts	MTA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourism policy formulation, coordination and implementation • Tourism planning, research and development • Tourism standards, licensing and inspection
Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational Training and Early Education	MESVTEE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To formulate, analyse and review educational policies within the framework of national development policies • To facilitate the building rehabilitation and maintenance of educational infrastructure
Ministry of Health	MoH	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To formulate the policy on health and implement cost-effective, quality and gender sensitive primary health care services to all as defined in the Basic Health Care Package

²⁸ <http://www.zambia.gov.zm/index.php/ministries-all-government-ministries> accessed on Tuesday, 15th July, 2014

Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock	MAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To formulate policy on agriculture, facilitate and support the development of a sustainable, diversified and competitive agricultural sector that assures food and nutrition security, contributes to job creation and maximises the sector's contribution to GDP
Ministry of Community Development Mother and Child Health	MCDHCH	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Formulation, coordination and implementation of policies and programmes on community development, mother and child health
Ministry of Mines, Energy and Water Development	MMEWD	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Formulating policy on energy and water resources and promote sustainable development and management of energy and water resources to ensure availability of quality, affordable safe water and energy to enhance national socio-economic development
Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Industry	MCTI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Formulation, coordination and implementation of policies and programmes on investment, trade, and business development
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	MFA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To contribute to sustainable national development, through the administration of Zambia's Foreign Policy
Ministry of Home Affairs	MHA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To formulate appropriate policies, monitor and coordinate their implementation and provide the required operational logistics to specialized agencies for the effective and efficient maintenance of internal security
Ministry of Labour and Social Services	MLSS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Formulation, coordination and implementation of policies on labour issues such as working conditions, training, minimum wage etc.
Ministry of Lands, Natural Resources and Environmental Protection	MLNREP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Land policy formulation, coordination and implementation Application processing and approval of land ownership and use Zoning of land banks for tourism development purposes
Ministry of Transport, Works, Supply and Communications	MTWSC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Formulation, coordination and implementation of policies on construction and maintenance of physical infrastructure and transport related issues
Ministry of Local Government and Housing	MLGH	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To promote a decentralized and democratic local government system and facilitate the provision of efficient and effective delivery of quality housing, infrastructure and social services by local authorities and other stakeholders for sustainable development.
Zambia National Tourism Board	ZNTB	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To market and promote Zambia as a tourism destination of choice To undertake public relations, branding and market research
National Museums	NM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To protect and preserve Zambia's movable heritage resources in order to contribute to national revenue generation through tourism-based museum exhibition
Zambia Wildlife Authority	ZAWA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To commercially develop wildlife national parks and game management areas through sustainable private and public sector tourism-based investment strategies To facilitate local community participation in management and share of benefits from wildlife
National Heritage Conservation Commission	NHCC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To protect and preserve Zambia's immovable heritage resources in order to contribute to national revenue generation through tourism-based investments in heritage sites
Hotel and Tourism Training Institute	HTTI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To develop programmes and undertake tourism education and training to deliver skilled manpower for the tourism industry
Zambia Police Service	ZPS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To provide and ensure security of both tourists and the general public
Department of Immigration	DI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To implement government policies on immigration (entry visa issues) for all purposes including tourism

Zambia Revenue Authority	ZRA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To optimize and sustain revenue collection through integrated, efficient, cost effective and transparent systems, professionally managed to meet the expectations of all stakeholders
Export Board of Zambia	EBZ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To provide market information and support services to businesses
Small Enterprises Development Board	SEDB	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To provide non-financial support for small businesses
Patent and Company Registration Agency	PACRA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To operate a legal system for registration and protection of commercial and industrial property and to serve as a legal depository of the information tendered for registration
Zambia Development Agency	ZDA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To foster economic growth and development in Zambia through promoting trade and investment and an efficient, effective and coordinated private sector led economic development strategy.
Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation	ZESCO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To generate, transmit, distribute and supply electricity in Zambia

During group interviews, community participants indicated that they face difficulties to navigate government bureaucracy to make their interests known because most Government Ministries have not affirmatively linked their structures with community structures at the local level. This makes them feel completely excluded and disconnected from the development process in communities. They were particularly concerned about the lack of avenues to influence or add their voices in matters of tourism development:

“...our biggest problem is that we are not consulted by Government on tourism policy issues e.g. marketing and increasing fees for tourist visas...like now visas are too high and the result is that fewer tourists are coming into Zambia and to our markets to buy crafts...Government should create proper avenues as it has done for the private sector, to allow us also to have a say in policy decisions that affect us...” (Community GP-3, 17th October, 2014).

These sentiments show that Government seems to support companies more than it supports communities. In this statement, communities claim to be primary actors in tourism development and consequently should actively be involved in the CSR network too. In addition, the sentiments above indicate that community participants are able to articulate how some Government decisions have increased the cost of doing business in the tourism industry and how this has affected them in turn in terms of sharing benefits from tourism development. This confirms that significant benefits can genuinely flow into poor communities like Mukuni if Government facilitates a stronger role for communities to take part in planning for tourism development and by actively seeking

out their voices on tourism planning matters and responding to their concerns through appropriate processes (Scheyvens, 2002).

b) Local Government

The primary role of Local Government in Zambia is to attract, support and coordinate development at district level (Table 21). This involves spatial planning, infrastructure development, supporting the informal sector, regulating and licensing of small businesses, creating local jobs, regulating land and property rights with a view to facilitate a more localised development (Ebony Consulting, 2002).

Table 21: Local Government Stakeholders and their CSR-related interests

Local Government	Code	Roles/Interests
Livingstone City Council	LCC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plans and determines development priorities in the district • Establishes and enforces zoning and by-laws in the district • Controls legal development activities • Responsible for local taxes and rental collection • Implements waste management programmes
Office of the Livingstone District Commissioner	LDC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Oversees central government line agencies and departments at the local level • Chairs the District Development Coordinating Committees (DDCC) • Reports on local development activities
District Development Coordinating Committees	DDCCs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coordinates all development activities at the district level • All Heads of Government, Private sector and NGO institutions are encouraged to participate

The link with CSR is that, if appropriately played, the role of local governments can potentially accelerate the growth of CSR for community development. Conversely, if the role is not appropriately played (unilaterally), for example, over-taxing companies through local rates, rents and permit charges, can put extra tax burdens on companies. This can push CSR issues to the periphery of the interests of companies.

c) Private Sector Stakeholders

As tourism is the main economic activity in Livingstone, there are many tourism and tourism-related companies operating in the area. The relevant private sector stakeholders in the promotion of CSR have been presented in Table 22 below. Notably, there is a connection between the capacities of private sector organisations and the promotion and growth of the CSR agenda for community development. This is critical because strong and responsive private sector associations possess some influence over their members which, if properly harnessed, can pay-off for community development. The Tourism Council of Zambia (TCZ) is the umbrella policy lobbyist group for all tourism companies in the country. It comprises affiliate associations in tourism as its

members. Thus, its influence depends on membership. The Hotel and Catering Association of Zambia (HCAZ) is an affiliate member of TCZ. However, the Livingstone Tourism Association (LTA) is the main tourism private sector structure for dialogue and collective decision making concerning key issues of tourism development, including CSR in Livingstone.

Table 22: Private Sector Stakeholders and their CSR-related interests

Private Sector	Code	Roles/Interests
Tourism Council of Zambia	TCZ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Private Sector lobby group for national-level tourism policy, planning and marketing of Zambia's tourism products
Hotel and Catering Association of Zambia	HCAZ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Representation and coordinating membership organisation for hotels and lodges in Zambia
BIDVEST Zambia Ltd	BZL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A food wholesaling and distributing company – Acts as a broker between farmers and hotel and lodge companies
Livingstone Tourism Association: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hotel Companies Lodge Companies Tour Operating Companies Tourism Activity Companies 	LTA: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> HC LC TOC TAC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tourism subsector specific membership organisation that represents tourism businesses in Livingstone Business interests of members
Airline and Airport Corporation	AAC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Airline and air travel services that support tourism growth
Financial Institutions	FI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Providing loans for micro, small, medium and large business enterprises

All the organisations listed in Table 22 above have some potential influence that can be harnessed for the growth of CSR among their members, which are the companies. However, findings revealed that even LTA, which deals directly with tourism companies, did not have accreditation mechanisms or an official collective position on how to promote CSR in the area. The LTA chairman made the following remarks:

“...informally, LTA has encouraged its members to support communities through CSR....what the association has not yet done is to collectively agree on a framework for promoting CSR in communities... for example, in future LTA could come up with a mechanism for its members to contribute to a CSR Fund for community projects and for awards...” (LTA Leader, 29th September, 2014).

d) Donors/NGOs

Donor and NGO interests are often complementary and, in most instances, focus on short-term project interventions. However, two out of the four NGOs identified in the field had long-term programmes directed at community farmers in the area. These two

are both local NGOs. The third is an international NGO that works with the only donor organisation identified in the area on a fixed-term programme-basis that provides support and technical assistance to community farmers. The fourth is also an international NGO which works in partnership with hotels to undertake a wide range of social investment projects in Mukuni communities. The fourth NGO could not be reached for an interview due to logistical reasons. Table 23 shows the donor/NGO stakeholders in the area.

Table 23: Donor/NGO Stakeholders and their CSR-related interests

Donor/NGO	Code	Roles/Interests
United States Embassy/USAID (donor) in collaboration with the following institutions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agribusiness in Sustainable Natural African Plant Products • PURDUE University • RUTGERS University • Stellenbosch University • University of Michigan • International Development Enterprise • Horticulture Innovation Lab 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ASNAPP • PU • RU • SU • UM • IDE • HortCRSP 	USAID and research institutions support: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a collaborative research project on the sustainable development of horticultural crops for food security, income generation and in support of the tourism industry in Livingstone • sustainable African indigenous vegetable production and market-chain development for improved health and nutrition and income generation by smallholder farmers in Livingstone
Zambia National Farmers' Union (NGO)	ZNFU	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supports both small and large scale farmers in Livingstone
Livingstone Farmers' Cooperative Society (NGO)	LIFCS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To foster the business and marketing interests of farmers in communities
Agribusiness Agents (includes BIDVEST and individual "middle men")	AgA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opportunistic "middle men" seeking high business returns out of selling commodities produced by community farmers to hotel and lodge companies and supermarkets in Livingstone
Faith Based Organisations (NGO)	FBO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supporting social welfare needs of their communities
Butterfly Tree (NGO)	BT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supporting a wide range of social investment projects in Mukuni communities

All the three NGOs that took part in this study were none-core tourism NGO stakeholders working in the agricultural sector (as there was no core-tourism NGO stakeholder). However, the three NGOs supported programmes that had a direct positive influence on CSR and community development in the area. The programmes focused on community skill training and market linkages with hotel and lodge companies and supported farmers in growing quality horticultural crops to supply to hotels and lodges (see Chapter Five). One of the three NGOs also provided credit schemes to community

farmers. These donor/NGO programmes showed popular community involvement and reasonable success. The donors/NGOs mostly used the cooperative model for their programmes. The three NGO leaders spoke highly of the cooperative model as a tool for organising communities in the area and for ensuring broader community involvement and democratic tenets (see Chapter Six). The donor/NGOs' main objective is to improve farmer production and to link farmers to hotel and lodge companies as markets for their produce. This is what makes their activities directly related to CSR in the tourism industry in Livingstone. Although the interventions of these donor/NGOs are directing more benefits at the poor in communities, issues of parity are not fully addressed (see discussion in Chapter Eight).

e) Community

Participants identified four main divisions of community stakeholders namely: Chief Mukuni (representing the MRE), the MCDT, the community producer groups (community farmers and crafts and curio traders), individual entrepreneurs and ordinary members. Community producer groups and individual entrepreneurs are the majority community stakeholders. The interests of community stakeholders can be summed up as those of “the need” to improve their lives through CSR-driven benefits. Table 24 presents these divisions of community stakeholders.

Table 24: Community Stakeholders and their CSR-related interests

Mukuni communities	Code	Roles/Interests
His Royal Highness Senior Chief Mukuni	CM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leader and voice of the Mukuni people • Overall representative of Mukuni communities
Mukuni Community Development Trust	MCDT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community representative and development vehicle for Mukuni communities
Community Producer Groups	CPGs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community development benefits/outcomes from tourism
Community Individual Entrepreneurs and Ordinary Members	CIEMs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community development benefits/outcomes from tourism

This information generated from Mukuni community participants and the Government website reviews was consolidated and used to construct the stakeholder Net Map for the study area (Figure 15). The purpose of the analysis of stakeholders and their interests was to demonstrate how the national and local Government support to CSR in the area “sits” in relation with the “whole” and to determine how issues of equity are influenced. The single-headed arrows or links in Figure 15 show the flow of CSR interaction (s) between stakeholders. The double-headed arrow or link indicates an established

exchange of interactions. All the interactions illustrated in Figure 15 were identified and described by the groups as important interactions for effective implementation of CSR initiatives in Mukuni communities irrespective of whether they were or were not fully utilised for CSR at the time.

During plenary discussions, community participants disclosed that they generally felt excluded from this Government-led “Web” of interactions of stakeholders in the area. This is why there is no arrow connecting DDCC and the inner black box. Furthermore, although the MCDT was part of the web of interactions, participants explained that there are no grassroots mechanisms and commitment to, in turn interact, and ensure equity with the majority in the communities. Therefore, participants did not indicate a CSR link between the MCDT and the “majority community (CPGs and CIEMs)” (Figure 15).

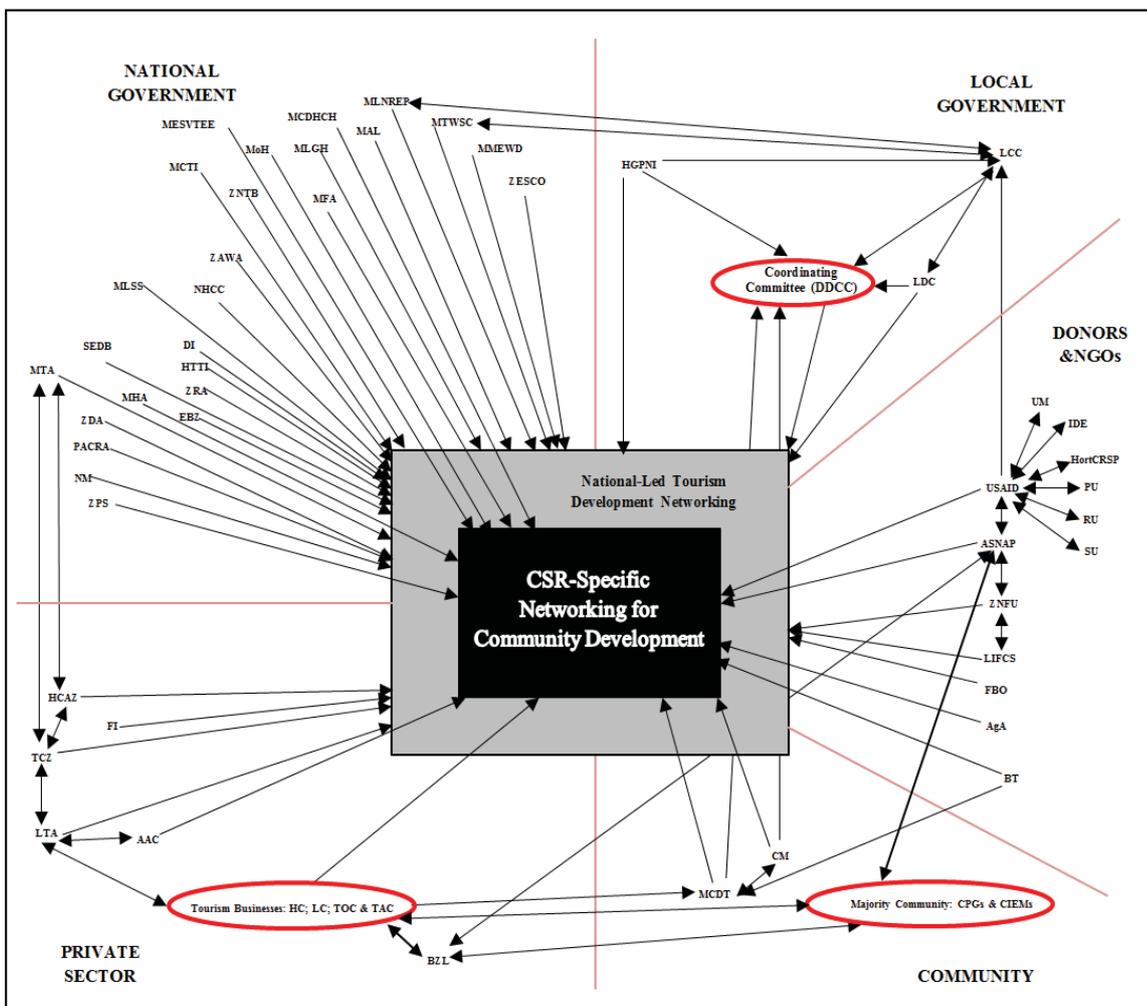


Figure 15: Network Map Analysis of stakeholder interactions (relationships)

Figure 15 also shows that out of a total of 26 Government Ministries, Departments and Agencies that community participants identified, only six had CSR-specific interactions aimed at community development (inner black box). According to participants, even these six did not directly interact with communities on CSR issues, but with companies only. This finding shows that community stakeholders are considered as spectators in CSR or beneficiaries of CSR, not partners. As consistently stated, excluding communities from direct involvement in CSR will not stimulate community ownership, skill transfer, deeper relationships, significant and long-term benefits for them (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996; Liu, 1994; Rein & Stott, 2009; Scheyvens, 1999, 2002, 2011). For example, participants disclosed that the Ministry of Health interacts directly with companies on health-related CSR projects in communities. Similarly, the Ministry of Education and Home Affairs interact with companies on respective CSR projects, but communities are only spectators. The expectation of participants is that the national and Local Government stakeholders should officially interact with all stakeholders, including communities in the inner black box. This is the purpose communities would like the DDCC framework to serve when CSR issues are included in DDCC meetings. In the case of companies, although participants showed a link between tourism companies and communities, they, however, clarified that only a few hotels and lodges made deliberate efforts to closely interact with communities. Thus, companies need to improve in this respect.

Figure 15 also shows that no link was drawn between Local Government and communities. This indicates that there are no interactions between these two stakeholders. From a CSR perspective, this is a serious gap because Local Government was identified as an important stakeholder in promoting CSR in the area. Findings show that the only CSR-relevant interactions that local government stakeholders engage in are those with tourism companies, which were also described by companies as insincere, spontaneous and mostly antagonistic. In contrast, the Net Map shows that donors/NGOs and communities share well-established interactions which were illustrated by double-headed arrows. Participants affirmed that donor/NGO support towards CSR in the area is magnanimous. Overall, Net Map analysis and other research materials generated through interviews, reveal that communities and CSR issues are excluded from most stakeholder interactions that can optimise community benefits from CSR initiatives.

