1. Tourism's development impacts: an appraisal of workplace issues, labour and human development

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Abstract

Tourism's development role is an established focus in tourism studies and policy aimed at enhancing the socio-economic impacts of tourism. This chapter reviews the notion of development in tourism debates, drawing attention to impacts related to education and skills development, employment and livelihoods. While environmental protection is front-and-centre in climate change debates, current sustainability discourses underscore the need for a greater focus on human development. This chapter highlights the need for concerted policy development to enhance tourism impacts with respect to sustaining livelihoods, enhancing employee and community wellbeing, improving work conditions, and supporting overall human development.

Keywords: Tourism impacts; inclusive tourism; sustainability; human development; sustainable livelihoods; wellbeing

1. Introduction

Since the 1990s, tourism has found wider recognition as an economic sector with development potential, particularly in relation to maximizing the benefits of tourism for host communities and advancing development within destinations (Sharpley & Telfer, 2002). Tourism's potential benefits include: the transfer of wealth between rich and poor countries; the absence of trade barriers; the utilization of natural resources that have limited or no alternative uses (such as sea, beaches, mountains) for tourism purposes (Sharpley & Telfer, 2002) and; the creation of backward linkages between industries to provide tourism products or services (from a variety of suppliers, see for example Adiyia et al., 2017). The notion of sustainable tourism emerged as the impact of mass tourism became evident and international development grew as a phenomenon, emphasizing the economic, environmental and social impacts of tourism (McCool & Bosak, 2015; Mensah, 2019). Sustainable tourism development aims, principally, to enhance the quality of residents' lives (Uysal et al., 2016). An illustrative example of a sustainable tourism development project with such intentions is the Cree Village Eco

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Lodge in Moose Factory, a small community town in Canada (see UNWTO, 2020). The lodge was established in 1996 by the community with the support of the Cree Chief who emphasized from the onset that the aim of the initiative is developmental. Tourism enables locals to control the preservation of their Cree culture through architecture, hospitality and indigenous knowledge of the environment.

Governments routinely regard tourism as a strategic sector for job creation and poverty alleviation in view of high levels of sustained unemployment in developing countries experiencing natural resource decline and/or decline of traditional sectors (Baum, 2015; Ioannides & Zampoukos, 2018; Sharpley & Telfer, 2002). This includes an emphasis on tourism as a pathway for livelihood diversification (Bires & Raj, 2020; Lasso & Dahles, 2018; Torell et al., 2017). Inclusive tourism development, focussed on poverty reduction and broad-based access to the opportunities and benefits of the sector, is important from a sustainability perspective (Musavengane & Leonard, this volume; Rogerson, 2019; Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018). Inclusion is one of the core principles of the Sustainable Development Goals. While environmental protection is front-and-centre in climate change debates, contemporary sustainability discourses underscore the need for a greater focus on human flourishing, social justice and socio-political dimensions (Ariza-Montes et al., 2019; Bianchi & de Man, 2021; Brouder, 2020; Cheer, 2020; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2020). Authors who argue for tourism 'degrowth' to curtail its negative impacts, also stress the need for respecting the rights of communities and promoting greater equity with respect to the benefits of tourism (Higgins-Desbiolles et al., 2019; Valdivielso & Moranta, 2019).

Development encompasses qualitative dimensions in relation to social and economic impacts, which include wellbeing (see Saarinen et al., 2017). The concept of wellbeing, also referred to as quality-of-life, is a multi-dimensional construct which provides a comprehensive frame for understanding impacts on the individual, community and societal levels (Uysal et al., 2016). A wellbeing lens allows for the analysis of tourism sustainability at the destination level, which should include a focus on tourism employment (Ariza-Montes et al., 2019; Yürcü & Çolakoğlu, 2020). Livelihood diversification through tourism, the impacts on individual and community wellbeing, and its role in addressing the Sustainable Development Goals in times of economic pressure and declining natural resources remain pertinent areas for research (Lasso & Dahles, 2018; Matiku et al., 2020; Rogerson & Baum, 2020).

In this chapter, I discuss human development impacts of tourism with reference to employment, labour and workplace issues, education and skills training, and also sustainable livelihoods. Considerations from the literature are outlined in section two of this chapter. Policy considerations in terms of enhancing the human development outcomes of tourism in relation to the issues at hand are offered in section three. These are followed by conclusions in section four.

