

Towards a tourism and community development framework: An African perspective

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DECLARATION

I, **OWEN GOHORI**, Student Number 27785343, do hereby declare that this thesis entitled, **Towards a tourism and community development framework: An African perspective** is my own original work and all sources used and quoted have been accurately reported and acknowledged by means of complete references, and that this thesis has not been in part or its entirety by me or any other person submitted for degree purposes at this, or any other institution.

O. Gohori..... 

Signature

Date: 27 November 2019

DEDICATION

Dedicated to all the poor rural people of the world who support tourism development in their communities and the people of Manicaland Province, Zimbabwe who were severely affected by the devastating effects of cyclone Idai soon after my fieldwork.

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ABSTRACT

This research examines the potential of tourism to alleviate poverty and bring about community development in Manicaland province, Zimbabwe. It argues that tourism development in poor African rural communities can be a tool of poverty alleviation. Although tourism development has been known to reduce poverty through pro-poor tourism (PPT) and community-based tourism (CBT), poor people's perspectives and experiences have not been given much attention. Limited research has also shown the importance of incorporating African people's indigenous knowledge systems and culture in tourism development as a strategy of poverty reduction. Although tourism development may contribute to poverty alleviation, disempowerment and limitations to community participation in tourism are still prevalent in rural African communities visited by tourists. This research seeks answers to four main questions: What are the barriers to community participation in tourism as identified by CBT projects in Zimbabwe? What are the roles of tourism as a means of community development and poverty alleviation as perceived by local people in Manicaland? What are the obstacles to community development and poverty alleviation as perceived by local people in Manicaland? What are the roles of tourism as a means of community development and poverty alleviation as perceived by key informants?

This research was designed in two stages. The first stage involved a content analysis of CBT projects in Zimbabwe, where a systematic search for documents was done. Eighty-four projects were identified, and twenty-two of them were found to have barriers to community participation in tourism. The second stage collected data through in-depth interviews in the case study area, where 43 poor people were interviewed. In-depth interviews were also conducted with 22 key informants in Harare and Manicaland. This research identified that local people perceive poverty as the lack of enough food to feed the family and attribute it to both internal and/or external causes. Tourism can be a viable strategy for poverty alleviation in Manicaland. However, the potential is negatively affected by the low tourist arrivals, the prevalent barriers to community participation in tourism, leakages, and thus reducing the benefits which could be realised by local people. It is also worsened by the policy framework, which denies rural people land ownership and the lack of devolution of powers and authority to grassroots levels. Most local people consider tourism a contributor to poverty alleviation. The most common limitations to community participation in tourism projects include limited tourism knowledge, limited time to take part in tourism due to other livelihood activities, inadequate benefits being realised from tourism, elite

domination, and the marginalisation of women. Lack of employment and peripherality are the most important obstacles to poverty alleviation overall.

This research suggests that the long-term viability of CBT projects in Africa needs external partners/donors to provide funding and capacitate the local people. However, in order to avoid over-reliance on external partners, the promotion of domestic tourism is suggested to boost revenue generation. From an African perspective, this research helps tourism scholars, planners, and policy-makers as it adds to the body of knowledge on the role of tourism as a means of poverty alleviation and community development. This research also contributes practically through the developed tourism and community development framework. This research argues that valuing the views and lived experiences of poor people may result in successful approaches and strategies to poverty alleviation in Africa.

Key words: poverty alleviation, community development, community-based tourism, pro-poor tourism, Manicaland province, Zimbabwe

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AA	Appropriate Authority
AfDB	African Development Bank Group
ART	Africa Resources Trust
AWF	African Wildlife Foundation
CAMPFIRE	Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources
CASS	Centre for Applied Social Sciences
CBNRM	Community-based Natural Resource Management
CBT	Community-based Tourism
CBTEs	Community-based Tourism Enterprises
CCG	CAMPFIRE Collaborative Group
CITES	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora
EMA	Environmental Management Agency
GoZ	Government of Zimbabwe
HWC	Human-wildlife Conflict
IKS	Indigenous Knowledge Systems
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
LED	Local Economic Development
MoFED	Ministry of Finance & Economic Development
MoTHI	Ministry of Tourism & Hospitality Industry
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
PPT	Pro-Poor Tourism
PTD	Participatory Technology Development

QOL	Quality of Life
RDCs	Rural District Councils
SADC	Southern African Development Community
STEP	Sustainable Tourism Enterprise Promotion
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
VIDCOs	Village Development Committees
WADCOs	Ward Development Committees
WB	The World Bank
WTTC	World Travel & Tourism Council
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature
ZIMSTAT	Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency
ZNPWLMA	Zimbabwe National Parks & Wildlife Management Authority
ZTA	Zimbabwe Tourism Authority

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This research examines the potential of tourism to alleviate poverty and bring about community development in Manicaland, Zimbabwe. Tourism is one of the fastest-growing sectors of the world's economy (World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC), 2019a:1). According to Przeclawski (1996:239), "Tourism, in its broad sense, is the sum of the phenomena pertaining to spatial mobility, connected with a voluntary, temporary change of place, the rhythm of life and its environment, and involving a personal contact with the visited environment (natural, and/or cultural and/or social)". International tourism has shown almost uninterrupted growth since the 1950s and has nearly doubled over the past decade (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2010:13; United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), 2015a:22). The tourist floodgates opened when tourism had been proclaimed a universal and fundamental right of all citizens across the globe in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in December 1948. Following the declaration, new records in tourist arrivals, receipts and expenditures were reached, with each year increasing upon the previous (Singh, Timothy & Dowling, 2003:3). An estimated 1.2 billion tourists travelled internationally in 2016 in which the strongest growth was recorded in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific regions (UNWTO, 2017:11). This figure is forecast to increase to 1.6 billion by 2020 (UNWTO, 2011:3), wherein 85 million tourists are expected to visit Africa (Statista, 2016). In terms of global exports, the tourism sector comes fourth after fuels, chemicals, and food but notably ahead of automotive products. Thirty per cent of the world's export services come from international tourism while it also accounts for 6% of the world's total exports (United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), 2011:414; UNWTO, 2014:14). According to Partners for Livable Communities (2014:5), tourism is directly responsible for 5% of the world's gross domestic product (GDP), and the tourism sector employs one out of every 12 people around the world.

Although the role of tourism in economic development has an established legacy, its contribution to the development of host communities is arguably a recent and controversial topic in the tourism and related literature (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009:4; Mutana, 2013:148; Sharpley & Telfer, 2014:xi; UNWTO, 2018:24). This has led to the emergence of the community-based tourism (CBT) concept that is defined as a form of tourism "where the local community has substantial control over, and involvement in, its development and management, and a major proportion of the benefits remain within the community" (World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF),

2001:2). Murphy's (1983) ecological model of community tourism development is attributed to the concept of CBT. It has been promoted as an alternative form of tourism, and has been adopted by governments and conservation non-governmental organisations (NGOs) as a means to reduce threats to protected areas and to improve the well-being of local communities.

Tourism in Zimbabwe is an important sector. In 2017, it created 27,500 jobs directly (1.7% of total employment) and 69,000 jobs indirectly, which was 4.4% of total employment (WTTC, 2018:1). The Labour and Economic Development Research Institute of Zimbabwe (LEDRI) (2012:8) forecasts that the tourism industry will contribute 8.2% to Zimbabwe's GDP over the next decade, making the country the second fastest-growing tourism industry in the world after China. Tourism receipts (exports) for Zimbabwe contribute significantly to the total export of the country, proportionately averaging 4.7% in 2017 (WTTC, 2018:1). The government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) has recognised the importance of CBT in their policy framework as shown by their economic blueprint known as Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZIM-ASSET October 2013 – December 2018), whereby tourism products and diversification are regarded as a cluster key result area which has a strategy of reviving community-based tourism enterprises (CBTEs). To achieve the goal of poverty eradication, the Ministry of Tourism and Hospitality Industry (MoTHI) decided to have a more noble inclination towards CBT, which takes into consideration that there must be tourism and community development at the same time. ZIM-ASSET also regards domestic tourism development as another cluster key result area, which has a strategy of increasing support for CBTEs.

This chapter discusses the research process used in this study. A brief background of the study is provided, followed by an analysis of the problem statements. The goal and objectives of the study are clearly stated as well as the research methodology and definition of key terms. The chapter concludes by highlighting chapter classification.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Many scholars concur that CBT emerged during the 1970s as a response to the negative impacts associated with mass tourism (Timothy, 2002:149; Goodwin & Santilli, 2009:4; López-Guzmán, Sánchez-Cañizares, & Pavón, 2011:73; Zapata, Hall, Lindo & Vanderschaeghe, 2011:726; Giampiccoli & Mtapuri, 2012:33; Giampiccoli & Kalis, 2012:174; Salazar, 2012:10; Giampiccoli, Saayman & Jugmohan, 2014:1140; Dodds, Gursory, Yola & Lee, 2015:37; Saayman & Giampiccoli, 2015:165; Mtapuri & Giampiccoli, 2016:155). The term CBT refers to tourism owned and/or managed by communities and intended to deliver wider community benefits (The

Mountain Institute, 2000:5; George, Nedelea & Antony, 2007:1; Harwood, 2010:1910; López-Guzmán, Borges & Castillo-Canalejo, 2011:37; López-Guzmán, Sánchez-Cañizares & Pavón, 2011:73; Armstrong, 2012:2; Giampiccoli & Mtapuri, 2012:30; Goodwin & Font, 2014:31). The need to use tourism as a tool to alleviate poverty and spread economic benefits to the most socially and economically marginalised members of the community gave rise to the birth of the CBT concept (MoTHI, 2016:46). Holloway and Taylor (2006:132) argue that locals should participate to ensure that they benefit economically from tourism development through the provision of employment, and by becoming owners of the tourism facilities.

In order to mitigate the negative impacts of mass tourism, there was a worldwide inquisitive search for alternative forms of tourism. These forms would seek to maintain and retain resources while placing people in the centre (Singh *et al.*, 2003:5). These forms of tourism would be an antithesis to mass tourism, permitting the benefits from tourism into poor local communities (Singh *et al.*, 2003:5; Salole, 2007:206). Of the many alternative forms of tourism, ecotourism emerged to be the most captivating (Boo, 1993:15; Singh, *et al.*, 2003:5; Zapata *et al.*, 2011:726). However, according to Singh *et al.* (2003:5), nature dominated ecotourism was essentially a “green” panorama in which residents were denied access, particularly in protected areas.

Scholars once again realised that nature could not be saved at the expense of local people as postulated by ecotourism. Conservation, preservation, and development became implied facets of ecotourism (Singh *et al.*, 2003:5). The protagonists of ecotourism took time to acknowledge that the concept was more concerned with the environment rather than local people; thus CBT emerged.

In search of the best CBT model to benefit the community, scholars have proposed various CBT models and examples are mentioned in Okazaki (2008), Zapata *et al.* (2011), Mtapuri & Giampiccoli (2013), and Giampiccoli, Jugmohan and Mtapuri (2015). It has been argued that CBT may lead to poverty alleviation or reduction (George *et al.*, 2007:2; Armstrong 2012:1; Salazar, 2012:11; Dodds *et al.*, 2015:36), empower local communities (Scheyvens, 1999:246; Harwood, 2010:1911; Armstrong, 2012:2; Salazar, 2012:11; Dodds *et al.*, 2015:36), bring about community development (Armstrong 2012:2; Salazar, 2012:11; Dodds *et al.*, 2015:36) and help natural resource conservation (WWF, 2001:2; Tresilian, 2006:40-41; UNWTO, 2018:70).

Scenic landscapes, outstanding biodiversity and a rich cultural heritage coupled with hospitable people and good weather are the key assets on which Zimbabwe is building its tourism industry that, in 2018, registered 2.5 million international arrivals (Zimbabwe Tourism Authority

(ZTA), 2018a:17). Current trends in tourism promote benefits to the poor local people of the destinations visited by the tourists, hence the concept of CBT. In Zimbabwe, the CBT concept was first initiated in communal communities that were around national parks under the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) programme (Mawere & Mubaya, 2012:101-102; Gandiwa, Lokhorst, Prins, Leeuwis & Heitkönig, 2013:4; Tichaawa & Mhlanga, 2015:56). The CAMPFIRE was established in 1989 (Baker, 1997:280; Hasler, 1999:5; Gujadhur, 2000:57; Logan & Moseley, 2002:4; Balint & Mashinya, 2008a:783; Ngwerume & Muchemwa, 2011:78; Gandiwa *et al.*, 2013:3; Harrison, Stringer & Dougill, 2014:7). Gujadhur (2000:57) argues that the CAMPFIRE was formed following the 1989 decision of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) to place the African elephant (*Loxodonta africana*) in Appendix 2.

Through the CAMPFIRE, four sets of institutions have been given roles in natural resource management at a local level (Mohamed-Katerere, 2001:123). These are specialist agencies, elected local government bodies, traditional institutions, and state-initiated community management structures. The Zimbabwean government adopted the Traditional Leaders Act (TLA) in 1998, which restored the authority of the chiefs that were tempered with soon after independence (Mohamed-Katerere, 2001:124; Centre for Conflict Management and Transformation (CCMT), 2015:13). Chapter 29:17 of the Act proclaims that Chiefs lead their communities and perform the functions of their office as traditional heads of the community (Mohamed-Katerere, 2001:124). Thus, in terms of the TLA, Chiefs supervise the collection of levies, taxes, rates, and charges by the village heads, protect public property, provide information to Rural District Councils (RDCs) (which are elected local government bodies) about people who intend to come or permanently leave their area (CCMT, 2015:13). The issues pertaining to indigenous peoples, cultures, land rights, resource use, and tourism continue to receive attention from academic researchers, government agencies, NGOs, and the private sector (Zeppel, 2006:xi). Zeppel (2006:xiv) adds that indigenous groups are pressing for full legal recognition of their claims to traditional territories, biological diversity, cultural resources, and traditional knowledge which all have been taken over through tourism development.

The CAMPFIRE promotes what is known as Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) to involve communities in conserving natural resources. Although the CAMPFIRE started initially by focusing on wildlife management and mostly trophy hunting, it subsequently diversified beyond wildlife utilisation to include non-consumptive ecotourism ventures (Taylor, 2009a:2565). One of the most robust features of the CAMPFIRE is its local

Zimbabwean origin (Logan & Moseley, 2002:2). Its conception was through a government agency and not NGOs and their allies (Logan & Moseley, 2002:2). Sufficient evidence indicates that the CAMPFIRE originally aspired to true bottom-up planning with a focus on community input and autonomy (Logan & Moseley, 2002:4).

The WWF (2006:5) defines CBNRM as “an approach to the management of land and natural resources which is relevant to, and has the potential to provide solutions to some of the problems found within the communal lands of Southern Africa, where the majority of people live with, and depend on, natural resources”. The WWF (2006:36) elaborates that poverty and human-wildlife conflicts (HWC) are the major problems found within the communal lands of Africa. Indeed, CBNRM programmes have been used to manage HWCs in Southern Africa and as a rural development strategy based on the devolution of power and management of natural resources to the local communities (Nhantumbo, Norfolk & Pereira 2003:3; Jones 2004:28; Mbaiwa, 2004:45; WWF, 2006:36). The issue of HWCs is not limited to large mammals such as elephants, hippos, and carnivores (WWF, 2006:36; Gandiwa *et al.*, 2013:1). Birds, insects, and small mammals are all capable of carrying large scale-destruction of crops and therefore threatening people’s livelihoods. In order to promote devolution within the CAMPFIRE, implementers have encouraged the formation of community-based tourism enterprises (CBTEs) (Jones, 2004:28). In the Manicaland province, the focal point of this research, some of the popular CBTEs are the Mahenye/Chilo Gorge Safari Lodge project and the Gairezi ecotourism project in Nyanga.

Studies done on the CAMPFIRE and the CBNRM in Zimbabwe (Katerere, 2001; Child, Jones, Mazambani, Mlalanzi & Moinuddin, 2003; Zeppel, 2006; Mazambani & Dembetembe, 2010; Chiutsi, Mukoroverwa, Karigambe & Mudzengi, 2011; Mawere & Mubaya, 2012; Chiutsi & Mudzengi, 2012; Mutana, 2013, Jones & Erdmann, 2013) concur that there are benefits brought by CBT to the communities. Among these benefits are economic ones which include employment for the locals (Chiutsi *et al.*, 2011:18; Mbaiwa, 2011:254; Mawere & Mubaya, 2012:99), improvement in infrastructure through building of schools and, clinics; and boreholes and provision of tarred roads (Hoole, 2007:7; Mutana, 2013:161; Tichaawa & Mhlanga, 2015:62), income generation to the local households (Katerere, 2001:127; Jones, 2004:29; Hoole, 2007:7), and conservation of wildlife (Katerere, 2001:127; Child *et al.*, 2003:7; Mbaiwa, 2011:254). Jones (2004:30) states that land under the CAMPFIRE control had roughly 12,000 elephants in 2004, up from about 4,000 in 1989. Mutana (2013:162) cites cultural conservation as another benefit of CBT in her findings of the study of CBT conducted in Binga. The distribution of meat from animals killed for consumptive tourism in some of the rural communities is one of the benefits of

CBT (Hoole, 2007:7). HWCs were also reduced in the CAMPFIRE areas (Child *et al.*, 2003:8; Mbaiwa, 2011:254) and veld fires were contained (Mbaiwa 2011:254).

On a global scale, benefits of CBT have been well documented by a number of development organisations and scholars. A number of scholars (Cole, 2006a:94; Tresilian, 2006:40; George *et al.*, 2007:2) concur that community involvement in tourism can help to protect the environment and endangered species. It is argued that CBT empowers communities by allowing local people to determine their own affairs (The Mountain Institute, 2000:5; Cole, 2006a:95). CBT preserves the culture and local traditions, an example being the Lappish community in Finland (Cole, 2006a:93; George *et al.*, 2007:2).

As highlighted, the literature on CBT is generally favourable. Forecasts of high tourism growth in developing countries, where widespread poverty exists, have led to considerable interest in tourism as a tool of poverty alleviation (Chok, Macbeth & Warren, 2007:144). Researchers and development agencies have come up with various approaches that can promote poverty alleviation through tourism in order to bring about community development. One such approach is pro-poor tourism (PPT) which generates net benefits for the poor (Roe & Khanya, 2001:2; Jamieson, Goodwin & Edmunds, 2004:3; Chok *et al.*, 2007:147; Scheyvens, 2007:233; Goodwin, 2008:56; Scheyvens & Momsen, 2008:24; UNWTO & The Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV), 2010:xv; UNWTO, 2011:83; Saayman & Giampiccoli, 2015:166).

The Zimbabwean government has realised that poverty in rural communities can be reduced through CBT, as evidenced by the ZIM-ASSET. Poverty in Zimbabwe is a rural phenomenon (The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), The World Bank (WB) & The Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZIMSTAT), 2015:xiii). CBT in Zimbabwe originated out of the need to use tourism as a tool to alleviate poverty and spread economic benefits to the most socially and economically marginalised members of the community (Madzara, Yekeye & Rewayi, 2012:4). As 75% of the world's poor live in rural areas, top tourism destinations such as protected national parks, mountain ranges, lakes, wilderness areas, and cultural sites, especially in developing countries, are found in rural areas (Nedelea & Okechi, 2008:257). Thus, tourism is an essential feature of the rural economy in these specific sites. This observation is applicable to Zimbabwe.

This thesis, therefore, examines the potential of tourism as a means of poverty alleviation and community development in Manicaland province, Zimbabwe. The province largely covers the eastern highlands of Zimbabwe. It is popular with international tourists, mainly due to the beautiful

scenic views, abundant flora and fauna, and cultural heritage of the local people. In 2016, there were 13 CBTEs in Manicaland (GoZ, MoTHI, Ministry of Finance & Economic Development (MoFED) & Keios Development Consultancy (KDC), 2016:55), although poverty remained rife (70.6%) (ZIMSTAT, 2013:i).

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENTS

As stated earlier, CBT in Zimbabwe was introduced as a way of bringing about community development in rural communities as emphasised by the ZIM-ASSET. At a global level, the desire to alleviate poverty is embedded in the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (UNWTO, 2015b:1). Whilst there are 17 goals, no poverty is placed as the first goal. According to UNWTO (2015b:2), sustainable tourism development, and its impact at the community level can be linked with national poverty reduction goals.

Although the CAMPFIRE has some achievements, the CBNRM model has received mixed views (Murphree, 2009:2552). Despite having a Zimbabwean origin, the model has been criticised for little participation by community actors in crafting its reform agenda as its architects were State wildlife bureaucrats who collaborated with local conservationists, rural extension experts, and academics (Nelson & Agrawal, 2008:569).

At the time of its inception, the CAMPFIRE was hailed for having low levels of external donor funding (Taylor, 2009a:2556). However, it later relied heavily on donor funding. It received more than US\$35 million in donor funds over 15 years (Murombedzi, 1996:10; Child *et al.*, 2003:13; Balint & Mashinya, 2006:807; Mapedza & Bond, 2006:409; Taylor, 2009a:2567; Muchapondwa & Stage, 2015:3). Donor funds stifled the formation of traditional institutions, reduced the costs of running the programme, helped the CAMPFIRE to get started without many problems that inadequate funding could have caused, and supported applied research (Muchapondwa & Stage, 2015:3). Nonetheless, external aid affected the facilitation of local community participation in decision making (Hasler, 1999:3; Murombedzi, 1996:16; Muchapondwa & Stage, 2015:3). External agents appropriate the organs of participation for their own benefit (De Kadt, 1990:30). Balint and Mashinya (2008a:791) argue that some of the CAMPFIRE projects depended heavily on donors such that they became defunct after the donors withdrew their funding.

Despite the CAMPFIRE emphasising devolution, a number of scholars (Murombedzi, 1996:13; Nelson & Agrawal, 2008:558; Taylor, 2009a:2578; Muboko & Murindagomo, 2014:208) accuse the Rural District Councils (RDCs) for not devolving power and money to the local

communities. The issue of governance has also affected the success of the CAMPFIRE. Governance entails transparency, accountability, participation, and the rule of law (Balint & Mashinya, 2008a:785). Governance declined sharply in the two CAMPFIRE projects of Mahenye and Nyaminyami after 2000 (Balint & Mashinya, 2008a:789). The CAMPFIRE's over-reliance on trophy hunting as its main income-generating activity has affected its revenues due to animal rights activists and the role of international lobby groups (Hasler, 1999:11). Zimbabwe's elephant population from which the CAMPFIRE gets its primary revenue from trophy hunting and sale of ivory is seen as a world, rather than national, heritage (Hasler, 1999:11). The extent of local village control of wildlife management under the CAMPFIRE has, therefore, been significantly influenced by trading agreements such as the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES). The future of benefiting from elephants is also bleak, as many animal activists and organizations are lobbying for *Loxodonta africana* to be placed under CITES' Appendix 1.

Despite numerous research on CBT, Kim, Song and Pyun (2016:1175) contend that little attention has been paid on the links between CBT, poverty reduction, and community development. Venagas (2014:280) posits that there are very few studies on the actual contribution of CBT to community development. Venagas, Gartner and Senauer (2015:163) argue that there is a lack of convincing global empirical evidence to justify the claim that increased tourism development will lead to significant benefits for the poor.

The other gap found within the previous research is the voice of the local people. In spite of the rich body of literature on CBT, there is a concern that current CBT models rely on Western experts and development agencies (Mtapuri & Giampiccoli, 2016:155). Little attention has been paid to local non-Western perspectives and knowledge. Other scholars (Dolezal & Burns, 2015:138; Dangi & Jamal, 2016:21) concur that current CBT planning approaches, although they changed from being top-down to participatory, continue to advance Western notions without appreciating and understanding the community perspective. The views and perceptions of local people on tourism's ability to alleviate poverty and bring about development in their impoverished communities are critical; hence, this research seeks to address that gap.

Therefore, the reason for undertaking this study was to develop a tourism and community development framework which is capable of promoting poverty reduction and bringing about community development in Zimbabwe's communal areas. Manicaland was used as the case study area as poverty prevalence is high in the province. The research sought to understand the views of

local people in relation to tourism and community development. It sought to answer the following questions:

1. What are the barriers to community participation in tourism as identified by CBT projects in Zimbabwe?
2. What are the roles of tourism as a means of community development and poverty alleviation as perceived by local people in Manicaland province?
3. What are the obstacles to community development and poverty alleviation as perceived by local people in Manicaland province?
4. What are the roles of tourism as a means of community development and poverty alleviation as perceived by key informants?

In the end, a unique CBT framework was developed.

1.4 GOAL OF STUDY

The main research goal is to examine the potential of tourism as a means of poverty alleviation and community development in Manicaland, Zimbabwe.

In order to achieve the above-mentioned goal, the following objectives had to be fulfilled;

- (i) To identify the barriers to community participation in tourism as identified by CBT projects in Zimbabwe.
- (ii) To examine the roles of tourism as a means of community development and poverty alleviation as perceived by local people in Manicaland province.
- (iii) To investigate the obstacles to community development and poverty alleviation from the perspectives of local people in Manicaland province.
- (iv) To examine the roles of tourism as a means of community development and poverty alleviation as perceived by key informants.

1.5 RESEARCH METHODS AND DESIGN

Research methods are specific strategies for conducting research (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009:21). Henning, Van Rensburg and Smit (2004:36) define methodology as “a coherent group of methods that complement one another and have the ability to fit and to deliver data and findings that will reflect the research question and suit the researcher’s purpose”. There are three approaches to research, namely: quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009:4;

Creswell, 2014:3; Bryman, 2016:18). This study made use of a qualitative approach. These three approaches are not as discrete as they appear (Creswell, 2014:3), and they are discussed next.

1.5.1 Quantitative Research Method

Quantitative research is an approach for testing objective theories by examining the relationship among variables (Creswell, 2014:12). Quantitative research results can be summarised in numeral categories, usually referred to as statistics (Have, 2004:4; Marvasti, 2004:7; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009:5; Leedy & Ormrod, 2010:94; Creswell, 2014:12).

Quantitative research methods have been called the first methodological movement or first research community (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009:4; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011:65). Quantitative researchers initially subscribed to the tenets of positivism, which entails that social research should adopt scientific methods; and consists of the rigorous testing of hypotheses by means of data that takes the form of quantitative measurements (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009:5). Quantitative researchers have become associated with the worldview known as postpositivism, a revised form of positivism that addresses the more widely known criticisms of the qualitative orientation, yet maintains an emphasis on quantitative methods (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009:5).

Creswell (2014:155) argues that there are two main methods of quantitative research: (a) survey designs; and (b) experiment designs. Survey designs provide a quantitative or numeric description of trends, attitudes, or opinions of a population by studying a sample of that population while experiment designs test an impact of a treatment (or an intervention) on an outcome, controlling all other factors that might influence that outcome (Creswell, 2014:155-156). These two designs reflect post-positivist philosophical assumptions (Creswell, 2014:156).

1.5.2 Qualitative Research Method

Qualitative research has been called the second methodological movement (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011:40), the second research paradigm (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004:15), and the second research community (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009:4) due to the fact that it came after quantitative research. Denzin and Lincoln (2011:3) define qualitative research as:

“... a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. Qualitative research consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This

means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.”

Many qualitatively oriented researchers subscribe to a worldview known as constructivism (Teddle & Tashakkori, 2009:6; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011:40). Constructivists believe that researchers individually and collectively construct the meaning of the phenomena under investigation (Teddle & Tashakkori, 2009:5). Qualitative research is misunderstood as: (i) not involving a method; and (ii) being easier than quantitative research (Clark-Carter, 2004:10-11). Nevertheless, these two may be valid for bad research, but good qualitative research is just as rigorous and as good as quantitative research (Clark-Carter, 2004:11).