In addition to Network Mapping, four groups of the same community participants with ten members each were requested to attribute levels of influence or power to stakeholders that participants considered can significantly affect CSR positively or negatively (see Chapter Four). The purpose was to identify and understand how different stakeholders affected, or can affect or effect the implementation and distribution of benefits from CSR in Mukuni communities. As explained in Chapter Four, bottle-tops were used by participants to build towers of influence for each stakeholder, after which, the reasons for why some stakeholders had more bottle-tops (more power) than others, were written down, reported and discussed in plenary. Table 25 and Figure 16 illustrate the results of this process. From the two illustrations, Group 1 shows that the chief, and hotel and lodge companies are the most influential; Group 2 shows the chief only; in contrast Group 3 shows the Ministry of Tourism and Group 4 shows tour operators as having the most power influence.

Table 25: Stakeholder levels of influence

Stakeholders	Stakeholder levels of Influence				Net Power Influence
	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4	
Hotels & Lodges	9	4	4	2	19
Tour Operators	1	2	2	5	10
Chief Mukuni & MCDT	9	6	4	1	20
Ministry of Tourism	6	5	9	4	24
Tourism Board	8	4	6	3	21
L/tone Tourism Association	3	2	4	2	11
Donors & NGOs	1	1	1	1	4
Local Government	3	3	4	2	12
Ministry of Home Affairs	3	1	3	3	10
Financial Institutions	1	1	1	1	4
Ministry of Commerce & Trade	4	5	1	2	12

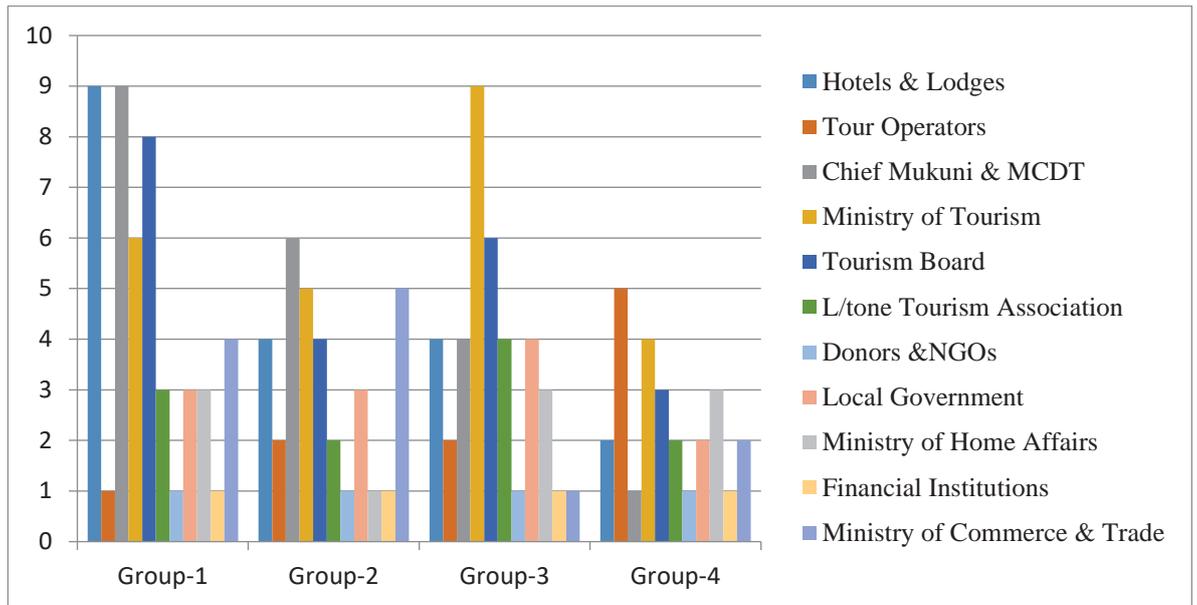


Figure 16: Participants’ mapping of levels of influence for an array of CSR stakeholders

On the other hand, Figure 17 shows the net power influence of each stakeholder. This presentation provides an easy way to compare perceived power influence of each stakeholder across the four groups. Based on this analysis of community member perspectives (Figure 17), the Ministry of Tourism has the most influence, followed by the Tourism Board (which is the Ministry’s agency) and following up with considerable power influence is the chief and the MCDT, and hotel and lodge companies in that order, and so on. As already stated, this gives an indication of how each of these stakeholders affects, or can affect the implementation of CSR initiatives and distribution of opportunities and benefits from CSR in the area. This information is important as a decision-support tool, especially to Government for optimising the impacts of CSR on community development in Mukuni communities.

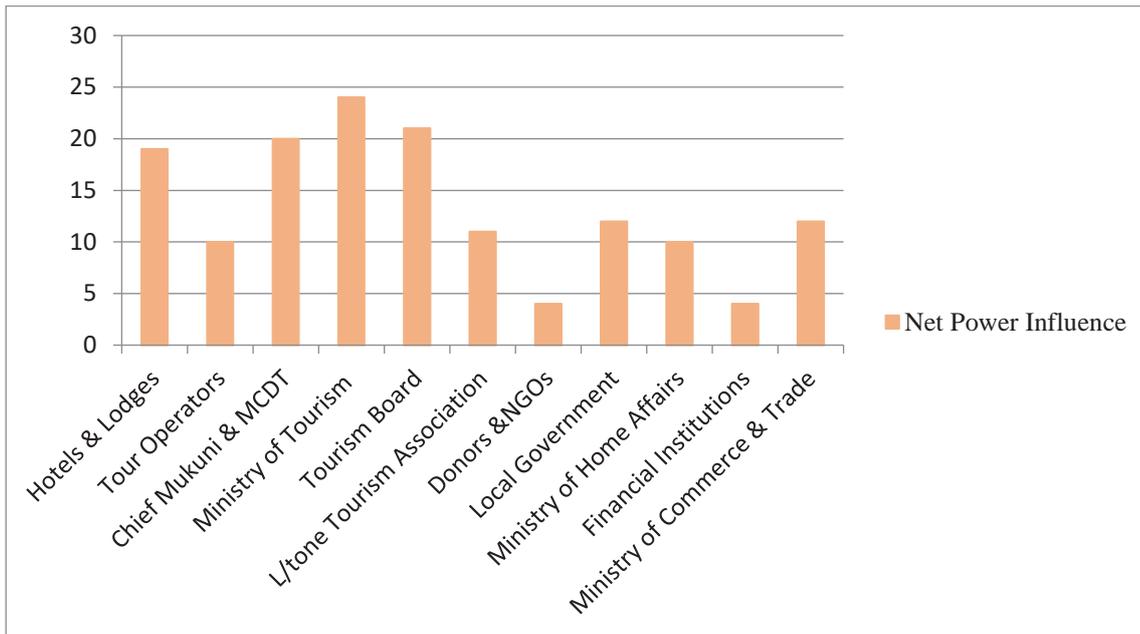


Figure 17: Participants' mapping of Net power influence for selected stakeholders

7.4 Summary and Implications

This chapter has examined the tourism policy framework and the DDCC framework in relation to the promotion of CSR and community development in Mukuni. In connection with the two frameworks, the chapter has also examined the importance of the role of Government and other stakeholders in CSR and in facilitating the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development in the study area. The review of the policy documents and views of participants, in this regard, reveal several weaknesses in both the tourism policy framework and the local level development coordination framework (the DDCC).

Firstly, the findings show that the tourism policy framework lacks clarity on issues pertaining to the promotion of CSR and community development. The implication of this finding is that tourism officers in the field do not consider CSR issues to be part of their official mandate. Secondly, connected to the promotion of CSR and community development, community structures are not formally integrated into the planning and implementation structures of the Ministry of Tourism. Community participants feel this failure to integrate community structures by the Ministry presents practical challenges for communities in Mukuni to leverage their interests/needs in planning for tourism development and limits opportunities for negotiations and dialogue on their views on CSR issues. These disparities are an indication of undesirable power relations and stereotypes that tend to relegate communities to a position of spectating. In terms of

local interactions on CSR and community development issues, although Mukuni communities are represented on the DDCC framework, CSR is not even discussed in the meetings. Moreover, the DDCC framework lacks a legal mandate to compel hotel and lodge companies to attend DDCC meetings. However, both community participants and Government officials based in Livingstone, considered the DDCC framework to offer the best possibilities for the effective promotion of CSR at local level in the study area, provided it is appropriately improved.

All participants (hotel and lodge managers, community participants, Government officials and NGO leaders) acknowledged that the problem of power relations (the lack of equity) was real in Mukuni, and they all agreed that the role of Government and other stakeholders can assist to neutralise the adverse effects of power in CSR in the study area. Their common conviction is that if the transformative effect of CSR is to engender a wide impact on the majority in Mukuni communities, it is important to ensure the practices and processes in community structures are democratic and function in a transparent way. The idea of adapting CSR practices to ensure greater equity fits into this scenario and is helpful in the understanding of the meaning and implications of the findings reported in this chapter. Notably, all the participants attributed much of the blame for the limited spread of CSR and the poor delivery of opportunities and benefits in Mukuni from tourism development to the weaknesses in the tourism policy framework and the DDCC framework. This is clearly reflected in the results of the network mapping analysis (see section 7.3.3). Being the most powerful stakeholder, the Ministry of Tourism and its agencies should take the lead in minimising and managing the problem of power relations in CSR by putting in place measures that can assist in ensuring greater equity in CSR. However, this does not exempt companies from taking a responsible approach in their CSR practices.

A synthesis of the findings reported in this chapter shows that there are ramifications for not clarifying the tourism policy position on CSR, and for not strengthening the local development coordination framework (the DDCC), to allow Government and other stakeholders to play their supportive roles for the growth of CSR in the tourism sector. These ramifications include the following:

- Lack of transparency (governance and accountability) may get entrenched in CSR practices of hospitality companies in the long-term, especially with regard to funds donated by guests (guest donations) to companies for CSR in communities;
- The effects of corporate power, traditional power and cultural influence could continue to undermine the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development resulting in the most powerful people continuing to dominate decision making and benefits from CSR at the expense of the weak and poor majority in Mukuni communities;
- The problem of power relations, coupled with weak human and institutional capacities in community structures may continue to limit the access of the majority to more opportunities and benefits from CSR initiatives implemented by hotels and lodges in Mukuni communities;
- Fewer companies will continue to take part in CSR because of lack of incentives and support from Government and other stakeholders;
- CSR practices may not improve over time to the detriment of achieving greater opportunities and benefits from tourism development through CSR for the majority in Mukuni communities.

CHAPTER EIGHT

8 Prospects for Equity in CSR Practices

8.1 Introduction

The discussion chapter presents the key findings of the research. It draws upon the study of eight hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone, Zambia and their CSR contributions to community development in Mukuni communities. The second section of the chapter discusses how participants in the study area have locally conceptualised and applied CSR. The purpose is to understand how their local perspectives have shaped their worldview of the concept and in turn influenced CSR practices in the area. The third section discusses the changing practices of hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone and the implications this change may have in terms of increasing prospects for community development in Mukuni through CSR. It highlights specific innovations in the CSR practices of hotel and lodge companies that have resulted into the spreading of benefits to more people in Mukuni communities from CSR. Thus, answers the second specific research question on page 12 of this thesis.

The fourth section considers issues that have emerged in relation to community structures and implementation of CSR in the area. By drawing a comparison among community structures, the chapter highlights the important lessons that, if adopted, could improve equity in community structures with regard to participation, governance and accountability in CSR, thereby answering the third specific research question on page 12. As part of the discussion, the section particularly highlights the effects of negative power relations in the CSR approaches used by companies and in the community structures used to implement CSR in the communities. The fifth section discusses issues that have emerged in relation to the role that an appropriate national tourism policy framework and a local development coordination framework could play in facilitating an effective link between CSR and community development, and for managing the relationships between different stakeholders in CSR. This section answers the fourth specific research question on page 12. The chapter concludes with section six which explains how the theoretical framework was applied to understand the findings and how it can be applied in practice to assist in conceptualising issues related to the topic of this study. All in all, these sections explain ways in which equity can be achieved in CSR generally, and particularly in the study area.

8.2 Who and What Shapes Corporate Social Responsibility in the Study Area

I analysed company websites and reports, as well as interviews with managers to determine what companies meant by CSR. I focused the analysis on understanding the CSR philosophies of hotel and lodge companies. In the case of Government officials and community participants, I analysed their perceptions and experiences based on responses from interviews. Broadly, the analysis shows that corporate power is the dominant factor that is shaping CSR practices in the study area. This dominance was reflected in the types of CSR initiatives, approaches and outcomes. Thus, most initiatives that reflected corporate dominance also reflected more business interests than community interests. As argued by Besser (2002) cited in Muthuri et al. (2012, p. 364), “the balance of power between communities and businesses is often one-sided in favour of business and the communities become potential victims of corporate community initiatives that treat them as objects of development as opposed to agents of their own development”. This situation is not desirable, if significant benefits are to be directed towards poor communities. Therefore, the significance of this finding is its indication of the need to ameliorate negative power relations in CSR to bring about equity.

Specifically, findings on the definition and meaning of CSR in the study area show somewhat mixed local perspectives. Two of the top hotels in Livingstone that took part in this study stood out from the rest. These two large hotel companies view CSR as an investment because they expect some returns. Thus, they commonly use the term corporate social investment (CSI) instead of CSR (see Sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 in Chapter Five). Findings reported in Chapter Five show that this view has influenced and shaped the CSR practices of these two companies. These two companies claimed that their CSR initiatives, approaches and outcomes are mostly those which generate both business and community benefits. However, according to Government and community participants, there are actually more business benefits accruing to these two large hotel companies from their CSR initiatives than to the communities. These participants were of the view that companies are using CSR to achieve a good corporate image and as a selling point for business competitiveness and for lowering input costs.

In contrast with these two large hotel companies, most small, locally-owned lodge companies view CSR as “giving or ploughing back” into communities in which they operate. Likewise, this belief has influenced and shaped the initiatives of these small

lodge companies such as CCL and JBL. Although comparatively small, the CSR done under this philosophy is mostly altruistic. Thus, if the numbers of these small lodge companies carrying out CSR based on this philosophy are to be increased, the initiatives could potentially offer more benefits to communities. The only reason why the two large hotel companies still offer higher opportunities and benefits to communities is mainly because of the size of their CSR than the type of initiatives. Reflecting on these findings, tells us that it is not just about having bigger investments. It is also about having a corporate philosophy that is genuinely responsive to the plight of communities.

In the middle ground, there is another company, which is an exception: Tongabezi. Although this company is one of the top ranked luxury lodge companies in Livingstone, its understanding and interpretation of CSR is the same as that for small, locally-owned lodge companies: “giving or ploughing back” to communities. This company’s investments in CSR are larger than the small, locally-owned lodge companies and their CSR generate higher benefits for communities. This finding can mainly be attributed to the brand philosophy portrayed in their definition of CSR (see Section 5.2.3 in Chapter Five). A critical comparison of findings reveals that the community impacts generated by the initiatives of this company might be far more than even those of the two other top companies described earlier, in terms of size of investments, sustainability and community reach. Overall, these findings show that the beliefs or philosophies of companies, as reflected in the different definitions and meanings of CSR used in their publicity materials and by managers, have an influence in shaping and driving the company’s involvement in CSR. Moreover, corporate briefs can be used to determine levels of power dominance in CSR. As reflected in the types of CSR practices, there is still considerable corporate dominance in CSR in the study area.

On the other hand, Government and community participants had a common perspective on CSR, similar to the one held by most small, locally-owned lodge companies described above: “giving or ploughing back” to communities. This perspective and interpretation of CSR has influenced Government and community worldviews of the concept. However, what has weakened their philosophy is that these participants expect all companies in the tourism industry to be involved in sustainable and equitable CSR voluntarily. Disappointingly, sustainable and equitable CSR has not yet been adopted by all companies across the industry in Livingstone. Even the few top hotels in Livingstone that are currently involved in CSR on a voluntary basis, are mainly interested in CSR

that offer more benefits to the business. Under such circumstances, communities tend to rely on the goodwill of company managers. Therefore, careful policy planning, implementation, and monitoring are needed in order to guarantee sustainable, equitable involvement and benefits for community stakeholders. As argued by Scheyvens and Russell (2012, p. 432), “the potential of tourism to work in a more pro-poor manner in Fiji in future is underpinned by the government’s overall approach to development”. This is applicable to the promotion of CSR in the tourism industry in Zambia.

The next three sections discuss the CSR practices of the hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone and try to connect field research findings, theoretical debates and broader perspectives on CSR, tourism, and community development (as discussed in Chapter Two).

8.3 Nurturing Changing Practices of Hotel and Lodge Companies in Livingstone

Changing CSR practices by some hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone, to include elements of community development in their core business practices, is important and should be nurtured. Although, at present, the CSR practices of the researched hotel and lodge companies are predominantly philanthropic, tokenistic and largely corporate-centric, the willingness to change practices being exhibited by some companies is an indication that the process of innovation is in progress. Examples of this include attempts to enact better community engagement approaches to train and support community farmers involved in vegetable and fruit gardening, and attempts to orientate procurement policies to purchase some of the vegetables and fruit produced locally. As previous studies have indicated, the support of other stakeholders is needed to sustain the change of behaviour of hotel and lodge companies (Ashley & Haysom, 2006). Applying the insights from scholars such as Hooft (2006), Idemudia (2007) and Utting (2007) to findings by this study shows that the role of government and other stakeholders can help to stimulate favourable conditions for nurturing this process of change and this could lead to more equitable CSR approaches. The innovations taking place in Livingstone are towards engendering more long-term and broad-based community development impacts, as discussed below.

A good example of this process of innovation is illustrated in Figure 18. The innovation depicts a chain of relationships involving two hotels (SIL and PHL) and two expert partners (ASNAPP and BIDVEST). ASNAPP is an NGO which is an expert in

agriculture and BIDVEST is an expert in food wholesaling and handling (see Section 5.2.1 in Chapter Five).