2. Human Development Impacts of Tourism

2.1 Employment, Labour and the Tourism Workplace

Literature on the nature of work in tourism points to its precarious nature, highlighting issues such as: low entry barriers; low pay; long hours; poor benefits; gender inequality; and limited upward career mobility (Baum, 2015; Baum et al., 2016; Booyens, 2020; Ioannides & Zampoukos, 2018). Youth, women and migrants are the most vulnerable in the tourism workforce, typically employed in the lowest positions with limited opportunities to progress upwards (Baum et al., 2016; Booyens, 2020; Dagsland et al., 2020; see respectively, the chapters by Zampoukos and de Jong & Figueroa-Domecq in the volume). Seasonality is a structural constraint linked to the precarious nature of short-term employment and a lack of job security in the sector. This is particularly evident with respect to elementary level jobs (Baum, 2015). The proportion of females in elementary positions is disproportionally higher than that of men, making it highly unequal from a gender-equality perspective (Baum, 2015; Booyens, 2020). A South African investigation confirms that while females make up about 40% of the overall tourism and hospitality workforce, they typically hold entry-level hospitality positions. Race is a further consideration with respect to inequality in South Africa. In 2017, the vast majority of hospitality workers, specifically, was Black African (78%), female (61%) and young (78%) (see Booyens, 2020). A further tourism employment issue, which is manifest in certain destinations, is migrant labour associated with increased mobility and diversity within the tourism workforce resulting in tourism enterprises often employing few persons from local communities or host countries (Lundmark, 2020; Wendt et al., 2020).

Tourism employment has been growing steadily during the last few decades and the sector is considered to be an overall economic success. However, many tourism workforce issues, such as bulluying and harassment, remain unsolved and are

reportedly worsening (Johnson, 2020; Williamson et al., 2017). The Covid-19 pandemic has exacerbated and underscored the precariousness of tourism employment particularly with respect to overall job insecurity accompanied by workplace abuse (One Fair Wage, 2021). While workplace bullying and harassment in the hospitality sector is an ongoing problem, hospitality workers face the increased ire of customers in times of Covid-19 (Dagsland et al., 2020; Jung & Yoon, 2020; Sönmez et al., 2020). For example, a recent Scottish study reveals that 85% of respondents experienced verbal abuse (mostly from customers) during the Covid-19 pandemic, and 64% reported sexual harassment (Hadjisolomou et al., 2021). This contributes to stress, impedes dignity and respect, and has an impact on employee wellbeing in the workplace. The experiences of hospitality workers align with those in other customer-facing (front line) service jobs characterized by frequent abuse along with emotional and aesthetic labour (Hadjisolomou & Simone, 2021; One Fair Wage, 2021; Warhurst & Nickson, 2009).

The tourism employment considerations outlined above spark debates on 'decent work'. Organizations like the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the United Nations advocate decent work. Accordingly, decent work is part of the United Nation's 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. While decent work is at the heart of sustainability debates, tourism scholars urge for greater engagement by researchers in tourism workplace and employment-related themes, which include deliberations on broader socio-economic and -political considerations and power dynamics (Baum, 2018; Duncan et al., 2020; Williamson et al., 2017; Ioannides et al., 2021). Authors note that while tourism employment has been well-researched from managerial and organizational perspectives, more critical views, which explain the observed phenomena and afford greater attention to the issue of tourism labour remain lacking (Baum et al., 2016; Bianchi & de Man, 2021; Christian, 2017; Ioannides & Zampoukos, 2018; Ioannides et al, 2021).

Notions of decent work evoke expectations of: fair treatment, pay and working conditions; job security and social protection; and meaningful work (see Baum, 2018; Duncan et al., 2020; Williamson et al., 2017). In addition, decent work notions align with wellbeing perspectives, which include workplace dignity and respect (see Bal, 2017; Hadjisolomou & Simone, 2021; Hsu et al., 2019; Winchenbach et al., 2019). The notion of dignity offers a nuanced view *vis-à-vis* social justice and human development as it manifests in the workplace. Workplace dignity draws on the notion of 'human

dignity' based on the humanistic ideals of Emmanuel Kant who offered a moralistic and egalitarian view of dignity, which was the driving force of the twentieth century Human Rights movement (Bal, 2017).