Qualitative research involves looking at characteristics or qualities that cannot be easily reduced to numerical values, and qualitative data is usually spoken words, actions, sounds, symbols, physical objects, or visual images (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010:94; Neuman, 2014:204). As a result, qualitative techniques allow the researcher to share in the understandings and perceptions as well as lived in experiences of others and to explore how people structure and give meaning to their daily lives (Berg, 2001:7; Lune & Berg, 2016:16). Answers to qualitative research questions are narrative in form (Teddle & Tashakkori, 2009:6). Studying humans in a symbolically reduced, statistically aggregated fashion has the danger of producing arithmetically precise conclusions which fail to fit reality (Berg, 2001:7).

A number of scholars (Stake, 2010:15-16; Yin, 2011:7-8; Rallis & Rossman, 2012:8-9; Creswell & Poth, 2018:8) concur that qualitative research studies the meaning of people’s lives, under real-world conditions as well as representing the views and perspectives of the people in a study. Rallis and Rossman (2012:9) posit that qualitative researchers talk with people, watch and listen as they go about their everyday tasks. They add that qualitative researchers read documents and records while also looking at physical space, clothing, tools, and decorations (Rallies & Rossman, 2012:9). Qualitative procedures provide a means of accessing unquantifiable facts about the actual people researchers observe and talk to as represented by their personal traces (letters, photographs, newspaper accounts, and dairies) (Bergman, 2008:7).

Qualitative research involves four basic types: (a) observation; (b) interviews; (c) document analysis; and (d) audio visual materials (Creswell, 2014:190). During the observation, the researcher writes down notes on the behaviour and activities of individuals at the research site and qualitative observers may be non-participant or complete participants (Creswell, 2014:190). Interviews may be face-to-face with participants, telephonic, or engaging in focus groups with six

to eight interviewees in each group (Creswell, 2014:191). In document analysis, the researcher may collect public documents like newspapers, minutes of meetings, and official reports. Private documents like personal journals, diaries, and letters can also be used. Audio and visual materials may take the form of photographs, art objects, video tapes, or any forms of sound (Creswell, 2014:191).

1.5.3 Mixed-methods Research

Mixed methods research is referred to as the third methodological movement as it was developed after quantitative and qualitative research methods (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011:1). It is also known as the third research paradigm (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004:16), or the third research community (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009:4). Mixed methods was developed as an alternative to the dichotomy of qualitative and quantitative traditions (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009:4). A number of reasons contributed to the evolution of mixed research methods, the main one being that the complexity of research problems calls for solutions beyond simple numbers in quantitative sense or words in a qualitative sense. Thus, a combination of both quantitative and qualitative forms of data provides complete analysis of problems (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011:21).

Mixed methods research can be defined as “research in which the investigator collects and analyses data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches in a single study or program of inquiry.” (Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007:3). Mixed methods as a research paradigm emerged from the 1990s (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011:40; Creswell, 2014:192). The philosophical orientation or worldview often associated with mixed methods research is known as pragmatism (Bergman, 2008:12; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009:7; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011:40; Creswell, 2014:192).

The focus of pragmatism is on the consequences of the investigation, on the primary importance of the question asked rather than the methods, and on the use of several methods of data collection to inform the problems under study (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011:41). Pragmatism rejects the either/or choices associated with the paradigm wars while advocating for the use of mixed methods in research and acknowledging that the research values play a role in the interpretation of results (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009:8). Mixed methods is most appropriate to research problems in which the quantitative or qualitative approach is inadequate to provide a complete understanding of their possible causes and potential solutions (Creswell *et al.*, 2011:6; Molina-Azorin, 2011:8-9; 2012:35). Creswell *et al.* (2011:6) add that mixed methods also seeks to view problems from a number of perspectives, thus enhancing and enriching the meaning of a

singular perspective. The mixed methods approach has five main advantages which include: (a) triangulation which refers to the use of multiple research methods, thus offsetting bias and enhancing validity; (b) complementarity which entails the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods, thus allowing the researcher to fully understand the research problem; (c) synergistic effect where the results from one method helps to develop or inform the other method; (d) initiation in which the results of a study may prompt a new study; and (e) expansion through the extension of the breadth of the inquiry enabling future research endeavours while allowing continuous use of the mixed methods approach (Greene, Caracelli & Graham, 1989:258-260; Hesser-Biber, 2010:3-5; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011:62; Harwell, 2011:152).

There are six overlapping types of mixed methods research designs (Creswell, 2009:211-216; Harwell, 2011:153-157; Robson & McCartan, 2016:178). The first is sequential explanatory design, where the emphasis is on interpreting and explaining relationships among variables. Quantitative data is collected and analysed first, followed by qualitative data. More weight is given to the quantitative component. The second is a sequential exploratory design which is meant to enhance generalisability. Qualitative data is collected and analysed first then quantitative data. Priority is given to qualitative data, although the findings are integrated during interpretation. The main focus is to explore a phenomenon. The third is sequential transformative design, which ensures that the presentation of the views and perspectives of a diverse range of participants is done. Qualitative or quantitative data may be collected first, and they are analysed separately while the results are integrated during interpretation. This design is guided by a conceptual framework. The fourth is concurrent triangulation, where cross-validating, confirming, or corroborating the findings from a single study is the main focus. Quantitative and qualitative data are collected simultaneously, and equal weight is given although there is a possibility of one type of data being weighted more heavily. The data is analysed separately, and mixing takes place during interpretation. The fifth is a concurrent nested design in which there is concurrent qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis. However, greater weight is given to one kind of data as it is embedded in the other although data from the two methods integrate the information. The sixth is concurrent transformative design, which entails the simultaneous collection of qualitative and quantitative data. There may be equal or unequal data weighing during the integration of the findings, and this design can be based on ideologies such as advocacy, critical theory, and participatory research (Creswell, 2009:211-216; Harwell, 2011:153-157; Robson & McCartan, 2016:178).

Mixed methods research has a unique characteristic of data conversion, also known as data transformation (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009:269). This means that collected quantitative data types are converted into narratives that can be analysed qualitatively, or qualitative data types are converted into numerical codes that can be statistically analysed. Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009:269) call this quantitising and qualitisising.

Nevertheless, qualitative research methods were the most appropriate for this study as the aim was to seek the views and perceptions of local people on the potential of tourism to alleviate poverty and bring about community development in poor rural communities. This was done in rural communities under real-world conditions.

1.5.4 Empirical survey

An empirical survey can be defined as research based on experimentation or observation (evidence) and derives knowledge from actual experience rather than from theory or belief (Explorable, 2013). The word empirical entails information gained by experience, observation, or experiment (Explorable, 2013). An empirical survey promotes an environment for improved understanding, proves the relevance of theory by working in a real-world environment (context), and helps to build on what is already known (Explorable, 2013). As the researcher visited the functional CBT projects in Manicaland during data collection, this provided the opportunity to observe and take pictures (evidence).

1.5.5 Research design and methods of collecting data

A research design may refer to the logical sequence that links the empirical data to a study's initial research questions and, ultimately, to its conclusions (Yin, 2014:28). In qualitative research there are six types of research designs: (i) conceptual studies; (ii) historical research; (iii) action research; (iv) case study research; (v) ethnography; and (vi) grounded theory (Nieuwenhuis, 2007a:71-72). These types overlap and there is a great deal of borrowing between them (Nieuwenhuis, 2007a:70). However, in this study a research design describes the process of data collection and analysis (Harwell, 2011:148; Nieuwenhuis, 2016a:72). The research design took a two-stage process (Chapter Four). The first stage consists of a content analysis of CBT projects in Zimbabwe. This made it possible to achieve objective one of the research, which was to identify the barriers to community participation in tourism as identified by CBT projects in Zimbabwe.

The second stage was done in the case study area where in-depth interviews were conducted with local people (traditional leaders, elected committee members, community members), and key informants from both Harare and Manicaland. Traditional leaders included

chiefs and village heads. In-depth interviews were used because the researcher wanted to hear the voices or perspectives of the local people. Stage two achieved objectives two, three and four (Chapter Four) of this research.

1.5.6 The target population

Murphy (2016:6) contends that failure to clarify the target population in research may result in misunderstanding and dissatisfaction among the respondents. A target population may be defined as “an entire group from which some information is required to be ascertained” (Banerjee & Chaudhury, 2010:61). However, it should be noted that a population for a research study comprises groups of people defined in many different ways (Banerjee & Chaudhury, 2010:61; Murphy, 2016:6). The process of selecting the population in this research as well as the final number of people selected to be interviewed is presented in Chapter 7.

1.5.7 Sampling

Sampling is defined as the act, process, or technique of selecting a suitable sample, or a representative part of a population for the purpose of determining parameters or characteristics of the whole population (Hair, Wolfinbarger, Ortinau & Bush, 2008:48). Sampling is done whether the research is qualitative or quantitative (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003:77).

There are two methods used in sampling, which include probability sampling, also known as random sampling and non-probability sampling, which is also known as non-random sampling (Acharya, Prakash, Saxena & Nigam, 2013:330). In probability or random samples, each population element has an equal opportunity, or quantifiable probability of being selected (Clark-Carter, 2004:154). The different types of probability sampling include simple random sampling, systematic random sampling, stratified sampling, and multi-stage cluster sampling (Copernicus Consulting, 2008). It is argued that probability sampling is the best approach when doing quantitative research (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003:78).

Non-probability or non-random sampling techniques are those that can be used in circumstances where probability samples cannot be obtained or where levels of confidence are not that critical (Koerber & McMichael, 2008:459). Non-probability sampling is the best approach for qualitative research (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003:78). There are three main techniques of non-probability sampling: (i) purposeful, (ii) convenience, and (iii) snowball (Koerber & McMichael, 2008:459). Samples are used in research to save time and money (Gorard, 2003:57). Although sampling is a short cut, it leads to results that can be accurate as those for a full census of the population under study, but at a fraction of the cost (Gorard, 2003:57).

In this study, snowball sampling was used (Chapter Four). Tracy (2013:136) defines snowball sampling as a method used for reaching difficult-to-access or hidden populations. In snowball sampling, researchers begin by identifying several participants who fit the study's criteria and then ask them to suggest a colleague, friend, or a family member (Tracy, 2013:136). In this study, the researcher first identified government officials who later suggested more people who could be interviewed. The researcher's previous work experience in the tourism industry for eight years was also critical in assisting identifying the respondents.

The researcher also used opportunistic or emergent sampling which involves taking advantage of unforeseen opportunities as they arise during the course of the fieldwork (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003:81). In the field, available encounters and events are used as they arise (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003:81). Emergent sampling occurs in the field as the researcher gains more knowledge of a setting and can make sampling decisions that take advantage of events as they unfold (Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, 2008a).

1.5.8 Survey questionnaire

A survey is defined as a brief interview or discussion with individuals about a specific topic (Kowalczyk, 2013). Interviews are types of surveys. In-depth interviews were used in collecting data in this study (Chapter Four). Most of the interview questions were formulated from the objectives and the goal of this research. Gray, Williamson, Karp and Dalphin (2007:130) argue that the content of specific questions should be determined by the goal of the research. Nonetheless, some interview questions were adapted from previous research of a similar nature (e.g. Holden, Sonne & Novelli, 2011 & Truong, Hall & Gary, 2014) and the researcher's review of the literature (Chapters Two and Three).

1.5.9 Data analysis

Data analysis refers to the process of making sense out of the data and answers the research questions (Merriam, 2009:175, 76). In qualitative research, data analysis involves consolidating, reducing, and interpreting what people said and what the researcher has seen and read; thus, it is a process of making meaning (Merriam, 2009:176). Since the study is designed in two stages (Chapter Four), a content analysis of CBT projects in Zimbabwe was done first (Chapter Five). The in-depth interviews, field notes, and the images taken during the fieldwork were then analysed later (Chapter Seven). However, Merriam (2009:205) argues that all qualitative data analysis is content analysis as the content of interviews, field notes, and documents are analysed. Baxter and Jack (2008:555) state that "in order to fully understand the findings of qualitative research, they

are compared and contrasted to what can be found in published literature in order to situate the new data into pre-existing data”. This was also done during data analysis (Chapter Seven). The data analysis process done in this study is explained in Chapter Four.

1.6 DEFINING THE CONCEPTS

The following concepts are frequently referred to throughout the study and, therefore, the need to clarify them.

1.6.1 Community-based natural resources management (CBNRM)

This is a long-term programme that promotes the sustainable use of wildlife and other natural resources as a mechanism to promote rural institutions to improve governance and livelihood. Its cornerstone is the right to manage, use, dispose of, and benefit from these resources (Booth, 2005).

1.6.2 Community-based tourism (CBT)

Refers to tourism activities or enterprises in which local communities participate, occurring on their lands, and scaffolding on their cultural heritage and natural attractions and assets (Giampiccoli and Mtapuri, 2012:30).

1.6.3 Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE)

It is a CBNRM programme developed by the GoZ in the late 1980s to promote the sustainable utilisation of natural resources and to preserve the rich natural heritage of Zimbabwe through the generation of income for rural communities (CAMPFIRE, 1989).

1.6.4 Poverty alleviation

Refers to the short-term relief from symptoms of poverty, often done by the state through transfer payments but also and especially in developing countries through NGOs, donors and community self-help mechanisms (Dewdney, 1996:64)

1.6.5 Community development

A process in which community members come together to take collective action and develop solutions to common problems. It involves engaging communities in policy making, planning, programme development, and evaluation. It is about the government providing the opportunity for community initiatives in a “bottom up” approach (Government of Western Australia, 2015:6).

1.6.6 Indigenous knowledge

This refers to the local knowledge that is unique to a given culture or society (Barasa, 2007:141).

1.7 PRELIMINARY CHAPTER CLASSIFICATION

This study consists of nine chapters. The description of the chapters is as follows:

Chapter 1 - Introduction and background

This introductory chapter gives the background to the study. It presents the research problem, goal, research questions, and objectives of the study while explaining the research methods.

Chapter 2 – Tourism and community development

Discusses the concepts of community, community development, development, poverty, pro-poor tourism, and community-based tourism while presenting the tourism-poverty linkage. It identifies the barriers to community participation in tourism and shows the relevance of CBT and PPT to Africa.

Chapter 3 – Tourism development and poverty in Zimbabwe

It chronicles the development of tourism in Zimbabwe from pre-independence to post independence phase as well as the evolution of CBT in the country. The chapter also presents the poverty situation in Zimbabwe and discusses the CAMPFIRE programme in detail.

Chapter 4 – Research methodology and design

The methodological approach to this research is discussed, while the philosophical foundations of the research methods and design are detailed. It also explains the data collection and data analysis process.

Chapter 5 – Barriers to community participation in Zimbabwe’s CBT projects

This chapter presents the findings of the first stage of this study, which involves identifying barriers to community participation in tourism through a content analysis of the CBT projects in Zimbabwe. This achieves the first objective of this research.

Chapter 6 – Manicaland Province: The case study area

Prior to the presentation of the findings of the second stage of this thesis, Chapter Six provides an overview of the case study area of Manicaland province. Manicaland’s tourism development is chronicled, and the province’s poverty situation is presented.

Chapter 7 – Results: Interviews and observations

The findings of the second stage are presented. This is done through reporting and discussing the findings of the in-depth interviews conducted with local people in Manicaland, as well as key informants in Manicaland and Harare.

Chapter 8 – Discussion of research findings

This chapter integrates and explores in more depth the main findings in this thesis. The interrelationships between tourism, poverty alleviation and community development are explained.

Chapter 9 – Conclusion and future research

This last chapter summarises the main findings of this research and elaborates on the contributions of this thesis by developing a tourism and community development framework that illustrates the interrelationships between tourism, poverty alleviation, and community development. This chapter also discusses the limitations of this research and provides areas for future research. The main conclusions of this research are finally highlighted.

CHAPTER 2 TOURISM AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews the existing literature on the interrelationships between tourism and community development. It is divided into five main sections. The first explains the concepts of community, development, community development, and poverty. The second section discusses tourism and community development wherein the CBT concept and the various models that have been developed are explored. Community participation and empowerment in tourism are discussed in the third and fourth sections, respectively. Finally, the importance and relevance of CBT to Africa are highlighted.

2.2 UNDERSTANDING KEY CONCEPTS

As noted in Chapter One, this thesis examines the importance of incorporating indigenous people in tourism as a means of community development and poverty alleviation. Since indigenous people form part of communities, it is necessary to examine the concept of community and its relevance to tourism studies. Other related concepts, including development, community development, and poverty, are also discussed.

2.2.1 The community concept

The term “community” is arguably one of the most commonly used in development studies (Kepe, 1999:418) but is difficult to define (Mudiwa, 2002:179; Gilchrist, 2009:3; Dredge & Hales, 2012:417). Indeed, it is loaded with contradictions and ambiguities (Green, 1963:1; Kepe, 1999:471; Craig, 2007:336; Dredge & Hales, 2012:417). Some scholars (Green, 1963:1; Phillips & Pittman, 2009:3; Devere, 2015:66; Gallardo, 2015:1; Okocha, 2015:127) claim that the community concept can be territorial or geographical whilst others (Shaffer, Deller & Marcouiller, 2006:59) argue that the concept is amorphous. Thus, a township, village, district, or island are all examples of a community. Craig (2007:337) and Verity (2007:10) contend that a community is a collection of people living within a relatively well-defined physical space, a strategic housing development, a neighbourhood, a rural village, or even a refugee camp. Yet, Bhattacharyya (1995:61) argues that referring to the community as a village, a rural area, an agricultural settlement, or a small town fails to encompass another understanding of the term that transcends all boundaries of the settlement. Bhattacharyya (1995:61) adds that such a perspective views the community as a particular form of social relations that prevail in the rural or pre-industrial social formations such as a village. Therefore, a community is difficult to identify (Mudiwa, 2002:179).

Some scholars (Shaffer *et al.*, 2006:59; Craig, 2007:337; Phillips & Pittman, 2009:3) contend that contemporary global discourse about community development has three underlying meanings of the term community. The first involves the geographical community, which comprises a group of people living in a defined physical space. The second is the community of identity, wherein common values, norms, and goals are shared among members. The third meaning refers to issue-based communities that focus on specific issues such as better housing conditions, road safety, or saving the environment.

A community can also be viewed as an economic unit where various social actors share common interests, control particular resources or practice similar economic activities to make their livelihoods (Kepe, 1999:420; Shaffer *et al.*, 2006:59-60; Gallardo, 2015:1). As an economic unit, a community promotes its economic development as members analyse economic conditions, determine economic needs and unfulfilled opportunities, and then decide what should be done (Shaffer, *et al.*, 2006:61). Kepe (1999:421) posits that a community can also be construed as a web of kinship, social, and cultural relations whereby people who share history, knowledge, beliefs, morals, and customs stay together. Such people may not, at times, necessarily occupy the same physical space or belong to the same economic interest group but are still considered a community (Kepe, 1999:421).

Singh *et al.* (2003:7) define the community as a set of people living together, symbiotically bound to each other by their habitat, thereby making themselves a distinct collective personality. The community, therefore (Beeton, 2006:10-11; George, Mair & Reid, 2009:160; Gilchrist, 2009:3; Okocha, 2015:127) encompasses notions of membership, shared spaces of place and identity, shared interests, bond, customs and modes of thought or expressions; collectivism, human association, and social networks. Thus, a community is organised around its values, beliefs, and commitments of its members (Murphy, 2014:5). Despite the term community implying a number of shared aspects, most scholars (De Kadt, 1979:xi; Richards & Hall, 2000:7; Singh *et al.*, 2003:21; Blackstock, 2005:42; Cole, 2006a:95; Manyara & Jones, 2007:407; Verity, 2007:10; Telfer & Sharpley, 2008:117; George *et al.*, 2009:162; Gilchrist, 2009:32; Dredge & Hales, 2012:417; Snyman, 2012:411) posit that communities are not homogenous.

Murphy and Murphy (2004:16) assert that a community has three dimensions: social functions, spatial area, and external recognition. Social functions imply a degree of social interconnection of local people and institutions, whereas spatial area refers to the boundaries of a community. External recognition refers to a sense of communion, which implies human association and personal ties (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008:117). Henderson and Vercseg (2010:20)

argue that five functions need to be fulfilled for a community to really exist. The first is socialisation through which the community implants specific values into its members. The second value is economic wealth by which the community ensures the livelihoods of its members. Social participation is the third function that ensures the general need for socialisation. The fourth value is social control, which requires members to observe certain community values, whilst the fifth function, mutual support, is a process through which community members carry out tasks that are too big or urgent to be handled by a single individual. Henderson and Vercseg (2010:20) add that these functions exist formally or informally in various forms of communities. These five functions are critical to the study of the community concept in five main ways. Firstly, they clarify the complexity of the concept. Secondly, they give breadth to the activities of the community. Thirdly, they give a universal quality as they apply internationally to a variety of cultural and societal contexts. Fourthly, they are people oriented and hence offer the opportunity to discuss the community in human terms. Finally, these functions are adaptable to different communities (Henderson & Vercseg, 2010:21).

Ife (2002:80-81) uses the term community in relation to five characteristics. The first is the human scale, which implies that the size of the community guarantees interaction among individuals. The second refers to identity and belonging, which entails the recognition by others and commitment to the goals of a specific group. The third refers to obligations, which means that members have rights and obligations within that community. The fourth refers to *gemeinschaft*, which involves the possibility of people's interaction and the significance given to different talents and abilities in order to contribute to the improvement of the community. *Gemeinschaft* represents a secure emotional connection with the community and, holistic conceptions of other community members (Aref, Gill & Aref, 2010:156). The last characteristic involves culture which facilitates active production as opposed to people being passive consumers of their culture and promotes inter-community diversity and participation. Lashley (2015:103) acknowledges the pivotal role culture plays in social, economic, moral, and even spiritual upliftment of local communities.

The community concept is of vital importance to tourism studies. Indeed, Beeton (2006:16) contends that tourism cannot exist outside a community because it involves visits to places and people. It is claimed that the community itself has become an object of tourism consumption, which in turn encourages some communities to reproduce themselves specifically for tourists (Richards & Hall, 2000:4; Tosun, 2000:233; Stronza, 2001:270; Hinch & Butler, 2007:3; Telfer & Sharpley, 2008:116; George *et al.*, 2009:6, 172-173). In this thesis, a community is defined as a set of people living together, symbiotically bound to each other by their habitat, shared spaces

of place, culture, interests, identity, and customs whilst depending on the same natural resources as a communal property for their survival. The development concept is discussed next.

2.2.2 The development concept

Development is a broad concept that has been interpreted differently over time and in different contexts (Alexander, 1994:8; Kingsbury, 2004a:6). Crosswell (1978:1) asserts that early views of development included concerns for improving the situation of poor people in developing countries, rather than economic growth. It is a participatory, people-centred process intended to reduce poverty and achieve better livelihoods for all. Thus, development must always be about poverty reduction and the creation of the means to eliminate poverty (Remenyi, 2004:44). The concept of development has evolved chronologically through four main schools of thought since the 1950s: modernisation, dependency theory, alternative development, and sustainable development (Shen, Hughey & Simmons, 2008:22).

Scheyvens (2003a:2) defines development as “a multidimensional process leading to “good change” and seen to embrace self-sufficiency, self-determination, and empowerment, as well as improved standards of living”. Thomas (2000:23) perceives the “good change” as progress. Kingsbury (2004a:1) considers development as being concerned with how developing countries can improve their living standards and eliminate absolute poverty. The process of development involves the whole society, its economic, socio-cultural, political, and physical structure, as well as the value system and way of life of people to be responsible for their own livelihoods, welfare, and future (Alexander, 1994:8; Remenyi, 2004:25). In its early formulations, development focused primarily on economic matters, but the definitions have been broadened over time (Sen, 1988:12; Wall, 1997:30; Giampiccoli & Mtapuri, 2012:30). Increased living standards, improved health, well-being for all, and the achievement of the general good for society at large is what development entails (Thomas, 2000:23). Other scholars (Wall, 1997:30; Cavaye, 2006:1; George, *et al.*, 2009:175, Giampiccoli & Mtapuri, 2012:30) claim that development involves structural transformations which imply cultural, political, social, and economic changes. Indeed, Seers (1969:1) and George *et al.* (2009:175) argue that development transcends the singular notion of economic growth and involves all aspects of increased human welfare. Wall (1997:30) posits that development encompasses social, environmental, and ethical considerations, and its measurement may incorporate indicators of poverty, unemployment, inequality, and self-reliance. Seers (1969:5) argues that development comprises three crucial aspects of poverty, unemployment, and inequality. Sen (1988:17-18) adds people’s freedom of choice as an essential outcome of development.

Some scholars (Morris, 1979:3; Sen, 1988:15; Stewart & Deneulin, 2002:62) claim that development should lead to improved quality of life (QOL). QOL takes into consideration the socio-economic, political, cultural, ideological, environmental, and living conditions of individuals or societies (Tsaurkubule, 2014:105). Morris (1979:3) argues that there should be benefits for poor people from the progress in development. Thus, infant mortality, life expectancy and basic literacy are the components identified by Morris (1979) to measure the physical quality of life index (PQLI). However, Sen (1988:13) argues that life expectancy is a limited measure of QOL as it is more about quantity than quality of life. Morris (1979:3) posits that the PQLI is limited in that it overlooks crucial aspects such as freedom, justice, and security, among others. As a result, Czapinski (2011:266) proposes eight indicators of QOL: social capital (for example, community participation in government elections), psychological well-being (for example, sense of happiness), physical well-being (for example, disability and acute diseases), social well-being (for example, loneliness), civilisation level (for example, level of education), material well-being (for example, household income), stress in life (for example, stress related to finance), and pathology (for example, drug abuse). On a global scale, the UN's human development index (HDI) is arguably the most popular measure of QOL that is based on GDP per capita, education, and life expectancy.

Development has also been construed as a philosophy (Sen, 1988:17), a process through which societies change from one condition to a better one, an outcome of the process, and activities that support the process (Shen *et al.*, 2008:22). Furthermore, development entails plans, policies and activities of governments, NGOs and other organisations that work to support or encourage social change (Sharpley, 2009:30). It is not synonymous with growth (Seers, 1969:1; Sen, 1983:748; 1988:12; World Resources Institute (WRI), 2005:11; Shaffer *et al.*, 2006:61; Herath, 2009:1456; Phillips & Pittman, 2009:9). Development implies improvements in the economic and functioning of institutions within communities (Shaffer *et al.*, 2006:61; Phillips & Pittman, 2009:9; Gallardo, 2015:1). These improvements are reflected in technology, ownership patterns, product mixes and institutions (Shaffer *et al.*, 2006:61). Development is more about quality (Gallardo, 2015:1), whereas growth focuses more on quantity such as more jobs, housing, medical services, and educational facilities (Sen, 1988:12; Phillips & Pittman, 2009:9; Gallardo, 2015:1). Thus, growth can occur without development, and development can occur without growth (Shaffer *et al.*, 2006:61; Phillips & Pittman, 2009:9). Development facilitates as well as influences the kind and amount of growth a community experiences. Therefore, development guides and directs growth outcomes (Phillips & Pittman, 2009:9).

Willis (2005:1) argues that during the 20th century, Western governments sought to achieve development not only in their countries but also in other regions of the world, particularly in Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean. Wall (1997:31) suggests that the development concept may have a built-in Western bias as Western societies are often viewed as being developed in contrast to other countries, which are seen as lacking development. As a result, Binns and Nel (1999:392) support non-Western forms of local economic development (LED), arguing that the failure of successive generations of imported, Western development strategies and projects to deliver meaningful reductions in poverty and achieve basic needs in Africa has provoked debates over Western concepts of and approaches to development. LED is defined as “the process in which local governments or community-based organisations engage to stimulate or maintain business activity and/or employment” (Binns & Nel, 1999:392). The principal goal of LED is to stimulate local employment opportunities in sectors that improve the community, using existing human, natural, and institutional resources (Binns & Nel, 1999:392). Keane (1992:46) refers to LED as community-based economic development and postulates that it targets the community, benefits the community as well as makes the community the decision making body.

NGOs and international development agencies increasingly focus their attention on strategies that build upon local knowledge, skills and resources. Rural African communities are becoming more reliant on their indigenous technical knowledge, production systems and livelihoods (Binns & Nel, 1999:389-390). However, Binns and Nel (1999:393) argue that LED unifies communities whilst improving economic and social conditions. They assert that LED is cost-effective and empowers communities and yields tangible benefits for participating communities. They suggest not to abandon external involvement in the development process but to incorporate LED in development initiatives for Africa.