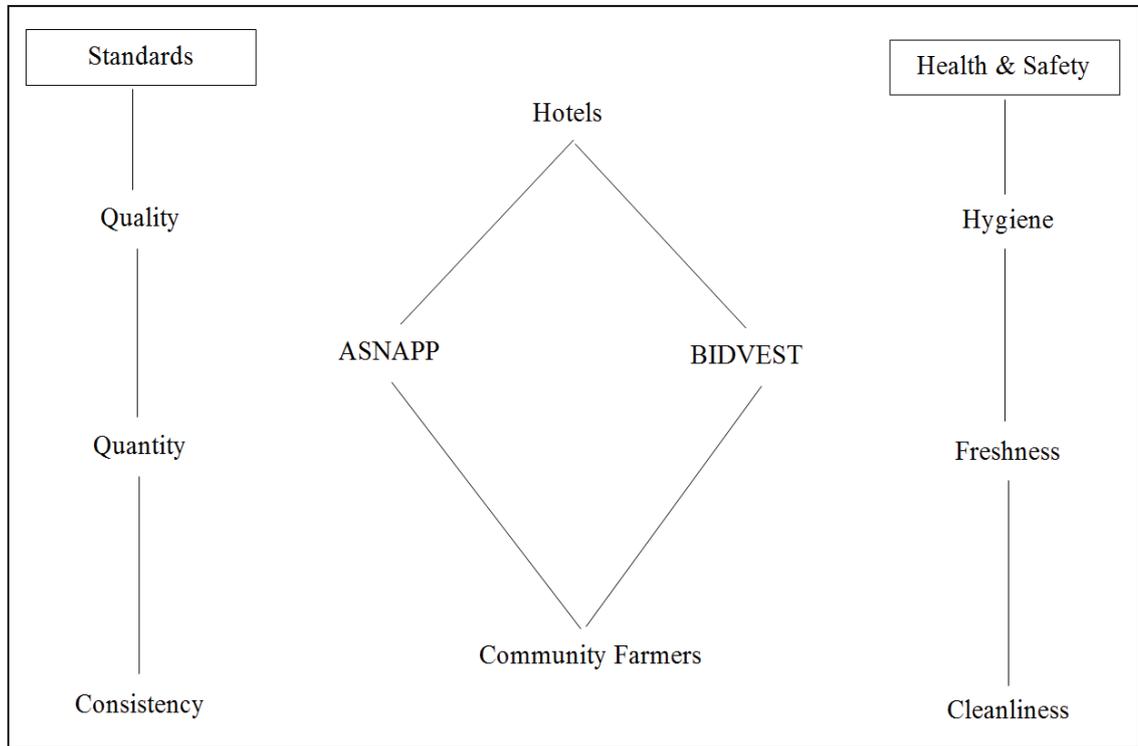


Figure 18: Chain of CSR relationships in local procurement of vegetables and fruit

Previously, the two hotels had serious concerns with the quality, quantity and consistency of local vegetable and fruit supplies by community farmers. According to the managers of the two companies, these concerns are what prompted them to partner with ASNAPP and BIDVEST. Findings have revealed that this chain of relationships has helped the two hotels to overcome some capacity constraints among some groups of vegetable and fruit gardening farmers in Mukuni. These two hotels have gone beyond paternalistic practices to establish ways of enhancing the knowledge and skills of community farmers. As Idemudia (2007, p. 400) makes clear “emphasis in CSR initiatives needs to shift from just infrastructural provision to issues of capacity building and poverty reduction, which are the main concerns of communities”.

Some community farmers talked to in Mukuni, proudly confirmed that they are now able to meet the standards (quality, quantity and consistency), as well as the health, safety and cleanliness of vegetables and fruit demanded by these companies, and are even able to supply the surplus to some local supermarkets in Livingstone. This innovation has invariably expanded opportunities for local people in Mukuni communities to sell their produce to hotels and lodges locally and to benefit from this

chain of CSR relationships. The overarching import of this innovation, as argued by Manteaw (2008, p. 441), is that “when local people’s natural capabilities are enhanced through skill and knowledge-based approaches, they acquire the ability to become efficient in managing their lives and to live well in their places”.

From a policy planning and development perspective, this chain of CSR relationships reflects important linkages that potentially exist between tourism, agriculture and commerce which, the Ministry of Tourism could use to optimise support for community development in the area through CSR. Therefore, in promoting CSR in the tourism industry, there is much to be done by decision makers and practitioners in government who should explore and utilise all tourism sector and inter-sector linkages from which communities can potentially benefit. This is because essentially, tourism is everything and nothing of itself alone. However, the findings in Fiji by Scheyvens and Russell (2012, p. 430) also translate to Livingstone in that, “while there is much to be done at the government level to expand and sustain tourism-agriculture linkages, there is equally significant scope for resorts to further develop procurement policies which prioritise purchasing of local goods and services”.

From a policy implementation perspective, there are additional benefits that the chain of relationships in Figure 18 provides for the people of Mukuni. For example, the chain indirectly facilitates the transfer of specialist skills (in production and business) from ASNAPP and BIDVEST to farmers and then connects them to the hotels and lodges to sell their produce (see Sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 in Chapter Five). Given Government’s constraints in providing consistent agricultural extension services to the area, this arrangement is not only offering possibilities for meaningful community empowerment and capacity building to Mukuni farmers, but it is also compensating for Government’s limited capacity to fully meet its obligations to its people in this area.

Regarding future prospects, the chain in Figure 18 presents two possible points for expansion. The first point is the market or demand, which refers to future growth in numbers of hotel and lodge companies, and even local supermarkets wanting to purchase locally grown vegetables and fruit. The second point is community farmers or production, which refers to anticipated growth in numbers of farmers wanting to join the local chain of CSR relationships as producers or suppliers. Already, evidence shows that there is a growing interest among farmers in Mukuni to join this chain (see Section

5.2 in Chapter Five). The stimulant for this interest is twofold: first, it is because ASNAPP is providing training to community farmers, which is equipping them with appropriate skills to produce quality vegetables and fruit to meet the daily demands of the companies, and second, ASNAPP, in collaboration with BIDVEST, is also linking farmers to markets. The ASNAPP leader stated that the aim of his project is to boost local production and to tackle challenges of low quality, quantities and consistency which have for a long time hindered hotels and lodges from purchasing vegetables and fruit locally from Mukuni (see Section 5.2 in Chapter Five). Although these issues are not yet completely removed, especially issues of quantity and consistency, there is a strong likelihood that as the chain continues to expand, these issues will also diminish.

However, lack of equity, due to dominant corporate power, appears to limit opportunities for communities to benefit more and fairly from this local chain of CSR relationships. This proves that crucial components of equality related to empowerment and redistribution are still marginal in this corporate-community relationship (Utting, 2007). Equitable corporate-community engagement approaches, that treat communities as stakeholders in CSR, are required if the transformative and emancipatory effects of corporate innovations are to espouse greater benefits and sustainable community development (Manteaw, 2008; Muthuri et al., 2012; Van Alstine & Afionis, 2013). Even though ASNAPP made claims to negotiate fair prices with the companies on behalf of community farmers for their produce, the huge differences and tilt in the scales of power relations between the communities and the “others” (companies, ASNAPP and BIDVEST), does not fully guarantee that communities get a fair deal.

Currently, farmers do not have opportunities to negotiate fair prices and benefits for their produce directly. Perhaps it would be better for farmer representatives to join the ASNAPP and BIDVEST team in negotiating prices with hotels, lodges and local supermarkets. The inclusion of external representatives from Government and appropriate NGOs to this team could also be considered an option if negative power relations are to be ameliorated and equity ensured. This is important if the interests of poor farmers are to be safeguarded, and if more benefits are to be directed towards communities. Besides, ASNAPP is a project with a limited duration. Therefore, even if ASNAPP is really helping farmers to negotiate fair prices and benefits for their produce sold to companies in the area, the NGO will not be able to do so in the long-term. This

is an important reason why the role of government and other more permanent stakeholders in CSR is necessary.

Another concern is to do with the need to sustain and grow local procurement. As stated earlier, there is already an increase in the number of farmers that are being attracted to join the chain of CSR relationships. The ASNAPP leader summed up this concern as follows:

“...potential farmers in the communities are many, but the ASNAPP project is not able to expand its coverage for training and support to all the farmers because of its limited resources and timeframe. However, if all the potential community farmers in Mukuni were trained, they would be able to supply all the hotels, lodges and supermarkets in Livingstone all year round and benefits could be increased for many people in Mukuni...”(ASNAPP Leader, 29th August, 2014).

It is clear from this statement that: first, the capacity of ASNAPP to conduct training outreach across all communities in Mukuni is limited; and second, ASNAPP is a project with a limited life-span. Because of this, more stakeholders are needed to sustain growth of the local procurement innovation and to take over the role of ASNAPP later when the project closes. It is imperative, as McEwan et al. (2017) and (Okoye, 2012) have argued that CSR initiatives are aligned and integrated with local and national development planning policies and processes if they are to contribute to community development in a sustainable manner. . Therefore, the role of Government and other more permanent stakeholders is paramount. If the chain of CSR relationships ends up not being sustained, it will certainly undermine the progress that has already started and could ultimately stifle the benefits for community farmers.

Moving on, decision-makers and practitioners in government need to understand that there are factors that will motivate companies to do certain types of CSR and there are also those initiatives in which government and the interventions of other stakeholders is required in order to stimulate expected change in corporate behaviour. This research shows that the CSR in which hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone have clearly demonstrated change of CSR practices are mainly those in which there is some significant business gain for the company.

Reflecting on the sentiments of participants in Mukuni communities on the types of CSR support they expect from hotels and lodges in Livingstone, social and economic investment projects and programmes were among the first three important categories (see Section 6.2 in Chapter Six). This is because communities feel these types of CSR provide more opportunities and hope for a stable and prosperous future for their communities. This finding supports arguments which advocate for the implementation of more social and economic investment-types of CSR projects and programmes coupled with effective community engagement, if long-term benefits for communities are to be greatly realised (Eweje, 2006; Muthuri et al., 2012; Newell, 2005; Van Alstine & Afionis, 2013).

Unfortunately, social and economic investments are not yet widely preferred by hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone compared with the enterprise types. The reasons could be because these initiatives demand special expertise, close interaction with communities and a long time of commitment. Above all, they generate more benefits for communities than businesses. Therefore, although these types of CSR are important for community development, they will not automatically be an easy option for companies. This is why this study has suggested that for a real change in the CSR practices of hotel and lodge companies, especially the social investment-types of CSR to materialise; there is need for incentives and encouragement through the roles of Government and other stakeholders.

Thus, CSR initiatives that offer significant benefits mainly to communities such as long-term investments in education, health, water supply, irrigation systems, roads and housing are not normally favoured by companies. The only exception in this case is provided in the paragraph to follow below. The study notes from these findings that CSR that seek to address social and economic issues in communities through projects and programmes need the interventions of Government and other stakeholders. As stated earlier, such initiatives require direct and continuous company–community engagement/consultation approaches which tend to raise the input costs (time and money), but also tend to magnify the power relations problem. Concerns have been raised in academic literature about the lack of corporate expertise and time for these types of CSR (Blowfield, 2008; Blowfield & Dolan, 2010; Brainard, 2006), and the lack of mechanisms for equitable community participation, governance and accountability in CSR among companies (Lund-Thomsen, 2005; Muthuri, 2007; Newell, 2005; Newell &

Frynas, 2007). Therefore, this study argues that the interventions of other stakeholders could help to make up for limited expertise and lack of time by companies, and assist to manage power relations, and thereby encourage such initiatives by hotel and lodge companies.

A good example of the process of innovation found in the study area involves an education-CSR initiative called: The Tujatane community trust school (TCTS). In this example, management at Tongabezi Luxury Lodge (TLL) have supported a nearby community to fundraise for the construction (investments) and the day to day management of a community school since 1996, mainly through guest donations at the lodge. Fundraising for CSR through guest donations is one of the unique advantages of companies operating in the tourism industry. As reported in Chapter Five, out of the four upmarket hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone that took part in this study, three confirmed that they have mechanisms in place to fundraise for the costs of their CSR through guest donations. According to this study, fundraising through guest donations has helped to reduce input costs for companies in their CSR and has motivated these companies to do more to contribute to community development in the area. However, the real value of this finding on guest donations to the promotion of CSR in tourism needs further investigation.

Continuing with the issue of the CSR practices of the TCTS initiative, the TCTS is the only tourism-based CSR social investment initiative in the study area that demonstrated direct, continuous and transparent CSR engagement through strong relationships between a company and a community. Moreover, Tujatane community participants that are connected to this initiative explained that power relations were not a serious hindrance to majority participation in the processes of the initiative and to their access to opportunities and benefits generated by the initiative (see Section 6.3.2 in Chapter Six). The proof for this was that during separate interviews, participants provided accurate information about the activities of the initiative which agreed with the responses that came from the lodge management team. This shows that mechanisms are available to people in this community through which they are able to express their voices and to receive feedback on their concerns. These participants explained that they have knowledge about processes and they have access to information about the initiative. Therefore, with this empowerment, they are able to hold both the company management and their community leaders accountable for their actions or inactions.

These sentiments of community participants clearly demonstrate that the lodge management is committed to ensuring equity in the CSR practices of the TCTS.

Findings show that the lodge has achieved equity by facilitating the establishment of a community trust for the school and strong governance and accountability systems. The trust has allowed multi-stakeholder involvement through the composition, management practices and processes of the board of the TCTS. The sentiments of community participants in Chapter Six, Section 6.3.2, show that the majority in this community are happy and confirms that the benefits from the school project are widely spread so much that they are accessible to everyone in the community. As discussed in Chapter 2, adapting CSR practices to ensure equity involves putting in place processes that seek to increase community benefits, at the same time, seeking to remove or manage any adverse influences of power through multi-stakeholder involvement. This CSR initiative has demonstrated that where equity is ensured, problems of power relations arising from corporate power, traditional power and cultural influences can be overcome. Resolving the adverse effects of these power relations is important if a wider distribution of opportunities and benefits to more people in the community from CSR is to be achieved. Figure 19 below illustrates the chain of CSR relationships in the TCTS education initiative. This model can be developed further and applied to involve guests in driving responsible CSR practices and in ensuring strong governance and accountability systems for community development in tourism destinations.

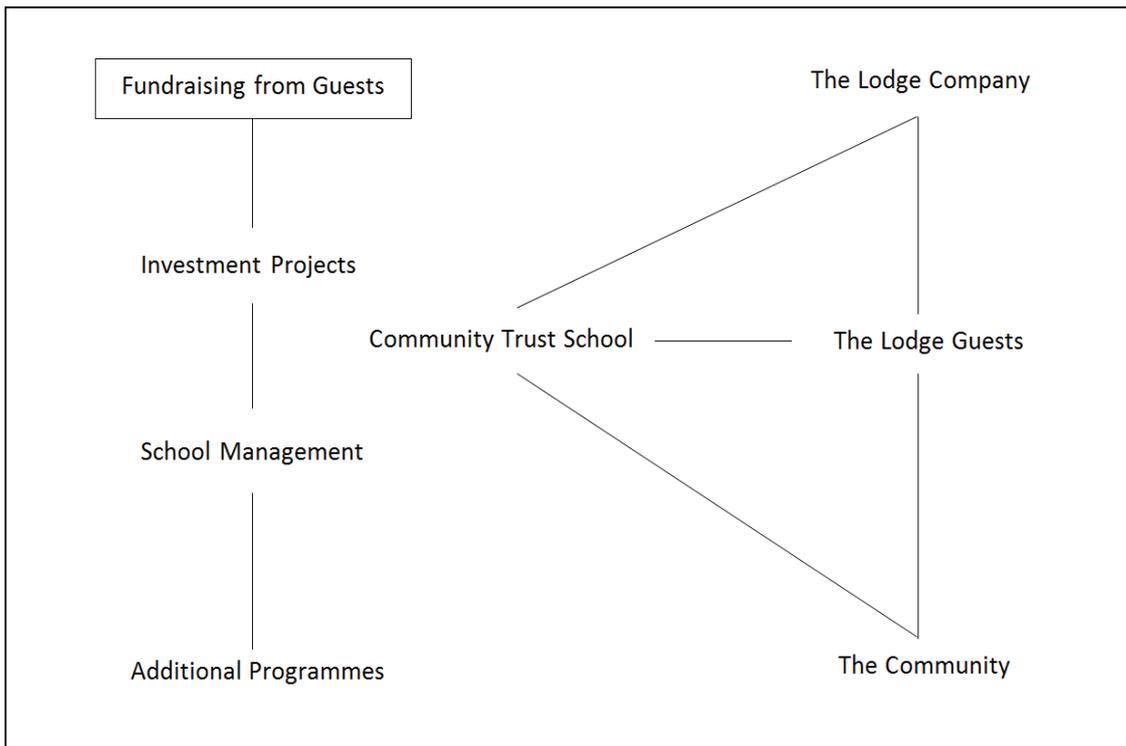


Figure 19: Chain of relationships in TCTS CSR initiative

Moving on, findings in this study have highlighted the argument by Ashley and Haysom (2006) that, “if pro-poor approaches can be adopted across the mainstream industry, the potential for improving economic opportunities for the poor is significant”. Similarly, a comprehensive change in CSR practices is needed in the tourism industry in Livingstone to achieve substantial benefits for more people in Mukuni communities. However, as shown in this study, achieving a significant change in this regard is not an automatic choice for companies. It requires commitment by companies and the support of government and other stakeholders. This observation is supported by a study of a selected number of tourism companies in South Africa. The study concluded that:

“...changing business practice is not the easy option. However, it is possible and initial evidence to date, though not sufficiently extensive or conclusive, shows that it can have substantial impacts for local development, as well as valuable business returns. However, to achieve a wider shift ...requires a change of mind-set...and probably outside incentives and facilitation to support the process” (Ashley & Haysom, 2005, p. 15).

Taking a long, backward view on the process of change of CSR practices in the study area, this study shows that the three companies (SIL, PHL and TLL) in Livingstone that

have shown clear signs of changing CSR practices have, until recently, been mainly involved in tokenistic CSR practices. However, as findings reported in Chapter Five have shown, the three companies started first with formalising their CSR programmes and then embarked on a process that included upscaling their CSR portfolios for community development in terms of investments. Some companies even identified appropriate partners to work with, in their CSR and, in some cases, also identified targets and drew up strategic plans for CSR.

Deducing from findings, the “process of change” has clearly been a long trajectory of events, marked with shifts in corporate behaviour along the way. However, a critical analysis of the business practices of the eight hotels and lodges that were examined in this study shows that only three are exhibiting noticeable changes. Others are at different stages of the continuum of changing CSR practices (see Table 26).