When considering why the notion of human dignity is pertinent to employment and workplace issues, we must take a step back. Capitalism, in its dominant neoliberal form tends to, *inter alia,* create wealth inequalities, contribute to the rising inequality of labour earning, commodify labour, and exploit workers (Bal, 2017; Piketty, 2015; Standing, 2010). The exploitation of workers is particularly problematic in countries where human rights and labour legislation with the accompanying law enforcement are not well established. What is more, neoliberal, deregulated market contexts empower employers and remove protection for workers (Williamson et al., 2017).

The function of labour (human activity) in market environments is to produce marketable goods and services and do so in a productive manner in order to maximize efficiency, profits and competitiveness (Standing, 2010). The twentieth century notion of labour, arising in the Industrial Age, distinguishes between 'work' and 'labour'. Accordingly, not all work is regarded as labour and not all labour is productive activity. Work in services, especially personal services, has historically not been seen as labour. That is, it does not contribute to the physical production of industrial goods. Thus, several classical and political economists, including Adam Smith and Karl Marx, have considered such work to be 'unproductive' (see Standing, 2010). This said, the majority of people in post-industrial contexts are increasingly involved in service work owing to a systematic decline of manufacturing work since the 1970s (Gruss & Novta, 2018; Standing, 2010). This situation is illustrated in the following quote:

> In many emerging market and developing economies, workers are shifting from agriculture to services, bypassing the manufacturing sector. In advanced economies, the rise in service sector employment typically reflects the outright disappearance of manufacturing jobs (Gruss & Novta, 2018).

Figure 1 shows service employment as a percentage of total employment in selected advanced economies and emerging markets in 2019.

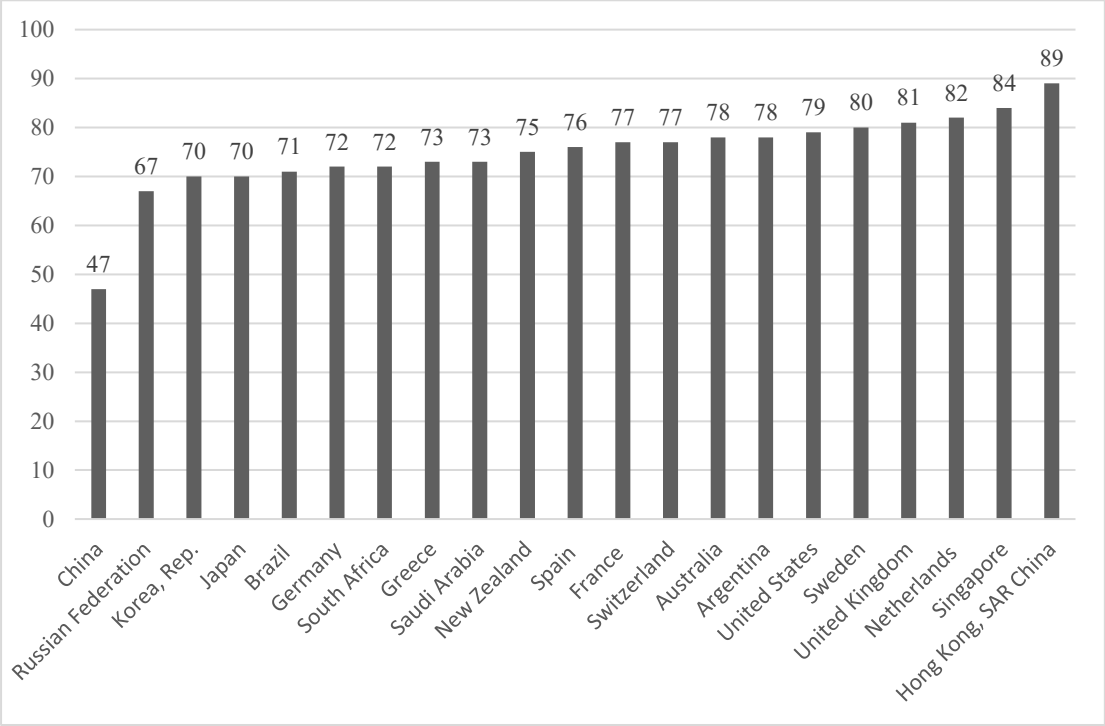

Figure 1: Employment in services (% of total employment) in selected countries (2019)
Source: Author's graph based on ILO, latest available via the World Bank Open Data portal