To conclude, the development concept is broad and is interpreted differently in different contexts. The development concept is multifaceted and implies improvements in people’s economic, cultural, and environmental aspects as well as their QOL. Development initiatives should incorporate indigenous knowledge systems of the local people as well as empower them. The next sub-section discusses the concept of community development.

2.2.3 Community development

Although the history of community development is debatable (Pitchford & Henderson, 2008:7), it can be traced back to the 1950s but was recovered by governments and NGOs in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Craig, 2007:339). Kingsbury (2004b:226) asserts that the origin of community

development can be traced to some of the first thinking about development as part of decolonization, pre-dating the optimistic and grandiose ideas of the 1960s. Indeed, Green (1963:2) contends that the term community development originated in Africa, where it was first used by administrators concerned primarily with Africa. According to Shaffer *et al.* (2006:60), historically, community development tended to focus on issues such as equal rights, institutional organisation, and political processes and not on jobs, income or business growth that were the focus of economic development. Thus, economic development and community development were two distinct concepts (Shaffer *et al.*, 2006:60). In the past recent decades, community development has become a recognised discipline drawing interest from a wide variety of academic fields, including sociology, economics, political science, planning, geography, and tourism, among others (Phillips & Pittman, 2009:5). However, during the last two decades, it has been somewhat shadowed by cognate terms such as grassroots development, people-centred development, community or participatory approaches to development, and integrated rural development (Bhattacharyya, 1995:60).

Western Australia's Department of Local Government and Communities (2015:6) perceives community development as a process in which community members collaborate in taking collective action as well as in developing solutions to common problems facing them while engaging in policy making, planning, programme development and evaluation. Craig (2007:339-340) defines community development as:

“the empowerment of local communities, taken to mean both geographical communities, communities of interest or identity and communities organising around specific themes or policy initiatives. It strengthens the capacity of people as active citizens through their community groups, organisations, and networks; and the capacity of institutions and agencies...to work in dialogue with citizens to shape and determine change in their communities. It plays a crucial role in supporting active domestic life by promoting the autonomous voice of disadvantaged and vulnerable communities”.

Craig's (2007) definition is similar to that of Kingsbury (2004b:221, 222) and Reid and van Dreunen (1996:49) in that it views community development as a process of empowerment and transformation whilst Henderson and Vercseg (2010:31) consider participation essential principle in community development. Bhattacharyya (1995:63; 2004:5) adds self-help and felt-needs as two crucial principles in community development. Self-help means self-reliance and independence of others. This does not necessarily deny inter-dependence or mutuality, which is the basis for social existence (Bhattacharyya, 1995:63). Self-help mobilises people's cultural and material assets, such

as indigenous technical knowledge, tools, and labour (Bhattacharyya, 2004:21). Felt-needs stand for relevance and priority of the problems as the people see them. It is the recognition of the rights of the people and is a limit to the powers of the outside intervener (Bhattacharyya, 1995:63). Felt-needs resists development imposition from above whilst both self-help and felt-needs are essential principles that facilitate participation (Bhattacharyya, 2004:21).

Lashley (2015:103) perceives community development as a culturally anchored self-help concept that seeks to uplift spiritually, morally, socially, and materially and thereby empowers. Kingsbury (2004b:222) argues that community development helps preserve aspects of local culture that give meaning to the community life and assists in maintaining and enhancing social cohesion. Cavaye (2006:1) views the benefits of community development in terms of employment and infrastructure that result from local people changing attitudes, mobilising existing skills, improving networks, thinking differently about problems, and using community assets in new ways. Phillips and Pittman (2009:11) consider these community assets as human, financial, and physical (environment and natural resources) and posit that they must be mobilised to benefit the community. It is argued that community development improves the situation of a community, not just economically, but also its ability to manage change (Cavaye, 2006:1; George *et al.*, 2009:175). Elmendorf and Rios (2008:75) are of the view that a developed community is both improved and has its people empowered.

After reviewing the many definitions of community development, George *et al.* (2009:168) note that their commonalities include a focus on change, indigenous problem identification, self-help, the participation of all community members in the decision-making process, and community control of the development process and its outcomes. Community development, therefore, has different forms and intensities. Some scholars (Sanders, 1958:1, 5; Green, 1963:1; Sanders, 1970:13) suggest that community development may take four primary forms. The first is movement, wherein community development is expected to lead the empowerment of those involved in the process. Seeing community development as a movement stresses that the community defines the problem collectively. The second form views community development as a method requiring those leading the process to place emphasis on citizen participation in moving the community to some desired state. Viewing community development as a method focuses on determining what actions to take on a defined problem. Thirdly, community development is a process that places focus on the learning experience of those involved, but not necessarily on the outcome or community control. Finally, community development is a programme that limits both the problem to be solved and the method used in its resolution. Community economic development

initiatives are usually considered to be in the programme mode of community development. It strives to involve most citizens in solving the economic concerns of the community, but it identifies the problem as an economic one *a priori* and reduces the methods of solving those issues to a well-identified repertoire reducing creativity. Phillips and Pittman (2009:3) add outcome as the fifth form of community development, which refers to physical, social, and economic improvements in a community.

According to Bhattacharyya (1995:60), most definitions of community development contain elements that could be classified under rationale and criteria where the rationale is to change economic, social, cultural, and/or environmental situations or improve living conditions and ways of life. Criteria, on the other hand, refer to “a group of people in a locality initiating a social action (planned intervention) or mutual consent and appropriate action by human activities”. Bhattacharyya (1995:60) argues that such rationales are not distinctive and hence could be claimed by many other activities such as medicine, law, engineering, or social work that are all aimed at improved living conditions. Therefore, Bhattacharyya (1995:60) suggests that the concept of community development must satisfy two conditions: it must be distinctive, and it must be universal; that is, it must be applicable to all societies no matter if they are agricultural or industrial, rural or urban.

Tourism is increasingly seen as a tool of community development due to its contributions to national economies and the ability to unify local communities (Aref *et al.*, 2010:158). Richards and Hall (2000:5) hold that although the community concept has shifted in meaning and application in the tourism field over time, the recent rediscovery of the “local” and the growing importance of identity have placed “community” at the forefront of the tourism development debate. Hence, many communities have turned to tourism as a means of development. In many least developed countries (LDCs), tourism is even considered a tool of poverty alleviation (Scheyvens, 2007:231). Thus, the issue of poverty in communities is discussed next.

2.2.4 Poverty in communities

Combating poverty is a critical step towards bringing about community development. The conceptualisation and measurement of poverty have been a topic of substantial debate (Sumner, 2007:6). The evolution of the poverty concept is summarised in Table 2-1.

Table 2-1: The evolution and measurement of the poverty concept

Period	Concept of poverty	Measurement of poverty
1950s	Economic	GDP growth
1960s	Economic	Per capita GDP growth
1970s	Basic needs including economic	Per capita GDP growth plus basic needs
1980s	Economic and capabilities	Per capita GDP and rise of non-monetary factors
1990s	Human development and economic	UNDP Human Development Indices
2000-2015	Multi-dimensional (rights, freedom, livelihoods)	Millennium Development Goals Multi-dimensional Poverty Index
2016-present	Multi-dimensional	Sustainable Development Goals Multi-dimensional Poverty Index

Sources: Bourguignon and Chakravarty (2003:26); Sumner (2004:3); Townsend (2006:6); UN (2014a:9)

In the 1950s, economic growth dominated the definition of poverty, and development was equated with economic growth (Kabeer, 2003:4). Trickle-down effects were assumed to have the capacity to bring about economic growth, which would reduce poverty (Kabeer, 2003:4; Sumner, 2004:3). This was an era of “high development theory”, and poverty was measured by GDP (Sumner, 2004:3).

In the 1960s, the level of income became the main focus of poverty (Maxwell, 1999:2). GDP per capita and not just GDP growth became the measurement of poverty (Sumner, 2004:4). Seers’ (1969) basic needs concept expanded the notion of poverty as he argued that per capita income does not indicate a reduction in poverty or unemployment (Seers, 1969:4). This shaped the 1970s poverty definitions that incorporated basic needs, including food, shelter, and clothing, and the means to acquire them through employment (Sumner, 2004:4; 2007:6). As statistics failed to show that the benefits of economic growth were trickling down, this increased interest in the basic needs approach (Kabeer, 2003:4; Sumner, 2004:4).

By the 1970s, the notion of poverty became viewed not only as economical but also a lack of basic needs due to the contribution from the International Labour Organisation (ILO) (Maxwell, 1999:2). Measurements of poverty took no account of income or economic well-being alone as they included basic needs (Sumner, 2004:4; Herath, 2009:1456).

New complexities emerged in the 1980s to the concept of poverty (Maxwell, 1999:2). Chambers (1983) incorporated non-monetary aspects into poverty, such as isolation and powerlessness, whilst the World Bank’s 1980 World Development Report (WDR) characterised

poverty by nutrition, education, and health (WB, 1980:32). The concept of poverty by now included capabilities on top of the usual economic aspects. Capabilities are factors other than income, such as literacy and life expectancy (Bourguignon & Chakravarty, 2003:26). The term well-being was also coined during this time (Sumner, 2004:4) and this renewed interest in economic plus non-economic components of well-being. This could be attributed to the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) Human Development Report (HDR) new concept of human development and new indicators such as the Human Development Index (HDI) (Sumner, 2004:4). However, the measurement of poverty remained GDP per capita despite the rise in HDIs.

The 1990s were shaped by the UNDP's HDR, which was launched in 1990 and Sen's (1982, 1985, 1988) writings (Maxwell, 1999:2; Kabeer, 2003:6; Sumner, 2007:7). Sen (1987:8) argues that well-being is not based on GDP per capita as previously conceived as it does not account for the physical condition of the individual. Besides economic, poverty became conceptualised through human development. The UNDP's various HDIs, multi-dimensional poverty index (MPI), gender inequality index (GII), gender development index (GDI) and the inequality-adjusted human development index (IHDI) became the significant measurement of poverty. The indices take into account three leading indicators: health, knowledge, and standard of living (UNDP, 2016a:3). Noorbakhsh (1998:517) posits that the HDI has been preferred over the per capita income as the former captures many aspects of the human condition. However, Sumner (2004:5) argues that these indices are only a partial application of Sen's research on well-being as they do not incorporate the full range of the conditions of well-being. For example, being sheltered is not included.

In 2000, the WDR re-emphasised the multi-faceted nature of poverty by including social indicators (Kabeer, 2003:6; Sumner, 2004:5; 2007:7). The launch of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in the same year, of which the first goal focused on eradicating extreme poverty and hunger by 2015, highlighted the importance of eradicating poverty on a global scale (Rojas, 2015:18). The MDGs comprised eight goals that had 18 targets and were time bound, quantified whilst also addressing extreme poverty in its many dimensions (ECLAC, 2005:1). The MDGs incorporated indicators of income poverty, education, and gender equality. The MDGs and the MPI became the key measurement methods of poverty. The MPI identifies multiple deprivations at the household level in education, health, and standard of living and uses micro data and all indicators from the same household surveys to come up with more deprived and less deprived people (UNDP, 2016b:8). By 2015, it was widely accepted that the MDGs had succeeded in halving extreme global poverty from 1.9 billion in 1990 to 836 million (UN, 2015a:4). However,

Kamruzzaman (2015:46) posits that in Africa, the situation of poverty has not changed whilst South Asia still has a long way to go. On the other hand, Spicker, Leguizamon, and Gordon (2007:134) argue that the MDGs approach is dominated by interests of the North whilst issues of poverty eradication should be a compromise of the South and the North.

The UN moved from the MDGs to the SDGs in September 2015. These are a set of 17 universal goals and 169 targets where no poverty is the first goal (UN, 2015b:3; UNWTO, 2015b:2). The SDGs have their foundation on the MDGs and seek to complete what the MDGs did not achieve (UN, 2015b:3). They emphasise the combination and balance of the three dimensions of sustainable development: economic, social, and environmental (UN, 2015b:3). The main target of the first goal is to eliminate people living on less than US\$1.90 a day (absolute poverty) by 2030 through a triple bottom line approach (TBL) to human well-being (Dwyer & Faux, 2010:130, 131; Sachs, 2012:2206). The TBL approach incorporates three dimensions of performance: financial, social and environmental (Beeton, 2006:63; Slapper & Hall, 2011:4). Some of the targets of the first goal of the SDGs include to ensure the poor have equal rights to natural and economic resources and to reduce their exposure and vulnerability to climate related extreme events and other economic, social, and environmental shocks (UN, 2015b:17). Thus, the SDGs stress the multi-dimensionality of poverty. SDGs and MPI have become the key measurements of poverty. Some scholars (Brende & Høie, 2015:207; Davis, Matthews, Szabo & Fogstad, 2015:221; Hák, Janoušková, Moldan, 2016:567) criticise the SDGs for having non-quantified targets, for having conflicts between goals and targets, and for being unmeasurable and unmanageable.

Poverty is often divided into absolute poverty and relative poverty (Dziedzic, 2007:1). The former means that a person is unable to meet his/her basic needs, whereas the latter means that a person's needs are not fulfilled in comparison to the rest of his/her society (Saunders & Tsumori, 2002:5; Dziedzic, 2007:1). The WB and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) consider people who earn less than US\$1 a day to be absolutely poor. This measurement has been revised from time to time to become US\$1.08 in 1993 (UN, 2008:7; Ravallion, Chen & Sangrauls, 2009:164, 165), US\$1.25 in 2005 (Foster, Seth, Lokshin & Sajaia, 2013:27), and US\$1.90 in 2011 which is currently being used (ECOSOC, 2016:3). Critics of the US\$1 per day measure argue that it captures only those people who are impoverished by the standards of poor countries and extremely, desperately poor by Western standards (Wilson & Wilson, 2006:55), whereas it tells little about people's perceptions and experiences of poverty (Holden, Sonne & Novelli, 2011:320). The measure has also been criticised for being "money metric", and suggestions have been made to

take into account other non-income aspects such as nutrition, health, and other indicators to have a holistic measurement and definition (Edward, 2006:14; Freistein & Koch, 2014:5). Kamruzzaman (2015:34) questions why the measurement has to be globally accepted whilst poverty means different things and takes various dimensions in different countries. The measure has become the most popular method of communicating international progress on poverty alleviation despite the noted setbacks (Wilson & Wilson, 2006:55).

There are various poverty reduction measures that have been put forth by development organisations and scholars. Population control is one of them. Hardin (1968) argues that population growth can lead to poverty hence the need to avoid rapid population growth. Hardin (1968:1244) contends that most miserable populations are the most rapidly growing ones, whilst UNFPA (2012:12) claims that smaller families have greater chances of rising out of poverty. Kotler, Roberto, and Leisner (2006:233) cite strategies such as family planning and the use of contraceptives embarked upon by the WB and other aid organisations as a remedy to rapid population growth. Rapid population growth can reduce per capita growth as well as affect the distribution of economic resources (UNFPA, 2012:17). Poverty in less developed countries has been aggravated by high fertility rates (UNFPA, 2012:23). Foreign aid assistance is another poverty measure. Also known as official development assistance, foreign aid refers to the transfer of public resources on concessional terms with the objective of bringing improvement in economic, political, or social conditions in deprived countries (Lancaster, 2000:9). Sachs *et al.* (2004:144) argue that aid to poor countries can rescue them from the poverty trap. Arndt, Jones, and Tarp (2007:237) posit that empirical aid studies' have shown that there is positive per capita growth due to aid inflows. However, Hardin (1974:562) criticises developed countries for providing aid to developing countries. In his lifeboat metaphor, Hardin (1974:561-562) urges the developed countries to stop assisting poor countries as they have to address issues that have led them into poverty, especially rapid population growth. Easterly (2006:322) postulates that aid cannot end poverty. Foreign aid has failed to reduce poverty due to corruption, poor institutional development and redistributive politics where the aid funds are diverted to campaign for ruling parties to stay in power (Alesina & Dollar, 2000:33; Marjit & Mukherjee, 2007:18). Donor countries have also been criticised for having other agendas that are far from alleviating poverty, therefore, contributing to the failure of aid to address deprivation. Such agendas include regime changes, among others (Alesina & Dollar, 2000:33-34; Marjit & Mukherjee, 2007:27). Unwin (2007:947) argues that foreign aid has failed to alleviate poverty, mostly in Africa, due to the lack of educated people who are able to utilise aid effectively to deliver infrastructural, educational,

environmental, and economic agendas. Therefore, education is also considered key to poverty alleviation (Bigsten, 2007:292). Easterly (2006:318) asserts that self-reliance, exploratory efforts, borrowing of ideas, institutions, and technology from the West bring success in development. Easterly (2006:23) cites China, Hong Kong, Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan as examples of successful transitions from Third World to First World without significant aid assistance and without the West telling them what to do. Likewise, Gibson, Andersson, Ostrom, and Shivakumar (2005:14) contend that despite billions of dollars being given to developing countries as aid over the last four decades there has not been any substantial reduction in relative poverty. Thus, there is limited evidence to prove that foreign aid can reduce poverty (Alesina & Dollar, 2000:33; Sawhill, 2003:82; Bigsten, 2007:298; Schabbel, 2007:9). Economic growth is another poverty measure as it is argued that economic growth will eventually result in a trickle-down effect to the poor in the long run (Schabbel, 2007:200; Begović, Matković, Mijatović & Popović, 2008:25). This concept, developed in the 1950s and 1960s, suggests that affluent households get richer first and the poor benefit later when the rich begin to expand (Schabbel, 2007:201). Yet, some economists assert that there is actually a trickle-up to middle income class and the very rich (Schabbel, 2007:200-201).

The start of the new millennium marked a new perspective in fighting poverty as the WB adopted empowerment as one of its primary strategies in alleviating poverty in its 2000/2001 WDR. The WB (2000:3) advocates for the participation of the poor in economic, social, and institutional aspects as these influences their lives. Some scholars (Krishna, 2003:634; Kotler *et al.*, 2006:238; Unwin, 2007:946; Carr, 2008:728) concur that participation and empowerment are critical to poverty alleviation as most development initiatives have failed because they ignore indigenous knowledge and local participation. Ditch (1999:12) argues that “poverty is seen as a culture with its own norms and values, which are distinct from those in the wider society. These norms and values are pathological and, until broken into by social work, psychiatry or education no matter whatever opportunities are provided, there will be no reduction in poverty”. In this thesis, poverty is understood as a multi-dimensional concept that includes a lack of both income and non-income aspects, such as having no voice or recognition participating in community issues.

2.3 TOURISM AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The literature on the role of tourism in community development and poverty alleviation can be traced through the past five decades (Holden *et al.*, 2011:318). In the 1950s-1960s, the expectation was that tourism could contribute to modernisation, and benefits could trickle down to the poor (Holden *et al.*, 2011:318; Hummel & van der Dium, 2012:321; Spenceley & Meyer, 2012:300).

Tourism was essentially equated with development (De Kadt, 1979:ix; Telfer, 2002:50; Spenceley & Meyer, 2012:300, Linder, 2014:40). Some scholars (Graburn & Jafari, 1991:3-4) believe that during that period, tourism benefits were unquestionable. It was assumed that tourism is a labour-intensive industry, benefiting both the developed and developing countries through employment, foreign exchange earnings, and tourist expenditure's multiplier effect (Graburn & Jafari, 1991:4; Telfer, 2002:50). This is referred to as "tourism equals to development" philosophy (Graburn & Jafari, 1991:4). The 1970s literature was dominated by top-down approaches to development, which did not result in the expected economic improvement and social benefits, but rather dependency, inefficiency, and slower economic growth (Holden *et al.*, 2011:318; Hummel & van der Dium, 2012:322). The 1980s-1990s witnessed the rise of environmental awareness and a focus on local participation in development approaches (Hummel & van der Dium, 2012:322). In the 2000s, efforts were made to better link tourism with poverty reduction in LDCs, particularly in light of the MDGs (Holden *et al.*, 2011:318; Hummel & van der Dium, 2012:322) and the new SDGs as noted earlier (UNWTO, 2015b:1).

However, many scholars have questioned the benefits of tourism, arguing that lower multiplier effects and higher levels of leakages were closer to reality (Vanhove, 1997:61; Telfer, 2002:50; Telfer & Sharpley, 2008:184). Despite the early hopes, tourism stance as a "passport" to macroeconomic development did not work out as planned (Stronza, 2001:270). A more severe critique then emerged, which showed through detailed studies that the multiplier effect was lower than anticipated and that "leakages" and local inflation often nullified the supposed economic advantages of the tourism industry (Graburn & Jafari, 1991:4; Vanhove, 1997:61; Holden, 2000:110-111; Mihalic, 2002:101; Telfer & Sharpley, 2008:185). It has thus become clear that economic growth did not "trickle-down" to benefit poor people (Scheyvens, 2007:238).

Most of the negative impacts were attributed to mass tourism (Budeanu, 2005:91; Cobinnah, 2015:180). These negative impacts include damage to the natural environment, local communities, and cultures (Cobinnah, 2015:180). Mass tourism is defined as "a phenomenon of large-scale packaging of standardised leisure services at fixed prices for sale to a mass clientele" (Poon, 1993:32). It is characterised by three main factors: standardized holidays which are rigid, inflexible and only altered by paying more, holidays are produced through mass replication whilst being mass marketed, and the product is produced *en masse*, with no consideration by tourists for local norms, culture, or the environments of receiving destinations (Vanhove, 1997:45; Barasa, 2007:143). Given these negative characteristics and impacts, alternative forms of tourism were sought.

Alternative tourism is broadly defined as “forms of tourism that are consistent with natural, social, and community values and which allow both hosts and guests to enjoy positive and worthwhile interaction and shared experiences” (Leslie, 2012:20). Thus, alternative tourism is on a small scale and low impact and attempts benefiting to poor communities while minimising damage to the environment, and building good relationships between local people and guests (Scheyvens, 2007:240; Leslie, 2012:21). A number of alternative forms of tourism have been proposed, and some of them include ecotourism, sustainable tourism, green tourism, responsible tourism, community-based tourism and other tourism types characterised by small-scale and locally owned and controlled operations (Scheyvens, 2007:240; Nature Friends International, 2008:3; Prince & Ioannides, 2017:349).

Ecotourism emerged in the 1980s (Cobbinah, 2015:179). However, Nature Friends International (2008:3) argues that the term ecotourism was first used in 1965 when ecological issues were first integrated into tourism. It is defined as:

“Environmentally responsible, enlightening travel and visitation to relatively undisturbed natural areas in order to enjoy and appreciate nature (and any accompanying cultural features both past and present) that promotes conservation, has low visitor impact, and provides for beneficially active socio-economic involvement of local populations” (Scheyvens, 1999:245; Cobbinah, 2015:180).

Ecotourism is, therefore, both a product and a generic term encompassing nature (Leslie, 2012:24). In tracing the development of ecotourism, Cobbinah (2015:181) argues that before 1990, it was synonymous with the conservation of the environment and environmental education. In the 1990s, socio-economic benefits (jobs and equity) were added to the concept. By 2000, issues of sustainability, ethics, awareness, responsibility, and preservation of culture were taken into account. Cobbinah (2015:179) posits that for many developing countries, ecotourism is mostly foreign, often introduced, and imposed on local communities by international agencies, NGOs, and governments. Likewise, Higham (2007:4) views ecotourism as a form of ecological imperialism and Western domination. The concept has been strongly linked with the environment, and strongly advocated by environmental movements of the 1980s (Cobbinah, 2015:180). Das and Chatterjee (2015:4) argue that policies of ecotourism benefit neither conservation nor local communities, whilst the concept remains poorly understood and much abused. Ecotourism has also failed to deliver the expected benefits to indigenous communities due to the lack of mechanisms for fair distribution (Das & Chatterjee, 2015:4). Nature-dominated ecotourism was then recognised as a “panorama” in which residents were denied access, especially in protected

areas (Chapter One). Social advocates are of the view that local people's rights of access to critical resources are taken away by the introduction of the protected areas (Das & Chatterjee, 2015:4). As a result, another form of alternative tourism was called for, leading to the emergence of CBT.

2.3.1 Community-based tourism

Despite criticisms of ecotourism, it took its proponents some time to acknowledge that the concept's main concern was the environment (Singh *et al.*, 2003:6). Thus, some scholars and organisations (Scheyvens, 1999:246, WWF, 2001:2; Kontogeorgopoulos, 2005:4) suggest the term "community-based ecotourism", which distinguishes environmentally sensitive ecotourism from a community-oriented type of tourism where a significant proportion of the benefits remain in the community. Robinson and Wiltshier (2011:87) argue that communities, where the impacts of tourism are most felt, should get the benefits.

2.3.1.1 History and definition

The concept of CBT dates back to the 1970s alternative development approaches (Giampiccoli & Kalis, 2012:174; Mayaka, Croy & Mayson, 2012:397; Lucchetti & Font, 2013:2; Giampiccoli, Saayman & Jugmohan, 2014:1140; Goodwin, Santilli & Armstrong, 2014:32; Giampiccoli & Saayman, 2014:1669; Bhartiya & Masoud, 2015:348; Jugmohan & Steyn, 2015:1066). CBT aims to create a more sustainable tourism industry, focusing on the host communities in terms of planning and maintaining tourism activities (Salazar, 2012:10). Kontogeorgopoulos (2005:5) asserts that the underlying principles of CBT are derived from the concept of community development, which entails a small-scale, locally oriented, and holistic approach to economic growth and social change. According to Mtapuri and Giampiccoli (2016:155), Canada's Northwest Territories Government was arguably the first to advance a CBT development strategy in its territory. CBT has since been promoted around the world, especially in developing countries, as a means of poverty reduction and community development (Goodwin *et al.*, 2014:32; Giampiccoli, 2015:679; Mtapuri & Giampiccoli, 2016:154-155).

Singh *et al.* (2003:6) argue that CBT has evolved from the simple practice of visiting other people and places through the overt utilisation of resources to seeking out residents' responses to tourism experiences. It aims to ensure a high degree of control over tourism activities taking place within communities, and a significant proportion of the benefits accrue to the local communities (Scheyvens 1999:246; WWF, 2001:2). Scheyvens (1999:246) argues that CBT recognises the need to promote both the quality of life of local people and the conservation of community resources.

According to Zapata, Hall, Lindo and Vanderchaeghe (2011:726), most CBT projects were initially related to small rural communities and nature conservation through ecotourism but the concept has since been extended to embrace a range of tourism products such as local culture and folklore, gastronomy and traditional handcrafts. The WWF (2001:2) adds that in some locations, hunting may be included as an appropriate activity provided that there are careful research and control within a management plan that supports conservation and use of local knowledge.

CBT is a debated term (Ashley, 1995:8; WWF, 2001:2; Zapata *et al.*, 2011:727; Mayaka *et al.*, 2012:397; Giampiccoli & Mtapuri, 2015:28; Saayman & Giampiccoli, 2015:150) and therefore difficult to define. As Zapata *et al.* (2011:727) state, “the definition of what CBT is, who defines it, or where the community ends and the individual interests start, are questions of debate *per se*”. As stated in Chapter One, the WWF (2001:2) defines CBT as “a form of tourism where the local community has substantial control over, and involvement in, its development and management, and a major proportion of the benefits remain within the community.” Likewise, Lucchetti and Font (2013:2) view CBT as “tourism that involves community participation and aims to generate benefits for local communities in the developing world by allowing tourists to visit these communities and learn about their culture and the local environment”. Mayaka *et al.* (2012:397) provide a more detailed definition, wherein CBT is “tourism within a given community that facilitates levels of community participation and scale that it provides desired outcomes and in which members’ exercise power and control without ignoring the influence of external economic, socio-cultural, political and environmental factors”.