Table 26: Continuum for Adapting Practice

Continuum of Adapting Practice	Company
<p>Advanced: Formalised CSR policies and programmes, make annual allocations of funds or fundraise to support their CSR activities, developed a strategic plan with targets and identified appropriate partners to work with on their CSR initiatives</p>	<p>Sun International Hotel, Protea Hotel and Tongabezi Lodge</p>
<p>Progressing: Are in the process of formalising their CSR policies and programmes, and are piloting some more substantial CSR initiatives other than minimalist donations and providing information to guests to encourage guests to shop locally</p>	<p>Chapa Classics Lodge and Jollyboys Lodge</p>
<p>Beginning: Have plans to formalise, but still keep CSR initiatives in the periphery of their business strategies. Although their main focus is on achieving business profitability, they are contemplating the idea of adapting business practice and introducing more substantive CSR initiatives. Most of these companies are relatively new businesses or small lodge companies mainly focusing on simple donations to communities and support for packaged village tours.</p>	<p>Courtyard Hotel, Chanters Lodge and Mosi-oa-Tunya Executive Lodge</p>

The three companies in the *advanced stage* are those that have formalised their CSR programmes and clearly include elements of community development in their business strategies and have also identified partners (donors, NGOs and academic institutions) to work with in their CSR projects and programmes. The inclusion of elements of community development in their core business strategies signifies a growing desire for long-term commitment by companies while collaborating with partners. It is also an

indication of changing roles from “donor” to “facilitator” types. To emphasise, this process of changing CSR practices by companies in Livingstone needs the support of Government and other stakeholders to guarantee increased prospects for community development in the area through CSR. If encouraged, this shift in practices can also lead to better designed CSR initiatives, approaches and outcomes and could allay concerns of entrenching undesirable dependencies in communities that have been highlighted by some scholars in CSR literature (Frynas, 2005; Jenkins & Obara, 2008). This study argues that the factors discussed below could also help to move companies (up or down) from one category to the other.

In terms of factors that motivate companies to engage in CSR in the area, although findings have revealed seven broad categories, the literature shows that the reasons are many (Ite, 2004; Newell, 2005). The analysis of the responses from the managers of hotels and lodges in Livingstone reveals that the most important are economic reasons, followed by ethical codes or voluntary regulation and government incentive strategies. This implies that if carefully combined, jointly adapted tourism codes of ethics, incentives and economic responsibilities can provide a solid basis for encouraging increased participation of tourism companies. To attract more hotel and lodge companies into doing CSR, economic reasons, factors and responsibilities (see Section 5.3.1 in Chapter Five) are to be considered the “fulcrum” for achieving long-term social and economic impacts in Mukuni. As Ashley and Haysom (2006, p. 266) rightly pointed out, “without a business case, recommending pro-poor change to commercial companies [such as hotels and lodge companies] would be futile”. In support of this argument, empirical materials in Livingstone indicate that most of the CSR initiatives in Mukuni communities that appeared viable were those in which companies had some business benefits (see Section 5.2).

Still dwelling on this issue of companies and business interests in CSR, this study brings out another interesting finding that shows the uniqueness of the tourism industry compared to other industries. In this study, most CSR initiatives that are undertaken by hotel and lodge companies in Mukuni communities possess some inherent tourism product value, which if innovatively packaged, could be turned into tourism products/attractions. Provided community structures are strengthened and greater equity is ensured, this unexploited potential can be an important basis for promoting CSR and for directing benefits towards communities in the area. This finding reinforces the

suggestion made earlier that the economic interests of hotel and lodge companies should be considered as the basis for promoting CSR in the tourism industry.

Moreover, the current gains are skewed towards enterprise-CSR initiative types because they generate more benefits for the businesses. While this is not bad in itself, there is need for the interventions of Government and other stakeholders to encourage other types of CSR, earlier alluded to, from which communities can benefit more in the long-term, even after the support of companies has stopped.

There are also other initiatives such as the TCTS and homestay trips to communities that have facilitated the establishment of long-term relationships between hotels and lodges, guests and communities leading to repeat visits to tourism resorts by some of the guests. It is clear that the repeat visits culminate into additional and guaranteed benefits for both the businesses and the communities. However, these initiatives appeared to generate more benefits for the respective communities than for the businesses. As a result, they are not widely favoured among hotel and lodge companies. In addition, these types of CSR demand more corporate resources (especially time) and commitment from companies which do not automatically fit into the core-business of companies. This is why the intervention of Government and other stakeholders is crucial, not only to ensure greater equity, but also to stimulate corporate interest through partnerships. If these types of CSR are to be promoted across the tourism industry in Livingstone, the potential for improving the lives of the Mukuni people can be great.

It is clear that this study has made an empirical contribution to a highly contested debate on whether CSR benefits both the companies and the communities in which they operate (Blowfield & Frynas, 2005, pp. 504-505). This study has shown that, provided the initiatives are appropriately structured and greater equity is ensured, the phenomenon of “mutual” benefits from CSR is possible for businesses and communities in the tourism industry.

The next section discusses the weaknesses in the community structures used to implement CSR in communities, which is one of key local challenges threatening to hinder the process of change of CSR practices that is taking place in the study area.

8.4 Equity Through Community-based Governance and Accountability

Strong community-based governance and accountability structures are critical for seeking out the voices of the majority and for spreading opportunities and benefits from

CSR. From findings reported in this study, the Mukuni Community Development Trust (MCDT) has not provided opportunities for seeking majority voices and responding to concerns raised by the people in CSR. As established, the community structure has acquired legal status and the rights to Mukuni customary land and has had the authority in land-dealings transferred from the chief to the MCDT. Although this transfer of authority in land-dealings means a steady flow of revenues to the MCDT from tourism companies operating on the customary land, it does not in itself guarantee that the majority are benefiting from these funds. It has been argued in Chapter Two Section 2.6, that power relations and structures are the forces that shape human agency. These findings show proof that power relations and structures adversely affect human agency and practice in CSR (Banks et al., 2016). As Banks et al. (2016, p. 257) have strongly emphasised, (equitable) “relationships are central to whether communities will have the opportunity to effectively negotiate the development space and interface to their own benefit”. They have further argued that “for the developmental potential of corporate community development (CCD) to be realised, the particular shape and processes around CCD initiatives will almost certainly assume a qualitatively different form of the dominant corporate-driven ventures”(Banks et al., 2016, pp. 257-258).

Some top tourism companies in Livingstone operating their businesses on the Mukuni customary land are required to pay lease and permits fees to the MCDT. These fees are part of the CSR arrangements between tourism companies and the communities through the MCDT. From the responses of community participants, there are no benefits for the majority to show for this arrangement. Ordinarily, the change in land-dealings noted above promised increased opportunities and benefits to all Mukuni people from tourism development. However, research evidence shows that there are challenges of participation, poor governance and accountability in the administration and activities of the MCDT (see Section 6.3.1 in Chapter Six), which in turn have undermined the flow of benefits from tourism development through CSR to the majority. These challenges are caused mainly by traditional power and cultural influences and are sheltered by the lack of transparency in the MCDT. Transparency is vital because if ensured, it gives people in communities of developing countries the information they need to hold their leaders accountable (Muthuri et al., 2012; Newell, 2005; Van Alstine & Afionis, 2013). As Utting (2007, p. 704) and Phillips (2006, p. 30) also have urged, to achieve both equality of opportunity and outcomes for the disadvantaged, it is necessary to challenge

structural dimensions of development that result in highly skewed patterns of distribution of resources and power.

Interviews with managers of some hotels and lodges in Livingstone revealed that these same challenges have caused failure of some CSR initiatives in Mukuni communities (see Chapter 5). This suggests that there are shortcomings in the CSR practices and points to the need to recognise and incorporate local contexts in the design and implementation of CSR initiatives. The situation of failure has caused frustration among managers, which in turn has adversely affected the progress of further changes of CSR practices and reduced the motivation of companies to do more. These findings support academic insights on the limitations of the mainstream CSR conceptualisation. As established in Chapter Two, some academics have argued that unless the CSR concept recognises and incorporates contextual issues, it will fail to sustainably contribute to community development in developing countries (Banerjee, 2008; Hamann, 2006; Idemudia, 2011; Muthuri et al., 2012).

Findings show that leaders and a few privileged individuals with traditional power and cultural influences in Mukuni communities have secured most of the benefits from CSR, at the expense of the majority. Furthermore, the chief and some community leaders own and operate tourism businesses in partnership with some private companies in the area and some even sit on their boards, which compromises their mandates to their people as community leaders. Thus, although powerful leaders have major advantages in terms of establishing a strong voice for their communities, there are also disadvantages when leaders become familiar with, and establish partnerships with tourism companies, and are satisfied with individual benefits, forgetting the broader community development objectives of their people. Thus, the MCDT needs further transformation in terms of its systems and practices.

First and foremost, MCDT should rely on democratic systems such as operating guidelines or a constitution. Through this standpoint, community leaders, that sit on its board can be made to commit to the achievement of broader community development objectives and to securing benefits for the majority. If the MCDT is transformed in this way, then the legal status and legitimacy which it has acquired over the customary land on which tourism development now thrives, will bring with it advantages and opportunities to generate income and revenues from tourism through CSR. In addition,

it will bring more opportunities for community groups to enter into partnerships, joint ventures with ‘outsiders’ and more access to other types of arrangements and support for long-term socioeconomic empowerment and development of the area.

Secondly, the MCDT should consider including external stakeholder representation on its board with the view to improving practices in its operations. As highlighted earlier (see Chapter Six), the lack of majority voices in the MCDT has translated into inequalities in the CSR initiatives that are implemented through it. These issues have adversely affected the initial purpose of the MCDT of increasing opportunities and benefits for the majority from tourism development. In contrast, research shows that the other two community structures, the TCTS and community cooperatives, have been more successful in meeting their respective objectives for individual and community development in comparison with the MCDT. This success can mainly be attributed to specific approaches used by these structures which include encouraging broader participation of their members and the integration of external stakeholders in their practices. Embarking on these approaches has ultimately encouraged good governance and accountability in the administration and activities of these community structures. This shows that CSR initiatives, whose approaches encourage deeper relationship building, broad-based and equity-enhancing partnerships and significant control and ownership, are more likely to direct benefits to more people in poor communities (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996; Liu, 1994; Rein & Stott, 2009; Scheyvens, 1999, 2011; Scheyvens & Momsen, 2008).

For example, a detailed comparison between community cooperatives and the MCDT reveals that in cooperatives where government role and the role of other stakeholders (NGOs) is permitted, there are also clear and inclusive systems for community participation, governance and accountability, and benefits from initiatives are more broadly spread. This finding shows that the role of government and other stakeholders in CSR is vital and can result in strengthening participation, governance and accountability systems of weak community structures and lead to spreading of benefits from CSR more broadly. Another close example elsewhere of this kind of collaboration between government, private sector and NGO in support of sustainable community development through a community structure is the Namibian case of communal

conservancies (NNF, 2010)²⁹. Communal conservancies are a success story of partnership between government, private sector, NGO consortium with communities to improve community livelihoods and ensure conservation of natural resources through community-based tourism and natural resources conservation governance strategies. Positive outcomes are also reported on similar community-based partnership approaches facilitated by PDA³⁰ in Thailand since 1974 (Mechai, 1974, 2014; UTAS, 2006; Wolfgang, 2011). These community-based governance structures have generated widely spread community benefits and have several lessons to offer. Thus, a comprehensive involvement of government and other stakeholders is critical for achieving effective participation, governance and accountability in community structures and if these structures are to serve the interests of the majority in poor communities (Scheyvens & Momsen, 2008, p. 32).

There are also further benefits for allowing multi-stakeholder involvement to ensure equity. Lessons from this study show that community structures such as community cooperatives are able to attract more support from different external stakeholders who are permitted to be involved (see Section 6.3.3 in Chapter Six). This is not the same for the MCDT. Another interesting reflection from findings in Chapter Six is that community cooperatives play a critical role as a “meeting place” for community CSR stakeholders in the agriculture sector seeking to support community development in Mukuni communities (see this illustrated in Figure 20). The added advantage of a multi-stakeholder approach is that it would make it easier for government to consolidate varying interventions of different stakeholders and to easily align CSR and its impacts to sector/national goals and to optimise community development. Likewise, there are external stakeholders involved in the Tujatane Community Trust School (TCTS) (see Figure 21).

²⁹ See also information and updates on the Namibian Communal Conservancy model on the NNF website: <http://www.nnf.org.na/>

³⁰ PDA stands for Population and Community Development Association (webpage: www.pda.or.th)

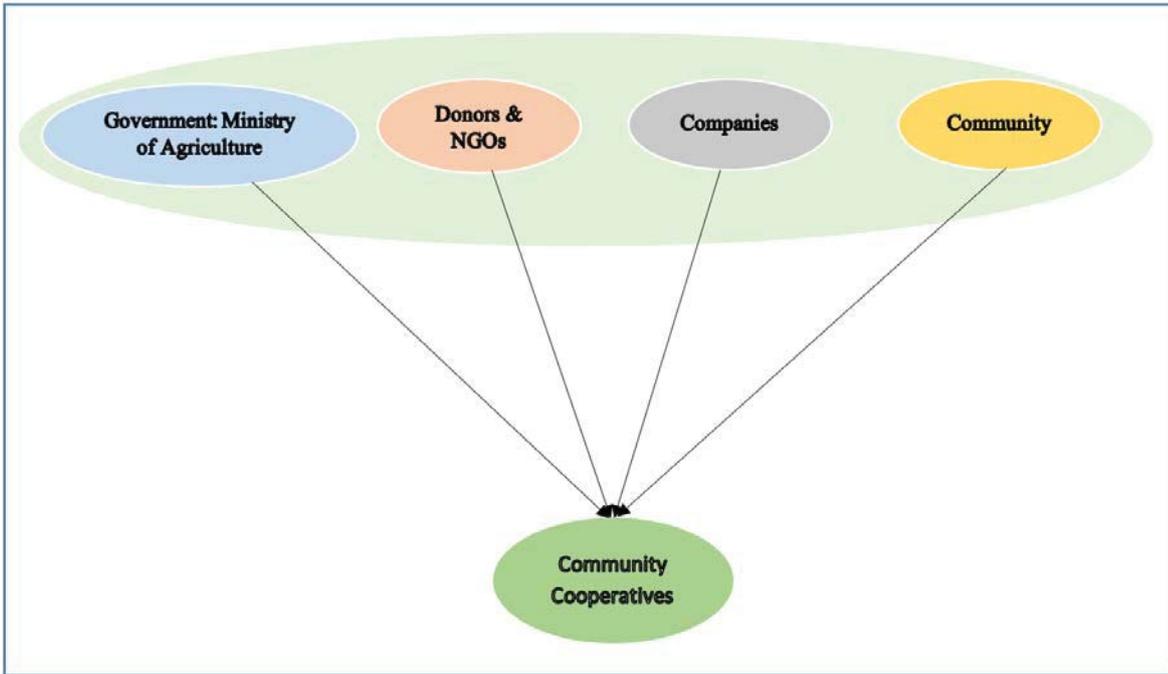


Figure 20: Stakeholders working with community cooperatives in Mukuni

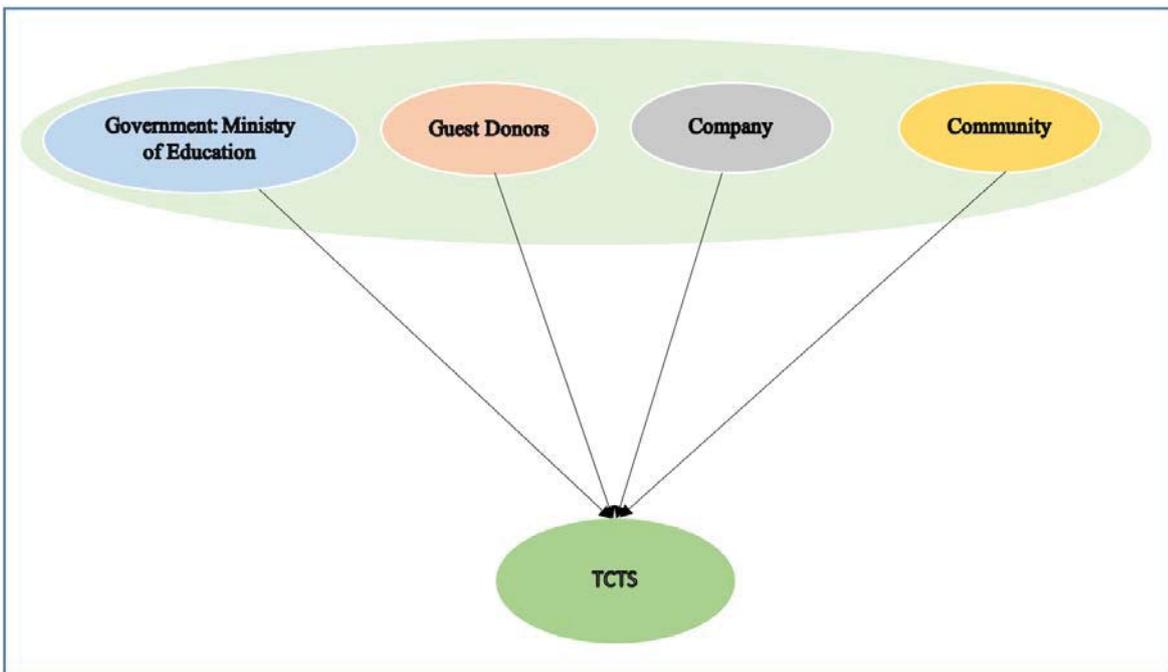


Figure 21: Stakeholders working with Tujatane Community Trust School in Mukuni

The results of the comparison of the three community structures that were studied (the MCDT, community cooperatives and the TCTS) confirms that the principal local factors that have led to limited participation in CSR, poor governance and accountability in the MCDT are traditional power and cultural influences. This

exploration demonstrates that the theoretical framework of this study fits in with empirical findings and helps to understand the emerging issues.

Still dwelling on this issue of multi-stakeholder involvement, research shows that the absence of the role of Government and other external stakeholders in the MCDT has exacerbated the adverse effects of traditional power and cultural influences (see Chapter 6). A detailed review of the practices and processes of community cooperatives and the TCTS, shows there are no reports of adverse traditional and cultural influences, even though community leaders are involved in championing the cause of the majority in the two initiatives. The only explanation for this is that these two community structures (the TCTS and community cooperatives) have in place strong systems and rules to guide and ensure that there is majority participation, good governance and accountability. These findings confirm that the role of external stakeholders can encourage strong democratic systems and behaviours in community structures. Allowing multi-stakeholder involvement in CSR by adapting CSR practices, as advocated in the theoretical framework of this study, can assist in ensuring equity in CSR practices.