Authors point to widespread impressions that tourism and hospitality (T&H) work is 'servile' and often exploitative (Ariza-Montes et al., 2019; Baum et al., 2016; Bianchi & de Man, 2021; Williamson, 2017; et al. 2017). Zampoukos and Ioannides (2011) contend that much of the lower-end hospitality work is reproductive rather than productive. Tasks in question typically include cleaning, food preparation and maintenance. Jobs of this nature are akin to the traditional role of a 'housewife' and, therefore, socially constructed as 'feminine'. Such jobs typically constitute hospitality work, not least in development country settings were workers have limited career development prospects or alternative employment options (Baum, 2015; Booyens, 2020). What is more, the low status of tourism work is related to its growing casualization, which is observed on an international scale (see Ioannides & Zampoukos, 2018). Collective bargaining for better human resource outcomes remains low in T&H as a result of weak trade union representation (Baum, 2007; Bianchi & de Man, 2021, Williamson et al., 2017). Migrant workers in T&H (typically under-represented and from the global South) have very little agency and protection (physical and social) in

the countries where they work (Christian, 2017; Ioannides & Zampoukos, 2018). For example, the following incident made news in March 2020: the Coylumbridge Hotel near Aviemore in the Scottish Highlands terminated the employment of staff, refused to put them on furlough during the Covid-19 pandemic, and demanded that they vacate their accommodation with immediate effect (*The Guardian*, 20 March 2020). Migrant workers were among those who lost their jobs and some of them reportedly ended up 'on the street'.

Standing (2010) proposes that the notion of an occupation should be contrasted to that of a job. He considers occupations to be pertinent for work in a post-industrial and globalized future. Following Standing's arguments, an occupation is linked to one's vocation and is more than simply doing a job. It evokes a sense of purpose. This corresponds with performing meaningful work (see Bal, 2017; Williamson et al., 2017). Moreover, an occupation is ontological. It is the constant becoming and 'unbecoming' of an individual as he or she builds a career and develops a niche (including developing skills and competencies). This, in turn, leads to an enhancement of a sense of autonomy, agency and self-determination, which is central to dignity in the workplace (Bal, 2017).

2.2 Education and Skills Training and the T&H Sector

A focus on human development is fundamental for improving tourism work outcomes. An example of a tourism strategy, which has a strong emphasis on 'people' in the tourism sector, is Ireland's *People, Place and Policy: Growing Tourism to 2025* (DTTS, 2019). The human resource development elements of the strategy centre on enhancing the capacity of the tourism workforce to meet the changing needs of visitors and on putting a clear and coherent framework in pace for the development of human capital.

While impressions persist that the T&H sector requires low level skills and has low entry levels, education and skills training are positively linked to the promotion of T&H occupations (Baum, 2015; Booyens, 2020; Mooney, 2016). Skills training, especially for lower (elementary) level hospitality workers, can contribute to the development of professional identities (see Baum et al., 2016). Mooney and Jameson (2018) put forward that viewing a hospitality career as a 'calling' can put T&H employees on a path towards developing a hospitality identity and career. Therefore, from a human resource development perspective, employees need to be upskilled in

order to facilitate upward career mobility in the T&H sector (Booyens et al., 2020). Furthermore, while a broad set of skills is required in tourism, effective human resource management requires skills to drive innovation and enhance competitiveness (Baum 2015; Booyens et al., 2020; Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011). In order to innovate, tourism firms need to develop management competencies with a focus on leadership, strategic orientation, professionalism and financial management (Booyens et al., 2020). Indeed, a lack of knowledge concerning managerial or business practices hampers innovation by tourism enterprises (Pikkemaat et al., 2018). What is more, there is not only a need for tourism enterprises to innovative in order to achieve economic success and competitiveness, but also to implement environmental and social innovation to promote tourism sustainability (Booyens & Rogerson, 2016a; Panfiluk, 2021). This said, education and training in T&H is lacking in many developing country contexts, especially on the tertiary level (Booyens, 2020; Shakeela et al., 2012). As a result, human resource capabilities and overall skill levels in tourism are observed to be particularly low in African countries for example (Maumbe & van Wyk, 2011; Mayaka & Akama, 2007).