While Lucchetti and Font (2013) do not specify the level of involvement or participation, the WWF (2001) states that involvement should be in tourism development and management. On the other hand, Mayaka *et al.* (2012:397) emphasise that community members should exercise power and acknowledge the external influence. Simpson (2008:1) posits that community participation can mean a level of control, ownership, or influence in a tourism initiative. Overall, these definitions emphasise that the benefits of CBT should accrue to the host communities. Therefore, CBT is about grassroots empowerment, and it seeks to develop the industry in harmony with the needs and aspirations of host communities (Timothy, 2002:150).

The CBT concept is termed differently depending on the context where it is used. These include “community-based ecotourism” (CBET) (Scheyvens, 1999:246; WWF, 2001:2; Jones, 2005:305; Kontogeorgopoulos, 2005:4; Hussin, Cooke & Kunjuran, 2015:170), “community tourism” (Mann, 2000:17; Timothy, 2002:150), “sustainable tourism” (Dodds, Gursoy, Yola & Lee, 2015:37), “indigenous tourism” (Zeppel, 2006:8-9; Ryan, Chang & Huan, 2007:201; Telfer

& Sharpley, 2008:124), “rural tourism” (Keane, 1992:45; OECD, 1994:7; Beeton, 2006:142; George *et al.*, 2009:10; Barkauskas, Barkauskiene & Jasinskas, 2015:168) and “community-based natural resource management” (CBNRM) (Gujadhur, 2000:13; Jones, 2004:4; Hoole, 2007:2). Giampiccoli and Mtapuri (2015:28-29) argue that confusion about CBT could be attributed to the various tourism forms associated with it by different authors writing on the subject. However, these concepts are common in that they emphasise that tourism should generate benefits for and not incur costs or burden to host communities and the local environment (Honey & Gilpin, 2009:3; Mawere & Mubaya, 2012:18; Dodds *et al.*, 2015:37).

Although Singh *et al.* (2003:27) cite CBT as an example of a tourism form which provides a win-win scenario between tourism and communities, some scholars (Harrison & Schipani, 2007:196) posit that the literature on CBT is full of claims but short on data and quantitative analysis. Although CBT may bring some benefits to the host community, it has been critiqued as following technocratic strategies of tourism development associated with Western-based ideology without considering the African perspective (Giampiccoli & Mtapuri, 2015:29). Giampiccoli and Mtapuri (2015:30) add that disadvantaged communities are involved in tourism development only in rhetoric and that although movement from rhetoric to action is possible, tourism development remains within a Western-based understanding. There are a range of both opportunities and threats indigenous people may encounter if they are involved in tourism (Hinch & Butler, 2007:2). Generally, poor communities expect the best from tourism development and respect for their culture and dignity (Giampiccoli, 2015:680).

Other scholars (Zapata *et al.*, 2011:727; Giampiccoli, 2015:681) argue that despite emphasising a bottom-up approach, CBT has often been used by development actors, and consequently, it turns out to be a top-down model. This has resulted in a lack of community control over CBT projects and the overuse of Western values (Giampiccoli, 2015:681). On the other hand, Beeton (2006:50) posits that CBT neither conforms anymore to the transformative intent of community development nor focuses on community empowerment. Moscardo (2008a:175) concludes that “the reality in practice for CBT has not often matched the ideals in principle; thus, it could be argued that true CBT has not been implemented”.

2.3.1.2 Community-based tourism models

A number of CBT models have been developed in the literature (Chapter One). Okazaki (2008) suggests a model that assesses the status of community participation in tourism using levels of community participation and power redistribution. Three degrees are proposed, namely non-

participation (therapy and manipulation), degree of tokenism (placation, information, and consultation), and degree of citizen power (citizen control, delegated power, and partnership) (Okazaki, 2008:513). Okazaki (2008:517) adds that social capital is formed gradually in the processes, which creates synergies within and between communities and thereby contributes to enhancing destination sustainability.

Meanwhile, Zapata *et al.* (2011) identify two models: bottom-up and top-down CBT. Bottom-up CBT is one borne as a result of a local initiative and is characterised by accelerated growth with a strong focus on the domestic markets. Bottom-up CBT projects generate higher rates of employment and economic benefits as there are trickle-down effects on the broader community. In contrast, top-down CBT is created and fully funded by external organisations. It is characterised by low stagnated growth and long-haul tourism markets. However, community participation, wealth distribution, gender equity, and environmental awareness are better achieved in top-down CBT due to the influence of development organisations although it is perceived as a new form of colonialism (Zapata *et al.*, 2011:743).

Mtapuri and Giampiccoli (2013) developed a CBT model that has the ability to spread benefits to the community, and hence foster community development. They argue that to promote holistic community development, the CBT enterprises must be controlled entirely by local people to avoid domination by the external actors (Mtapuri & Giampiccoli, 2013:1). The model proposes two primary forms of preferred CBT: a single, community-owned structure (type 1) and multiple small enterprises under a common organisational umbrella (type 2). Type 1 has a potential for community empowerment and self-reliance. For type 2, the community umbrella organisation located within the community manages the community's business (Mtapuri & Giampiccoli, 2013:9). As the model advocates for local control, it is a bottom-up CBT, as suggested by Zapata *et al.* (2011).

Giampiccoli, Jugmohan, and Mtapuri (2015) came up with an “E” model of CBT after reviewing the literature. First, “endogenous” emphasises local indigenous effort that relies on local resources and cultures. Second, “environment” refers to CBET, which includes issues regarding health, sanitation in the sense of environment and available infrastructures. Third, “education” refers to increases in skills and education related to CBT and tourism in general. Fourth, “empowerment” entails holistic empowerment, which embraces economic, psychological, social, and political empowerment. Fifth, “equity” refers to equal distribution of benefits and resources amongst the wider society. Sixth, “evolving” means adapting to change based on changing conditions and opportunities. Seventh, “enduring” refers to long term sustainability in various

aspects such as cultural, economic, environmental and social. Eighth, “entrepreneurship” considers all the entrepreneurial characteristics. The model is illustrated in Figure 2-1.

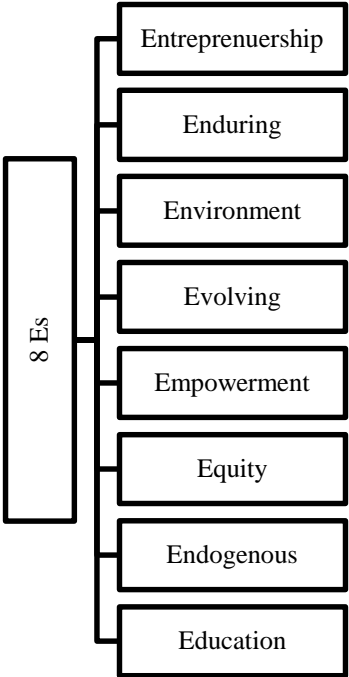


Figure 2-1: CBT E Model

Source: Adapted from Giampiccoli *et al.* (2015:1210)

All the above CBT models emphasise the provision of employment, infrastructure development, empowerment of local communities, community participation, and a bottom-up approach. They also recognise the presence of external partners but argue that this should be planned strategically to minimise leakages outside of the community (Zapata *et al.*, 2011:743). Mtapuri and Giampiccoli (2013) and Giampiccoli, Jugmohan and Mtapuri (2015) are aware that communities are heterogeneous and thus note that these models may be adapted to fit in with specific local contexts. Likewise, Snyman (2012:411) calls for CBT guidelines for specific communities and cultural groups.

Although the models recognise the potential of CBT for poverty alleviation in poor communities, this has been a contested issue. Mitchell and Muckosy (2008:1) posit that poverty and vulnerability are rarely relieved by CBT. In contrast, some scholars (Balint & Mashinya, 2008a:789; Lapeyre, 2010:762) from their CBT research (the former in Zimbabwe and the latter

in Namibia) suggest that there were benefits to the locals through the provision of employment, social services, and income distribution to households which helped improve their well-being. However, the same scholars concur that the challenge is the sustainability of the CBTEs, as in both cases, the situation changed for the worst after the withdrawal of external support by development organisations.

The above models recognise the presence of external actors but none of them offer suggestions as to how CBTEs should continue when external funders withdraw. CBTEs collapse after the withdrawal of external actors due to the fact that community members are not directly linked to mainstream tourism (Mitchell & Muckosy, 2008:2; Lapeyre, 2010:762; Armstrong, 2012:1; Mayaka, Croy & Cox, 2018:417). In some instances, it could be a lack of impartation of skills and knowledge as Holden (2013:140) emphasises the importance of training programmes for the local people in tourism. Zapata *et al.* (2011:742) state that, in bottom-up CBT, donors and NGOs bring customers based on their knowledge, resources, and networks. This is done without introducing the local people to the markets. Their withdrawal results in the CBT projects losing customers. Mitchell and Muckosy (2008:2) conclude that “sizeable and sustainable transfer of benefits from affluent tourists to poor communities is possible in CBT only if practitioners recognise that it is linkages with, and not protection from, the mainstream industry that benefits poor communities”.

Another reason for the failure of CBT projects (Belsky, 1999:651, Balint & Mashinya, 2008a:792; Mitchell & Muckosy, 2008:1) is poor governance and nepotism. It is argued that traditional authorities centralise power whilst selecting their relatives for employment opportunities and positions in committees that run the projects. This destroys accountability as the traditional authorities easily manipulate the committees. Community members should be educated with respect to good governance by external donors to alleviate the problem. Such education is a form of empowerment which has been emphasised by the models. However, external actors should not abandon traditional structures but complement them with external knowledge (Armstrong, 2012:6).

2.3.2 Pro-poor tourism

Alongside CBT, pro-poor tourism (PPT) is also claimed to bring about development and help reduce poverty in tourist destinations (Harrison, 2008:851). It was first introduced in 1999, out of a desk review conducted by Deloitte and Touche, the International Institute for Environment and

Development (IIED), and the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) (Harrison, 2008:853-854). PPT is defined as:

“tourism interventions that aim to increase the net benefits for the poor from tourism, and ensure that tourism growth contributes to poverty reduction. PPT is not a specific product or sector of tourism, but an approach. PPT strategies aim to unlock opportunities for the poor - whether for economic gain, other livelihood benefits, or participation in decision-making” (Ashley, Roe & Goodwin., 2001:viii).

Due to its ability to increase net benefits for the poor, PPT has the capacity to promote linkages between the tourism industry and the poor (Holden, 2013:124). It is different from other types of tourism in that it has poverty as its key focus (Holden, 2013:124-125).

Since PPT is not a product, but an approach that seeks to bring benefits to poor people as noted, any tourism attraction or product can meet PPT objectives (Chok, Macbeth & Warren, 2007:147; Oriade & Evans, 2011:73; Holden, 2013:124). Due to this view, PPT strategies risk failing to address poverty alleviation as the rich might benefit more (Schilcher, 2007:180; Holden, 2013:126). Some scholars (Chok *et al.*, 2007:150; Scheyvens, 2009a:193; Oriade & Evans, 2011:73; Truong, 2014a:30; Truong, Hall & Garry, 2014:1073) argue that the view does not address distributive justice since more affluent people may benefit more than poor people. Questions are also raised about whether sex tourism should be regarded as PPT if it can bring net income to the poor (Harrison, 2008:859; Oriade & Evans, 2011:73; Truong, 2014a:30). In contrast, Thomas (2014:369) is of the view that tourism does not have to be pro-poor or anti-poverty to improve the well-being of communities.

Although proponents of PPT argue that tourism has the capacity to contribute to pro-poor growth in developing countries (Chok *et al.*, 2007:147), some scholars (Hall, 2007:112; Scheyvens, 2009a:192) contend that this is questionable as research shows that Western countries receive the highest number of international tourist arrivals. PPT’s potential to promote pro-poor growth is debatable given that its initiatives focus on international tourism instead of domestic tourism, leading to leakages since tour companies from generating countries benefit more than destination communities (Vanhove, 1997:61; Holden, 2000:110-111; Mihalic, 2002:93; Telfer & Sharpley, 2008:184; van der Dium & Caalders, 2008:121; Scheyvens, 2009a:192; Truong, 2014b:230). As Bennet, Roe, and Ashley (1999:ii) state, “a focus on international tourism missed the potential to enhance the benefits of tourism for the poor”.

Expanding employment opportunities is one of the strategies of PPT although the jobs might be low-paying (Roe & Khanya, 2001:5). Scheyvens (2009a:194) questions the ability of low paying jobs to alleviate poverty, whereas Saayman and Giampiccoli (2016:160) posit that paying low wages is as good as making the poor remain poor. Truong (2014a:31) argues that tourism jobs are seasonal, and this results in unstable incomes for the poor. Most tourism jobs are menial without giving poor people promotion opportunities as high ranking positions are assigned to expatriates (Ashley & Roe, 1998:13; Truong, 2014a:31). In addition, long working hours, employment of underage, and verbal abuse are other attributes of employment in the tourism industry (Scheyvens, 2009a:194). Given that poverty is not only a lack of income but also encompasses freedom, dignity, and self-esteem as noted previously, encouraging the creation of low paying jobs that offer unfavourable working conditions run counter to the view of PPT (Chok *et al.*, 2007:147; Truong, 2014a:32). Instead of aiming at only job creation, PPT should focus on working conditions, job quality and reasonable wages so as to promote pro-poor growth (Saayman & Giampiccoli, 2016:160).

Mitchell and Ashley (2010:21) propose three pathways by which the benefits of tourism can be transmitted to the poor. The first pathway entails the direct effects of tourism which include both income and other forms of earnings (jobs in hotels and taxis for transfers) as well as direct non-financial effects such as improved infrastructure. The second pathway refers to secondary effects of tourism on the poor such as crafts, farm products, employment during construction of tourism-related infrastructure, and tourism industry workers re-spending their earnings in the local economy. The third pathway involves long-term changes in the economy and growth experienced in the macro economy. However, Holden (2013:137-138) argues that although these pathways can be useful in elaborating how the poor can be affected by tourism, they do not mean much in terms of reducing poverty as there is a need to make the poor have access to opportunities.

Proponents of PPT have also been criticised for being divided over strategies as well as having different backgrounds and values (Chok *et al.*, 2007:144, 151). Major stakeholders are the World Trade Organisation (WTO), WTTC, the Asian Development Bank (ADB), UNWTO and SNV, among others (Chok *et al.*, 2007:145; Scheyvens, 2009a:192; Truong, 2014a:34-36). It is argued that most development agencies promote PPT just because it is congruent with their pro-poor growth agenda and not because it has the capacity to genuinely alleviate poverty, whereas some tourism organisations promote PPT for their self-interest in tourism development (Scheyvens, 2009a:192). Some consultants, researchers and companies who are involved in PPT initiatives are after financial benefits (Hall, 2007:116). The UK Department for International

Development (DFID) commissioned a study on the possibilities of the tourism industry to contribute to poverty reduction in 1999. Influential development organisations such as SNV, United States Agency for International Development (USAID), ADB, and Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) also invested in other research projects and initiatives (Spenceley & Meyer, 2012:302). The involvement of such organisations motivates some researchers and consultants to be involved in PPT for financial gains (Spenceley & Meyer, 2012:303). As a result, PPT has been perceived as another form of neo-liberalism that promotes the interest of the consumers at the expense of poor people's interest (Hall, 2007:4; Harrison, 2008:859; Scheyvens, 2009a:194). It has also been criticised for ignoring the urban poor whilst focusing mainly on the rural poor (Chok *et al.*, 2007:159-160). The effectiveness of PPT strategies has not been proven as its target is on the wrong markets which have denied net benefits to the poor (van der Dium & Caalders, 2008:111, 121; Meyer, 2010:179).

The major weakness of PPT is the lack of quantitative data to demonstrate the impacts of tourism on poor communities (Goodwin, 2006:3; Simpson, 2007:2; Mitchell & Ashley, 2010:5; Holden, Sonne & Novelli, 2011:317-18; Pleumaron, 2012:23; Hummel, Gujadhur & Ritsma, 2013:369; Croes, 2014:214). Most literature on PPT has aimed at assessing strategies that can be implemented to expand impacts on the poor whilst neglecting measuring the impacts. Thus, the pro-poor potential of tourism tends to be overstated (Mitchell & Ashley, 2010:4-5). Snyman (2012:395) argues that tourism's claim to share benefits with rural communities through trickle-down effects is not easy to measure and that no multi-country study has attempted to validate these claims. However, Gascón (2015:512) argues that tourism has the potential to increase net income in a community, albeit at the expense of the absolute poor.

A number of researchers have attempted to quantify the impact of tourism on poverty alleviation through a variety of epistemological, methodological, theoretical frameworks, and approaches (Gartner & Cukier, 2012:546). The common ones are value chain analysis (Spenceley, Habyalimana, Tusabe & Mariza, 2010; von der Weppen & Cochrane, 2012; Mitchell, 2012; Rogerson, 2012; Spenceley & Meyer, 2012), assessment of tourism impacts (Scheyvens & Russel, 2012; Snyman, 2012), and governance and biodiversity conservation (Ahebwa, van der Duim & Sandbrooke, 2012; Nelson, 2012).

A value chain analysis (VCA) focuses on the indirect benefits from other enterprises that support tourism rather than concentrate on the traditional direct financial benefits from employment (Spenceley & Meyer, 2012:303). Spenceley *et al.* (2010) used this VCA approach to investigate the benefits that accrue to poor people from gorilla tourism in Rwanda. They found

that in 2009, turnover from tourism was estimated at US\$42.7 million from the accommodation, tour operators, excursions, and shopping value chains. The pro-poor income was estimated to be US\$1.8 million, which equates to 4.3% of the destination turnover (Spenceley *et al.*, 2010:657-658). These results indicate that despite a large amount of money generated from gorilla tourism, very little percentage reaches the poor. In South Africa, Rogerson (2012:485) highlights that 35% of the surveyed 80 safari lodges purchase fresh vegetables from local farmers within a 40km radius. The majority of lodges source the bulk of their fresh produce from established distributors in the urban areas (Rogerson, 2012:486). Such findings again indicate that the local poor people do not benefit much from tourism although Rogerson (2012:487) points out issues of quality and reliability as some of the reasons why safari lodges end up purchasing from established distributors. On the other hand, von der Weppen and Cochrane (2012:503) highlight employment and participation in decision making by the locals as the benefit of tourism. However, Holden (2013:128) posits that the application of the VCA to tourism is problematic due to the intangible nature of the products, and hence they are not measurable. Holden (2013:134) adds that there is a need for the private sector to evaluate its supply chain linkages to local supplies to maximise income and employment opportunities for the poor. Likewise, Groverman (2012:28) claims that the VCA has been applied simplistically in tourism, making it challenging to address the issue of poverty.

Assessment of tourism impacts aims to quantify and assess tourism impacts on poverty reduction, especially financial and social implications in determining the correlation between tourism and local economic development (Spenceley & Meyer, 2012:303). This approach usually employs in-depth interviews with various stakeholders in the tourism industry (employees, community members, and entrepreneurs) in order to establish both positive and negative impacts of tourism. From their study in Fiji, Scheyvens, and Russel (2012:431) posit that tourism brings direct and indirect benefits to the poor, mostly in the form of employment and contribution to community development. In another study in Botswana, Malawi, and Namibia, Snyman (2012:408) asserts that the majority of the staff interviewed perceive that tourism has helped reduce poverty in the local area as they are able to support their families and buy luxury goods from their salaries. However, Scheyvens and Russel (2012:432) highlight the negative side of the tourism impacts to poverty alleviation by citing the heavy reliance on imported products mostly among large scale operators resulting in weak linkages between tourism and the broader economy. Thus, Scheyvens and Russel (2012:432) recommend developing country governments to balance foreign investment and growth with other priorities such as widespread benefits sharing and local

control over the nature of tourism development. They add that failure to engage the local people and denying them their voice in ownership at the expense of foreign investors impedes the pro-poor potential of tourism.

As for governance and biodiversity, Nelson (2012) analyses how tourism development can alleviate poverty in Tanzania. However, his study reveals a highly centralised, weakly accountable state, and institutionalised corruption in government, therefore, affecting the distribution of benefits from natural resources to poor people. Ahebwa *et al.* (2012) show that poor governance of the tourism revenue sharing (TRS) policy at Bwindi Impenetrable National Park (BINP) results in local communities being poorly compensated for conservation (Ahebwa *et al.*, 2012:377). It is argued that good governance is critical to ensuring fair and effective use of tourism for poverty reduction and development (Agrawal, Chhatre & Hardin, 2008:1462; Holden, 2013:155). On the other hand, Nelson and Agrawal (2008:558) view the lack of downward accountable devolution as the main barrier to poverty alleviation in CBNRM in Africa.

More efforts have been made to quantify the impacts of tourism on poverty alleviation. This has been done through the use of a number of methods. Some of them include Input-Output (I-O) models, Computable General Equilibrium (CGE) models, and enterprise analysis, among others. The I-O model was used in Egypt to assess the economic impacts of tourism by Tohamy and Swinscoe (2000:14), who found that hotels and restaurants account for 30-40% of total foreign tourists' expenditures, a figure three times larger than stated in official reports. Meanwhile, Blake, Arbache, Sinclair, and Teles (2008) used the CGE model to study the impacts of inbound tourism in Brazil, and they found that the structure of tourism earnings plays, a crucial role in determining the net poverty effects through changes in prices, earnings and government revenues. With respect to enterprise analysis, Sharma (2006:82) argues that face-to-face interviews with hotel owners and other entrepreneurs are more appropriate as respondents feel comfortable responding to questions that might require confidential information. Enterprise analysis can address tourism's employment impacts (Sharma, 2006:92), whilst also generating aggregate empirical data rather than assumptions (Mitchell & Ashley, 2010:119).

The discussed methods and approaches have their drawbacks. The VCA approach has been criticised for failing to determine who is poor in the value chain as well as failing to reveal the participation of the poor in supply chains (Ashley & Mitchell, 2008:8; Mitchell & Ashley, 2010:125). Tourism employment has been claimed to exacerbate poverty through low wages and exploitation of labour (Gartner & Cukier, 2012:560); thus, highlighting the major weakness of the assessment of tourism impacts. The governance and biodiversity conservation theme are difficult

to use in Africa, as little is known about the political-economic dimensions of tourism development although they are influential in shaping policy development and tourism outcomes (Nelson, 2012:371). This is exacerbated by the lack of coordination as well as a fragmented tourism industry. For example, in Zimbabwe, various Ministries such as the Ministry of Hospitality and Tourism, Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, Ministry of National Monuments and Museums, and Ministry of Environment all have a direct influence in CBT and biodiversity conservation. These various ministries have their own procedures and strategies which affect governance issues such as accountability, transparency, and participation in the end (Balint & Mashinya, 2008a:785). I-O models fail to explicitly consider distributional issues (Mitchell & Ashley, 2010:110), while CGE models do not explore the full range of pro-poor flows (Mitchell & Ashley, 2010:114). Croes (2014:214) argues that CGE models usually depend on unrealistic assumptions about the tourism market resulting in the models representations being problematic. All these weaknesses make the results from these methods and approaches questionable. Although the discussed approaches recognise the multi-dimensionality of poverty, they tell very little about people's different perceptions of poverty. Other previous research (Suntikul, *et al.*, 2009:162; Holden *et al.*, 2011:317; Pleumarom, 2012:23; Truong *et al.*, 2014:1077,1086) highlight that people's interpretations of poverty differ from those of policy makers and academics.

Recently, an alternative approach has been advocated, which seeks the perspectives and expectations of poor people in relation to tourism and poverty alleviation. Some scholars (Krantz, 2001:11; Holden *et al.*, 2011:332; Pleumarom, 2012:46; Truong *et al.*, 2014:1071,1087; Truong, Liu & Pham, 2019:5) argue that valuing experiences and perspectives of those who are experiencing poverty can be useful in coming up with more meaningful strategies and approaches to alleviate poverty through tourism that are more likely to succeed. Likewise, Holden (2013:128) contends that "there is a need for interpretive research to produce richer and more complex understandings of the experiences of the poor and also their perceptions of tourism as a means to improve their livelihoods".

2.4 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN TOURISM

The concept of community participation in tourism originates from the general concept of community participation in development studies (Tosun, 1999:113). In the early 1980s, an increased number of tourism studies argued for community participation in tourism following the success of community development projects and community participation in the development process of the 1960s (Tosun, 1999:114). It is argued that members of the host community should be involved in tourism planning and development for three main reasons. Firstly, they have a better

understanding of how the region adapts to change. Secondly, they are the ones who will be significantly affected by tourism development. Thirdly, they are expected to become an integral part of the tourism product (Nyaupane, Morais & Dowler, 2006:1374). The tourism industry is considered to have used the community as a resource by selling it as a product in the process affecting the lives of community members (Murphy, 1985:165), and thus the community's interests must be defended. Das and Chatterjee (2015:8) view community participation as the solution to the problem of unsustainable practices. Laderchi (2001:3) traced the evolution of the concept of participation in three stages. It started in the 1970s with "popular participation" as an essential component of rural development and basic needs strategies. In the 1980s, participation was associated with discourses of grassroots self-reliance and self-help, as NGOs filled in the void left by a retreating state as a consequence of neoliberal reforms. The 1990s then saw participation being moved beyond the boundaries of the project or grassroots interventions to other spheres of social, economic, and political life (Laderchi, 2001:3). Yet, Tosun (2000:615) claims that community participation has been incorporated into the development process in different ways since the 1950s and early 1960s.

The Western world played a crucial role in introducing the community participation concept in tourism as a way to reject unfair decision-making and to ensure equal distribution of benefits to the local community (Ying & Zhou, 2007:97; Malek & Costa, 2014:3). In this sense, community participation involves a shift of power, from those who have major decision making roles to those who traditionally are denied such roles (Spicker, Leguizamon & Gordon, 2007:63). Community participation, therefore, reasserts local people's views against those of outsiders and readjusts the balance of power. This guarantees that local people are not manipulated in the participation process (Tosun, 2000:615). On the other hand, participation empowers communities to take control of their future (Murphy, 2014:4). As a service industry, tourism depends on the support and cooperation of host communities and community participation serves as a backbone of a destination (Cole, 2006a:94; Lima, Eusébio, & Partidário, 2011:46; Malek & Costa, 2014:3). Fewer benefits will be realised from tourism development unless the locals are involved from the start (Gunn, 1994:111). Community participation ensures benefits from tourism development relate to local community needs (Cole, 2006a:94). Armstrong (2012:7) argues that community participation in tourism gives community members an opportunity to utilise local expertise and knowledge, take meaningful decisions in tourism development as well as decide the extent and manner in which they wish to share their culture.

Through its broad and vague use, the concept of community participation has become confusing in the tourism literature (Tosun, 1999:114). Besides being interpreted differently, the concept is considered as elusive, ambiguous, tricky, and broad (Tosun, 1999:116). However, local participation can be defined as empowering people to mobilise their own capacities, be social actors, rather than passive subjects, manage the resources, make decisions, and control the activities that affect their lives (Kamphorst, Koopmanschap & Oudwater, 1997:174). Kamphorst *et al.* (1997:174) divide participation into passive participation and active participation. The former entails limited input into decision-making and control as people are being told what is going to happen, while the latter refers to extensive community input into decision-making and control. Active participation takes into account local people's rights to make decisions on their homeland. The definition of local participation given above corresponds to active participation rather than passive participation, as the central point is the empowerment of local people (Kamphorst *et al.*, 1997:174). Community participation in the tourism development process is strongly linked to some notion of democratic rights, which entails involvement, participation, and empowerment (Tosun, 1999:115). The form of community participation is determined by various conditions, such as the political, socio-cultural, and economic structure of a place. Thus, community participation can best be understood in the context of a specific country or destination and its political and socio-economic system (UN, 1981:5; Tosun, 1999:116).