This study considers multi-stakeholder involvement in the MCDT as a plausible approach for ensuring equity in this community structure for the majority. The need to provide equitable opportunities is important if the majority in poor communities are to participate and to directly share the benefits from expanding tourism development (Scheyvens & Russell, 2012; Zhao & Ritchie, 2007). To achieve this goal, strong community-based participation, governance and accountability strategies need to be established within the MCDT structures. As earlier stated, this should include the introduction of external stakeholder representation on the MCDT board of trustees. This external stakeholder representation should include appropriate Government line-ministries, local agencies and/or other development partners such as donors and relevant NGOs. The rest of the aspects including establishing strong democratic systems can then follow suit. Figure 22 is a proposal of how the MCDT structure could appear after modification. It also illustrates a possible central role the MCDT could play as a “meeting place” for stakeholders in the tourism sector interested in supporting community development in Mukuni through CSR. In order to manage excessive external control and undesirable power relations, any stakeholder (government, NGO or donor organisation) wishing to establish partnership with the MCDT would do so by signing a memorandum of understanding (MOU) based on the roles and contributions

they will bring on board onto the MCDT in support of community development. If properly done, the effects of these progressive changes to the MCDT cannot only address concerns of participation, governance and accountability for the majority in communities, but can also facilitate the transfer of knowledge and skills (tourism expertise) and assist to address the adverse effects of dominant corporate power in CSR.

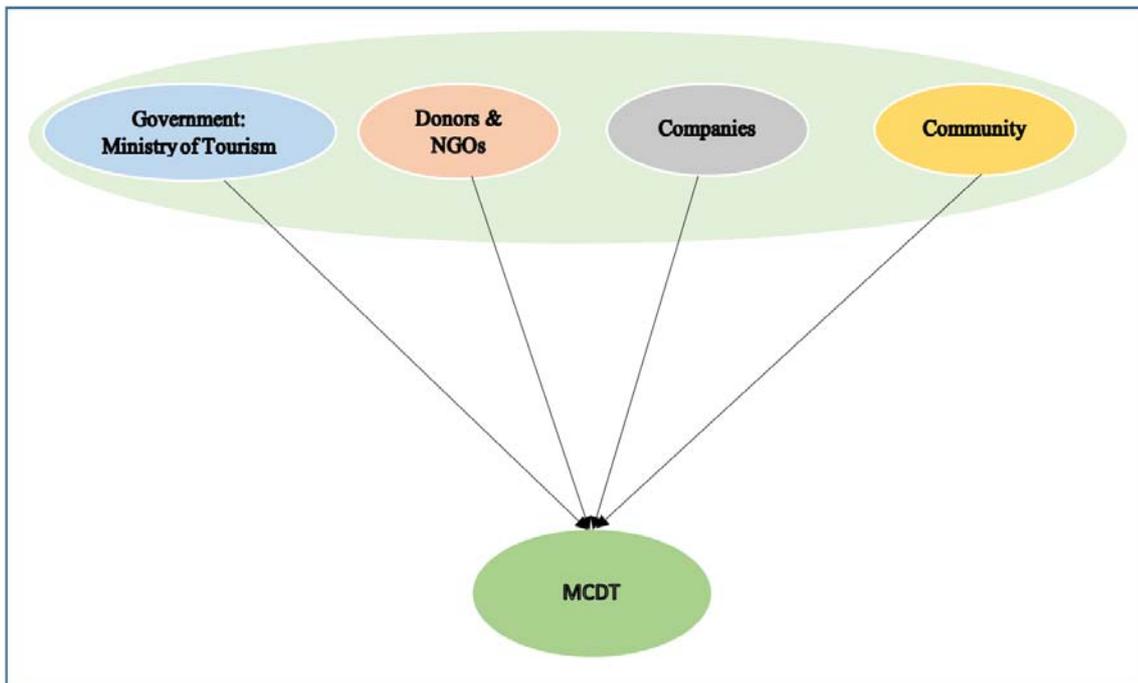


Figure 22: Proposed stakeholder arrangement for the MCDT

A strategic analysis of the three community structures reveals that each is relevant in some way to the Ministry of Tourism in its quest to optimise benefits for communities from the tourism industry. For example, the MCDT model is relevant for CSR initiatives targeting large investments to address social issues (in the areas of education, health, roads, housing and water and sanitation) in Mukuni Chiefdom as a whole. On the other hand, the TCTS model is best suited for CSR investments in social issues that are targeted at small village communities (hamlets), but also including community-based tourism projects, such as cultural tourism villages or centres, community conservancies, homestay tourism projects and village community museums to showcase Zambia’s rich historical, traditional and cultural heritage. Then the community cooperatives model is best suited for promoting enterprise-based CSR initiatives such as vegetable and fruit gardening businesses, small livestock businesses (poultry, goat rearing and piggeries), fish farming and crafts and curio trading from which communities can greatly benefit. In each of these cases, however, the Ministry needs to

identify collaborators among Government Ministries, tourism private sector, NGOs and donor organisations. Furthermore, the Government needs to address the current human and institutional capacity challenges identified in this research in the three community structures to ensure greater equity, and to improve the internal and external legitimacies of the structures so that they are able to fulfil their community development objectives.

Of the three structures examined in Mukuni, the MCDT is more directly linked to the tourism industry. However, research shows that there is no formal link yet between the Ministry of Tourism and the MCDT. Therefore, to demonstrate its commitment to the development needs of Mukuni people, the Ministry of Tourism needs to take practical steps to establish a formal link and to champion the reforms for the MCDT (and become its community development partner). This arrangement can later be extended to other communities with similar needs countrywide. The steps could include establishing formal representation on the board of the community structures in order to improve governance and to guarantee the structures' internal and external legitimacy. As stated earlier, this linkage can be formalised either through a Memorandum of Understanding or Agreement, or through a Statutory Instrument.

The aim of these instruments is not only to confer the status and rights of the community structure to benefit from tourism resources in the area, but also to provide guidelines and regulations to improve governance and accountability in the practices and processes of the structure. The formal linkage and representation of the Ministry of Tourism on the MCDT structure, for example, should also be used as an opportunity for the Department of Tourism to guide and to align the activities of the MCDT, especially related to CSR, with Government's policy objectives on community development in respective communities, just like the Ministry of Agriculture is doing through community cooperatives (see Section 6.3.3 in Chapter Six). Progress in this regard should start by creating the right tourism policy environment (see the next section). Overall, although achieving majority voices in CSR can be a difficult task, this study has proved that it is not completely impossible. If measures that aim at ensuring greater equity in CSR are appropriately implemented, significant majority voices can be achieved and opportunities and benefits can thereby be spread to the majority in communities.

8.5 Importance of the Role of Government and other Stakeholders

The role of government and other stakeholders is important for the effective promotion of CSR and community development. However, for this effective promotion to occur there must be appropriate frameworks put in place to encourage greater stakeholder interactions. In Chapter Seven, findings show that the tourism policy framework at national level and the DDCC framework at local level are both not specifically supportive of CSR and community development. Research materials particularly show that tourism policy objectives and strategies on CSR and community development are weak. This situation has potentially disadvantaged the poor majority in communities such as the Mukuni, whilst giving room to the most powerful players in the area to benefit more from CSR. This is because the poor majority cannot compete with powerful hotel and lodge companies operating in their area and the self-centred practices of their powerful community leaders. With this situation at hand, the absence of the role of government and other stakeholders implies that the majority of people in poor communities are also without external leverage to help them capture some significant share of benefits from tourism development. Therefore, there is need for a strong presence of government and the interventions of NGO to ensure greater equity in CSR (helping to balance or manage undesirable power relations).

On the need for government intervention, Scheyvens and Momsen (2008, p. 32) have strongly argued that “if sustainable and equity-enhancing tourism is to emerge, governments need to play a stronger regulatory role and develop strategies to direct benefits of tourism to the poor”. This statement implies that the role of the Zambian Government in CSR is important and is also encapsulated by this statement. There are many avenues through which a government can play its role in promoting CSR. For example, a government can play its role by regulating CSR practices and processes through mandatory policy strategies (prescriptive), or a mix of policy incentive strategies (strategic), along with institutional and human capacity building support. Likewise, donors and NGOs can play their roles through partnership interventions that can help to reduce input costs for companies intending to engage in community development through specific CSR initiatives (Ashley & Haysom, 2006).

The absence of government and other stakeholders in tourism-based CSR, particularly on the part of a government, can be seen as an indication of absolute neglect of communities. In this study, some senior Government officials admitted that in its

overplayed neo-liberal tourism policies, the Zambian Government seems to have forgotten about the needs of poor communities and has focused more on promoting large foreign investments and increasing tourist arrivals (see Section 7.3 in Chapter Seven). For example, some officials bluntly questioned how Government found it easy to support capacity building programmes for private sector associations in tourism but it finds it difficult to do the same for community structures. These sentiments clearly suggest that Government is more concerned with increasing its revenue generation and foreign exchange earnings than to see poor communities like Mukuni develop. Some managers of locally owned lodges also expressed similar concerns stating that: “Government’s policy practices clearly favour large foreign investments in the tourism industry...only foreign companies are given tax breaks and rebates in Livingstone” (see Section 5.2.4 in Chapter Five). This shows a neo-liberal policy bias which could significantly impede the pro-poor development potential of tourism (Scheyvens & Russell, 2012).

Scheyvens and Russell (2012) also identified this concern in the Fijian tourism policy. In their conclusions, they stressed the need for the Fijian government to provide support to both large foreign-owned and locally-owned tourism enterprises. These scholars have cautioned that if governments continue to favour large scale foreign-owned businesses and fail to support locally-owned tourism businesses or to provide a voice for local communities in tourism planning and management, the pro-poor potential of tourism will be significantly impeded. Although these references may seem to have nothing to do with power relations, they do. This special treatment given to foreign large investments in the tourism industry makes the companies feel they are untouchable and do whatsoever they want without recourse. Ultimately, this special treatment tends to encourage excessive corporate dominance like what has been noted in CSR in the study area. Therefore, Zambian tourism authorities should realise that if they provide a balanced policy support to both foreign- and locally-owned hospitality companies, they will not only be encouraging both to make contributions to community development with long-term impacts through CSR, but will also be contributing to ensuring equity in CSR practices.

Going back on the need to clarify Government policy position on CSR, as stated earlier the Zambian Government has the option to enact mandatory legislation to compel all companies operating in the tourism industry to contribute to community development

through CSR (prescriptive option) or to apply specific policy and non-policy incentives (strategic option). The sentiments of the majority of senior Government officials on the option to legislate CSR are that the tourism industry does not need further tax burdens. On this issue, company managers still preferred the self-imposing regulation as opposed to external-imposing regulation – they argued that CSR should remain voluntary as it should be done out of commitment. While self-imposing regulation is more effective as stated by some scholars (Young, 2002, p. 152), according to this study more benefits can be delivered to the majority in communities if CSR practices and process are transparent and allow the involvement of other stakeholders (Muthuri et al., 2012; Van Alstine & Afionis, 2013). Besides, the study shows that when CSR is interpreted as generosity from companies to communities, it can be problematic in that it exalts the interests of companies at the expense of community interests.

Equally, community participants did not support mandatory legislation to regulate CSR. Instead, they supported the option to strengthen community-based structures. They argued that such measures could encourage majority participation, good governance and accountability, and could help to ensure greater equity in CSR. This role to strengthen community structures can best be played by Government and other stakeholders such as NGOs and donors. The prescriptive option was rejected on the basis that it can only lead to antagonistic relationships between Government and the private sector that can deem prospects for more community benefits from CSR. The other reason why a prescriptive option (making CSR mandatory) is not suitable for the Zambia situation at the moment is that the Ministry of Tourism will first need to strengthen its institutional capacities to regulate or inspect CSR practices. This has been a concern in other sectors in Zambia too (Kivuitu et al., 2005; Negi, 2011; Van Alstine & Afionis, 2013).

In contrast, there was consensus about applying the strategic option and suggestions have been put forward where government can use tax and non-tax incentives to promote CSR and community development (see Section 7.3 in Chapter Seven). The sentiments of some participants also emphasized the need for an active role of Government and other stakeholders in CSR if the strategic option is to work effectively. This is very critical as Scheyvens and Russell (2012, p. 433) have stated that “pro-poor outcomes [which includes the outcomes of CSR] do not automatically arise from rapid growth of the tourism sector – the success of such initiatives is heavily dependent on a government’s willingness to provide a facilitating policy environment specifically

targeting the poor and establishing policy frameworks and institutions that ensure ongoing support”. As discussed in Chapter 6, this could include ensuring representation of Government (Ministry of Tourism) on the boards of community structures and supporting the derivation of codes of ethics and the establishment of industry-based CSR regulatory systems (see Section 5.3 in Chapter Five). These efforts can contribute to ensuring greater equity in CSR if appropriately implemented.

In connection with the tourism policy discussion, coordination was highlighted by all participants as one of the important “missing-links” in the promotion of CSR and community development. Similarly, coordination can contribute to ensuring greater equity in CSR if properly applied as it can be used to improve information exchange or to expose irresponsible CSR practices among stakeholders. There is, therefore, need for Government (Ministry of Tourism) to take steps to strengthen and establish more formal and working coordination links between its own structures, and particularly with the DDCC framework and community structures (MCDT) respectively. Findings show that while the Ministry is already linked to the DDCC framework at the local level in Livingstone, this framework requires further strengthening (see in the following paragraph).

On the other hand, there is no formal link to connect the MCDT and the Ministry’s coordination structures. Consequently, there is no official representation of the Ministry on the MCDT board. This implies that the MCDT has no formal link with Central Government and to Government’s mandatory support like community cooperatives (see Section 6.3.3 in Chapter Six). However, if the coordination links were to be established as discussed above and as illustrated in Figure 23 below, the MCDT would likewise benefit from Government mandatory support and Government will be able to use this opportunity to encourage greater equity in CSR and other good practices.

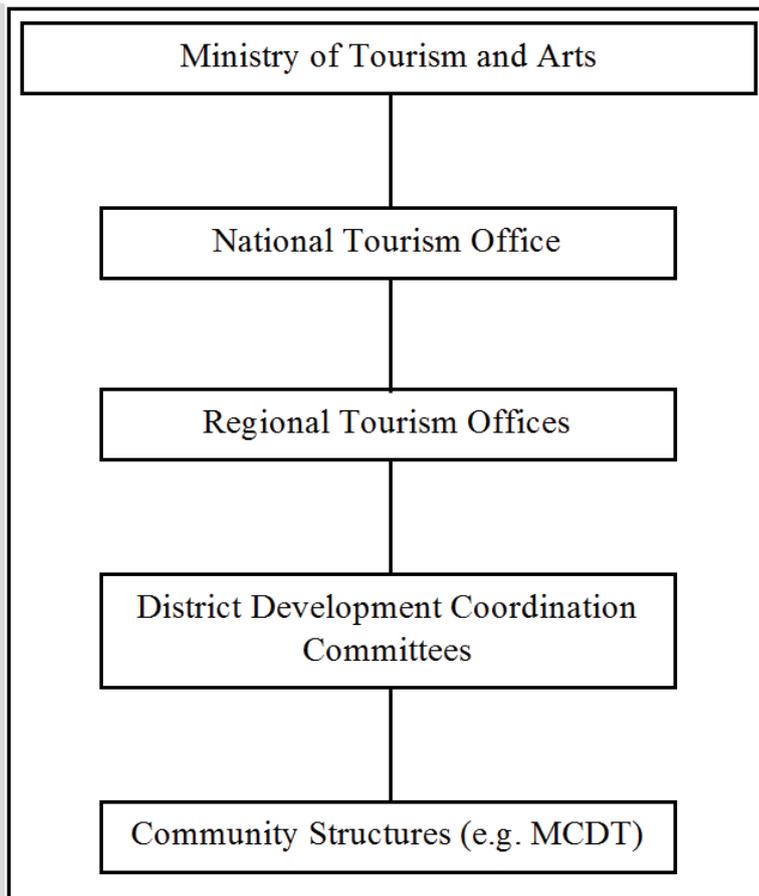


Figure 23: Proposed formal link of community structures to Central Government

As stated above, the DDCC framework needs strengthening. First, because findings show that although the DDCC framework is established by government policy it lacks a legal framework that should go with it to mandate the heads of every private company, Government institutions and other organisations operating in Livingstone district involved in developmental matters to attend the meetings and actively participate in the proceedings. Second, the DDCC framework has no policy mandate to deliberate CSR issues. These two weaknesses render the DDCC framework inappropriate in its current state for promoting CSR locally, especially with regard to ensuring equity in CSR. However, the sentiments among senior Government officials regarding DDCC were somewhat optimistic. The majority felt that if improvements were made, as suggested in Chapter Seven (under summary), DDCC can be turned into a viable local framework for the promoting CSR and community development, including ensuring equity in CSR practices. Therefore, the onus is on the Ministry of Tourism to step forward and lobby for the strengthening of the DDCC framework and to establish formal links with the MCDT, both of which it can utilise to promote CSR and community development.

Still on the DDCC framework, some managers of hotels and lodges described the DDCC meetings as not being issue-based, action and results-oriented, and usually ending up as “talk-shows”. Reflecting on these concerns by managers, gives an indication that Government needs to do more to transform the DDCC framework if it is to be used to promote CSR and community development. This is because, in addition to providing a legal framework to go with the DDCC framework, Government needs to ensure that the DDCC meetings are made to be of profit value to the private sector and all stakeholders. Otherwise, even if a legal framework is put in place to compel companies to attend, if the meetings will still concentrate on trivial issues, the sentiments of companies show that managers will still avoid the meetings by sending junior staff with no authority to make any binding decisions to attend, a situation that could undermine efforts to improve the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development in the study area.

To bring together the planning, implementation and coordination policy concerns pointed out earlier for the promotion of CSR and community development in Mukuni, the Ministry of Tourism needs to reform its policy and practice structures to explicitly reflect its community development agenda and its position on CSR. This reform implies that both the planning and implementation structures of the Ministry need to be further restructured to incorporate community structures to ensure the interests (needs) and expectations of communities from tourism development through CSR, are encapsulated in its policy planning and implementation strategies (see Figure 24). Therefore, there is need for the Ministry to realise that policy choices can be critical drivers for directing development opportunities and benefits to the poor and marginalised people in communities (Fox, 2004; Fox et al., 2002). Thus, the Ministry of Tourism also needs to adapt its practices to ensure equity if CSR is to be adopted as a strategy for community development in the tourism industry. As stated in section 5.1 of the 2000-2005 Tourism Development Strategic Action Plan, “the Ministry of Tourism needs continuous reorganisation and strengthening until it is able to effectively fulfil its responsibilities to develop the tourism sector” (GRZ, 1999, pp. 12-15).

The grafting of community structures in the planning, implementation and coordination structures of the Ministry of Tourism at national and local levels as shown in Figure 24 would create opportunities for the Ministry to constantly interact with communities. Participants felt that by linking the DDCC framework and the planning structures of the

Ministry at national level, CSR and community development issues would automatically be connected. The intention of linking the national and local level planning and implementation structures is to ensure the effective community representation and the flow of information on CSR and community development issues (informed by input from Mukuni communities) between these two levels. In addition, this link would also serve as a channel for conveying information about irresponsible CSR practices of companies in communities.