The absorption of T&H graduates into the labour market is a policy concern in countries with high levels of youth unemployment. A common assertion by the T&H employers is that there is a mismatch between the outcomes of formal T&H education and the skills expected by the industry (Booyens, 2020; Marchante et al., 2007; Solnet et al., 2014; Tsangu et al., 2017). Tourism qualifications are not always valued by employers who seem to place a greater emphasis on industry experience as opposed to formal education. Accordingly, it is observed that T&H graduates often struggle to access the labour market as is the case in South Africa (Booyens, 2020; Tsangu et al., 2017). This can be attributed, in part, to lacking coordination between stakeholders in the wider tourism sector, and also between various actors (public and private) in the tourism education and training system (see Marchante et al. 2007).

T&H education and training systems are typically highly fragmented, a situation which is compounded by the complex nature of the T&H sector itself across policy domains, scales, space and stakeholder groups (see Stoffelen & Ioannides, in this volume). This has an impact both on planning and policy implementation in the sector (Adu-Ampong, 2017; Solnet et al., 2014; Stoffelen, 2019). A lack of overall coordination between stakeholders in the T&H sector, and fragmentation with respect

to their actions and functions, accordingly impacts T&H education, training and skills planning adversely, particularly in developing countries where dedicated policy for human resource development in tourism is often lacking (Adu-Ampong, 2017; Mayaka & Akama, 2007; Shakeela et al., 2012).

2.3 Tourism and Sustainable Livelihoods

A focus on livelihoods is useful for assessing the local benefits of tourism. The benefits of tourism do not necessarily comprise of employment (formal or informal) in all cases or contexts, but also present opportunities for income generation throughout the T&H value chain, which can lead to the diversification of local livelihoods. Conventional perspectives tend to emphasize either economic, commercial or environmental impacts of tourism (Ashley, 2000). Conversely, sustainable livelihood approaches identify a wider range of impacts over and above job-creation and cash income alone (Twinning-Ward et al., 2018). Livelihood diversification involves the enhancement of income generating activities as a strategy to reduce vulnerability to risk and/or create pathways out of poverty (Bires & Raj, 2020; Lasso & Dahles, 2018; Torell et al., 2017). Livelihood diversification can be complementary, or alternative, to primary sector activities. For example, Adiyia et al. (2017) highlights the poverty alleviation potential of tourism employment, in addition to agriculture, for enhancing local livelihoods around in Kibale National Park in Uganda.

Although more than one definition of sustainable livelihoods exists, it can be understood as:

> …the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities that are required to make a living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance capabilities and assets, and provide SL [sustainable livelihood] opportunities for the next generation (Tao & Wall, 2009, p. 91).

Accordingly, sustainable livelihoods refer to individuals and communities being able to: cope with stresses, which may be caused by poverty or climate change; recover from shocks that may come with natural disasters or new development initiatives; and maintain their capabilities and assets without damaging the natural resources for future generations' use (Krantz, 2001). Livelihood diversification can, therefore, be understood as an adaptive strategy to increase individual and community wellbeing (see

Carrà et al., 2014). Sustainable livelihoods comprise multifaceted processes and interactions, in terms of combatting poverty and ensuring that people's livelihoods, way of life and natural resources can be sustained. Key considerations involve the 'what', 'how' and 'who' with respect to enhancing tourism's contribution to livelihoods in-line with people's livelihood priorities. This has implications for tourism planners, policymakers, destination managers, communities, businesses and NGOs (Ashley, 2000; Twinning-Ward et al., 2018).