To some extent, community participation is an educational and empowering process in which people (in partnership with those able to assist them), identify problems and needs and assume responsibility themselves to plan, manage, control, and assess the collective actions that are proved necessary (Tosun, 2000:615). It is claimed that people's participation should not be taken as only about achieving a more efficient and equitable distribution of material resources but as a way of sharing knowledge and the transformation of the learning process itself (Connel, 1997:250; Kamarudin, 2013:32). Thus, development specialists have begun to value indigenous knowledge and environmental management practices. They argue that many answers to difficult questions about host environments are to be found within communities (Timothy, 2002:153). Timothy (2002:154) adds that exogenous power, on the other hand, results in negative impacts as outsiders do not understand traditional approaches to different situations. Host communities need to have a voice in order to be able to shape their future (Tosun, 2000:616). Theerapappisit (2012:270) argues that the concept of participatory tourism planning should develop from the grassroots and extends to the global level by incorporating local wisdom, knowledge, culture, and needs.

Mohamed-Katerere (2001:117) argues that community participation may increase economic and managerial efficiency in three ways. First, it allows local people who bear the cost of natural resource management to be involved in decision making, rather than outsiders or unaccountable locals. Second, it reduces administrative and management transaction costs via the proximity of local participants. Third, it uses indigenous knowledge, values, and aspirations in project design, implementation, management, and evaluation. Involving community members in tourism allows them to benefit from tourism development (Lee, 2012:3) and is a useful tool to reduce unbalanced development (Wisansing, 2008:47). Chifamba (2013:7) is of the opinion that lack of community participation results in a community poverty deprivation trap which exacerbates underdevelopment. However, participation is not merely the involvement of community members but relates more to reality construction (Murphy, 2014:7).

Tosun (2006) developed a typology of community participation in tourism that comprises three levels: coercive participation, induced participation, and spontaneous participation (Figure 2-2). Coercive participation is also known as oppressive or narrow participation, as its objective is to enable power holders to remain with more power for decision making in tourism development issues within communities. Induced participation, also known as formal, top-down, or pseudo participation, allows communities to have a voice in tourism development processes, although they do not have the power to ensure their views to be taken into account by power holders. Spontaneous participation can be referred to as informal, bottom-up or authentic participation as it allows communities to handle their problems without external interference (Arnstein, 1969:217; Tosun, 1999:118; Tosun, 2006:494).

7. Self-mobilisation	←	8	Citizen control	Degree of Citizen Power	→	<u>Spontaneous Participation</u> Results in active participation, participation in decision making, and bottom-up approach.
6. Interactive participation		7	Delegated power			
		6	Partnership			
5. Functional participation	←	5	Placation	Degree of Citizen Tokenism	→	<u>Induced Participation</u> Results in a top-down approach, formal participation, participation in implementation, and sharing of benefits from tourism.
4. Participation for material incentives		4	Consultation			
3. Participation by consultation		3	Information			
2. Passive participation	←	2	Therapy	Non- Participation	→	<u>Coercive Participation</u> Characterised by a top-down approach, mostly indirect, formal, and participation in the implementation of decisions but not sharing of benefits from tourism.
1. Manipulative participation		1	Manipulation			
Pretty's (1995) typology of community participation	Arnstein's (1969) typology of community participation				Tosun's (1999) typology of community participation.	

Keys: Corresponding categories in each typology



Figure 2-2: Typologies of community participation in tourism

Source: Tosun (2006:494)

The model is not without limitations. Firstly, it does not consider the number of citizens or community members to be included (Tosun, 2006:495). Secondly, the model does not address the intensity and longevity of community participation (Tosun, 2006:495). Tosun (2006:495) argues that in terms of participation, local people may be placed relatively high, but enthusiasm may wane overtime, be lower than expected, or be pre-empted by other concerns beyond the community's control, such as political and economic stability. Finally, the model does not indicate significant barriers to participation, such as paternalism, racism, gender discrimination and cultural remoteness of local people to tourism (Tosun, 2006:495).

2.4.1 Barriers to community participation in tourism

Although community participation is vital to tourism development, a number of barriers remain that hinder community members' meaningful participation in tourism. One of them has been broadly labelled socio-political (Timothy, 2002:159). Timothy (2002:159) argues that most developing countries are stuck in the strong traditional views of power concentration. In most traditional societies, power is concentrated in the leader and his cronies, who make decisions that affect society with no regard whatsoever to involving community members (Ashley & Roe, 1998:12; Timothy, 2002:159; Kingsbury, 2004b:223; Giampiccoli & Kalis, 2012:177; Chifamaba, 2013:13). Such traditions deny the participation of ordinary community members in any issues or activities taking place in the communities. Other developing states that attempted to address this tradition have, however, resorted to the centralisation of powers, which is still an impediment to community participation. In many developing countries, planning is a highly centralised activity resulting in community members feeling that it is the government's duty to provide economic opportunities for their communities and therefore see no need for participation (Tosun, 2000:618; Cole, 2006b:630, 636; Nyaupane *et al.*, 2006:1374; Aref, 2011:349; Das & Chatterjee, 2015:9). In Zimbabwe, for example, the devolution of power to local communities has been a major objective of CBT, but RDCs are still reluctant to involve the locals fully in CBT (Balint & Mashinya, 2008a:792). The state would not devolve further legal rights to grassroots levels, allowing them to administer their own programmes. Instead, control remains in the government's representatives at the local and district level committees and village development committees (Hasler, 1999:8). Africa was colonised in the 1900s, and the colonial governments introduced legislatures that prohibited poor communities' access to natural resources. Throughout pre-independence, Africa's conservation policy and practice alienated rural people from their natural resources (Taylor & Bond, 2000:214). Most indigenous people were removed from their lands with abundant natural resources, which were then turned into protected national parks where indigenous people were

denied access, except only as tour guides in some instances (Scheyvens, 2003b:230; Moscardo, 2011:425; Chiutsi & Saarinen, 2017:268-69). The introduction of these protected national parks supports the imposition of Western wildlife conservation strategies on local community members resulting in the pre-dominance of external agents in African tourism (Moscardo, 2011:425). In Africa, this exclusion is associated with a loss of rights and disruptions to traditional ways of living, such as hunting and agriculture (Moscardo, 2011:425). Most countries, after independence, were reluctant to address these legislatures, and hence this becomes an impediment to community participation in tourism. Connel (1997:254) states that some of these legislatures limit underprivileged social groups to participate in any activities that involve the community. This, in turn, fosters dependence on external consultants and organisations to develop tourism plans and a lack of tourism understanding and participation by the community members (Aref, 2011:349; Moscardo, 2011:424).

Another barrier to community participation is gender and ethnicity that has its roots in the socio-political traditions of most power structures as they are patriarchal (Saville, 2001:16; Timothy, 2002:160; Giampiccoli & Kalis, 2012:177). Connel (1997:255) argues that most African traditions restrict women and youths from taking part in any activities at the expense of the elders. Women are required to do the functions of care and maintenance. These include bearing and rearing children and the broader range of activities necessary for the daily survival and well-being of family members (Kabeer, 2003:50). Such traditions, therefore, refuse women's and children's participation in CBT projects, and this affects the performance and outcome of poverty alleviation initiatives. Gender defined roles affect women's participation in development projects as they deny them a voice and choice in decision making. In some cultural customs, gendered roles sometimes determine what types of employment are most suitable or even possible for women and may exclude them from participating in decision making (Timothy, 2002:160). Some scholars (Nyaupane *et al.*, 2006:1374; López-Guzmán, Borges & Castillo-Canalejo, 2011:38; Das & Chatterjee, 2015:10) consider this impediment as a cultural barrier to community participation in tourism development.

Lack of access to information is another impediment to the participation of the locals in tourism (Tosun, 2000:620; Timothy, 2002:161; Cole, 2006b:630; Moscardo, 2008b:6; Aref, 2011:349; Chifamba, 2013:13; Kamarudin, 2013:36). Most village-based ventures lack the capacity to market themselves internationally and therefore are abandoned due to the lack of clients in the long run (Ashley & Roe, 1998:12; Timothy, 2002:161; Jamieson *et al.*, 2004:7; ESCAP, 2006:9; Moscardo, 2011:424; Giampiccoli & Kalis, 2012:177). This situation is exacerbated by

limited access to advertising outlets, reservation systems, communication infrastructure to meet tourism needs, and adequate transportation services coupled with bad roads (Jamieson *et al.*, 2004:7). Tosun (2000:620) argues that most community members are not well-informed about tourism development, resulting in low public involvement. This then prompts external tour operators control over tourism decisions, therefore, weakening the power of communities to have a role in tourism development (Moscardo, 2011:424). However, Zapata *et al.* (2011:740) advocate a bottom-up approach to mitigate this impediment, in which communities connect with local networks, and tailor make their products according to local market demands.

The tourism industry is relatively new in many remote places (Timothy, 2002:161; Cole, 2006b:630; Moscardo, 2008a:6-7; Suntikul, Bauer & Song, 2009:163; Aref, 2011:349; Thomas, 2014:369). The lack of local awareness results therefore in limited tourism knowledge and experience (Connel, 1997:255; Tosun, 2000:621; Cole, 2006a:96; Cole, 2006b:630, 637; Moscardo, 2008b:6-7; Aref, 2011:349; Giampiccoli & Kalis, 2012:177). As a new concept, it is difficult for tourism to be grasped by people living in isolated rural communities, who, as a result, avoid participating (Nyaupane *et al.*, 2006:1374). Limited knowledge, experience, and expertise is a barrier as it does not allow community input into the process of tourism development, and it also contributes to a lack of local tourism leadership resulting in domination by external agents (Tosun, 2000:621; Mamimine, 2002:94; Timothy, 2002:161; Moscardo, 2008b:8; Aref, 2011:349; Chifamba, 2013:13; Kamarudin, 2013:36; Das & Chatterjee, 2015:10). It should be noted that the lack of knowledge in this instance does not refer to training or education, but basic knowledge about tourism to allow community residents to actively take part in the decision making process (Moscardo, 2008b:8). On the other hand, the lack of formal education is a barrier to community participation in tourism activities (Lewis & Brown, 2007:9; Aref, 2011:350). Aref (2011:350) and Suntikul *et al.* (2009:163) posit that this is exacerbated by limited foreign language skills. In Zimbabwe, for instance, English is used as the official language, but most communities have very few people or even none who can speak the language. This is a barrier as community members are prevented from participating in tourism projects in their communities. Furthermore, local knowledge, skills, and existing formal and informal institutions have been ignored by external players in tourism development projects, and this has been a barrier to local participation (Pimbert & Pretty, 1995:11; Cole 2006b:637; Aref, 2011:349).

Economic issues are also a critical barrier to participation by the locals in tourism development (Connel, 1997:255; Ashley & Roe, 1998:12; Tosun, 2000:624; Saville, 2001:16; Timothy, 2002:162; Cole, 2006b:630; Lewis & Brown, 2007:9; Suntikul *et al.*, 2009:163).

Financial constraints increase dependence on national governments or international NGOs, thereby strengthening the central governments and NGOs grip in tourism development issues (Tosun, 2000:624; Timothy, 2002:162; Cole, 2006a:96; ESCAP, 2006:9; Aref, 2011:349; López-Guzmán *et al.*, 2011:38; Kamarudin, 2013:36; Das & Chatterjee, 2015:10). Community residents' low socio-economic status may also refrain them from becoming involved in tourism decision-making, as they are more concerned with making ends meet rather than development issues taking place in their communities (Tosun, 2000:625; Timothy, 2002:162; Cole, 2006b:630). Ownership and investment are very crucial in determining control over tourism development, and this affects the participation of poor communities (Tosun, 2000:624). Balint and Mashinya (2008a:793) suggest that the Mahenye CBT project that was funded by external donors resulted in financial constraints, which in turn affected the participation of community members in the project.

Peripherality is another major barrier to local participation in tourism (Ashley & Roe, 1998:12; Timothy, 2002:163; Cole, 2006b:636; van der Duim & Caalders, 2008:120; Giampiccoli & Kalis, 2012:177). Developing countries are generally viewed as being physically peripheral, making them vulnerable to outside forces, such as dependency relationships and are, therefore, disempowered. On a national level, peripherality refers to regions on the physical national margins and areas of physical isolation (Timothy, 2002:163; van der Duim & Caalders, 2008:120). This is the case with poor rural communities in Africa. Almost all the CAMPFIRE CBT projects in Zimbabwe lie in peripheral regions (Vorlaufer, 2002:188). This peripherality results in the marginalisation of residents' concerns during policy development. From the CBT models discussed earlier, it has been emphasised that the lack of empowerment affects local people's participation in tourism development. That is the reason why all the models advocate for the empowerment of communities. Laderchi (2001:3) argues that participation can be seen as a tool for important policy objectives such as empowerment and good governance. Also, as noted earlier in this chapter, the lack of voice of the local people in decision making results in poverty. Yet, it is worthwhile to note that poverty is a result of the lack of participation which is referred to as the lack of voice (Holden, 2013:14-15).

In addition, the attitudes of professionals sometimes hinder local participation in tourism (Kamarudin, 2013:56). Many experts are confident that their professional qualifications find the right answer to development problems leading them to despise indigenous knowledge and view it as archaic (Cole, 2006b:630). In the African context, most of these technocrats were educated in the West, and their knowledge and expertise might not be relevant to the local context (Balint & Mashinya, 2008a:792). In worst case scenarios, even development agencies and NGOs prefer to

employ these technocrats, and at times expatriates for tourism development projects and they are usually not interested in involving the local people in the development strategies (Balint & Mashinya, 2008a:792). As Tosun (2000:620) argues, “it is not easy to persuade professionals, most of whom do not have close contact with local people and lack tourism background, to accept participatory tourism development as a viable approach in many developing countries”.

Lack of coordination of the tourism industry also acts as a barrier to local participation. For example, in Zimbabwe, National Parks and Wildlife Management, National Monuments and Museums and Ministry of Environment all fall under different ministries, and none of them under the Ministry of Tourism, although these departments directly affect tourism development one way or the other. For instance, trophy hunting (consumptive tourism) falls under National Parks and Wildlife Management. The department issues licences and does all the paper work. Communities who want to use their wildlife for consumptive tourism will have to approach National Parks and Wildlife Management. When they want to construct a lodge for the trophy hunters to stay during the hunting season, they have to contact the Ministry of Tourism and Hospitality. Those who want to promote heritage and culture will have to consult and approach National Museums and Monuments for approval. For a community with the resources that fall under these three different departments and want to use them for CBT development will then have to approach these departments separately. These departments have different rules, procedures and understanding of tourism development and its importance. Such a lack of coordination in the already highly fragmented tourism industry is a barrier to local participation in tourism development.

The lack of coordination often results in the other barrier of elite domination (Tosun, 2000:621). Due to limited coordination, most of the opportunities to take part in tourism development initiatives will end up being taken by the elite. In Africa, it is usually the ruling party cadres who can easily manipulate and manoeuvre into these fragmented uncoordinated systems (Balint & Mashinya, 2008a:794). These ruling party elites neither allow the participation of local people nor employ them in tourism projects but instead opt to involve their relatives, cronies, and other elites (Balint & Mashinya, 2008a:794). The lack of an appropriate legal system to defend community interests in developing countries is another crucial impediment to local participation in tourism development (Tosun, 2000:623; Thomas, 2014:369; Das & Chatterjee, 2015:10). In Zimbabwe, local communities have no legal status in resource management (Virtanen, 2003:184). The barriers are summarised in Table 2-2.

Table 2-2: Barriers to community participation in tourism

Barrier	Signs of the barrier	Possible remedy
Socio-political	Decisions only made by community leaders, presence of protected areas, gender and ethnicity, lack of coordination.	Devolution of power, encourage the participation of women and the youth in tourism, the formation of CBT projects involving communities.
Economic	Financial constraints, dependence on international NGOs, lack of infrastructure to cater for tourists, unemployment.	Formation of partnerships between NGOs and communities, construction of lodges from tourism revenue, employment of the locals.
Physical	Physically isolated (Peripherality)	Infrastructural development of roads to improve the accessibility of isolated areas.
Legal	Loss of land rights by local people, elite domination.	Introduction of laws to protect local people and their interests.

Source: Researcher’s own compilation adapted from existing literature

2.5 COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT IN TOURISM

Although community participation is essential, it is not sufficient. Communities need to be empowered in order for tourism to be sustainable (Scheyvens, 2003b:233; Mitchell, 2008:160).

As Akama (1996:573) states in relation to CBT development in Kenya:

“local communities need to be empowered to decide what forms of tourism facilities and wildlife conservation programmes they want to be developed in their respective communities, and how the tourism costs and benefits are to be shared among different stakeholders.”

Akama (1996) argues that without being empowered local communities are not in a position to make decisions that benefit them and bring about community development. Empowerment, therefore, affords communities the ability to articulate their own perspectives and bring them to fruition (Murphy, 2014:5). Although empowerment has been studied extensively, it is not easy to define (Scheyvens, 2003b:234; Boley & McGehee, 2014:86). Cole (2006a:97) defines empowerment as a social action process that promotes the participation of people, organisations, and communities towards the goals of increased individual and community control, political efficacy, improved quality of life, and social justice. Meanwhile, Sadan (1997:144) views empowerment as a process of transition from a state of powerlessness to one of relative control over one’s life, destiny and environment. Narayan (2002:14) defines empowerment as “the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives”. The three definitions are prevalent in that they emphasise individuals gaining control over their life. Empowerment enhances people’s

capacity to influence decisions that affect their lives and is central to community development (Gilchrist, 2009:66). The notion of empowerment becomes relevant when community members gain control over interventions in their communities (Murphy, 2014:6). Empowerment is, therefore, the capacity of individuals or groups to determine their own affairs (Zimmerman, 1995:581; Rappaport, 1987:122; Beeton, 2006:88; Cole, 2006b:631; Cole, 2006a:97) and helps people exert control over factors that affect their lives (Scheyvens, 1999:246; Cole, 2006a:97; Cole, 2006b:631). It makes community members become active agents of change with the ability to find solutions to their problems, make decisions, implement actions and evaluation of solutions, and thus it represents the top end of the participation ladder (Cole, 2006a:97; Cole, 2006b:631; Boley & McGehee, 2014:86). Genuine local participation is critical in empowering community members (Murphy, 2014:6). Empowerment is achieved through learning and collective organisation processes of power redistribution, which involves changes in culture and mainstream institutional procedures making them more transparent and more responsive (Gilchrist, 2009:99). Narayan (2002:13) argues that the term empowerment has different meanings in different socio-cultural and political contexts, and does not translate easily into all languages.

Spicker *et al.* (2007:63) construe empowerment as a product, process and outcome. They argue that empowerment is a product of a process of collective action where people are put in a position where they can develop social capital and politically exercise power. The outcome of the process is the ability to voice concerns and represent interests that may impact the situation of poor people, making it possible to expand their capabilities and commodities. Capabilities can be divided into human capabilities (education and good health) and social capabilities (social belonging and sense of identity) (Spicker *et al.*, 2007:14-15). Similarly, Zimmerman (1995:584) views empowerment as a process that includes four main elements. The first is the involvement of local people in the development, implementation, and evaluation of interventions. The second element is developing an “eco-identity”, whereby professionals become members of the community to some extent. The third involves working with community members as equal partners. The fourth element refers to the creation of opportunities for community members to develop skills.

Other scholars (Timothy, 2002:157; Giampiccoli & Kalis, 2012:176) argue that CBT is about grassroots empowerment as it seeks to develop tourism in harmony with the needs of host communities. Empowerment also involves transferring ownership and access rights to local people which enables them to have decision-making power (Kamphorst *et al.*, 1997:174). Although social, cultural, political, and economic conditions vary and institutions are context-specific, it is

argued that there are four critical elements for a successful empowerment initiative (Narayan, 2002:xx; Das & Chatterjee, 2015:9). The first is access to information. In CBT, information flows should be two ways, from external stakeholders such as government, NGOs and tour operators who want to invest in CBT in the top-down approach to the community members. Narayan (2002:xx) adds that information is power and that information and communication technologies play a pivotal role in broadening access to information. Inclusion/participation is the second element. An effective empowering approach to participation should treat poor people as co-producers, with power and control over decisions and resources devolved to the grassroots level (Narayan, 2002:xx). Narayan (2002:xx) adds that the inclusion of poor people and other groups such as women and young people in decision making is critical to ensure that limited public resources build on local knowledge and priorities, and bring about a commitment to change. Accountability is the third element. In CBT, all players involved, including community-based organisations, must be held to account, making them answerable for their policies in action that affect the success of CBT. The last element is local organisational capacity, which refers to the ability of people to work together, organise themselves, and mobilise resources to solve problems of common interest (Narayan, 2002:xx). Narayan argues that communities are more likely to have their voices heard and their demands met when they can gain voice and representation in decisions that affect their well-being. A summary of the four elements for a successful empowerment initiative is illustrated below (Figure 2-3).

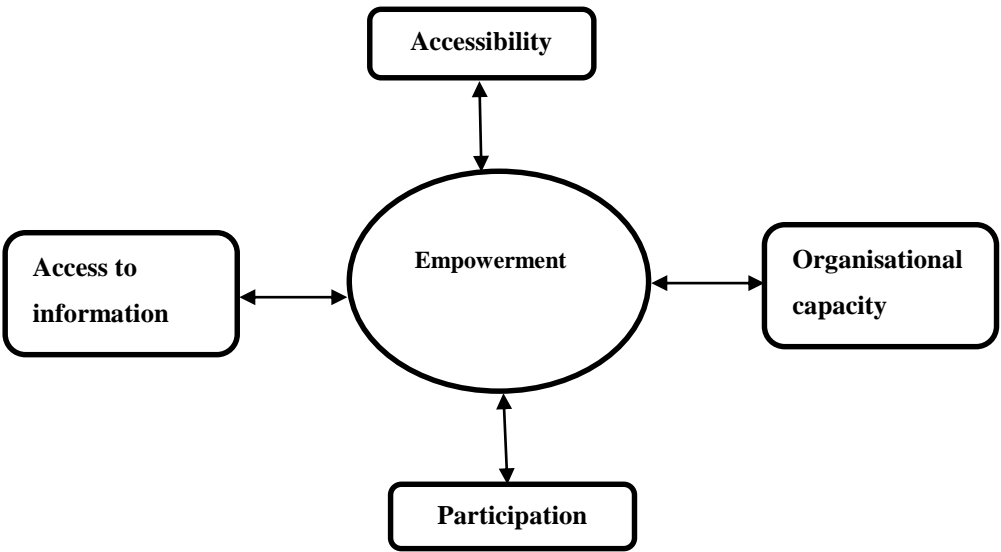


Figure 2-3: Elements of a successful empowerment initiative

Source: Researcher’s own compilation adapted from existing literature

Scheyvens (1999) suggested an empowerment framework that comprises four dimensions: economic empowerment, psychological empowerment, social empowerment, and political empowerment (Table 2-3). Scheyvens (1999:247) argues that these four dimensions of empowerment can be found in any tourism development project and that they can determine the effectiveness of CBT initiatives in terms of their impacts on local communities.

Table 2-3: Typologies of community empowerment in tourism development

Type of empowerment	Signs of empowerment	Signs of disempowerment
Economic empowerment	Economic gains such as cash, employment opportunities from informal and formal sectors.	Sporadic cash gains for local community and leakages, the establishment of protected areas, and protection of wildlife species by the state.
Psychological empowerment	Self-esteem is enhanced by recognition of the uniqueness and value of local culture, natural resources and indigenous knowledge systems.	Apathy, depression, disillusionment, frustration, confusion and lack of interest in tourism development initiatives.
Social empowerment	Construction of social development projects like schools and clinics.	Adaption of foreign culture and values, loss of respect for local elders by the youth, social decay such as crime and prostitution.
Political empowerment	Having access to the process of decision making and voice in tourism development.	Lack of political voice in tourism development decisions, autocratic community leadership, and centralised power at the national level.

Source: Scheyvens (1999:247)

An economically empowered community has access to productive resources (Scheyvens, 1999:248; Scheyvens 2003b:234). Economic empowerment benefits communities financially from tourism (Timothy, 2002:152). However, there should be an equitable distribution of economic benefits (Scheyvens, 1999:247). The establishment of protected areas is a sign of economic disempowerment. Psychological empowerment promotes a community's pride and self-esteem and these are enhanced by outsiders through recognition of a community's culture, natural resources, and traditional knowledge (Timothy, 2002:152; Cole, 2006a:97-98; Cole, 2006b:632; Boley & McGehee, 2014:86-87). This helps communities to re-evaluate the value of their culture and environment and assist community members gaining confidence as they feel valued by outsiders (Boley & McGehee, 2014:87). Absence of psychological empowerment results in apathy, depression, disillusionment, frustration, and confusion (Scheyvens, 1999:248).

Social empowerment ensues when tourism is perceived to increase connection to the community (Boley & McGehee, 2014:87). It is argued that social empowerment promotes community cohesion and integrity (Scheyvens, 1999:248; Scheyvens, 2003b:235; Di Castri,

2004:53; Cole, 2006a:98; Cole, 2006b:632). Social development projects such as schools, boreholes, and clinics are results of social empowerment (Scheyvens, 1999:248; Scheyvens, 2003b:235). In contrast, when the locals despise their culture, when there is prostitution, crime, and loss of respect for elders by the youth, it is the result of social disempowerment. Political empowerment is attained when all local people are fairly represented and share their concerns about tourism development (Scheyvens, 1999:248; Boley & McGehee, 2014:87). It is a shift in the power balance between the powerful and the powerless (Cole, 2006a:98; Cole, 2006b:632; Spicker *et al.*, 2007:63). Politically empowered communities voice their concerns in tourism projects from feasibility to implementation (Scheyvens, 1999:248; Scheyvens, 2003b:236). Political disempowerment results in the lack of political voice in development issues, autocratic community leadership, and centralisation of power.

2.6 RELEVANCE OF CBT AND PPT TO AFRICA

CBT is critical to Africa due to the prevalence of poverty in the continent. The majority of people living on less than US\$1.90 per day (absolute poverty) live in Southern Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa, accounting for about 70% of the global total of destitute people (UN, 2017:1). Such poverty prevalence, coupled with the availability of abundant natural resources, especially wildlife and unique culture, which all can be tourist attractions, has resulted in the proliferation of CBT projects in Sub-Saharan Africa in a bid to alleviate poverty. In Zimbabwe, the period 1990 to 2000 saw the growth of the CBT sector and most of the projects were supported by the CAMPFIRE programme (Madzara, Yekeye & Rewayi, 2012:4). By 2016, there were 98 known CBTEs in Zimbabwe of which a number of them specialise in consumptive tourism ventures (MoTHI, 2016:55). These factors make Zimbabwe an ideal case to conduct research in tourism as a means of community development and poverty alleviation.

Indigenous groups, communities, households, and individuals all have cultural claims over access to and control of territorial resources with the purpose of securing livelihoods from their local environmental inheritance (Mudiwa, 2002:181). In Africa the concept of CBT emerged through a paradigm known as Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) during the early 1970s as a way of addressing the “command-and-control” methodologies of natural resource conservation which had proved unsustainable politically, socially and environmentally (Johnson & Erdmann, 2006:1; Mauambeta, Mwalukomo & Kafakoma, 2007:1; Mauambeta & Kafakoma, 2010:10). During that period, African governments that had just defeated colonialism had limited resources, both financial and human, to tackle ecosystem degradation. As a result, they resorted to empowering local communities as a new approach to

alleviating ecosystem degradation. (Johnson & Erdmann, 2006:1; Mauambeta *et al.*, 2007:1; Mauambeta & Kafakoma, 2010:10; Jones & Erdmann, 2013:13). Some scholars (Kasere, 1995:5; Jossierand, 2001:1; Fabricius, 2004:4; Jones 2004:5; Roe & Nelson, 2009:6; Jones & Erdmann, 2013:3) concur that control of land and natural resources in Africa had been taken away from local communities by colonialist policies. Jones and Erdmann (2013:13) argue that CBNRM, in modern terms, refers to environmental and development usage. CBNRM describes the management of natural resources by collective, local institutions to benefit local communities (Roe & Nelson, 2009:5). “In Southern Africa, CBNRM is widely recognised and accepted as an approach to conservation and development that facilitates improved conservation impact, improved economic benefits, and improved environmental governance” (Wirbelaeur, 2005:2). Nevertheless, Jossierand (2001:ii) argues that “the CBNRM approach is community-based in that the communities managing the resources have the legal rights, the local institutions, and the economic incentives to take substantial responsibility for sustained use of these resources”. CBNRM may take various forms (Jones, 2004:4; Turner 2004:162; Roe, Nelson & Sandbrooke., 2009:vii), and as a consequence it is interpreted differently across Africa (Roe *et al.*, 2009:vii). Jossierand (2001:4) is of the opinion that the CBNRM notion has become both deeper with respect to the degree of authority they have over local resources and over relations with other stakeholders as well as becoming broader in terms of the range of natural resource management initiatives local people can take up at any point.