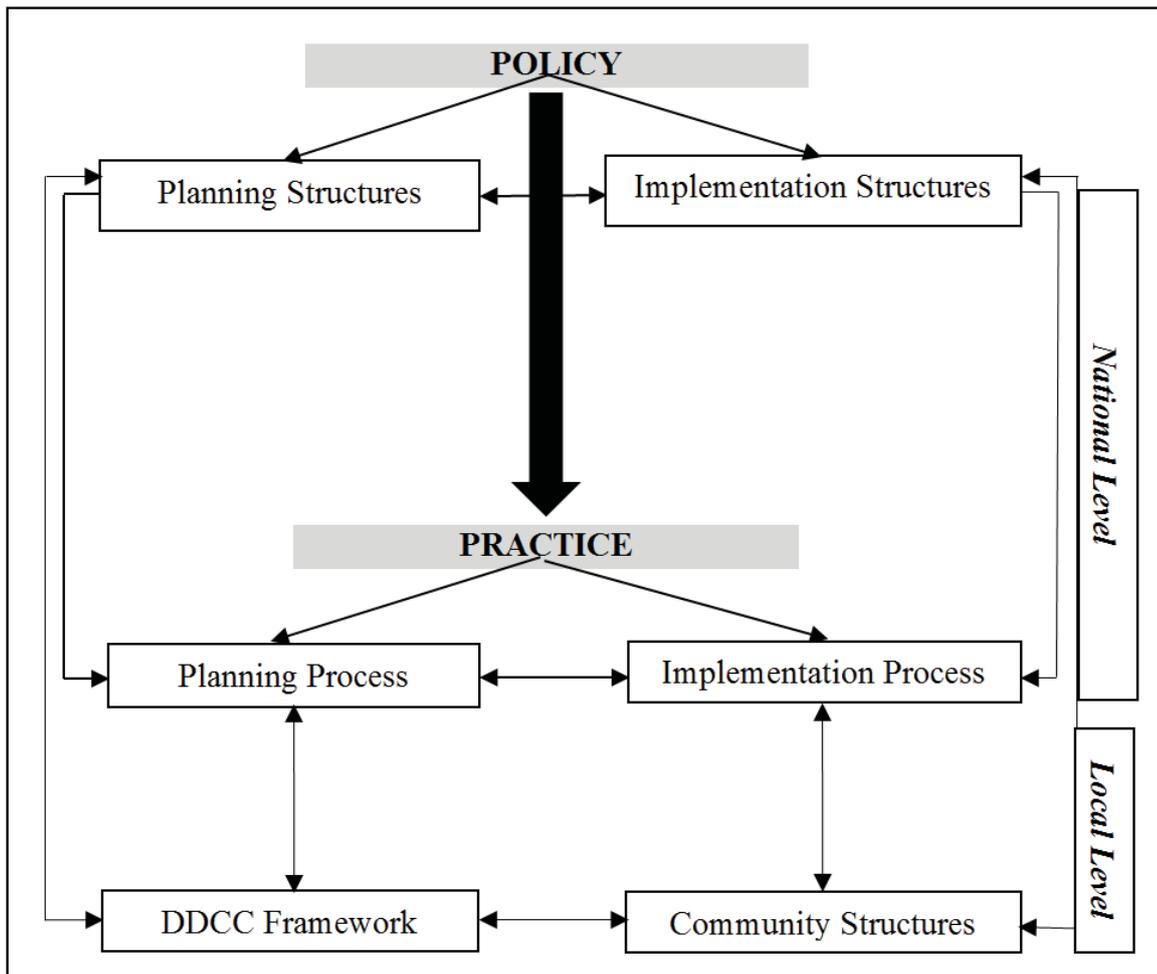


Figure 24: Proposed link of national tourism structures with community structures

In all the above issues, Government needs to adopt a “proactive interventionist approach” to target the needs of the poor and to do this, requires a strong policy commitment over the long-term and a legal framework for protecting the rights of all stakeholders (Scheyvens & Russell, 2009; Sofield, 2003). Without these interventions, the poor majority have no chance to significantly benefit from CSR.

8.6 Framework for Adapting Practices to Ensure Equity in CSR

Adapting CSR practices to ensure greater equity is the central idea of this study. To address the central research question, this doctoral thesis applied this idea of adapting CSR practices to ensure greater equity as its theoretical perspective (see Chapter Two). This theoretical perspective has assisted in understanding the findings reported in this study. It has shown that the process of adapting CSR practices to ensure greater equity in CSR is critical if both the increase of opportunities and benefits for communities from CSR, and the spread of these opportunities and benefits to the majority, is to be realised in the study area. The study has also demonstrated that multi-stakeholder involvement in CSR (which is the thrust of this transformation of practices) can assist to address the power imbalances noted in CSR. Therefore, this thesis makes a strong argument that policies and practices of governments, companies and communities should change, and systems or measures need to be put in place to address the power imbalance that undermine the wide spreading of opportunities and benefits from CSR to more people in poor communities. Arising from this argument, a framework has been generated for guiding the process of ensuring equity through adapting CSR practices (Figure 22). The key argument in this framework is that roles of different stakeholders in CSR should be the dominant element allowed to shape CSR practices locally, rather than the interests of one stakeholder alone (the beliefs of companies), if community development through CSR is to be successfully delivered to the poor majority.

As illustrated in Figure 25 below, the policy and institutional frameworks, people's mind-sets and practices that are part of the settings for promoting CSR should be (re)shaped first in a development space that allows for the levelling-up of the interests of different stakeholders through a continuous process of multi-stakeholder interactions. The aim of this continuous process of multi-stakeholder interaction is to engage and encourage greater equity in CSR. It is assumed that if this process is duly permitted through appropriate policies and systems, significant and genuinely-spread-long-term opportunities and benefits for the majority in communities can materialise.

Based on the findings discussed in this chapter, CSR can be undeniably a powerful pro-poor tourism (PPT) strategy for directing significant benefits at the poor majority in poor communities. However, as shown, CSR can have some limitations if the local

context³¹ is ignored. These limitations are largely due to the failure of decision makers and practitioners (government, hotel and lodge companies and community leaders) to incorporate the local context, particularly, power relations when planning for the promotion of community development through CSR. These findings show that although the criticisms in academic literature are laudably targeted mainly at corporations, communities and governments also fall short in a number of ways as parties in promoting CSR. In view of this, the study strongly suggests that the key stakeholders: government, tourism private sector (hotel and lodge companies) and communities, all need to adapt their respective policy and institutional frameworks, mind-sets and practices to ensure greater equity in CSR.

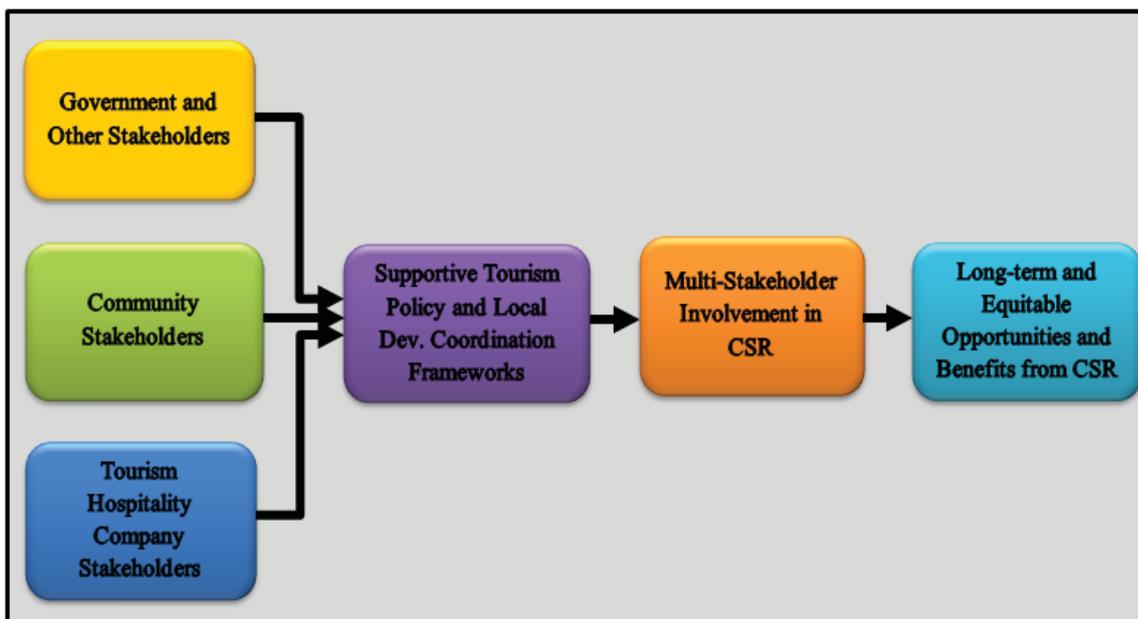


Figure 25: A framework for adapting CSR practices to promote equity

³¹ Institutional frameworks, people and practices including all applicable aspects of the community relating to its locale, setting, situatedness, location, and locality such as broader ideological, social, traditional, cultural, political, economic, legal, and social justice issues (Agboka, 2013; Clarke & Kirby, 1990; Cox & Mair, 1988).

CHAPTER NINE

9 Study Conclusions and Recommendations

9.1 Conclusion

The issues examined in this thesis are of great relevance to CSR practices and community development in the communities of developing countries like Zambia. Key issues that have been drawn from the literature on the research topic include concerns that CSR only serves the interests of corporations; that CSR ignores local contexts; that corporations engaging in CSR lack genuine mechanisms to allow for community participation in CSR, that there are poor governance and accountability practices in CSR; that there is a lack of government and other stakeholder involvement in CSR and there is insufficient empirical evidence that CSR actually delivers on its promises.

The main concern that connects all the issues listed above is the problem of inequitable power relations in CSR. This issue is the central theme of this research and in light of the discussion of this problem, this study has shown that although CSR offers potential for community development, its effectiveness as a vehicle for sustainable community development is hampered by inequitable power relations, which favour hotels and tourists, and treat communities as passive recipients of development. Therefore, the study argues that there is a need to ensure equity in CSR if more opportunities and benefits are to be directed towards poor communities. The main thrust of this argument is the need to adapt CSR practices to allow for multi-stakeholder involvement in CSR. As demonstrated in this study, measures that seek to encourage multi-stakeholder involvement in CSR have been shown to contribute to ensuring greater equity in CSR and to widely spreading opportunities and benefits in communities. It has been further demonstrated that the role of government and other stakeholders is important for improving the overall effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development.

In this regard, the study shows that the involvement of government and other stakeholders in CSR could trigger a gradual change of CSR practices from tokenistic types, to those offering more and/or long-term impacts targeting both benefits for businesses and for a wide range of people in poor communities adjacent to tourism destinations. This finding illustrates the importance of multi-stakeholder involvement in improving power relations in CSR, but it also exemplifies the process of change of behaviour by companies. Most of all, multi-stakeholder involvement in CSR might be

helpful in shifting CSR from reflecting company interests alone to the interests and needs of communities and other stakeholders.

Therefore, the willingness by companies to change their business behaviour to embrace more partnership-oriented approaches with communities, government and other stakeholders needs to be supported and nurtured by all stakeholders. This change appears to promise better opportunities for more people in poor communities to significantly benefit from tourism development through CSR. However, more support is also needed to establish strong community-based governance and accountability structures as well as equipping communities with relevant skills and know-how for them to capture opportunities and to equitably benefit.

This suggestion to establish strong community-based governance and accountability structures is critical if equity in CSR is to be attained. Previous studies have shown that weak accountability systems of governance are a recipe for adverse effects which may include a prevalence of informal rent-seeking interests and institutionalisation of corruption (Nelson, 2012). In his study, Nelson (2012) notes that these factors tend to limit the ability of local communities to capture tourism's value as a poverty reduction instrument. Similar conclusions have been drawn in this study. The inequitable power relations in CSR have been shown to be shaped and perpetuated by weak structures and practices at government, company and community levels. These systems tend to favour the interests of government, corporations and a few powerful community leaders at the expense of the interests of the majority. In turn, these factors undermine the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development. Therefore, to ensure greater benefits for people in poor communities, there is need to officially encourage multi-stakeholder involvement in CSR and a widespread adoption of this measure across the tourism industry.

The issues of participation, governance and accountability in CSR are of great concern among both academics and development practitioners (Frynas, 2005, 2008; Ite, 2004, p. 8; Murray & Overton, 2014, pp. 678-679; Newell, 2002; 2005, pp. 542-544). This study has shown the centrality of strong community-based governance and accountability structure in resolving these concerns. It has demonstrated that outcomes could be significantly improved by adopting measures that involve the roles of "other" stakeholders, especially government, in CSR. Research evidence has shown that the

presence of different stakeholders in the CSR partnerships is in itself a moderating factor of power relations. This is what forestalls a certain level of governance and accountability in CSR processes and practices. Moreover, the different roles played by government and other partners can help to lower the initial implementation costs for CSR initiatives (Ashley & Haysom, 2006).

Recognisably, the role of government and local agencies in CSR is still a matter of intense debate (Blowfield & Dolan, 2010; Blowfield & Frynas, 2005; Eweje, 2006; Fox, 2004, p. 32; Hamann, 2006, pp. 186-187; Ite, 2004; Jenkins & Obara, 2008; Negi, 2011; Warhurst, 2001). Notwithstanding the above, this study has shown that government and other stakeholders can play specific roles in promoting CSR involving poor communities. This could ensure the sustainability of community outcomes from CSR and can contribute to reduction of undesirable dependencies of communities on companies (Fox et al., 2002; Hamann, 2003; Ite, 2004; Jenkins & Obara, 2008). In addition, involvement of government and local agencies in CSR could help to encourage greater equity in CSR practices. Considering the above, this study endorses the arguments by some academics that CSR needs to recognize local contexts if the concept is to become an effective vehicle for community development in developing countries (Banerjee, 2008; Fox, 2004; Hamann, 2006).

This study concludes that power relations can significantly determine the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development in communities of developing countries such as the Mukuni communities in Zambia. Dominant corporate power; along with traditional power and cultural influences have been identified as the major determinants of inequitable power relations adversely affecting the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development. However, optimising of the impacts of CSR for community development is possible if the process of change in business practices of hotel and lodge companies is nurtured and the problem of inequitable power relations is resolved. To achieve positive outcomes, in this regard, the study underscores the need to strengthen participation, governance and accountability systems and practices in community structures as institutions used to undertake CSR in communities. This includes incorporating the role of other stakeholders, especially government and local agencies on the governing boards of community structures, as exemplified by the TCTS and community cooperatives and lessons drawn from communal conservancies in

Namibia (NNF, 2010) and community-based development projects by PDA in Thailand (Mechai, 1974, 2014; Wolfgang, 2011).

The objectives of this study have been successfully achieved (see Table 27 below):

Table 27: Reporting back on the Achievement of the Research Objectives

Specific Research Objectives	Research Findings
To explore and analyse the different perspectives and arguments for and against CSR as a vehicle for community development in developing countries	There are contestations for and against the ability of CSR to act as an effective vehicle for development, especially the development of poor communities in developing countries. Critics of CSR argue that in most cases CSR projects have minimal to no effect in terms of improving the lives of intended beneficiaries in poor communities mainly because of poor project execution, misplaced priorities, lack of accountability and lack of project sustainability, perpetuated by little or no emphasis on aspects of equality and equity in CSR process and practices. This points to the fact that there may be a power relations problem in CSR which may be acting as a constraint on agency when it comes to participation, and distribution of opportunity and outcomes (see Chapter Two Chapter Eight).
To investigate the CSR practices of hotel and lodge companies in Livingstone and the challenges faced (if any) in promoting CSR and community development in Mukuni	Three of the eight companies in Livingstone have shown a clear indication of advancing their CSR practices, but overall, the findings reveal that tokenistic CSR initiatives and approaches still dominate. ‘Tokenistic’ initiatives are those initiatives that are superficial in nature/‘ticking the box’ types of initiatives that might be good for a company’s image but that are not comprehensive enough to make a real difference in poor communities. Following on this finding, economic reasons are the dominant factors that motivate companies to engage in CSR. However, responses from managers show that incentives by Government, working with other stakeholders in CSR, and developing a jointly derived tourism code of ethics for an industry-based CSR regulatory system, could be important options to use to direct more benefits to people in Mukuni communities. The study also found that CSR initiatives that satisfy the interests of both the businesses and communities have a higher rate of success and sustainability than those that do not. In terms of challenges, findings indicate the presence and dominance of corporate power; traditional power; and cultural influences in CSR (see Chapter Five and Eight).
To examine the practices and processes in community structures in Mukuni for opportunities and challenges for promoting CSR and community development in the area	The CSR approaches used by companies to engage communities in Mukuni in CSR shows lack of mechanisms for consulting or seeking the voices or expectations of communities from CSR. Findings suggest that companies have a different audience in mind other than the Mukuni communities when they are designing their CSR initiatives. On the other hand, the community structure (the MCDT) used to implement CSR in Mukuni communities exhibit human and institutional weaknesses, which have given rise to a serious problem of power relations. In contrast, this study shows that adverse effects of power relations are not reported in community structures such as the TCTS and community cooperatives which have integrated external stakeholders

	(including government) in their practices and processes. This suggests that multi-stakeholder initiatives could offer solutions to the problem of unequal power relations and bring about equity in CSR undertaken by corporations in poor communities of developing countries (see Chapter Six and Chapter Eight).
To examine the tourism policy and local development coordination frameworks for opportunities and challenges in promoting CSR and community development in Mukuni	Findings show that the tourism policy framework lacks clarity on issues pertaining to the promotion of CSR and community development. Findings also show that community structures are not formally integrated into the planning and implementation structures of the Ministry of Tourism, which presents practical challenges for communities to leverage their interests/needs in planning for tourism development and limits opportunities for negotiations and dialogue on their views on CSR issues. Moreover, the local policy framework (the DDCC) lacks a legal mandate to compel hotel and lodge companies to attend meetings and deliberate CSR matters. Being the most powerful stakeholder, there is a call that the Ministry of Tourism and its agencies should take the lead in minimising and managing the problem of power relations in CSR by putting in place measures that can assist in ensuring greater equity in CSR (see Chapter Seven and Eight).

The section below outlines the specific recommendations of this doctoral research.