Research on sustainable livelihoods has gained traction in tourism studies, often in context of nature conservation and wildlife tourism (see Adiyia, 2017; Bires & Raj, 2020; Lekgau & Tichaawa, 2020; Matiku et al., 2020; Stone et al., 2020; Stone & Nyaupane, 2016, Twinning-Ward et al., 2018). Two examples of sustainable livelihoods in projected areas are provided below: The Chobe National Park (CNP) in Botswana (see Stone and Nyaupane, 2016), and; the Danayigu Ecological Park (DEP) in Taiwan (see Lee, 2008). The livelihoods of communities in the vicinity of the CNP have traditionally depended on hunting and gathering, along with crop and livestock farming. The establishment of the CNP has a colonial legacy. Villages adjacent to the CNP were removed from the park in the 1950s, and villagers banned from hunting in the park for nature conservation purposes. Hunting was a traditional mainstay of these communities, and the ban forced them to become agro-pastorialists. This delinked their cultural and social capital from the natural capital of the park. What is more, community participation was not valued in early natural resource management practices. The formation of community-based organizations in recent years has since stimulated increased benefits to the community through tourism. The DEP was established mainly for tourism development and community participation was ensured from the onset. Visitor numbers to the park have grown and small enterprises around the park have, accordingly benefitted. The development of both parks has been significant for diversifying the livelihoods of the villagers involved. The incorporation of tourism in both areas allowed for job and small business opportunities for people living close to the park. Most of the tourism activities involve part-time or casual labour, which fit in with the local lifestyles and provide supplementary livelihood options. It should be noted that in both areas, tourism did not replace traditional livelihoods. Instead, tourism complemented the existing livelihood strategies. This is important because tourism is,

essentially, an unstable industry, meaning that communities cannot or at least should not solely depend on it as a livelihood strategy.

The above is pertinent also in coastal communities where fishing as a traditional livelihood has declined and tourism is seen as an alternative source of employment. Authors stress that livelihood transitions can have unintended consequences, impacting adversely on community status, belonging and identity, which, in turn, impacts on individual and community wellbeing in traditional fishing communities (see Kimbu et al., 2021; Lasso & Dahles, 2018; Urquhart & Acott, 2014; Uysal et al., 2016). People appear to attach significantly less meaning to service work than to their occupation in fishing, farming or other traditional sectors. Those previously employed in traditional sectors are, reportedly, reluctant to enter 'McJobs', that is, low-skilled, poorly paid jobs in the service sector (Lindsay & McQuaid, 2004). Indeed, Torell et al. (2017, p. 199) stress the "complex relationship between occupational diversity and people's interactions with the environment and it is clear that livelihood diversification is not a blanket solution to reducing pressure on coastal resources". Nonetheless, there are cases where fishing industries are either collapsing or have collapsed and local communities have, subsequently, benefitted from tourism. For example: a recent investigation which looked into livelihood diversification and two rural coastal communities, Paternoster in South Africa and Padstow in England, found that the growth of culinary tourism has stimulated entrepreneurship and micro-enterprise opportunities in both villages (Kimbu et al., 2021). These developments have empowered women, especially, in the impoverished fishing community of Paternoster. This said, the benefits currently are modest. Better linkages between the local fishing industry and the T&H sector need to be fostered in both cases.

3. Policy Considerations for Enhancing Human Development in Tourism

Given the complexities, fragmented nature and structural dynamics of tourism; a public policy prerogative exists for enhancing human development in the sector. Policy development is needed with respect to creating decent employment, diversifying livelihoods, and enhancing employee and community wellbeing (Baum, 2018; Rogerson & Baum, 2020; Siakwah et al., 2020). This said, developmental obstacles like a lack of shared responsibility of stakeholders and power issues at the community level,

as observed in the in Pilanesberg National Park in South Africa (see Stoffelen et al., 2020), can severely curtail the local development effect of tourism despite the policy-focus on tourism. Policy considerations outlined in this section centre on enhancing: stakeholder collaboration and governance; education and skill training, and; pro-poor benefits with a focus on livelihoods.

3.1 Networked Governance in Tourism

Collective action is needed to promote sustainable tourism while governance should be the basis of collaboration (Bramwell, 2011). Enhanced networking with multi-stakeholder collaboration is pertinent to improve tourism governance, planning and sustainability (Adu-Ampong, 2017; Lin & Simmons, 2017; Siakwah et al., 2020). Successful networking for responsible tourism includes establishing strong local level relationships. One example is the inter-firm networking behaviour of the Tsitsikamma nature-based cluster in the area of Plettenberg Bay in South Africa, while another example concerns both inter-firm and inter-governmental networking, facilitated by the City of Cape Town (see Booyens, 2016; Booyens & Rogerson, 2016b). Both cases promote the uptake of responsible tourism practices in their localities. In the case of the Tsitsikamma cluster, ethical entrepreneurs promote responsible tourism behaviour among a number of ecotourism and adventure tourism establishments on the local level, in collaboration with nature conservation bodies. The City of Cape Town drives the uptake and monitoring of responsible tourism on the local level, and coordinates their efforts with that of the Western Cape province. The City is also instrumental in bringing best practice firms together to learn from each other. While these case examples provide positive signs of progress, the impacts are localized and stronger relationships are needed for collaboration and governance at a wider scale to enhance tourism sustainability (Aquino et al., 2018; Booyens, 2016; Siakwah et al., 2020).