CBNRM is not *terra incognita* in Africa as it has always been a way of life for rural communities for millennia (Kasere, 1995:6; Murphree, 2000a:1; Fabricius, 2004:3; Jones, 2004:4; Roe & Nelson, 2009:5; Jones & Erdmann, 2013:13). Africa is known for abundant wildlife compared to most places on Earth. Africa has some animals which are now extinct in many places in the world (Sifuna, 2012:31). During the pre-colonial era, indigenous Africans had their own ways and means of managing natural resources so as to use them for the benefit of the community. “These traditional or cultural practices are ingeniously designed to address local ecological limitations by maintaining a sustainable utilisation and protection of commonly shared natural resources” (Lalonde, 1991:4). Use of natural resources was sustainably regulated through traditional institutions, which determined the harvesting of fruits, the cutting down of trees, the intensity of grazing as well as hunting and gathering (Maphosa, 2002:4; Masiwa, 2002:18; Mazambani & Dembetembe, 2010:1). Before colonialism, the indigenous African communities co-existed with wild animals, whilst utilising them in accordance with African customary practices

and values (Sifuna, 2012:32). African people have a long historical relationship with wildlife, a resilient relationship that has existed through generations (Sifuna, 2012:31).

Modern scholars and development agencies have also seen the need to incorporate and promote indigenous knowledge in the conservation of natural resources. Local knowledge held by indigenous people that is unique to a given culture or society is referred to as indigenous knowledge (Mudiwa, 2002:177; Bhatasara & Mandizadza, 2014:186). IK is regarded as the basis for local level decision making in natural resource management, education, food preparation, health care, and a host of other activities in rural communities (Bhatasara & Mandizadza, 2014:186). It is argued that despite the racial and colonial onslaughts that IK has suffered, it failed to die as it is transmitted from generation to generation by word of mouth (Bhatasara & Mandizadza, 2014:186). Many social science researchers and development agencies are now beginning to appreciate indigenous peoples' positive role and their knowledge of the surrounding environment in the success of development projects and policies (Lalonde, 1991:3). Sustainable resource management can be enhanced through strategies that promote indigenous knowledge and decision-making systems (Lalonde, 1991:3; Binns & Nel, 1999:393). The major turning point in recognition of indigenous knowledge systems in biodiversity conservation was the Convention of Biological Diversity held in Rio De Janeiro (Brazil) in 1992 (Nakashima & Roué, 2002:314). Article 8 (j) of the Convention recognises indigenous knowledge and people in sustainable development by respecting, preserving and maintaining knowledge, innovations, and practices of local indigenous communities as well as their traditional life styles (Nakashima & Roué, 2002:314). Hoppers (2005:3) identifies a number of areas where traditional knowledge can be utilised including agricultural, meteorological, ecological, governance, social welfare, peace building and conflict resolution, medical and pharmaceutical, legal, and jurisprudential, music, architecture, sculpture, textile manufacture, metallurgy, and food technology.

Africans have their own ways and strategies for managing natural resources. One of these is through local institutions such as traditional leadership (Kasere, 1995; Fabricius, 2004:3; Jones, 2004:4; Chigwenya & Manatsa, 2007:103; Jones & Erdmann, 2013:13). Kaba Tah (2012:3) argues that African cultures had strong traditional institutions that would oversee and regulate the management of natural resources. Chiefs, headmen, and traditional healers were the sovereign and overall custodians of natural resources (Kasere, 1995:6). They were responsible for enforcing the rules and regulations as well as punishing perpetrators. The proliferation of modern institutions of the state has prompted traditional institutions to lose some of their authority (Kaba Tah, 2012:3).

Traditional institutions were assisted by taboos in enforcing rules and regulations (Lalonde, 1991:4; Jary & Jary, 1995:677; Kasere, 1995:8; Domfeh, 2007:41; Eyong, 2007:129; Mazambani & Dembetembe, 2010:2; Kaba Tah, 2012a:3; Lssozi, 2012:94; Yamande & Guy, 2012:9; Mapira & Mazambara, 2013:96). A taboo is any ritual prohibition on certain activities (Jary & Jary, 1995:677). It may involve the avoidance of certain people, places, objects, or actions. Traditionally, customs and taboos played a crucial role in protecting wildlife, which was regarded as a valuable community asset (Kaba Tah, 2012b:5) against over exploitation (Mapira & Mazambara, 2013:96; Chagonda, 2018:3). Examples of such resources include wild animals, mountains, rivers, forests, and caves. Random cutting of trees and hunting was taboo whilst private ownership of resources was prohibited as natural resources were a communal property (Kasere, 1995:4; Kaba Tah, 2012a:3). The cutting down and use of some types of indigenous fruit trees such as Muzhanje (*vapaka kirkiana*), Mutohwe (*Azanza garkaena*), Munhengeni (*ximena*), and Mutamba (*Strychnos species*), among others was restricted and they could not be used as firewood as they were believed to produce a lot of choking smoke (Mukamuri, 1995:85; Chagonda, 2018:3). The Muhacha tree (*Parinari curatellifolia*) was culturally and nutritionally significant as its fruits were important for both humans and animals during droughts, and rain-making ceremonies were performed under it, thus cutting it was strictly prohibited (Chagonda, 2018:3). Through these taboos, knowingly and unknowingly, local communities conserved natural resources (Kaba Tah, 2012a:3). Natural resources have traditionally been managed collectively or communally (Roe & Nelson, 2009:8), and thus CBNRM falls under the common property paradigm (Kasere, 1995:9; Jones and Erdmann, 2013:15). Traditional institutions advised perpetrators that they would be punished by ancestors through bad luck or suffering from deadly diseases. Therefore, indigenous knowledge encompasses spiritual relationships with the natural environment (Sibanda, 2001:119; Dudley, Higgins-Zogib & Mansourian, 2005:20; Domfeh, 2007:41; Chibememe *et al.*, 2014a:199).

Imposition of sacred sites is another effective way which was used by indigenous Africans in natural resource management (Kasere, 1995:4; Pera & McLaren, 1999:3; Hoppers, 2005:4; Chigwenya & Manatsa, 2007:104; Lssozi, 2012:93; Kaba Tah, 2012a:3; Muam, 2012:4; Sifuna, 2012:33; Mapira & Mazambara, 2013:96; Chagonda, 2018:3). Sacred places were not to be molested by people, and if visited, specific rules had to be strictly adhered to (Mapira & Mazambara, 2013:96). In traditional conservation systems, control was rooted in the consciences of everyone, and there were fears of repercussions if anyone went against any taboo that was in place (Kaba Tah, 2012a:3). Examples of such sacred places still exist today in Zimbabwe, such as

Inyanga Mountains, Chinhoyi Caves, and Chirinda forest. Culprits who broke the rules of sacred places risked disappearing. Sacred sites became the sanctuary for wildlife species as they were totally protected and feared by all people. It was prohibited to hunt and cut trees in scared places (Daneel, 1996:350; Kaba Tah, 2012a:3).

Totemism is one of the common traditions used by indigenous communities for natural resource management (Jary & Jary, 1995:99; Chigwenya & Manatsa, 2007:104; Eyong, 2007:129; Lssozi, 2012:92; Sifuna, 2012:33; Yamande & Guy, 2012:4; Mapira & Mazambara, 2013:99; Chagonda, 2018:3). Totemism refers to “symbolically identifying humans with non-human objects (usually animals and plants)” (Mapara & Mazambara, 2013:99). The totemic system in African culture depicts a strong ethical connection between indigenous people and nature. It is a taboo to eat one’s totem (Lssozi, 2012:92; Chagonda, 2018:3). One will risk losing teeth by eating a totem. Mapira and Mazambara (2013:99) argue that “from an ecological point of view, totemism can be valued for its role in the preservation of biodiversity in a given area.” As for hunting and gathering communities, totemism is vital in reducing competition for some edible animals, birds, reptiles, insects, and plants (Mapara & Mazambara, 2013:99). Totemism preserves endangered species as it encourages selective rather than indiscriminate hunting. (Mapara & Mazambara, 2013:99; Chagonda, 2018:3).

It has been noted from the discussion that the availability of some endangered species in Africa can be attributed to the indigenous people’s ability to conserve and co-exist with the natural resources. Yamane and Guy (2012:9) argue that there is a need to strengthen and respect African traditions as they have proved for so many years to be very reliable in conserving wildlife species. Natural resources have been regarded as common property and, therefore, needed to benefit the whole community. Most remote communities in Africa today depend on wildlife for community-based initiatives such as trophy hunting due to the fact that there is still abundant wildlife, which has been conserved by traditional methods discussed. The utilisation of these abundant natural resources can alleviate poverty. Pleumarom (2012:23) argues that “while many rural and indigenous communities appear to live in poor economic and social conditions, they do not consider themselves poor if they can preserve their culture, living close to the natural environment and utilising land water and biological resources for their livelihood”. Therefore, CBT initiatives within communities should respect indigenous knowledge systems.

2.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has discussed the fundamental concepts of community, development, community development, and poverty. It argues that a community can be defined in geographical, territorial, and economic identity terms. The community concept is crucial in tourism studies as tourism is about visiting people and places. Development is a broad concept that refers to an improvement in the standards of living of people, improved health, well-being, and quality of life. It is argued that the development concept has a Western bias, and hence LED, a non-Western form of development strategy, is recommended. Community development is a process of empowering communities through participation, and it results in the physical, social, and economic improvements in communities. Poverty is a multi-dimensional concept that is viewed as a lack of both income and non-income aspects, such as lack of access to health and education, among others. Different measures of poverty have evolved since the 1950s, but the \$1 per day measure is arguably among the most commonly used on a global scale. Various poverty measures have been suggested by scholars and organisations, and their success and failure have been discussed.

This chapter has also reviewed the existing literature on tourism and community development with a particular focus on CBT and PPT. CBT is an alternative form of tourism that emerged due to the need to promote community participation in tourism development and ensure that tourism benefits remain in the communities. Various CBT models were reviewed, which suggest that community members should take part through a bottom-up approach so as to empower them. In an endeavour to make tourism more pro-poor, the PPT approach has been promoted that puts poor people at the centre of tourism development. Substantial debates have taken place over the actual impact of tourism on poverty alleviation. Furthermore, the notions of community participation and community empowerment in tourism have been examined, where a number of barriers are identified, including financial constraints, lack of access to information and markets, and peripherality, among others. Finally, this chapter has discussed the relevance of CBT and PPT to Africa, a continent that has substantial potential for tourism development but is also home to the world's largest poor populations. Although it is claimed that CBT and PPT may bring about community development and help alleviate poverty, particularly in developing countries, limited attention has been given to the perspectives and experiences of poor people in relation to tourism and poverty alleviation. This thesis thus seeks to fill this gap in knowledge, taking Zimbabwe as a case study. The next chapter provides background information about Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER 3 SETTING THE SCENE: TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AND POVERTY IN ZIMBABWE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the development of tourism and the poverty situation in Zimbabwe. First, Zimbabwe's tourism development is traced from the pre-independence phase to the post-independence phase, followed by a description of the country's national tourism policy. As Chapter Two has explained the poverty concept, this chapter examines the poverty situation in Zimbabwe as well as the government's poverty reduction strategies in the second section. The third section presents a critique of tourism, poverty alleviation, and community development in Zimbabwe, wherein the CAMPFIRE programme is discussed.

3.2 TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE

Zimbabwe is located in sub-Saharan Africa and is bordered by Mozambique to the east, Zambia to the north, Botswana to the west, and South Africa to the south. The country covers a total area of 390,757 sq.km, of which about 386,847 sq.km is land, while 3,910 sq.km is water (Chimhowu, Manjengwa & Feresu, 2010:1; Chibememe *et al.*, 2014b:8). "More than 15 per cent of the total area is set aside for *in situ* conservation of forest and wildlife biodiversity; of that total, about 13 per cent falls under Parks and Wildlife Estate (managed by the Zimbabwe National Parks and Wildlife Management Authority)" (Chibememe *et al.*, 2014b:8). It lies over 300 metres above sea level, and temperate conditions prevail all year as the climate is moderated by altitude and the inland position of the country (GVPedia Communications & Bischorfberger, 2015:43). Despite being landlocked, the country still appeals to international tourists looking for leisure and adventures due to the availability of beautiful flora and fauna, unique cultural heritage, and long sunny days for the most part of the year (Abel, Nyamadzawo, Nyaruwata & Moyo, 2013:10; GVPedia Communications & Bischorfberger, 2015:10; Veras, 2017). It is home to 72 amphibian species, 196 mammal species, 156 reptile species, 672 bird species (Wilderness Safaris, 2015:5), and 6 388 native species of flora (Zimbabwe Flora, 2017). Zimbabwe got independence from Britain in 1980. Before independence, it was known as Rhodesia (a map of Zimbabwe is provided in Figure 3-1).

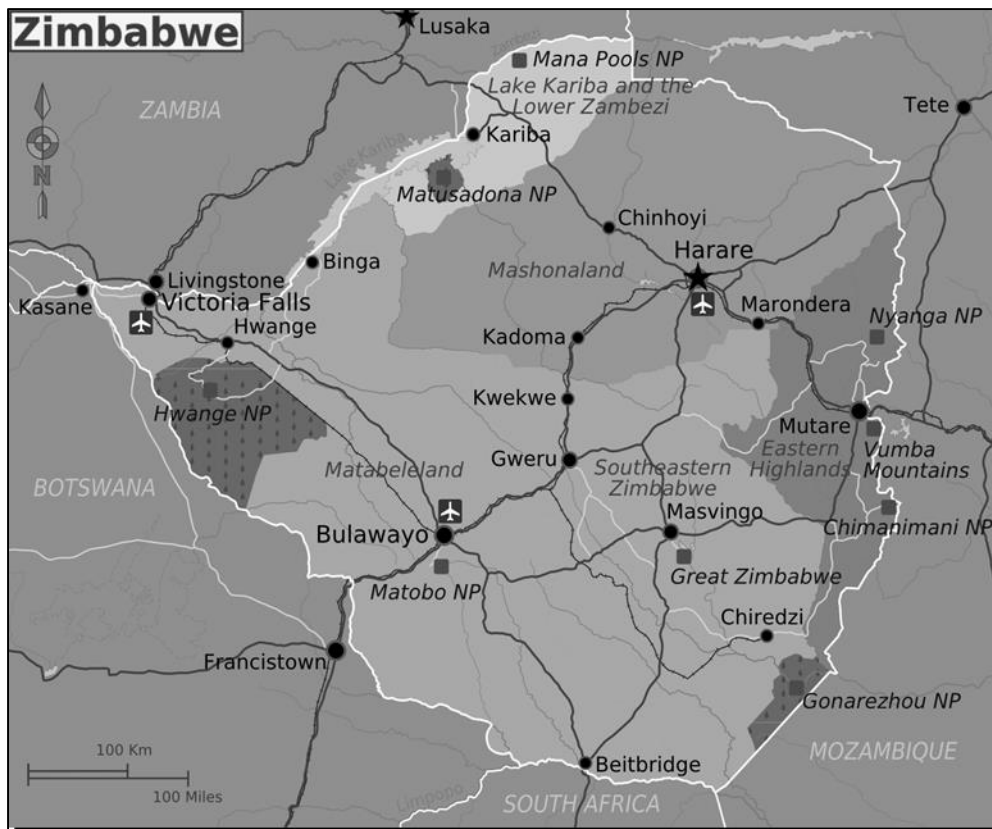


Figure 3-1: Map of Zimbabwe (Source: Zimguide’s website)

The development of Zimbabwe’s tourism can be divided into two main phases: the pre-independence phase (1975-1979) and the post-independence phase (1980-present). The latter has five different periods, namely 1980-1984, 1985-1999, 2000-2008, 2009-2013, and 2014-present. Each phase is characterised by different political environments, ideologies, institutional frameworks, and economic models. Mosedale (2014:58) argues that political ideology and the type of economic model adapted are crucial in determining the institutions put in place to plan and manage tourism development. Likewise, Nyaruwata (2017:1) asserts that changes in political ideology and economic development model result in changes of the institutions responsible for tourism development in a country.

The statistics of tourist arrivals often include both domestic and international tourists but in Zimbabwe, the Zimbabwe Tourism Authority (ZTA) publishes only international tourist arrivals every year. One reason could be that domestic tourists are challenging to identify and measure compared with international tourists (Candela & Figini, 2012:32). Domestic tourism data in Zimbabwe is limited to people staying in registered accommodation only. While domestic visitors to national parks are recorded, there is no division between tourists and excursionists (MoTHI &

KDC, 2016:23). These factors might be contributing to the reason why ZTA opts to publish only international tourist arrivals.

3.2.1 The pre-independence phase (1975-1979)

This phase covers the intensified years of the war of liberation (Nyaruwata, 2017:3) that lasted from 1966 to 1979. During this time, the tourism sector was used for disseminating propaganda about the country by the government. Therefore, it was placed under the Ministry of Information, Immigration, and Tourism (Abel *et al.*, 2013:14; Nyaruwata, 2017:3; Tambo, 2017). The Tourism Act of 1975 that was administered by the Rhodesia National Tourist Board (RNTB) governed the tourism sector. Table 3-1 shows international tourist arrivals during this phase.

Table 3-1: International tourist arrivals to Zimbabwe (1975-1979)

Year	Tourist arrivals	Year	Tourist arrivals
1975	270,029	1978	101,764
1976	162,239	1979	79,302
1977	120,231		

Sources: ZTA (2011:18; 2012:15; 2015a:19)

The war of liberation intensified from 1976 to 1979, prompting the continued reduction in tourist arrivals (Table 3-1). The smallest number of tourist arrivals during this phase was recorded in 1979 due to the 1978 killing of several tourists and the shooting down of a civilian airplane. This led to the closure of several hotels and many recreational areas near urban centres for security reasons (Child, Heath & Moore, 1989:56; McIvor, 1994:15).

3.2.2 The post-independence phase

The post-independence phase, as noted, has five distinct periods. The period immediately after independence (1980-1984) was characterised by the new government’s efforts to position the country as a tourist destination. The Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) intensified marketing efforts as a way of penetrating new markets during the period of stable growth (1985-1999). The Land Reform programme, economic sanctions (imposed by the West) as well as economic instability, shaped the period of stagnation and decline (2000-2008). In 2009, a Government of National Unity (GNU) was formed, and this facilitated the establishment of an independent Ministry of Tourism and Hospitality Industry (MoTHI) for the first time in Zimbabwe during 2009 to post GNU period (2009-2013). Finally, the period of recovery (2014-present) has witnessed a steady increase in international tourist arrivals.

3.2.2.1 The period immediately after independence (1980-1984)

Soon after independence, the institutional structures from the colonial government were retained as tourism remained under the Ministry of Information and Tourism (Abel *et al.*, 2013:13). However, the new government viewed tourism as having the potential to bring about direct revenues and employment as well as the ability to portray a new positive image for the country (Ndoda, 2010:61-62; Chibaya, 2013:85). The department of tourism under the Ministry of Information and Tourism was tasked with the responsibility of developing new policies for the sector as well as the supervision of the Zimbabwe Tourist Board (ZTB) (Nyaruwata, 2017:4). ZTB's responsibilities included tourism marketing and promotion, inspection and licensing of tourism enterprises, among others (Nyaruwata, 2017:4). From 1980 to 1981, the country witnessed a transitional period in which the new government searched for the best institutional model for tourism management (Nyaruwata, 2017:4).

In 1982, the government decided to change the institutional structure of the colonial government by creating the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (Abel *et al.*, 2013:13; Nyaruwata, 2017:4). The ministry had various departments, including the department of the environment managed by the Natural Resources Board (NRB), the department of forestry managed by the Forestry Commission, the wildlife department managed by the Parks and Wildlife Management, and the tourism department managed by the ZTB. The ZTB was replaced by the Zimbabwe Tourist Development Corporation (ZTDC) in 1984 following the amendment of the 1975 Tourism Act that led to the promulgation of the development of Tourism Amendment Act (Abel *et al.*, 2013:14; Nyaruwata, 2017:4, 6-7). These changes were attributed to the recognition that the tourism sector was based on the country's natural resources, and hence its success depended on the successful implementation of natural resource conservation programmes (Abel *et al.*, 2013:14; Nyaruwata, 2017:4-5). The ZTDC was charged with both commercial (managing government-owned hotels and tourist companies) and non-commercial functions (planning for tourism development, undertaking market and product research, marketing the country internally and externally, coordinating human capital development, and coordinating the provision of financial assistance to the private sector) (Nyaruwata, 2017:7). The tourism department's primary responsibilities were policy formulation, registration, inspection, and grading of tourist products, and supervision of the ZTDC, among others (Nyaruwata, 2017:5).

This period was characterised by the government's focus on positioning the country as a new African destination, wherein the aim was to establish a market presence in the major source markets such as Australia, the United Kingdom (UK), Germany, North America, and South Africa.

Tourist offices were opened in these countries to create public awareness and to meet the need for the travel trade in those areas (Tambo, 2017). The slogan used for tourism marketing was “Zimbabwe: Waiting to be discovered” (Abel *et al.*, 2013:15; Tambo, 2017). Table 3-2 shows the number of international tourist arrivals during this period.

Table 3-2: Zimbabwe’s international tourist arrivals (1980-1984)

Year	Tourist arrivals	Year	Tourist arrivals
1980	237,668	1983	230,437
1981	313,866	1984	254,335
1982	226,910		

Sources: ZTA (2002:8; 2011:18; 2012:15; 2015a:19)

The decrease in tourist arrivals in 1982 and 1983 was due to the civil war that lasted from 1982 to 1987 (Child *et al.*, 1989:55; McIvor, 1994:15; Chibaya, 2013:86; Zhou, 2013:887). A group of six foreign tourists were abducted between Bulawayo and Victoria Falls and subsequently killed by a gang of anti-government dissidents in 1982 (Child *et al.*, 1989:56; McIvor, 1994:15; Tevera & Zinyama, 2002:14). Some tourists were fired upon in Matopo National Park in 1984, resulting in its closure for several months (Child *et al.*, 1989:56; McIvor, 1994:15).

3.2.2.2 The period of stable growth (1985-1999)

This period was characterised by marketing programmes which were aimed at consolidating market share in the traditional markets (Australia, the UK, Germany, North America, and South Africa), exploring niche markets from those traditional markets as well as penetrating new markets (Abel *et al.*, 2013:15; Tambo, 2017). Promotional activities were expanded to new markets such as Italy, Spain, New Zealand, the Netherlands, and France (Abel *et al.*, 2013:15, Tambo, 2017). The marketing programmes focused on conferences and incentives while emphasising partnership programmes with tour operators in the generating countries (Abel *et al.*, 2013:15; Tambo, 2017).

The marketing efforts for conferences and incentives were rewarded in 1991 and 1997. In October 1991, the country hosted the Commonwealth Heads of Governments Meeting in Harare while the retreat was done in Victoria Falls, resulting in massive infrastructural development in the resort town (Chibaya, 2013:86). In June 1997, it hosted the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora’s (CITES) Conference of the Parties (CoP10), also in Harare. The hotel sector expanded rapidly with new hotels such as Cresta Lodge, Imba Matombo Lodge, Rainbow Towers (former Harare Sheraton) and Harare Holiday Inn being

established in Harare, while Ilala Lodge, Victoria Falls Safari Lodge, and The Kingdom hotel (former Makasa Sun hotel) were established in Victoria Falls (Nyaruwata, 2017:9).

A new Tourism Act (Chapter 14:20) was promulgated in 1996 to reform ZTDC in order to avert the operational challenges bedevilling the national tourism organisation due to the duality of its functions (Abel *et al.*, 2013:14; Nyaruwata, 2017:9). This resulted in the formation of the Zimbabwe Tourism Investment Company (ZTIC) (present Rainbow Tourism Group (RTG)). In the same year, the ZTA was formed to replace ZTDC (Abel *et al.*, 2013:14; Chibaya, 2013:85; Nyaruwata, 2017:9). It had four main functions: tourism marketing and promotion, market research and product development planning, product registration and quality control, and training coordination and domestic tourism promotion and development (Nyaruwata, 2017:11). The slogan was changed to “Zimbabwe Africa’s Paradise” with the aim of reflecting the country’s competitive position in Africa as a preferred holiday destination (Abel *et al.*, 2013:15; Tambo, 2017). Table 3-3 shows the international tourist arrivals during the period.

Table 3-3: Zimbabwe’s international tourist arrivals (1985-1999)

Year	Tourist arrivals	Year	Tourist arrivals
1985	237,668	1993	879,501
1986	313,866	1994	1,039,013
1987	226,910	1995	1,415,535
1988	412,212	1996	1,596,696
1989	435,875	1997	1,335,580
1990	582,602	1998	2,090,407
1991	607,029	1999	2,249,615
1992	675,187		

Sources: ZTA (2000:3; 2011:18)

Tourist arrivals rose from 1988 onwards due to the signing of the unity accord in December 1987 between the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU) that marked the end of the civil war. Political stability and the abundance of wildlife in national parks prompted the rapid expansion of the tourism industry (Child *et al.*, 1989:56; McIvor, 1994:16-17). High-spending Europeans started visiting the country, making tourism the third largest foreign currency earner after agriculture and mining (total revenue estimated at US\$70 million) in 1990 (McIvor, 1994:17). The increase in international tourist arrivals in 1995 (Table 3-3) may be attributed to the All Africa Games that were hosted by the country (Karambakuwa *et al.*, 2011:68). A large number of hotels were built and renovated to meet the increased demand of international tourists; between 1987 and 1990, the number of hotel beds almost doubled, resulting

in an increase in the number of people employed in the sector (McIvor, 1994:17). The year 1999 witnessed the highest number of tourist arrivals (2,249,615) recorded during the period.

3.2.2.3 The period of stagnation and decline (2000-2008)

This period was shaped by the Land Reform Programme (LRP) that started in 2000. The programme had bad publicity as it led to chaos, destruction, and violence (Scoones *et al.*, 2011:1). In addition, the country experienced hyper-inflation, economic sanctions by Western countries, political and economic instability, capacity under-utilisation, the withdrawal of airline carriers, a shortage of essential commodities and fuel, and adverse market perception (Zhou, 2013:885; Abel & Le Roux, 2017:132; Tambo, 2017). As a result, there was an 11% drop in international tourist arrivals (Table 3-4).

Table 3-4: International tourist arrivals to Zimbabwe (2000-2008)

Year	Tourist arrivals	Year	Tourist arrivals
2000	1,866,280	2005	230,437
2001	2,217,429	2006	2,286,572
2002	2,041,202	2007	2,513,204
2003	2,256,205	2008	1,955,594
2004	1,854,488		

Sources: ZTA (2000:3; 2001:7; 2004:12; 2007:1; 2008:11)

As Table 3-4 shows, this period witnessed high fluctuations in tourist arrivals as compared to the preceding period. Major source markets such as Britain, Germany, and the USA warned their citizens about avoiding Zimbabwe for safety and security concerns in 2000, requiring the ZTA to reposition its marketing strategy to focus on the Eastern markets, particularly China, Malaysia, and Russia. This was in line with the government's Look East Policy (LEP) of 2003 (Abel *et al.*, 2013:15; Chibaya, 2013:87; Abel & Le Roux, 2017:133; Tambo, 2017). In 2004, China approved destination status to Zimbabwe (Chibaya, 2013:87). This resulted in improvements in tourist arrivals from the Eastern bloc, although overall arrivals declined in 2008 due to the violent presidential elections, the outbreak of cholera, and a weak economic, social, and political environment. Moreover, the situation was worsened by the issue of travel warnings to Zimbabwe by major source markets that caused the withdrawal of some airlines such as British Airways (BA) and Royal Dutch Airlines (KLM) from the country (ZTA, 2004:6; Abel & Le Roux, 2017:132). However, despite the challenging economic environment, this period witnessed the second highest number of tourist arrivals ever recorded in the country to date in 2007 (Table 3-4).