9.2 Recommendations

9.2.1 CSR Practices of Hotel and Lodge Companies

The specific recommendations are:

1. Hotel and lodge companies need to put emphasis on well-coordinated, encompassing and sustainable CSR such as making purchases of their daily requirements locally from community suppliers. Therefore, hotels and lodges in Livingstone are challenged to provide support to small community business development initiatives from which both communities and companies can benefit and to improve their company procurement policies and practices so that they can deliberately purchase most of their daily needs locally from Mukuni communities.
2. More broadly, companies are urged to embrace multi-stakeholder approaches in CSR to encourage the wide spreading of benefits in adjacent poor communities. These approaches could also potentially increase opportunities and benefits that could be accessed by people in communities and could help in lowering the input costs of some CSR initiatives and therefore, guarantee long-term positive impacts on the livelihoods of the poor. Such approaches could bring companies in line with global sustainable development goals (SDGs).
3. Hotel and lodge companies should seek support from tourism authorities (Ministries of Tourism) to establish industry-based CSR accreditation policies and systems to

regulate the corporate behaviour of tourism companies involved in CSR and community development. In this regard, tourism private sector associations in Zambia are challenged to establish and promote jointly-generated industry-based codes of governance and ethics on CSR. This recommendation will require the combined efforts of Government, the tourism council and local tourism associations.

9.2.2 Mukuni Communities and Community Structures

The specific recommendations are:

1. The leaders in Mukuni communities encouraged to invite sector line-ministries and departments, and other relevant stakeholders with links to tourism development to be part of the MCDT and other community structures in the area that are being used to implement CSR, as representatives of government and respective stakeholder organisations. The main purpose for this is to improve the effectiveness of CSR as a vehicle for community development through harnessing potential resources and opportunities for communities to benefit more and by helping to ensure greater equity in CSR (or improving participation, governance, accountability); acquisition of external legitimacy; and for purposes of sustainability.
2. The leaders in Mukuni communities should lobby Government (Ministry of Tourism) and other stakeholders to support the strengthening of human and institutional capacities of community structures, which should ultimately improve tourism expertise and administration of CSR and other tourism-related initiatives from which communities can potentially benefit.
3. The leaders in Mukuni communities should apply local lessons drawn from the TCTS, Nsongwe and St. Joseph's Hospice and lessons drawn from elsewhere, for example, the communal conservancies in Namibia and PDA community-based projects in Thailand, to improve the overall efficacy of the MCDT.

9.2.3 Policy Frameworks for promoting and managing CSR Relationships

The specific recommendations are:

1. Government should clarify policy specificities on CSR in connection with community development. The Ministry of Tourism particularly needs to review and strengthen the current tourism policy framework relating to community development to make it easy to connect CSR with community development in

the tourism industry. The Ministry may consider establishing a pro-poor tourism (PPT) development unit in its national tourism development structure.

2. In addition, there is need to link the tourism policy framework and the DDCC framework at national and local levels. Alongside this, the Ministry should ensure that CSR issues are included in deliberations. This could make it easy for the Ministry to participate in managing the relationships of different stakeholders in CSR at local level. In this regard, the Ministry needs to champion the legal strengthening of the DDCC framework to compel decision-makers and development practitioners at district level to attend DDCC meetings.
 3. Government needs to introduce specific policy and non-policy incentives in the tourism industry with the aim to increase participation of companies in CSR while at the same time using this position to direct the impacts of CSR on community development towards the goals of the National Development Plan. To do this, Government needs to consider applying incentive strategies for increasing participation of hotel and lodge companies in CSR and for optimising community development outcomes using the codes of governance and ethics that might be established jointly with the private sector (see the relevant recommendation in Section 9.2.1 above).
1. To successfully support long-term community development in adjacent poor communities, Government needs to put policy measures in place that encourage the involvement of appropriate stakeholders (including core-tourism NGOs). As the Namibian Government has done to support communal conservancies, Zambia also needs to facilitate and support the formulation, implementation and regulation of a community development model that can encourage involvement of a consortium of stakeholders with various interests in community development. The policies and regulations should be used to direct significant benefits towards people in poor communities.
 2. Furthermore, Government (Ministry of Tourism and Ministry of Agriculture) needs to probe the issue of intermediaries reported to have emerged in Livingstone to ensure the poor community farmers are not exploited by opportunistic networks of business relationships in CSR. However, more importantly, to learn from this situation on how the existing gap could be appropriated for optimising community development and benefits to the poor in adjacent communities. It was reported that some groups and individuals buy produce from farmers cheaply and supply it at

relatively higher prices to hotels and lodges using their inside networks they have established in the resorts.

3. It is recommended that Government should use the local and international examples of “best CSR practices” (see last recommendation in Section 9.2.2 above) as special case studies to learn lessons for policy planning, decision-making and practice on community development through CSR.
4. The Ministry of Tourism should maintain a real focus on institutional learning and evaluating progress of its concepts and strategies applied to foster sustainable community development outcomes to make improvements on a continuous basis.

9.3 Future Research Interests

The following are areas of research interest that other researchers might like to explore:

1. The study has shown that in the tourism sector, CSR is primarily responsive to tourists rather than company head offices or shareholders. Connected to this, the study has shown that tourism CSR is largely led and financed by tourists. This calls for a need to explore this unique case in order to understand the potential challenges and opportunities that arise for optimising community development through tourist led and financed CSR in the tourism industry.
2. This study has also shown that CSR undeniably generates some impacts on community development. However, there are still few studies that have attempted to quantify the actual CSR-relevant impacts and that demonstrate which individuals actually benefit more from the tourism CSR value chain. Therefore, there is a need to undertake a specific study to assess the real impacts of CSR on the lives of the people in poor communities such as the Mukuni communities.
3. The assumption made by this study that CSR is able to generate significant benefits for both businesses and communities, needs to be fully investigated in order to provide a better understanding about the significance of the idea of “mutual” benefits in the promotion of CSR for community development in the tourism industry.
4. One of the issues this study has highlighted is the weaknesses in the DDCC as a local level framework for coordinating and managing relationships among different stakeholders in CSR. A study is proposed to evaluate whether the establishment or enhancement of existing local level development frameworks, like the DDCC framework, could effectively serve the purpose as appropriate coordination and

management frameworks for responsible CSR. Such a study could first consider how local level development frameworks could be established or strengthened, how inequitable stakeholder composition and interactions could be ensured and managed, how effective deliberations on CSR issues could be achieved, how community voices could be incorporated in the framework as well as how feedback to their concerns can be ensured in the CSR space.

5. A specific comparative and mixed methods study on the hotel and lodge company practices in tourism destinations such as Livingstone, South Luangwa and Lower Zambezi National Parks, and between companies in tourism and other sectors such as the mining industry, is recommended, in order to draw deeper insights of how CSR is working as a vehicle for community development in Zambia.
6. Hotels and lodges often post a great deal of information on CSR on their websites such as reports, adverts, tag-lines, and brand messages. A specific study is needed to examine this information to find out whose interests and needs it serves most between poor communities and companies, and how this in turn helps to shape CSR practices for community development in Zambia's tourism industry.
7. There is need to explore the unique dual traditional chieftaincy structure of the Mukuni Chieftdom, involving male and female rules, in terms gender equity. As uncovered by this study, there are attempts to ensure the gender representation of women at various levels of the Chieftaincy structure. As such, there need for a research to generate deeper understanding of how and whether the voices of women are sought or not in CSR processes in practice. This is in view of the traditional and cultural practices that exist in the Chieftdom that tend to limit public freedoms of women to participate and play their roles in development freely. Such a study would highlight how the plight of women is incorporated in CSR processes and how this actually impacts equitable chances of women, compared to their male counterparts in Mukuni, to capture benefits from CSR and their opportunities to develop.

9.4 Final Conclusions and Recommendations

Overall, this research experience has shown that hotel and lodge companies can considerably contribute to sustainable community development through CSR, if their operating practices are changed, and supported by other stakeholders to ensure negative power relations are ameliorated. The study specifically suggests a shift from voluntary

to multi-stakeholder approaches with emphasis on promoting community-based institutional governance and accountability in structures used to implement CSR in poor communities. The evidence established from local initiatives examined in this study, and from elsewhere (Namibia and Thailand), supports the need for such a shift.

Furthermore, the focus of CSR interventions should be on the need to provide opportunities for the poor to develop themselves, if the livelihoods of the poor are to be impacted more positively and sustainably. This study has shown that tangible CSR-related community development impacts are likely to materialise when there is inclusion, genuine ownership and treatment of communities as partners. This implies the need to design and apply approaches that fully involve communities in CSR and supporting what the poor already do for their livelihoods before introducing them to new ideas and activities. It also implies supporting the transfer of appropriate skills to enhance the capacities for people in poor communities to equitably engage in CSR and capture benefits instead of providing charity.

The study also illustrates that factors that drive hotels and lodges to engage in CSR to benefit local people, while balancing commercial profitability requirements, play a fundamental part in guiding their interventions and success in contributing to community development. This implies that practitioners seeking to promote community development through CSR in the tourism industry in developing countries need to recognise and support the need for hotel and lodge companies to meet their commercial returns in a way that simultaneously seeks to optimise their contribution to community development. It also implies that companies should be viewed as partners in community development by government and community leaders and vice versa. Therefore, a challenge remains for these stakeholders to change their mentalities and approaches, if the contribution of CSR to community development is to create long-term positive impacts on poor people's livelihoods.

For this reason, this study emphasises the need to provide supportive national policy frameworks to guide the path to sustainable tourism development. This is important, particularly for the need to ameliorate negative power relations to ensure greater equity in CSR, and for creating opportunities for communities to benefit. If this is overlooked, CSR may not make a significant contribution to improving the livelihoods of more poor people in practical terms in communities where power relations are a problem.

Finally, this study shows that CSR can become an even more powerful pro-poor tourism strategy, if it is made to draw upon the strengths and resources of other stakeholders including government, relevant NGOs and donor organisations. If widely adopted, community-based governance and accountability through multi-stakeholder involvement approaches can potentially help to increase prospects for equity in CSR carried out to support community development in the tourism industry. Therefore, this study advocates for a stronger role for government and other stakeholders in directing and supporting what happens in the CSR space. This is because it has proved that multi-stakeholder initiatives could assist in ensuring that CSR processes and practices are shaped around the idea of inclusiveness and equitable development and could assist in creating spaces for dialogue and negotiation, and in building the capacities of the disempowered and disadvantaged to exert claims on the powerful to their own benefit.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Guide for Fieldwork

1. Give a brief description of your establishment. That is, year it was established, staffing levels and staff development programmes, number of rooms, target market, your CSR policy and programme?
2. What types of CSR does your company undertake in Mukuni communities? Are communities involved in decision-making or allowed to negotiate their CSR initiatives? If so, how is this done?
3. What goals do you intend to achieve in the communities with your CSR programme?
4. Has the company's CSR programme actually achieved these intended goals? If yes, give examples of the outcomes your company has achieved so far.
5. How does the company engage with communities in CSR? Are there any challenges or limitations faced, in this regard, on part of the company or on the part of the community?
6. How does the company ensure transparency (good governance and accountability) is achieved in the implementation CSR initiatives and what mechanisms are used or put in place to ensure good governance and accountability is achieved?
7. Do you find traditional power and cultural influences to be a factor in the structures and processes used to implement CSR in Mukuni communities?
8. What kind of influence do both power and culture have in the implementation of CSR initiatives? Give examples, if any, to explain or illustrate your response.
9. What are the most important sector constraints, if any, and explain how you think they undermine the growth of CSR in the study area
10. What are the most important constraints faced by people in Mukuni communities that try to limit their full participation in CSR? Suggest any way (s) you think these constraints have been or can be resolved and by who.
11. What are your comments or observations on the role (s) Government has played or should play to promote CSR in the tourism industry and in Mukuni area?
12. Do you buy (sell) any local products from Mukuni communities and do you offer yourself as a market for products from initiatives you support in the communities?
13. Would you say that you have assisted to market the crafts and curio products sold by Mukuni people in local markets to guests that visit your resort?
14. What would you say motivates you and your company to engage in CSR?
15. How can government increase participation of more companies in CSR?

Appendix 2: Lists of Participants and Identity Abbreviations

Government: Ministry of Tourism				
No.	Name	Position	Date (s) of Interview	Abbreviation
1	Amb Albert M Muchanga	Director of Tourism	10/07/14 and 11/07/14	DoT
2	John C Chiluwe	Chief Tourism Dev	3/07/2014	CTDO
3	Imbuwa Sianga	Chief Standards Inspector	9/07/2014	CTSI
4	Chilala M Habasimbi	Principal Tourism Dev & Research Officer	1/07/2014	PTDTO
5	Mwiinga C Chiluwe	Principal Standards Inspector	2/07/2014	PTSI
6	Peter Banda	Senior Tourism Dev & Research Officer	1/07/2014	STDRO
7	Harold C Mweene	SW Regional Tourism Coordinator	23/01/14 and 15/07/14	SWRTC
8	Frank P M'tolo	SW Regional Standards Inspector	16/07/2014	SWRTSI
Government: Ministry of Agriculture				
No.	Name	Position	Date (s) of Interview	Abbreviation
1	Philip Siyamiyoba	Chief Agricultural Officer	9/07/2014	CAO
2	Tundu Kaonga	District Agricultural Coordination Officer	18/08/2014	DACO
3	Owen Kawila	District Agricultural Cooperatives Inspector	18/08/14 and 15/10/14	DACI
4	Joseph M Mbozi	District Agricultural Marketing Dev Officer	19/08/2014	DAMDO
Government: Ministry of Mines				
No.	Name	Position	Date (s) of Interview	Abbreviation
1	Billy Chewe	Chief Mines Engineer	29/07/2014	CME
Government: Ministry of Community Development				
No.	Name	Position	Date (s) of Interview	Abbreviation
1	Alick Yambayamba	Community Development Officer	17/10/2014	DCDO

Companies: Hotel and Lodge Companies				
No.	Name	Position	Date (s) of Interview	Abbreviation
1	Stain Musungaila & Lute Kazembe	CSI Manager - Sun International Hotel Livingstone	24/01/14 and 20/10/2014	SILmger
2	Taniya Stevens	Hotel Manager - Protea Hotel Livingstone	15/07/2014	PHLmger
3	Mable Zulu	Marketing Manager - Courtyard Hotel Livingstone	20/08/2014	CHLmger
4	Benjamin Parker and Rudy Boribon	Lodge Manger - Tongabezi Lodge	29/09/2014 and 17/10/14	TLmger
5	Dominic Mulwisa	Owner/Lodge Manager - Chapa Classics Lodge	17/07/2014	CCLmger
6	Richard Chanters	Owner/Manager - Chanters Lodge	14/07/2014	CLmger
7	Mary T Nyirenda	Owner/Manager - Mosi-oa-tunya Executive Lodge	25/09/2014	MELmger
8	Sue Hancock	Owner/Lodge Manager - Jollyboys Backpackers Lodge	17/07/2014	JBLmger

No.	Community Groups	Synonym	Date	Project Core Sector
1	Craft and Curio Market -Vic Falls	CommunityGp-1	16/08/2014	Tourism
2	Craft and Curio Market -Town	CommunityGp-2	19/08/2014	Tourism
3	Craft and Curio Market -Palace	CommunityGp-3	17/10/2014	Tourism
4	Nsongwe Women	CommunityGp-4	17/10/2014	Agriculture
5	Maramba Women	CommunityGp-5	12/11/2014	Agriculture
6	Nakatindi Women	CommunityGp-6	20/11/2014	Tourism & Education
7	Mapenzi -Blind	CommunityGp-7	25/11/2014	Agriculture
8	Linda - Blind	CommunityGp-8	24/09/2014	Agriculture
9	Traditional Dancers	CommunityGp-9	20/10/2014	Tourism
10	Tujatane Community	CommunityGp-10	17/10/2014	Education

NGOs: Core Tourism and Non-Core Tourism				
No.	Name	Position	Date (s) of Interview	Abbreviation
1	Muunga Mapenzi H	ASNAPP Technology Transfer Manager	25/09/2014	ASNAPP Leader
2	Alick Mvula	ZNFU Facilitator	20/08/2014	ZNFU Leader
3	Rwinick Mapanza	LIFCS Coordinator	16/08/2014	LIFCS Leader
4	Alexander Mutali	LTA Chairperson	26/09/2014	LTA Leader
5	Tony Foster	ITALA Foundation Trust Chairman	17/07/2014	ITALA Foundation Leader
6	Stain M. Musungaila	Middleman and CSI Consultant	16/07/2014	CSI Expert

Mukuni Community: Leaders and Ordinary Members			
No.	Name	Position	Date (s) of Interview
1	Ernest Nzala	Legal and Development Advisor	17/10/2014
2	Cliffone Sitali	Administrative Secretary	24/01/2014
3	John Mwamba	Community Member	15/10/2014
4	Hildah Mulengo	Community Member	15/10/2014
5	Chungwe Londo	Community Member	15/10/2014
6	Joseph Chungwe	Community Member	15/10/2014
7	Euria Mukonde	Community Member	15/10/2014
8	Emmanuel Musanje	Community Member	15/10/2014
9	Boniface Mulengo	Community Member	15/10/2014
10	Miyoba Hatembo	Community Member	15/10/2014
11	Charity Mbozi	Community Member	15/10/2014
12	Mike Munyinda	Community Member	15/10/2014
13	Amanda Mushaukwa	Community Member	17/10/2014
14	Rosemary M Aongola	Community Member	17/10/2014
15	Bruce Nduna	Community Member	19/08/2014
16	Melody Muyoba	Community Member	17/10/2014
17	Augustine Sikambala	Community Member	17/10/2014