Networked governance, from the public management literature, emphasizes collaboration within government spheres and with external actors which presents a way to improve the tourism sustainability. This approach involves a wider set of actors and holds that governance takes place within networks of public and non-public actors characterized by complexity (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). Even though the notion of governance networks is not new, it has assumed greater importance in recent years notably in tourism sustainability and resilience scenarios (Espiner et al., 2017). Central

to effective multi-stakeholder management and governance is enhanced coordination through networking behaviour both vertically (between firms or between government departments) and horizontally (between multiple stakeholders in the private, public and third sectors), as well as between internal (local) and external (non-local) actors (see Waligo et al., 2013). The task of coordination covers a wide spectrum of activities including information sharing, assignment of responsibilities, utilization of resources, innovation and, most importantly, shared decision-making and accountability. A further focus with respect to collaboration, and collective action, is the inclusion of workers whose labour position in the tourism economy is notoriously fragile, so that their workplace rights and wellbeing can become a central topic of discussion too, at the minimum at the local level where these issues are most directly experienced.

While strategic planning in tourism is a collective endeavour involving government and the private sector, an overall lack of planning and also commitment on the part of tourism stakeholders to catalyse sustainable tourism persist (Baum, 2018; Baum et al., 2016). Both tourism planning and institutional collaboration in tourism within the public sector, and between actors in the public domain and tourism private sectors, are absent or at best constrained especially in developing country contexts (Adu-Ampong, 2017; Booyens, 2016; Shakeela et al., 2012). Stoffelen (2019) highlights one of the main obstacles to establishing collaborative arrangements in these places, namely that decision-making *vis-à-vis* tourism is dispersed between public, private and civil society actors, with scattered and contradictory impacts of tourism development emerging across social, economic and environmental spheres. Especially in developing country contexts, characterized by relatively weak or overly centralized or decentralized tourism-related decision-making, dealing with these complexities has proved extremely difficult. The lack of trust in government institutions, moreover, regularly impedes inter-organizational collaboration in the tourism environment (Yuksel & Culha, 2018). Consequently, even though collaborative governance through strategic planning is a key pathway to sustainable and responsible tourism, including key issues related to tourism workplace precariousness, there are various obstacles to establishing these inclusive relations in practice.

3.2 The Governance of Education and Training in Tourism

Collaboration is needed for the implementation of strategies and to strengthen relationships between key partners or stakeholder groups for the continuous improvement of tourism outcomes, which includes education and skills development (see Baum, 2018; Booyens, et al., 2020; Solnet et al., 2014). Mayaka and Akama (2007) argue for a systems approach in tourism training and education to address fragmentation, improve coordination and develop a vibrant and resilient tourism workforce. Systems thinking regards social systems as complex, dynamic and interconnected.

The state has an oversight role in coordinating and governing education and skills, not least in tourism. Therefore, the state has a key role to play in facilitating systems approaches to tourism training and education. Adu-Ampong (2017) urges that the state is instrumental in facilitating and encouraging participation by multiple stakeholders in planning processes for tourism human resource development. While observers stress that commitment by both government and industry is required to strengthen education and skills development in tourism, tourism industry participation in planning for tourism education and training tends to be limited (Shakeela et al., 2012; Solnet et al., 2014). Solnet et al. (2014) underscore the diverse role of public and private sectors in workforce planning, which includes school level, vocational, higher education and life-long learning. They stress that desired outcomes in relation to human resource management and development include the provision of skills at a quality and quantity, which fosters growth in the tourism economy, enhances economic restructuring, encourages the knowledge expansion in service economies, and stimulates inclusive employment creation. This is part of a wide-ranging workplace development agenda, which is challenging to realize *inter alia* because of conflicting stakeholder interests. For that reason, concerted efforts from stakeholders involved, along with political will and government action, are needed to address tourism workplace issues.