It is in part due to ZTA’s marketing efforts and support from the government and the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ) in terms of the provision of foreign currency (ZTA, 2007:4).

3.2.2.4 The 2009 to post GNU period (2009-2013)

The general elections of 2008 were internationally condemned due to the prevalence of violence. This worsened the economic, social, and political environment in the country, prompting the Southern African Development Community (SADC) to intervene and facilitate the creation of a GNU in 2009 between the ruling ZANU PF and the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) functions. The formation of the GNU was crucial for improving the image of Zimbabwe in both the new source and the traditional markets as well as stabilising its economy overall (Chimhowu *et al.*, 2010:5; Karambakuwa *et al.*, 2011:68; Abel *et al.*, 2013:16; Abel & Le Roux, 2017:133; Tambo, 2017). Table 3-5 shows the increase in international tourist arrivals from 2009.

Table 3-5: Zimbabwe’s international tourist arrivals (2009-2013)

Year	Tourist arrivals	Year	Tourist arrivals
2009	2,017,262	2012	1,794,230
2010	2,239,165	2013	1,832,570
2011	2,423,280		

Sources: ZTA (2010:11; 2015a:10)

Following the formation of the GNU, some of the country’s major source markets, such as Japan, the USA, and Germany, lifted their travel warnings, resulting in the increase in tourist arrivals (Chibaya, 2013:87; Abel & Le Roux, 2017:133). The GNU established a new independent Ministry of Tourism and Hospitality Industry (MoTHI) in 2009 due to the recognition of the sector’s potential in contributing to national economic recovery (Nyaruwata, 2017:11). The functions of the MoTHI include policy formulation and coordination, research and planning of tourism development, international tourism cooperation, domestic tourism development, and supervision of ZTA (Zimbabwe Economic Policy Analysis & Research Unit (ZEPARU) & Global Development Solutions (GDS), 2015:11; Nyaruwata, 2017:11). Some scholars (Sibanda & Ndlovu, 2017:51) propose that the creation of a stand-alone ministry demonstrates the potential that the sector has in transforming the economy and the livelihoods of local people. The GNU impacted the sector positively by offering incentives for investment to registered tourist facilities in the form of duty exemption on capital goods (Chibaya, 2013:87). However, Nyaruwata (2017:11) argues that the formation of the new ministry was not accompanied by any statutory instruments which clearly spelt out its functions and mandate. Thus, the ministry is criticised for

having overlapping functions with ZTA with regard to research and tourism planning and development (Nyaruwata, 2017:11). The overlapping of functions between the two institutions has created confusion as the ministry has deployed personnel to provincial centres where the ZTA already has operating offices. The development of domestic tourism has been negatively affected by the lack of this functional clarity as each institution implements its own programme depending on the level of political mileage and donor funds it can derive from the programme (Nyaruwata, 2017:11).

The formation of the ministry led to the change of the slogan to “Zimbabwe, A World of Wonders” in 2010 (Abel *et al.*, 2013:16; Tambo, 2017). The ZTA’s marketing thrust during this period was on re-establishing links with key tour operators and decision makers in both new and old markets while participating in major travel shows around the world. As a way of improving the country’s image, the ZTA expanded media and travel trade familiarisation programmes (Abel *et al.*, 2013:16; Tambo, 2017). These efforts resulted in Zimbabwe being voted the best climate destination in 2010 by the International Leisure Magazine (Zimbabwe Tourism, 2016). They also convinced the UNWTO to allow Zimbabwe to co-host the 20th session of the UNWTO General Assembly together with Zambia in August 2013. This event drew the highest number of delegates in the history of the assembly with 900 delegates from the media, 121 full delegates from the member states, 140 delegates from all over the world, 49 foreign ministers and 750 other delegates (Mpofu, 2013).

3.2.2.5 The period of recovery (2014-present)

This period has witnessed a steady increase in international tourist arrivals (Table 3-6). This can be explained in several ways. First, the global economy, which grew by 3.3%, prompted more discretionary income for tourists from Zimbabwe’s source markets. Second, oil prices declined by 55% due to surplus production, triggering cheaper travel. Finally, the Jehova’s Witness Conference, which was held in Harare in August 2014, attracted 3,500 international delegates (Torubanda, 2014; ZTA, 2014:4) and the successful hosting of the Routes Africa Air Travel Conference (GVPedia Communications & Bischorfberger, 2015:4). In the same year, Zimbabwe was awarded the European Council on Tourism and Trade’s (ECTT) Best Destination award (GVPedia Communications & Bischorfberger, 2015:4; Zimbabwe Tourism, 2016) due to its peerless organisation of the UNWTO 20th General Assembly in 2013, promotion of CBT as a way of sharing tourism benefits and continued development and protection of cultural and historical patrimony, among others (Zimbabwe Situation, 2014; GVPedia Communications &

Bischorfberger, 2015:5). Zimbabwe was also named the Favourite Cultural Destination for 2014 (GVPedia Communications & Bischorfberger, 2015:5).

Table 3-6: Zimbabwe’s international tourist arrivals (2014-2018)

Year	Tourist arrivals	Year	Tourist arrivals
2014	1,880,028	2017	2,422,930
2015	2,056,588	2018	2,579,974
2016	2,167,686		

Sources: ZTA (2015a:10; 2016:6; 2017:6; 2018a:17)

In 2015, the new modern Victoria Falls international airport was opened, which can accommodate more passengers and aircrafts (ZTA, 2015a:12). Furthermore, the country successfully hosted the 18th International Conference on AIDS and STI’s in Africa (ICASA), which attracted 4 000 international delegates from 90 countries and 3 000 local delegates (ZTA, 2015a:13; Veras, 2017).

Zimbabwe’s presence at the Olympics in 2016 has raised public awareness of the country on a global scale, especially the women’s soccer team playing Germany, Australia, and Canada that are its primary source markets (ZTA, 2016:9). During the first quarter of 2017, 479 718 tourists were welcomed, a 6% increase compared to the same period of the previous year (The Source, 2017). The first quarter also registered an increase in tourist arrivals from the traditional source markets, while the LEP failed to translate due to the decline of 4% in arrivals from Asia (Kuwaza, 2017). The ZTA announced a Visit Zimbabwe campaign that targets three major markets, namely South Africa, China, and Russia (Sandu, 2017). The inclusion of China in the campaign has been instigated by the decline in arrivals from the Asian market during the first quarter (Sandu, 2017). By the end of 2017, 2,422,930 tourists were welcome, a 12% increase from 2016 (Table 3-6). The increase has been attributed to the growth in arrivals from all source regions and most major markets (ZTA, 2017:6). The arrivals from the traditional source markets continued to increase in 2018 prompting a 6% increase in the total number of tourist arrivals recorded (Table 3-6). Other factors that contributed to this increase include the Department of Immigration’s decision to introduce a new visa regime in which citizens of 28 countries were allowed to obtain visas on arrival as of February 2018. Both the regional and international connectivity was improved by Air Rwanda’s launch of the Cape Town – Harare route as Cape Town is a gateway from international tourist markets (ZTA, 2018a:10). This period witnessed the highest number of tourist arrivals ever recorded in the country to date in 2018 (Table 3-6).

Nonetheless, this period has experienced some challenges. In 2014, the outbreak of Ebola in West Africa resulted in the cancellation of bookings, as most overseas tourists tend to perceive Africa as one destination (ZTA, 2014:7). Major tourist destinations such as Hwange National Park and Chiredzi have no domestic connectivity. Although the Department of Immigration introduced a new visa regime, the current visa policies are not pro-tourism as the process is coupled with bureaucracy (Abel *et al.*, 2013:29). The country was ranked 27th in the African Visa Openness Report (Veras, 2017). Of the 46 countries whose nationals do not require the Zimbabwean visa, only 63% are non-African states, and most of these are small island states (Veras, 2017). The launch of the KAZA UNIVISA in 2016 was a positive step towards addressing the unfriendly visa policy. Nationals of 40 countries were initially eligible for the UNIVISA, but the number has increased to 65, including the traditional source markets. The only current setback on the UNIVISA is that it is not yet available online (Zambia Department of Immigration, 2017). Since 2016, the country has experienced severe cash and fuel shortages, and this has deterred potential tourists (ZTA, 2016:9; 2017:5; 2018a:11). Nevertheless, some scholars (Naude & Saayman, 2005:365; Douglas, Lubbe & Kruger, 2012:448) argue that political instability remains a significant challenge affecting international tourist arrivals in Africa. Indeed, Zimbabwe's political climate since the Land Reform Programme has not been favourable for tourism.

3.2.3 Zimbabwe's National Tourism Policy

Tourism policy-making and implementation play a role of crucial importance in tourism development (Abel *et al.*, 2013:13). Despite the absence of an official national tourism policy (NTP) in Zimbabwe from 1980 to 2013, there have been policy changes that reflect the government's perception of the role of tourism in economic development at each specific point in time (Abel *et al.*, 2013:13-14; Nyaruwata, 2017:3; Tambo, 2017).

Before independence, tourism's role in national development was not considered important as it was meant to benefit a small proportion of the population while other sectors such as agriculture, mining, and manufacturing were seen as potential economic drivers (Nyaruwata, 2017:3). As stated earlier, the tourism sector was regarded as being more useful as a propaganda tool. From 1982 to 2008, the tourism sector was placed under various ministries, which included the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (1982), Ministry of Environment and Tourism (1987-1992), and Ministry of Mines, Environment, and Tourism (1997). This signifies the government's view during these periods that the sustainability of the tourism sector depends on the successful implementation of natural resource and conservation programmes (Abel *et al.*, 2013:14; Nyaruwata, 2017:4; Tambo, 2017). Combining the tourism sector with the natural

resource and environment sector was also meant to assist the government in justifying the natural resource conservation programmes as well as linking the economic benefits of tourism to sound conservation programmes (Nyaruwata, 2017:5). This approach enabled the government to allocate 13% of the country's land as national parks (Nyaruwata, 2017:5). The development of the sector was premised on the concept of "high value low volume" (Abel *et al.*, 2013:14).

The establishment of an independent tourism ministry in 2009 made it possible to start a process of drafting a tourism policy in 2010 (Abel *et al.*, 2013:14). By 2012, the ministry had completed the draft of the policy, and it was adopted by the Cabinet in August of the same year (Abel *et al.*, 2013:14). The NTP has come into full effect since 2014 (GoZ, MoTHI, MoFED & KDC, 2016:54; Nyaruwata, 2017:12). The NTP serves as a blueprint that gives the tourism industry the necessary impetus to generate US\$5 billion annually by 2020 (GVPedia Communications & Bischofberger, 2015:5). It aims to position tourism as a major engine of economic growth and take advantage of the vast untapped potential of the country as a tourist destination (MoTHI, 2014:16). The NTP recognises the tourism sector as a critical economic driver that can be used as a tool for poverty alleviation and community development (MoTHI, 2014:5, 6). Five main objectives were outlined: Firstly, economic policy objectives aim to maximise employment opportunities through tourism development, use tourism to aid the development of marginalised communities, increase the contribution of tourism to foreign receipts and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and encourage entrepreneurship so as to curb leakages. Secondly, cultural policy objectives include promoting gender equality and empowering women and the youth to participate in tourism, encouraging the development of national identity, and promoting a culture of national pride through tourism and improving the quality of life (QOL) for Zimbabweans through equitable distribution of tourism benefits. Thirdly, social policy objectives seek to ensure that tourism will be used to positively affect the livelihoods of local households while promoting the business climate for small enterprise development; monitoring and minimising adverse social impacts of tourism on the local population; advancing the well-being of the populace through tourism recognising its contribution to the "gross national happiness" of the people of Zimbabwe; and ensuring that tourism facilities cater for and are adapted to the needs of physically disadvantaged people. Fourthly, environmental policy objectives aim to empower host communities in managing their own tourism projects for maximum benefits, while limiting negative impacts on the environment; promote the development of environmentally sustainable tourism products and practices; and promote and support national and cross-border conservation areas. Finally, institutional policy objectives include the establishment and coordination of

effective institutional arrangements and planning mechanisms for tourism development, the building, and strengthening of institutional capacities within the tourism sector, and the streamlining and reviewing of existing tourism legislation and regulations in line with the new NTP (MoTHI, 2014:17). The NTP has also introduced the notion of Zimbabwe Tourism Development Zones as well as tourism sub-divisions such as township, agro, and mining tourism, among others, as a way of attracting tourists and grow the sector's contribution to the total revenue (GVPedia Communications & Bischofberger, 2015:5).

The objectives of the NTP, such as the promotion of the development of marginalised communities, the empowerment of the youth and women, among others, suggest that the GoZ views tourism as a vehicle for poverty alleviation and community development. In particular, section 5.8 states, "In line with the MDGs (now SDGs), the Government will pursue the need to use tourism as a vehicle for elimination of poverty and as a vehicle for rural development through establishing viable community-based tourism enterprises" (MoTHI, 2014:27). Nonetheless, the lack of a comprehensive strategy to promote CBT development remains a major weakness of the NTP. This has led to most CBTEs becoming defunct (GoZ, MoTHI & JICA, 2016:1).

Section 5.0 of the NTP expands the fifth objective concerning the institutional framework. Notable is the absence of traditional institutions and village committees and their role in tourism development. Section 5.4 recognises local authorities as representing the government (Rural District Councils) in relation to planning, land use, product development, and marketing and promotion at the local level (MoTHI, 2014:26). The NTP's failure to recognise traditional institutions and village committees may affect local people's participation in decision making since the RDCs are not obliged to consult and involve local communities in decision making for its specific functions. This might also undermine the role of indigenous knowledge as well as the promotion of cultural tourism (Bennet, Roe & Ashley, 1999:34).

Section 6.0 of the NTP states that the MoTHI will promulgate an implementation matrix for the NTP in the form of a strategic implementation plan. Up to now, the strategic plan is not yet out, and the last strategic plan for tourism was meant for the period 2013-2015. Having the policies on paper without any implementation will not help poor people to benefit from tourism. Besides the pending strategic plan, the ministry has also been working on a tourism master plan since 2014, and only managed to launch it in 2018 (Kafe, 2018). All this time, the NTP was not supported by any official tourism master plan. Mutana, Chipfuva, and Muchenje (2013:156) argue that the absence of tourism master plans in most African countries has affected the potential of tourism to alleviate poverty. Indeed, Sibanda and Ndlovu (2017:52) state that policy-makers pay attention to

tourism's ability to alleviate poverty, but lack the implementation strategy. Bennet *et al.* (1999:31, 34) hold that NTPs and tourism master plans "have tended to be excessive in length and therefore be left unread while giving inadequate attention to implementation".

3.3 POVERTY IN ZIMBABWE

Sachs and Warner (2001:827) argue that countries with natural resource wealth tend to have a higher proportion of poor people. The Africa Development Bank (AfDB) (2016:Xviii) states that although statistics show that poverty has declined in Africa over the past 15 years, the resource-poor countries are outperforming their resource-rich counterparts in reducing poverty. The same is also true with Zimbabwe, which is rich in natural resources but has a relatively high poverty rate (over 70%) (MoFED, 2016:3).

Poverty in Zimbabwe is linked to its colonial history that created inequalities between blacks and whites as blacks were denied equal opportunities to economic and natural resources (Manjengwa, 2012:2; ZIMSTAT, 2013:2; UN, 2014b:40). The liberation war exacerbated economic hardships (UN, 2014b:40). According to Chimhowu, Manjengwa, and Feresu (2010:3), the post-Independence Zimbabwe has undergone three distinct policy swings which include interventionism (1980-1990), structural adjustment (1991-1995) and reactive management (1997-2008). After independence, the GoZ opted for interventionist policies where a high proportion of expenditures was accorded to social sectors as a way to reduce poverty. This resulted in dramatic improvements in health and education accessibility (Alwang, Mills & Taruvinga, 2002:4; ZIMSTAT, 2013:2). However, these policies were not conducive to sustained economic growth, and thus the economy began to stagnate in the mid-1980s (ZIMSTAT, 2013:3). The result was deteriorating economic growth, high inflation rates, high levels of unemployment, and increasing fiscal budget deficits. The GoZ responded by abandoning the interventionist policies in pursuit of market-oriented reforms as it recognised that a weak economy could not provide resources necessary for combating poverty (ZIMSTAT, 2013:3). The GoZ, therefore, adopted the International Monetary Fund (IMF) inspired Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in 1991 (Alwang *et al.*, 2002:4; Chimhowu, Manjengwa & Feresu, 2010:4).

The ESAP aimed to promote higher economic growth by moving the economy toward greater reliance on market forces and less reliance on government management and interventions (Alwang *et al.*, 2002:5). It had three main objectives: (a) to reduce the central government's fiscal deficit; (b) to promote liberalisation of international trade and finance; and (c) to deregulate domestic markets, including the elimination of price control (Nhira *et al.*, 1998:29; Alwang *et al.*,

2002:5; ZIMSTAT, 2013:3). The GoZ also deregulated the transport sector to allow greater competition (ZIMSTAT, 2013:3). Although the ESAP's chief success was in liberalising the economy and removing foreign trade and foreign exchange restrictions, it failed to make the government meet some fiscal targets resulting in continued budget deficits which contributed to slow economic growth (Alwang *et al.*, 2002:5, 8; Chimhowu, Manjengwa & Feresu, 2010:4; ZIMSTAT, 2013:4). The drought of 1991-92 was attributed to have caused the GoZ's failure to achieve fiscal targets as it necessitated increased spending, while the tax-based revenues were declining due to drought-related income reductions (Alwang *et al.*, 2002:8). The GoZ, as a result, had to reallocate some expenditures from base programmes to drought relief. Zimbabwe was then dropped from the middle-income list in to the low-income bracket in the World Bank's annual World Development Report of 1994 (Nhira *et al.*, 1998:32).

The GoZ then introduced the Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation (ZIMPREST) in 1996 that was aimed to provide the economy with a firm basis for sustainable growth, greater employment and equitable distribution of income. ZIMPREST (1996-2001) sought to elevate the importance of the private sector in the production and distribution of goods and services, while the government facilitated the private sector to play a leading role in economic growth and employment creation (ZIMSTAT, 2013:3). ZIMPREST once again failed to achieve macro-economic stability as evidenced by the increase in inflation and interest rates, falling exchange rates and declining GDP (ZIMSTAT, 2013:4). Nonetheless, levels of extreme poverty were halved between 1995 and 2001 from 44% to 22% (AfDB, 2013:4; UN, 2014b:37; MoFED, 2016:3).

Despite reduced extreme poverty, Zimbabwe is experiencing high and widespread poverty and inequality, which is a major challenge to the country's economy and people's well-being (UN, 2014b:36; MoFED, 2016:3). There have been two broad types of poverty studies in Zimbabwe at a national level (ZIMSTAT, 2013:4). The first one has aimed to determine the level of income or consumption below which a household is deemed poor. These studies, in the end, came up with a poverty datum line (PDL), and households whose incomes fall below this PDL are deemed poor (ZIMSTAT, 2013:4). Estimates from these studies have been used to target specific assistance to the poor and determine appropriate wage and price policies. These studies have, however, not attempted to quantify national poverty and have not been based on representative data (ZIMSTAT, 2013:4). The second type of study begins by constructing a PDL and uses the PDL to measure and analyse poverty by examining the characteristics of poor households (ZIMSTAT, 2013:4). These

studies quantify national levels of poverty and are key in developing policy interventions that target and benefit the underprivileged (ZIMSTAT, 2013:4).

It is argued that before the 1990s, analyses of poverty in Zimbabwe were not progressive in nature, and hence it was not easy to compare their results due to differences in definitions and methodologies (ZIMSTAT, 2013:5). However, they provided an insight into the distribution of poverty in the country and the characteristics of the poor. Yet, studies from 1995 onwards are considered progressive. In 1995, the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare (MPSLSW) conducted the Poverty Assessment Study Survey (PASS) that was aimed at measuring and analysing poverty in Zimbabwe (Stack & Sukume, 2006:558; ZIMSTAT, 2013:5). The PASS is regarded as having been able to provide abundant detail on the poor that is disaggregated to the district level (ZIMSTAT, 2013:5). In 1998, ZIMSTAT published the Poverty in Zimbabwe report that was based on the 1995/96 Income Consumption, and Expenditure Survey (ICES). The analysis used consumption expenditures to rank individuals and households along a welfare distribution and analysed in greater detail some of the determinants of poverty (ZIMSTAT, 2013:5). Another poverty study report for 2001 was published in 2007, which still used the ICES information. In 2013, ZIMSTAT published another poverty report based on the data derived from the Poverty, Income Consumption and Expenditure (PICES) study from June 2011 to June 2012 (ZIMSTAT, 2013:5). Another report, the Zimbabwe Poverty Atlas (ZPA), was published in 2015 by ZIMSTAT, with assistance from and collaboration with United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) Zimbabwe, and the World Bank (WB). The ZPA provides statistics for poverty eradication and is based on data derived from the 2011/12 PICES and the 2012 National Population Census (UNICEF Zimbabwe, WB & ZIMSTAT, 2015:xi). The latest publication on poverty was the Food Poverty Atlas (FPA), published in 2016 by ZIMSTAT again with assistance from and collaboration with UNICEF Zimbabwe and the WB. The aim of the FPA was to provide poverty estimates at lower levels as well as to provide statistics on food and nutrition insecurity. The PICES 2011/12 data and the 2012 population census data were used in the report (UNICEF Zimbabwe, WB & ZIMSTAT, 2016:xii). The FPA is believed to assist policy makers in identifying worse-off areas using highly disaggregated food poverty statistics to target tailor-made interventions that can reduce food poverty in these areas. The FPA also provides information for resource allocation and aid to reach the poor (UNICEF Zimbabwe, WB & ZIMSTAT, 2016:xii).

Poverty in Zimbabwe is defined as “not having an income or consumption sufficient to support specific normative functioning” (UNICEF Zimbabwe, WB & ZIMSTAT, 2015:x; UNICEF Zimbabwe, WB & ZIMSTAT, 2016:viii). It is measured by a per capita consumption

approach that uses the Total Consumption Poverty Line (TCPL) and Food Poverty Line (FPL) (UN, 2014b:36). Poverty lines are aggregated by individuals or households in the subgroups to allow for comparisons across population subgroups (ZIMSTAT, 2013:39). Such aggregation results in indices such as the prevalence index (headcount index), poverty gap index, and poverty severity index (squared poverty gap index) that can be computed using data on household consumption expenditures (ZIMSTAT, 2013:40). Poverty in Zimbabwe is mainly a rural phenomenon (Stack & Sukume, 2006:557; Chimhowu, Manjengwa & Feresu, 2010:10; GoZ & UN, 2010:20), but since the 1990s there has been a rise in poverty in urban and peri-urban areas due to the sharp decline in formal employment (Stack & Sikume, 2006:557; Chimhowu, Manjengwa & Feresu, 2010:10). Stack and Sikume (2006:557) add that poverty reduction in Zimbabwe, therefore, entails giving high priority to rural development and sustainable natural resource management. High poverty levels in communal areas are attributed to poor investment in infrastructure and a lack of resources for rural based economic pillars, especially agriculture and livestock production (ZIMSTAT, 2013:71; UN, 2014b:37). Poor market returns, as well as inadequate incomes from farm livelihood activities due to productivity challenges, have also been attributed to the prevalence of poverty in rural areas (Chimhowu, Manjengwa & Feresu, 2010:10). Figure 3-2 shows the poverty prevalence in Zimbabwe by province.

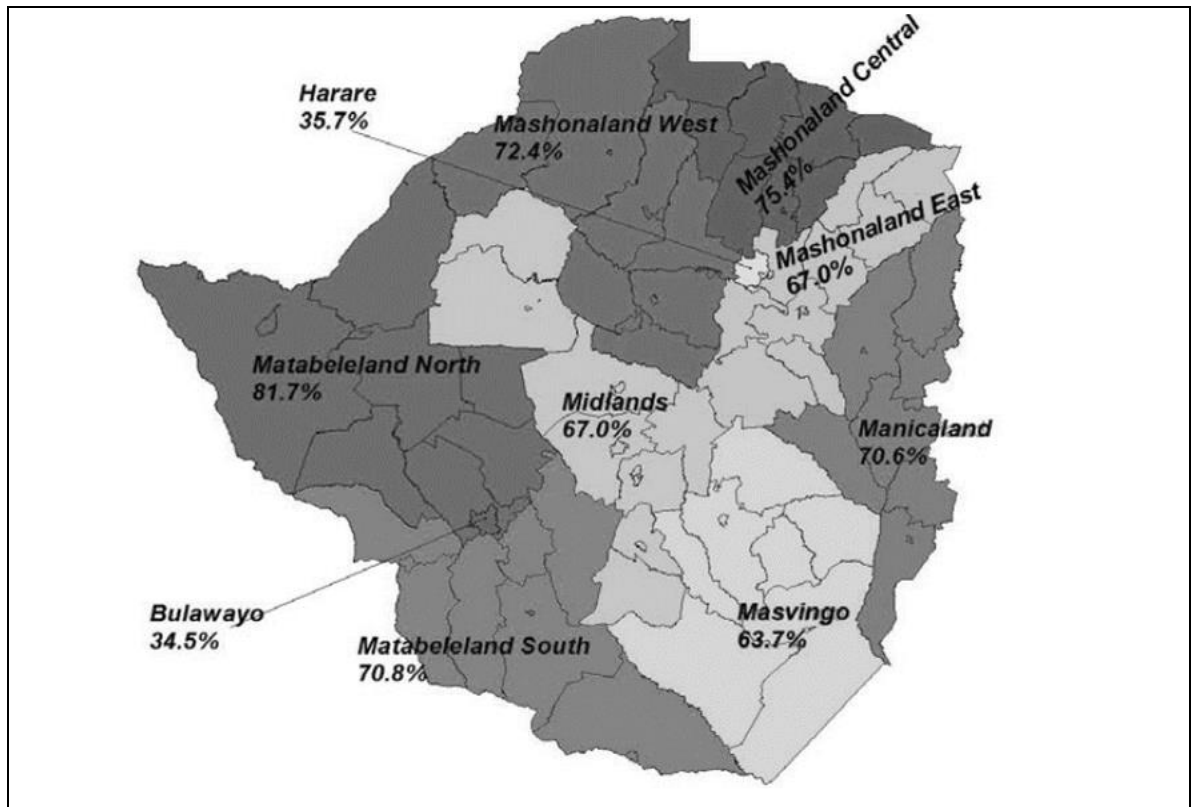


Figure 3-2: Poverty prevalence by province in Zimbabwe PICES 2011/2012

Source: ZIMSTAT (2013:i)

The prevalence of poverty varies significantly by province. Matabeleland North has the highest poverty rate (81.7%), while other provinces such as Mashonaland Central, Matabeleland South, Mashonaland West, and Manicaland have poverty rates of above 70%. Geographically, provinces with the highest poverty prevalence share boundaries. For example, Matabeleland North shares a boundary with Matabeleland South. Harare province and Bulawayo province have the lowest poverty prevalence (below 36%).

The poverty situation has worsened since 2003 (GoZ & UN, 2010:20). Zimbabwe's Human Development Index (HDI; Chapter Two) fell to 0.410 in 2010 meaning that it is in the low human development category (GoZ & UN, 2010:20). The country was ranked 156 out of 187 on the UN HDI in 2014 (UNICEF Zimbabwe, WB & ZIMSTAT, 2016:1). Many reasons have been cited, including climate change, negative impacts of the declining economy which resulted in a hyperinflation of 231 million percent in July 2007, unemployment and underemployment, foreign currency shortages, rampant shortages of basic food and other commodities, the 2007/08 global financial crisis, HIV and AIDS and unsatisfactory quality of education especially in rural areas (GoZ & UN, 2010:20; ZIMSTAT, 2013:6; UN, 2014b:40; MoFED, 2016:26). The population

growth has doubled in three decades, from 7.5 million in 1982 to an estimated 14.2 million in 2016, which has also worsened the poverty situation in Zimbabwe (MoFED, 2016:26).