18	Herbert Kalashobola	Community Member	20/10/2014
19	Miyoba Shishengo	Community Member	20/10/2014
20	Phineas Shishengo	Community Member	20/10/2014
21	Namakando Mafulo	Community Member	20/10/2014
22	Rachel Muzoka	Community Member	20/10/2014
23	Hastings M Phiri	Community Member	18/07/2014
24	Solomon C Kangombi	Community Member	18/07/2014
25	Ignitius Mulyata	Community Member	12/08/2014
26	Mukuni Nchoba	Community Member	17/10/2014
27	Moses Mubita	Community Member	17/10/2014
28	Robert Zulu	Community Member	20/10/2014
29	Pelekelo Mwenda	Community Member	19/08/2014
30	Malumo Nguni	Community Member	15/08/2014
31	Tymon Neta	Community Member	17/10/2014
32	Stenley Kachuzu	Community Member	17/10/2014
33	Albina Simulonga	Community Member	12/08/2014
34	Melanie Webb	Head Teacher-Tujatane Community Trust School	17/10/2014
35	Sydney Hamwiita	Deputy Head teacher -Tujatane Community Trust School	17/10/2014
36	Lilian Nakazuka	Community Member	17/10/2014
37	Melvis Sibuku	Community Member	17/10/2014
38	Mary Sikasumpula	Community Member	17/10/2014
39	Helen Siabene	Community Member	17/10/2014
40	Beatrice Siamulozi	Community Member	17/10/2014
41	Edna Simwenzu	Community Member	17/10/2014
42	Matildah Nyemba	Community Member	17/10/2014
43	Makolele Simukale	Community Member	17/10/2014
44	George Michelo	Community Member	17/10/2014
45	Angela Kelwa	Community Member	17/10/2014
46	Museta Kwalombota	Community Member	17/10/2014
47	Joseph Siatulu	Community Member	17/10/2014
48	Titus Makole	Community Member	17/10/2014
49	Sililo Milimo	Community Member	17/10/2014
50	Brave Mushabathi	Community Member	17/10/2014
51	Pontino Daka	Community Member	20/10/2014
52	Lufus Ingwe	Community Member	20/10/2014
53	Nason Zulu	Community Member	20/10/2014
54	Josephat Nawa	Community Member	20/10/2014
55	Hillary Phiri	Community Member	19/08/2014
56	Mushaukwa Michael	Community Member	19/08/2014
57	Modester K Phiri	Community Member	19/08/2014
58	Phinias Deme	Community Member	19/08/2014
59	Dauty Mwape	Community Member	19/08/2014
60	Kelvin M Sumbwanyambe	Community Member	19/08/2014

61	John Walubita	Community Member	19/08/2014
62	Joseph Shaba	Community Member	15/08/2014
63	Keith M Siloka	Community Member	15/08/2014
64	Mulabo Bonwell	Community Member	14/08/2014
65	Akoyawa Moses	Community Member	15/08/2014
66	Brighton G Nyambe	Community Member	18/08/2014
67	Philip Mudala	Community Member	15/08/2014
68	Nicholas Mweene	Community Member	15/08/2014
69	Taitai Sangoma	Community Member	15/08/2014
70	Patrick Malake	Community Member	15/08/2014
71	Nguni Malumo	Community Member	15/08/2014
72	Alice Mubiana	Community Member	16/10/2014

Appendix 3: Framework Network Mapping Analysis

1. Instrument (Tool): Network (Relationships) Mapping
2. Purpose: To understand the interactions among different actors and their implications on the implementation of hotel and lodge-driven CSR initiatives in Mukuni communities
3. Duration: Full day
4. Target Participants: Community groups (crafts and curio sellers)
5. Justification: Network mapping (Net-Map) is an interview-based tool. The justification of using Net-Map in this research is that it is a powerful tool that helps to improve the understanding of any situation in which different groups of people or organisations interact to achieve common or even conflicting goals. In this research, Net-Map was used to understand, visualise and discuss the situation of the different actors involved in the implementation of hotel and lodge-driven CSR initiatives in Mukuni communities. The researcher used this tool to collect data on how different actors interact (relate) and consequently, influence (or shape) CSR practices in Mukuni communities. The specific purpose of collecting this data was to gain insight and understanding about who is involved, and how planning, coordination, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of CSR initiatives can be improved, and how governance and accountability in CSR practices can be enhanced, and how community engagement and participation in CSR can be facilitated and made more inclusive.

Session A: Who is involved in the CSR (processes) activities in Mukuni community?

Tasks: The purpose of these tasks is to find out which groups of people, organisations, and individuals are involved in CSR activities in Mukuni community

1. Divide participants in smaller groups of 3-5 people
2. Place a mapping sheet in front of each group and supply them with blank “hard” paper cards
3. Ask the group to name all individuals, groups, and organisations that can influence the implementation of CSR activities in Mukuni community. Guide the session with questions such as:
 - Which groups and individuals are involved in CSR activities in the community?
 - Who can influence CSR activities?
 - Who has influenced the CSR activities that have been implemented?
4. Encourage participants to mention every actor that comes to mind and not only those with formal decision making capacity in the CSR process. Write every actor on an actor card (use different colours for different groups of actors) and distribute the cards on the mapping sheet. Ensure participants add their organisation to the actor list.

Session B: How are the actors linked in CSR (processes) activities in Mukuni community?

Tasks: The purpose of these tasks is to find out how all these groups of people, organisations and individuals are linked to each other.

1. Define and thoroughly explain the possible links being considered to the participants (in this case such as: employment, income, local procurement, welfare support, community capacity building support, community sensitisation, directives and conflicts) and encourage them to come up with additional links (if any) to ensure correctness
2. Once you have agreed on the possible links, connect the actor cards with arrows indicating that “something” flows from one actor to the other³² and what is actually exchanged. In cases where two actors exchange more than one thing, draw a link that has a number of arrow heads of different colours. Each kind of link should be presented by its own colour. When this is done, explain to participants what each colour represents.
3. Explain to ensure that participants understand that you are not looking at how links should or will be, but at how they currently are.

Session C: How influential is each actor in CSR (processes) activities in Mukuni community

Tasks: The purpose of these tasks is to understand the extent of the influence of each actor in the CSR (processes) activities in Mukuni community.

1. Establish a commonly agreed-upon definition of “influence”³³ to mean; “the ability or power of the actor to influence a specific issue in relation to the CSR (processes) activities, and not about the formal hierarchies (positions of authority) or in the general sense.
2. Explain that the sources of power or influence could be diverse, ranging from legitimate decision making capacity or status in society, through giving expert knowledge or information, money, or other incentives, to bending or breaking rules.
3. Once the understanding of the term “influence” is established, participants should be asked to assess which actor has what amount of influence in CSR (processes) activities in Mukuni community
4. Explain to participants that using “bottle tops”, they should build influence towers for every actor. The tower might consist of a certain number of “bottle tops” to show the extent of the influence of each actor according to how strongly the actor can influence the CSR (processes) activities. The more influence an actor has the higher the tower of “bottle tops”. If an actor has no influence at all, no bottle top will be placed on its place.

³² Start with the link that is least common, and then continue with the next after finishing with this colour. In this way the picture develops slowly and the process is less complicated and messy. The researcher ensures that participants are guided through the process so that they do not forget any link at all. However, participants should not be pushed or influenced to link actors just to please the researcher.

³³ To avoid misunderstanding, both the participants and the researcher should share the same understanding of the term “influence”. The use of the term “influence” refers to the ability or power of the actor to influence a specific issue in relation to the CSR (processes) activities, and not about the formal hierarchies (positions of authority) or in the general sense.

5. Together with participants, verbalise the visual set-up of the influence towers shown by “bottle tops”, starting with the highest tower. For example, if the chief has been given the highest tower with the height of five (5) “bottle tops”, followed by the hotel manager and the taxi driver, both with four bottle tops.... and finally the Mukuni crafts and curio market sellers have no influence at all.
6. After verbalising, allow participants to make any adjustments as necessary. If changes are made to one tower in the influence network, adjustments should also apply to others accordingly until participants are content with the whole influence network set-up.
7. Note the height of the influence tower next to the actors’ names on the network map.
8. Starting with the most influential actor, ask participants about the sources and effects of influence. Ask follow up questions related to the general and overarching issues being explored in the research on CSR (processes) activities and practices. Identify at a glance what is special, strange, or noteworthy about the influence network map.
9. The questions may include:
 - Ask participants to explain why they have put some actors on the highest tower and others on the lowest or no influence at all?
 - Where does the highest actor get the influence from?
 - Why do some actors have the same level of influence? What happens if they disagree with decisions or actions on CSR (processes) activities? Is their influence based on the same grounds (sources)? Does it have the same range?
 - Ask participants to explain what the conflict between crafts and curio sellers and some hotels over selling of crafts and curios to tourists is all about.
 - Explain why you have linked actors X to so many others, but you say he does not have much influence, why is that so?³⁴

Session D: What are the goals or interests of the actors in the CSR (processes) activities?

Task: The purpose of these tasks is to understand the goals or interests of the actors in CSR (Processes) activities in Mukuni community

1. We now know who is involved, how they are linked, and how influential they are. Next, we want to know the goals of the actors to give us insight and know in which direction they affect the achievement of the goals of CSR (processes) activities in Mukuni community. The question, therefore is that, “who will influence whether or not CRS (processes) activities achieve their own specific objectives? Find out this from participants.

³⁴ Make sure you go through all the actors on the network map and keep in mind that it is crucial to understand not only why the powerful are powerful, but also why others are seen as having no influence.

2. (How) will actors use their links and influence to support or hinder (contradict) the achievement of hotel-driven CSR development goals in Mukuni community? Find out this from participants.
3. Ask participants to focus on each and every actor and state (name) which of the pre-defined hotel-driven CSR development goals that each actor is more likely to support or hinder.
4. Add abbreviations or symbols of each goal next to each actor card for the actor likely to support that goal by adding a plus sign (+). Do the same for actors that are most likely to hinder (contradict) the achievement of respective goals by adding a minus sign (-). More than one abbreviation or symbol can be used for actors that support or hinder more than one goal.
5. If prevalence of conflict (s) is noted, it would be important to find out the views or opinions of participants on how the conflict (s) could be resolved or what ideas can be developed in order to improve the situation in the future. That is, how and what peace-building or mediating strategies would be developed and supported by those involved in the conflict.
6. Note that the combination of influence towers and goal orientation signs can serve as an important eye-opener, and can help (allow) participants to be more strategic in their networking activities or relationships.

END

Appendix 4: Framework Pairwise Ranking and Comparison Analysis

1. Instrument (Tool): Pairwise Ranking and Comparison
2. Purpose: To define and prioritise the relevant goals for hotel-driven CSR initiatives in Mukuni community according to the opinions, perceptions and experiences of the community groups.
3. Duration: Full day
4. Target Participants: Community groups (crafts and curio sellers, and community producer groups)
5. Justification: As a tool, Pairwise Ranking and Comparison (PRC), is commonly used for prioritising the lists of problems, projects or development issues identified by the community. In this research, PRC is used to gain understanding of the most important development issues (challenges) in CSR initiatives that are implemented by hotels in Mukuni communities. The researcher uses this tool to improve his understanding of the actual and potential development challenges that are adversely affecting the performance CSR as a vehicle for community development in Mukuni. The development (goals) issues that were defined through the PRC sessions guided in-depth interviews with individual participants.

Session A: What are the most important development (goals) needs or issues of the Mukuni community that should be targeted by hotel-driven CSR initiatives?

Tasks: The purpose of these tasks is to identify as many needs or development (goals) issues as possible that could be targeted by hotel-driven CSR initiatives, and to put them in broad categories before prioritising them in order of importance.

1. Ask participants to mention development needs or issues of the Mukuni community. Encourage participants to mention as many development issues as they can think of.
2. Write down the list of all the development issues named by the participants.
3. Guide participants to group the issues identified into a maximum of about 10 broad categories. The researcher should avoid getting involved or influencing the process of categorisation.

Session B: What is the order of importance of the development (goals) needs of the Mukuni community that should be targeted by hotel-driven CSR initiatives?

Tasks: The purpose of these tasks is to prioritise the development issues listed by participants.

1. Divide participants into small groups in readiness for the prioritisation session
2. Explain the categories listed by participants and ascribe the development issue numbers to them for purposes of easy ranking
3. Explain the process of PRC and then ask participants to conduct the pairwise comparison of the development issues listed by them.
4. After completing the pairwise comparison of development issues, guide participants into scoring and ranking of the development issues
5. Finally, discuss the emerging picture of the PRC table to ensure that participants acknowledge the reality of the priority ranking results of the development (goals) issues. That is, clearly explain what the ranking really means.

Table: Pairwise Ranking and Comparison of Development (goals) issues to be targeted by hotel-driven CSR initiatives in Mukuni community

Development (Goal) Issue	Development (Goal) Issue Number										Score	Rank	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10			
1.													
2.													
3.													
4.													
5.													
6.													
7.													
8.													
9.													
10.													

END

Appendix 5: Coded Responses on Community expectations from CSR

Ordinary Community Participant	Main Livelihood activity of the participants	Community of Participant	Ranking				
			1	2	3	4	5
John Mwaamba	Gardener	Jack Mwanampapa	Water SCB	Market IGO	Skills TCB	Loans FS	Health SWN
Hildah Mulango	Gardener	Jack Mwanampapa	Water SCB	Market IGO	Transport SCB	Education SWN	Health SWN
Chungwe Londwe	Gardener	Masuntu	Water SCB	Market IGO	Skills TCB	Loans FS	Education SWN
Joseph Chungwe	Gardener	Chaba	Water SCB	Market IGO	Inputs FS	Skills TCB	Transport SCB
Euriah Mukonda	Gardener	Jack Mwanampapa	Water SCB	Market IGO	Transport SCB	Inputs FS	Loans FS
Emmanuel Musanje	Gardener	Nansanzu	Water SCB	Market IGO	Transport SCB	Loans FS	Loans FS
Borniface Mulango-H/Mfan	Gardener	Jack Mwanampapa	Water SCB	Market IGO	Transport SCB	Loans FS	Education SWN
Miyoba Hatembo (Mrs)	Gardener	Nansanzu	Water SCB	Market IGO	Transport SCB	Power (Energy) SCB	Loans FS
Charity Mbozi	Gardener	Nansanzu	Market IGO	Inputs FS	Skills TCB	Transport SCB	Loans FS
Mike Muniyinda	Gardener	Cheba	Water SCB	Market IGO	Skills TCB	Transport SCB	Inputs FS
Herbet Kalashobola	Gardener	Nsongwe	Market IGO	Skills TCB	Loans FS	Transport SCB	Inputs FS
Miyoba Shishengo	Gardener	Nsongwe	Skills TCB	Loans FS	Market IGO	Transport SCB	Income IGO
Phineas Shishengo	Gardener	Simonga	Market IGO	Transport SCB	Skills TCB	Income IGO	Loans FS
Namakando Mafulo	Gardener	Linda	Skills TCB	Market IGO	Transport SCB	Income IGO	Expand FS
Rachel Muzoka	Gardener	Linda	Market IGO	Skills TCB	Transport SCB	Income IGO	Education SWN
Chungwe Londwe	Gardener	Nakatindi	Market IGO	Transport SCB	Income IGO	Expand FS	Education SWN
Alice Mubiyana	Curio Seller	Maramba	Marketing SCB	Supportive Policy SCB	Tourist Numbers IGO	Skills TCB	Production(Loans) FS
Augustine Sikambala	Curio Seller	Daumbwa	Adverts SCB	Tourist Numbers IGO	Improved Policy SCB	Production(Loans) FS	Training TCB
Amanda Mushaukwa	Curio Seller	Linda	Billboard SCB	Income IGO	Information TCB	Production(Loans) FS	Good Life SWN
Rosemary M Aongola	Curio Seller	Maramba	Marketing SCB	Information TCB	Skills TCB	Income IGO	Production(Loans) FS
Bruce Nduna	Curio Seller	Nakatindi	Money IGO	Improved product quality SCB	Production (loans) FS	Storage SCB	Marketing SCB
Melody Muyoba	Curio Seller	Simonga	Income IGO	Food on the stable SWN	Less Competition with Hotels SCB	Send Children to School SWN	Decent & Respectable Life SWN
Happyson Kabwe	Curio Seller	Nsongwe	Job JO	Income IGO	Business SCB	Education SWN	Skills TCB
Moses Mubita	Curio Seller	Mukuni Central	Income IGO	Business Mentoring SCB	More hotels and lodges SCB	Low cost of doing business SCB	Skills TCB
Ignitions Mulepata	Curio Seller	Mukuni Central	Income IGO	Food SWN	Health SWN	Shelter SWN	Education SWN
Mukuni Nchoba	Curio Seller	Mukuni Central	Money IGO	Food SWN	Nice Clothes SWN	Children's Education SWN	A good house SWN
Tymon Neta	Curio Seller	Mukuni Central	Jobs JO	More Schools SWN	Clinics to help for the Sick SWN	Things to become cheap SWN	Water Supply SWN
Stanley Kachuzu	Curio Seller	Mukuni Central	More tourists	No tourism Visas IGO	More lodges and hotels	Schools SWN	Clinics SWN
Makole Simukale	Curio Seller	Mukuni Central	IGO	Marketing SCB	Number of tourists IGO	Food on the table SWN	Good Life SWN
George Michelo	Curio Seller	Mukuni Central	Jobs JO	More Companies SCB	Business SCB	Income IGO	Training TCB
Angela Kelwa	Curio Seller	Mukuni Central	Business SCB	Number of Tourists IGO	Jobs JO	Income IGO	Skills TCB
Museta Kwalombota	Curio Seller	Mukuni Central	Jobs JO	Business SCB	Income IGO	Skills TCB	Education SWN
Joseph Siatulu	Curio Seller	Mukuni Central	Jobs JO	Income IGO	Business SCB	Loans FS	Schools SWN
Titus Makole	Curio Seller	Mukuni Central	Business SCB	Income IGO	Jobs JO	Training TCB	Education SWN
Siliilo Mlirimo	Curio Seller	Mukuni Central	Business SCB	Jobs JO	Income IGO	Education SWN	Skills TCB
Brave Mushbathi	Curio Seller	Mukuni Central	Business SCB	Incomes IGO	Education SWN	Health SWN	Water Supply SWN
N=36							

Appendix 6: Low Risk Ethics Notification



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA

7 November 2013

Andrew Chilufya
13 Keiller Place
Fitzherbert
PALMERSTON NORTH 4410

Dear Andrew

Re: Prospects of Tourism Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) Initiatives for Community Development: A Case Study of Mukuni Chiefdom in Southern Zambia

Thank you for your Low Risk Notification which was received on 21 October 2013.

Your project has been recorded on the Low Risk Database which is reported in the Annual Report of the Massey University Human Ethics Committees.

The low risk notification for this project is valid for a maximum of three years.

Please notify me if situations subsequently occur which cause you to reconsider your initial ethical analysis that it is safe to proceed without approval by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees.

Please note that travel undertaken by students must be approved by the supervisor and the relevant Pro Vice-Chancellor and be in accordance with the Policy and Procedures for Course-Related Student Travel Overseas. In addition, the supervisor must advise the University's Insurance Officer.

A reminder to include the following statement on all public documents:

"This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research."

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor John O'Neill, Director (Research Ethics), telephone 06 350 5249, e-mail humanethics@massey.ac.nz."

Please note that if a sponsoring organisation, funding authority or a journal in which you wish to publish requires evidence of committee approval (with an approval number), you will have to provide a full application to one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. You should also note that such an approval can only be provided prior to the commencement of the research.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "J. O'Neill".

John G O'Neill (Professor)
Chair, Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and
Director (Research Ethics)

cc Prof Regina Scheyvens
School of People, Environment and Planning
PN331

Mrs Mary Roberts, HoS Secretary
School of People, Environment and Planning
PN331