A clear focus on employee development in various scales of tourism enterprises emerges as a key area for policy intervention (Pikkemaat et al., 2018). Bal (2017, p.104) urges that it is "the duty of organizations to compromise on maximizing their outcomes in favour of societal preferences". In other words, the appeal exists for organizations to promote the greater good as an organizational value and to accordingly act responsibly. Key recommendations concern skills training to stimulate vertical movement in the

T&H workforce through upskilling, which includes T&H sub-sector specific skills training, accompanied by mentorship programmes and pathways to the labour market particularly for youth (see Booyens, 2020). This should go a long way towards promoting the T&H occupations, upward career mobility and decent work in T&H. Enterprises and industry organizations are well placed to deliver sub-sector specific skills training within T&H in collaboration with occupational training authorities and accreditation bodies. This, however, is not enough. Upon the completion of skills training, work placements along with mentorship can further enhance professional development in tourism (see Booyens, 2020; Booyens et al., 2020). The aim of such initiatives should be to create employment pathways and ensure upward career mobility especially of persons in lower occupation levels who do not have formal education and training. The private sector drives such initiative in partnership with the public sector to create better opportunities in tourism.

3.3 Local Collaboration and Participation for Livelihood Diversification

Local collaboration and appropriate public policy responses are pertinent to support livelihood diversification through tourism and enhance individual and community wellbeing (Kimbu et al., 2021). Collaboration among a diverse range of actors is needed to foster inclusive tourism development (Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018; Sotarauta, 2017). Furthermore, meaningful community participation is essential in order to enhance local benefits. Those who facilitate community participation should take local power dynamics into account and be prepared to learn from communities and educate tourism actors on sound participation practices (see Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018; Siakwah et al., 2020). Bottom-up inclusion is central to the success of development initiatives and to enhance pro-poor benefits (Hart et al., 2020; Sotarauta, 2017). However, community participation is a development 'buzzword', which tends to be vaguely defined and allude to many different practices labelled as 'participatory', often paying little attention to who participates and who benefits (see Cornwall, 2008). In order to enhance local benefits and ensure that a development initiative meets the needs of local communities, inclusion practices need to go beyond community consultation and involve active participation of community members in development processes (see Hart et al., 2020). Local collaboration and active community participation are arguably

invaluable to also foster livelihood diversification processes in tourism. Concerted efforts from tourism stakeholders at various levels are imperative to realize this.

4. Conclusions

Despite the fact that tourism has the potential to contribute to development, expectations are often unreasonable and unrealistic. Balancing the sustainable planning and development of tourism with needs of locals and workers, and the expectations of tourists, while protecting the environment at the same time is not an easy task. Consequently, the development impacts of tourism have remained elusive in many contexts. Despite the global growth of tourism employment, tourism work remains precarious with workplace issues largely neglected in sustainable tourism debates. It is argued that greater efforts and more commitment from tourism stakeholders are required to work towards sustainable outcomes in tourism. This is perhaps more pertinent now than ever before.

The development of human resources through education and skills training is one way to enhance workplace dignity and encourage the development of occupations, upward career progression and also innovation in T&H. Furthermore, tourism human resource development has a role in promoting sustainability as education can lead to more clarity regarding sustainability issues, develop a realistic image of tourism and, importantly, help develop a culture that promotes sustainability within the tourism industry. The sustainable livelihoods concept presents a lens for considering the income benefits of tourism on a local level over and above a focus on employment.

In this chapter I have also drawn attention to the need for greater attention to governance processes and structures in tourism to enhance networking within the sector and broad-based collaboration for education and skills training. Networked governance is useful in the context of tourism given the sector's complexity. Moreover, local collaboration and active community participation are required to ensure local benefits and facilitate the expansion of tourism livelihoods. However, the sector's complexity also provides obstacles to establishing these collaborative arrangements that it depends on to achieve broader human development impacts. This situation is particularly problematic in contexts such as in the global south where the developmental role of tourism is most relevant considering precarious working conditions, skills and training limitations, and fragile livelihoods situations. Consequently, tourism policy should

spend considerable effort on putting qualitative dimensions in relation to social and economic impacts as well as overall human development perspectives central if it is to succeed in achieving sustainability.

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