The GoZ has implemented various poverty reduction policies and strategies. In the early 1990s, it launched the Social Dimensions of Adjustment Programme (SDA) that was aimed at protecting poor and vulnerable groups from the negative impacts of ESAP (ZIMSTAT, 2013:6). A surveillance programme (Sentinel Site Surveillance) was put in place to monitor SDA. The centrepiece of SDA was a direct transfer programme known as the Social Development Fund (SDF), which was under the MPSLSW (ZIMSTAT, 2013:6). The SDF's main aim was to protect the poor from the negative removal of subsidies during ESAP. The SDF had two components: First, direct transfers aimed to support health and school fees payment for target households. Second, employment and training programmes sought to retrain retrenched workers (ZIMSTAT, 2013:6). Yet, the SDA has been criticised for being narrow in its approach as it ignored more systematic efforts to monitor poverty (ZIMSTAT, 2013:6).

The SDA was abandoned, and a broad Poverty Alleviation Action Plan (PAAP) was launched by the MPSLSW in collaboration with the UNDP in 1994 (ZIMSTA, 2013:6). Despite monitoring poverty and undertaking analysis of the causes and consequences of poverty, PAAP included reforms of SDF. The efforts of PAAP included building capacity of communities to generate income and tap more benefits from the public service provision system. PAAP also encouraged participation by and integration of vulnerable groups into mainstream economic activities (ZIMSTAT, 2013:6).

In 2016, the GoZ adopted the Interim Poverty Strategy Paper (I-PRPS) 2016-2018 (MoFED, 2016:3). The I-PRPS targets the vulnerable groups in the society while focusing on particular short-term measures with a long-term impact on the livelihoods of the population (MoFED, 2016:3). The I-PRPS policies are consistent with the country's economic blueprint Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-economic Transformation (Zim Asset): October 2013 – December 2018 (MoFED, 2016:3; Chapter One). The I-PRPS has seven pillars: (1) agriculture; (2) productivity, growth and rural food security; (3) social sectors; (4) private sector; (5) infrastructure, environment and climate change; (6) gender, women and youth empowerment; and (7) strengthening governance and institutional capacity (MoFED, 2016:4). Tourism is placed under the fourth pillar and regarded as one of the pillars of the Zimbabwean economy (MoFED, 2016:107). The I-PRPS advocates for the promotion of CBTEs, rehabilitation of aerodromes (small airports) in different provinces, and the refurbishment of infrastructure. It also emphasises the need to develop packages targeting civil servants to create capacity for domestic tourism

participation (MoFED, 2016:108). In line with the strategy of the I-PRPS on CBTEs, the MoTHI has started the promotion and rehabilitation of CBTEs. Given support from the Japanese government, it is working on the Community-based Tourism Master Plan Targeting Poverty Alleviation project that aims to carry out pilot projects in four existing CBT sites (Gairezi, Tengenenge, Chesvingo, Bulawayo) and develop a CBT master plan for use by the MoTHI and ZTA as a roadmap and guideline for CBT nationwide (GoZ, MoTHI & JICA, 2016:2). The project has engaged the private sector, such as tour operators, and the first familiarisation tour of Chesvingo Cultural Village was organised in early 2017 as a way of finding the best solution to rehabilitate the project that had become defunct (MoTHI, 2017).

Unlike other publications (the ZPA and FPA) that only defined poverty as a lack of income, the I-PRPS defines poverty as:

“a multi-dimensional complex phenomenon which includes lack of access to productive resources, physical goods and services and income resulting in individual and/or group deprivation, vulnerability and powerlessness” (MoFED, 2016:21).

Viewing poverty as being multi-dimensional has resulted in the I-PRPS having various poverty reduction approaches, including the creation of a conducive business environment to attract investors and the facilitation of the re-engagement of the international community, among others. The MoFED (2016:68) argues that improving the country’s image in the international arena is critical to facilitating economic growth and development which is crucial for poverty reduction. The I-PRPS set out the goal of reducing extreme poverty from 22.5% to 19% and the proportion of poor people from 72% to 70% by 2018 (MoFED, 2016:70).

The I-PRPS had some weaknesses that can be pointed out. The poverty reduction approaches were difficult to achieve as the I-PRPS was short term (2016-2018). For example, under tourism, one of the strategies was to rehabilitate the aerodromes to enable tourists to reach peripheral destinations as most CBT destinations are located in the periphery. Not a single aerodrome was rehabilitated.

The MoFED has also not availed any funds to support CBTEs. Since the withdrawal of NGOs from Zimbabwe, most of the CBTEs need a financial injection to resuscitate so that they can benefit the poor in those areas. The need to develop packages for civil servants will be difficult if the government does not include the private sector that has the capacity to offer discounted rates to civil servants. Erskine and Meyer (2012:339) highlight the importance of involving the private sector in tourism as a way of alleviating poverty. Although Erskine and Meyer refer to the

development agencies and private sector collaboration, the same collaboration between the government and private sector may be vital for the success of the I-PRPS.

3.4 TOURISM, POVERTY ALLEVIATION, AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE: A CRITIQUE

According to Murphree (2009:2558), community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) projects initially emphasised conservation as their primary goal due to the influence of their Western funders. However, this has shifted as they now seek to improve livelihoods as well as the conditions of environmental stewardship and therefore promote community development (Murphree, 2009:2558). According to Wirbelaeur *et al.* (2005:2), “SADC member states have demonstrated their willingness to adopt CBNRM as a strategy for conservation and rural development”. Nevertheless, Andersson, Dzingirai & Cumming (2013:13,19) argue that in theory, CBNRM has been portrayed as being about people located in the marginal areas where there is wildlife while its practical implementation has ignored the local people.

3.4.1 CBNRM and the evolution of CBT in Zimbabwe

As noted in Chapter Two, during the pre-1890s traditional institutions were responsible for natural resources management in Zimbabwe, and traditional systems and practices were put in place to assist with the preservation of natural resources (Chigwenya & Manatsa, 2007:103). From the late 1800s to early 1900s, there was a process of exclusion and alienation of local people from their natural resources due to colonialism (Mauambeta & Kafakoma, 2010:3; Jones & Erdmann, 2013:14). Western thoughts regarded traditional systems as archaic, superstitious, and inimical, resulting in the traditional institutions of natural resource management being altered to suit the interest of the colonialists (Kasere, 1995:7; Mauambeta & Kafakoma, 2010:3-4; Jones & Erdmann, 2013:14). Colonial governments created forest reserves, national parks, wildlife reserves, and lakes that were managed by various sectoral ministries and departments (Kasere, 1995:8; Mauambeta & Kafakoma, 2010:4). Local community access and use of natural resources were not considered (Hoole, 2007:1).

Child (2003:1) argues that although the evolution of CBNRM in Southern Africa was a regional effort, Zimbabwe provided much of the early impetus to this movement. The ideas behind CBNRM in Zimbabwe can be traced back to the 1940s (Child, 2009a:9); it is argued that the Natural Resources Act of 1941 marked the beginning of community involvement in natural resource management (Child, 2003:1; 2009a:9; Chigwenya & Manatsa, 2007:106). It was promulgated in response to public concern over soil erosion and the destruction of the environment

(Child, 2003:1; 2009a:9). The Act, which was considered a bottom-up approach, legally empowered landholder communities to regulate soil conservation measures through units of collective action known as Intensive Conservation Areas (ICAs) (Child, 2003:1; 2009a:9; 2009b:133). Each ICA committee was comprised of elected landholders, while the government provided technical officers when required (Child, 2003:1). These committees became popular and were regarded as a success, given that 91.5% of the arable land had been protected by contour ridges by 1949. Communities were further empowered to control overgrazing, excessive deforestation and other destructions of the environment (Child, 2003:1).

In 1958, the invitation of three Fulbright scholars to the country by the then Director of the National Museums was critical in the evolution of CBNRM. The scholars observed that there was widespread neglect and killing of wildlife on private land, because wildlife was not benefiting the landholders and hence, it was perceived to be competing with farming (Child, 2003:2). This led to the promulgation of the Wild Life Conservation Act of 1960 that encouraged the use of wildlife under a permit system (Metcalf, 1993:2; Child, 2003:2; 2009b:132; 2009c:77). Child (2009b:132) postulates that the Act emboldened policy makers to propose entrusting landholders with wildlife proprietorship.

Child (2003:5) states that in the early 1970s, the department of parks and wildlife had begun advocating for communal area communities to become appropriate authorities, but the initiative was blocked by the then Ministry of Internal Affairs that did not believe in the direct fiscal empowerment of local people. In 1973, a landholder took the government to court over ownership of wildlife (Child, 2009b:132; 2009c:78). The court upheld the landholder's argument that the state's claim to ownership of wildlife made it liable to pay him for grazing and other damages on his property, which he had the right to protect (Child, 2009b:132; 2009c:78). Therefore, this court decision meant that the authorities could no longer prevent landholders from hunting grazing animals on their land (Child, 2009c:78). This marked the end of the permit system in Zimbabwe (Child & Chitsike, 2000:258). The 1973 court decision is also regarded as the precursor of the 1975 Parks and Wild Life Act that is believed to have given birth to the CAMPFIRE programme (Murphree, 1990:2; Metcalfe, 1994:163; Gujadhur, 2000:57; Conyers, 2002:5; Bond & Cumming, 2006:481; African Wildlife Foundation (AWF), 2011:18). CBNRM was later adapted by other regional countries under different names. In Zambia, it became known as Administrative Management Design Programme for Game Management Areas (ADMAGE); in Botswana it was labelled as Natural Resources Management Programme (NRMP); in Namibia it became Wildlife Integration for Livelihood Diversification (WILD) and in Malawi Community

Partnerships for Sustainable Resource Management (COMPASS) (Jones & Erdmann, 2013:15; Harrison, Stringer & Dougill, 2014:8). Despite their different names and institutional structures, these regional CBNRM initiatives share a common assumption that conservation policies work only if local communities receive benefits from wildlife (Gibson & Marks, 1995:944).

Child (2003:26) defines CBNRM as being “fundamentally about the organised devolution of the benefits, authority, and responsibility for high value, common-property natural resources”. CBNRM aims at reforming the conventional “protectionist conservation philosophy” and top-down approaches to development and promotes resource use rights of local communities (Mbaiwa, 2004:45; 2008:142). Mbaiwa (2011:253) adds that CBNRM assumptions have three conceptual foundations which include: (a) economic value which refers to giving a resource such as wildlife a value that can be realised by the community; (b) devolution, thus emphasising the need to devolve management decisions from government to the community or local land users in order to create positive conditions of sustainable wildlife management and; (c) collective proprietorship whereby groups of people are jointly given the rights over resources, which they are then able to manage according to their own roles and strategies. It is argued that CBNRM through community empowerment and sustainable natural resource management has the capacity to address poverty alleviation and hence it has become a powerful tool for poverty reduction in southern Africa (Child, 2003:26; Senanayake, 2006:90; Holako, 2013:8). It is argued that CBNRM empowers rural communities with the knowledge, skills, and authority to sustainably manage commonly held natural resources such as wildlife (Anderson & Mehta, 2013:1-2). Chirenje, Giliba, and Musamba (2013:11) argue that CBNRM can benefit the most vulnerable members of the community by empowering them to have a full decision-making role in resource management. On the other hand, Scheyvens (2011a:85) posits that poverty actually attracts tourists, as there has been a view that poor societies are “unspoilt” and therefore attract tourists who associate poor places with authentic experiences of culture and nature.

Grundy and Le Breton (1997:17) argue that there are four major prerequisites for successful CBNRM initiatives: (a) the recognition of local community rights to ownership of natural resources; (b) the empowerment of local communities with the operational and technical capacity to initiate and implement resource management initiatives; (c) the recognition and incorporation of existing indigenous knowledge and practices which are community specific; and (d) an empowering and conducive legal framework. However, Murphree (2009:2551, 2555, 2557) warns against regarding CBNRM as a panacea for rural poverty as it has its own weaknesses which include: (i) stimulating overharvesting and unsustainable use of natural resources; (ii) encouraging

corruption, nepotism and inequality at communal and higher levels; (iii) the long market chains involving a lot of middlemen, resulting in the producer communities receiving a small and inequitable portion of the net revenue; (iv) local-level institutions being ill-equipped to deal with the complexities of the market, causing dependency on established monopolies; and (v) the dominant wildlife use mode and emphasis on tourism which both have unstable and unreliable markets. CBNRM also involves community participation in decision-making and management activities for natural resource management and this may encourage the use of indigenous knowledge in natural resource management (Harrison *et al.*, 2014:7). It is argued that the people who use natural resources for their everyday survival are the best to manage those resources (Harrison *et al.*, 2014:7).

According to Murphree (2004:204-209; 2009:2554-2559), CBNRM's main objectives include: (a) conservation (of natural resources by rural communities); (b) rural development (natural resources constitute a valuable economic asset for rural people); (c) institutional development (communities must be organised and trained in management of resources so as to gain economic benefits); and (d) empowerment (of local communities in giving them the right to plan for and use of resources, determine usage, benefit fully and determine the distribution of such benefits). Other scholars (Nhantumbo, Norfolk & Pereira 2003:3; Jones 2004:28; Gandiwa *et al.*, 2013:4) add mitigation of human wildlife conflict (HWC) as another main objective of CBNRM. Similarly, Brosius, Tsing and Zerner (1998:158) are of the view that CBNRM programs are based on three premises: (1) that local populations have a greater interest in the sustainable use of resources than the state or distant corporate managers; (2) that local communities are more cognisant of the intricacies of local ecological processes and practices; and (3) that local people are more able to effectively manage those resources through local or "traditional" forms of access.

According to Johnson and Erdmann (2006:1), CBNRM has evolved from 1st to 4th generation (1G to 4G) (Table 3-7).

Table 3-7: The evolution of CBNRM Programmes in Southern Africa

Examples	Primary Purpose	Paradigm for benefiting	Management Authority/Decision making body	Natural Resource Access/Rights for community	Financial incentives for households
1G – Zimbabwe CAMPFIRE (1980-present)	Wildlife conservation through community involvement to reduce poaching	RDCs sell hunting leases to safari operators and disburse funds to communities	RDCs and state wildlife authority	Very restricted, receive meat from game hunted for trophies	Very few or none; the building of schools, clinics, and other NRM benefits to reduce poaching
2G – Botswana NRMP (1991-2000), Namibia WILD (1993-present), Zambia ADMADE (1995-1999)	Wildlife conservation and communal economic gains through shared hunting, tourism revenues	Communal land leased to operators and concession fees go to communal organisations	Local government, tribal, or other communal entity created by NGOs and approved by the state	Restricted; minor products harvest allowed (e.g. grass, wood, mushrooms)	A few low-level jobs in lodges; lease payments to management for distributions to NRM
3G – Malawi COMPASS I (1999-2004)	Biodiversity conservation	Communities receive small grants to establish natural resource-based enterprises using communal resources	Village natural resource committees often created by NGOs and approved by the state	Restricted access to protected areas; subsistence use outside protected areas allowed with restrictions	Harvest of minor resources from within protected areas
4G – Malawi COMPASS II (2004-2009)	Natural resource conservation through utilisation that competes against gains from liquidation of natural assets	Technical support in establishing viable natural resource-based businesses	State transfers management to village government subcommittees	Communities have full managerial authority to regulate access for customary lands outside protected areas	Incomes from business operations flow directly to households

Source: Johnson and Erdmann (2006:3).

Johnson and Erdmann (2006:1) hold that the CAMPFIRE programme in Zimbabwe is the 1st generation (1G) of CBNRM whilst Malawi's COMPASS programme II is the 4th generation (4G). They argue that there are still gaps found in CBNRM's rural economic development objective despite millions of dollars having been donated (Johnson & Erdmann, 2006:1). Table 3-7 summarises the purpose, management authority, natural resource access of communities as well as financial incentives involved in each generation of CBNRM. Each generation of CBNRM arguably draws lessons from the weaknesses and strengths of the preceding generation (Johnson & Erdmann, 2006:1). Indeed, Mauambeta and Kafakoma (2010:10-11) posit that 4G CBNRM needs three primary conditions to succeed: a policy environment conducive to community involvement in natural resource management, the existence of sufficient resources to operate natural products-based businesses that maintain profitability while allowing the regeneration of resources and the existence of markets for the products. As seen in Table 3-7, only Zimbabwe's CAMPFIRE programme and Namibia's WILD programme are still active.

Jones and Erdmann (2013:15) assert that there are two main types of CBNRM: First, formal CBNRM is established to strengthen community-based structures that are legally recognised. These structures are granted conditional rights over resource use and management and may have partnerships with the private sector. Formal CBNRM is characterised by the devolution of resource rights by the state to community structures and is mostly based on wildlife utilisation, wildlife-based tourism, and/or forestry. Second, informal CBNRM is where communities utilise natural resources according to their own, often customary, or traditional roles without external interventions. Governments may explicitly or implicitly recognise community authority to manage the resources or may simply not intervene.

3.4.2 Community-based tourism development in Zimbabwe

In Zimbabwe, CBT emerged through the CAMPFIRE programme (Chapter One). The CAMPFIRE emphasises managing wildlife and wildlife habitat in the communal lands of Zimbabwe for the benefit of the people living in these areas (Hasler, 1999:5; Murombedzi, 1996:1; Katerere, 2001:127; Frost & Bond, 2008:777; Mawere & Mubaya, 2012:98; Mutana 2013:148). Although efforts to integrate rural communities into biodiversity conservation programmes have been in place long before the inception of the CAMPFIRE, they were primarily based on economic incentives, with little or no attention paid to the role of culture, traditions and local institutions involvement in building support for conservation (Jimoh *et al.*, 2012:209).

Although the CAMPFIRE has been very popular in promoting CBT in Zimbabwe, there are other CBTEs that do not belong to the CAMPFIRE (GoZ, MoTHI, MoFED & KDC, 2016:56). Hamzah (2014:590) argues that despite CBT asserting that communities initiate such projects, it is ironic that community members are seldom the initiators and, in most cases, they never want to be involved in the first place. The non-CAMPFIRE CBTEs have five main origins: Firstly, some were established by urban local authorities to create employment for the youth as well as nurture their artist talents, for example, the Mzilikazi Art and Craft Centre in Bulawayo. Secondly, CBTEs were created by NGOs with the objective of empowering local communities through the utilisation of their natural resources. An example is the Honde Valley basketry-weaving cooperative in Manicaland. Thirdly, CBTEs that were established by local entrepreneurs through the utilisation of community talents and resources, for example, the KoMpsisi Cultural Village in Victoria Falls. Fourthly, CBTEs that were established by philanthropists with a passion for specific art forms, such as the Tengenenge Village that was established by Tom Bromfield. Finally, projects that were started and managed by local communities, for example, the Kambako living museum near Malilangwe conservancy in Chiredzi (GoZ, MoTHI, MoFED & KDC, 2016:61-62). Most of the non-CAMPFIRE projects are located near major tourist attractions, are proximal to transport arteries, and specialise in non-consumptive tourism (GoZ, MoTHI, MoFED & KDC, 2016:56).

The non-CAMPFIRE projects have been instrumental in empowering women and youth. At Tengenenge Village, 20 artists are female, while some youth have been informally trained to be sculptors (Scherer, 2013:180; Ngomani, 2017). The Honde Valley basketry-weaving cooperative managed to send 20 women to India for a two-week training programme in weaving in 2012 (The Zimbabwean, 2012). The Mzilikazi Art and Craft Centre enrolls 300 full-time students each year for training in fine arts, commercial arts, ceramics, wood and stone sculpture, pottery and batik, and tie and dye. The centre also works with primary and secondary schools around the city to identify and nurture new talents and train them during school holidays (The Zimbabwean, 2012; Muvundisi, 2014).

The preservation of local culture and indigenous knowledge (IK) has been the other major achievement of the non-CAMPFIRE projects. The villagers at the KoMpsisi Cultural Village sell cultural wares to tourists as well as entertain them with their traditional dances (Runyowa, 2017:5). The Kambako Living Museum teaches skills and indigenous knowledge to the younger Shangaan generation. Local people exhibit the Shangaan traditional life style through demonstrations of practical skills such as making fire from friction, identifying tubers, bow and arrow making, and basketry (Singita, 2018). Through involving communities in making sculptures, selling wares, and

performing traditional dances to visitors, these projects have provided employment to locals and an opportunity to earn income. It is argued that tourism can regenerate an awareness and pride in local traditions and culture (Ryan, 2003:299; Holloway & Taylor, 2006:129).

Nonetheless, the economic challenges bedevilling the country have not spared these projects as they are receiving few visitors as compared to the period prior to the Land Reform Programme. The Tengenenge Village welcomes an average of three people per month, and very few of them stay at the chalets that were always fully occupied before 2000 (GoZ, MoTHI & JICA, 2016:2). The Tengenenge Village and Mzilikazi Art and Craft Centre were the most affected non-CAMPFIRE projects by the withdrawal of funding from NGOs.

In order to curb these challenges, the GoZ has embarked on the refurbishment and revival of CBT projects countrywide, as postulated by the fourth pillar of the I-PRPS. Besides the Community-based Tourism Master Plan Targeting Poverty Alleviation project that was discussed, the Ministry of Sport, Arts, and Recreation have promised to commence the revamping of arts centres around the country (Ndlovu, 2018). The KoMpsi Cultural Village has managed to drill a borehole through sponsorship sourced by the MoTHI (Runyowa, 2017:4). Runyowa (2017:2) is of the opinion that the GoZ's attempt to fund CBTEs is subverted by the little effort towards ensuring that such projects become sustainable after the withdrawal of government and donor funds. However, it is argued that the GoZ's support and promotion of CBT have ensured the survival of sustainable tourism, promoted low ecological impact, preserved natural biodiversity, as well as the protection of the endangered species in the country (GVPedia Communications & Bischorfberger, 2015:5).

3.4.3 The CAMPFIRE Programme in Zimbabwe

The CAMPFIRE is regarded as the most famous of all CBNRM initiatives in southern Africa (Grundy & Le Breton, 1997:17; Gibson, 1999:111; Gujadhur, 2000:57; Vorlaufer, 2002:184; Chigwenya & Manatsa, 2007:110; Harrison *et al.*, 2014:9). The programme has been termed the "African solution to the African problem" due to its awareness activities that have been done to make the programme socially, environmentally, and economically acceptable and justifiable (Arntzen *et al.*, 2003:9). It is unique due to its Zimbabwean origin as there was no NGO involvement but government initiation in its conception (Africa Resources Trust (ART), 1996:3; Murphree, 1998:1; Logan & Moseley, 2002:2; Nelson & Agrawal, 2008:570; Child, 2009d:191; Child & Barnes, 2010:288). The CAMPFIRE encourages the sustainable use of natural resources by local people, and these community users maybe a village, a ward, or a group of wards (Arntzen

et al., 2003:8). Although some scholars (Child, 2003:5-6; Goredema, Taylor, Bond & Vermeulen, 2005:20) trace the origins of the CAMPFIRE as far back as the 1960s, as stated earlier, it is argued that the Parks and Wildlife Act of 1975 laid the foundation for the programme (Murphree, 1990:2; Metcalfe, 1994:163; Gujadhur, 2000:57; Conyers, 2002:5; Bond & Cumming, 2006:481; AWF, 2011:18). Since the CAMPFIRE is a CBNRM initiative, its evolution overlaps with the history of CBNRM in Zimbabwe. The 1975 Act allowed private landholders to have proprietorship of wildlife on their land and benefit from its use (Murphree, 1990:2; 1993:1-2; ART, 1996:3; Gujadhur, 2000:57; Child, 2003:2; Goredema *et al.*, 2005:2; Dhliwayo, Breen & Nyambe, 2009:78; AWF, 2011:18). However, it did not give ownership of wildlife resources to landowners due to the Roman Dutch Law that many southern African countries follow. Under this law, the status of wildlife is *res nullius* or *res nullis*, meaning that wildlife belongs to no one (Bond & Cumming, 2006:481, Child, 2009b:132-133; Cumming, Dzingirai & de Garine-Wichatitsky, 2013:176). Therefore, under the Act, a landowner only claims ownership to animals on his land, but once the animals move out of the land, he has no right over them (Bond & Cumming, 2006:481; Child, 2009b:133). Thus, the Act only provided incentives for private landowners to manage and benefit from wildlife resources on their land without seeking government approval (Bond & Cumming, 2006:481).

As the 1975 Act did not include communal lands, conflicts arose between commercial farmers and the overpopulated communal lands, resulting in the then National Parks and Wildlife Management (NPWM) introducing the Wildlife Industries New Development for All (WINDFALL) project in 1978 (Murphree, 1990:2; Logan & Moseley, 2002:2; Vorlaufer, 2002:186; Child, 2003:6; Bond & Cumming, 2006:486). The WINDFALL was aimed at mitigating the HWC and encouraging wildlife conservation by returning proceeds from wildlife to their source of origin (Murphree, 1990:2, 1998:6, 2005:113; Barker, 1997:279; Frost & Bond, 2008:777). This was achieved by making meat from culls available to local communities and returning revenues from trophy hunting to district councils (Murphree, 1990:2, 2005:113; Child, 2003:6; Bond & Cumming, 2006:486). In 1980 and 1981, 755 elephants were culled through the WINDFALL project in the Chirisa safari area, earning US\$463 000 and an extra US\$160 920 from trophy hunting. The revenues were paid back to the communities, while the meat was distributed to the households through councils (Child, 2003:6; Bond & Cumming, 2006:486). WINDFALL failed to achieve its objectives as little meat found its way to local communities and small proceeds of revenues reached local communities due to bureaucracy (Murphree, 1990:2, 1998:6, 2005:113; Metcalfe, 1993:2; 1994:164; Barker, 1997:279; Logan & Moseley, 2002:3; Vorlaufer, 2002:186).

The little revenues that found their way to local communities were regarded as government hand-outs and this conveyed little sense of the relationship between wildlife management and the benefits (Murphree, 1990:2, 2005:113; Ngwerume & Muchemwa, 2011:78). The WINDFALL project's major weakness was the failure to engage local communities in decision-making (Murphree, 1990:2, 2005:113; Madzudzo, 1995:2; Mamimine, 2002:89; Ngwerume & Muchemwa, 2011:78). These weaknesses led to the amendment of the 1975 Act in 1982 to allow the communal farmers to have proprietorship over wildlife (Murombedzi, 1992:13; Murphree, 1993:2; Vorlaufer, 2002:186, 192; Goredema *et al.*, 2005:2; WWF, 2006:12; AWF, 2011:18; Muyengwa & Child, 2017:30). The amendments were aimed at providing alternative forms of land use to subsistence farming on communal lands, thus, the 1982 Act provided an opportunity to extend to rural communities the benefits that private landowners enjoyed as a result of the 1975 Parks and Wildlife Act (Booth, 2016:2). The amendment was a significant step in the evolution of the CAMPFIRE programme (Murphree, 1998:5; Gibson, 1999:111; Alexander & McGregor, 2000:607). The first community wildlife programme was implemented in the same year (1982) when revenues from two elephants hunted were returned to the local community for the construction of a school in Mahenye (Barker, 1997:279; Child, 2003:7).

In 1984, the Department of Wildlife through the Prime Minister's directive developed a model for community wildlife management that encouraged the empowerment of communities at village level to control wildlife and its revenues, resulting in the establishment of the Village Development Committees (VIDCOs) and Ward Development Committees (WADCOs) (Mandondo, 2002:10; Vorlaufer, 2002:192). Before the establishment of the VIDCOs and WADCOs, people were headed and organised into communities by traditional lineage leaders (Mudiwa, 2002:180). VIDCOs are the lowest units of government administration, which are expected to identify the needs of the village and articulate these needs through the development of a local village plan. They usually consist of 100 households, though they vary from area to area, and they are presided by an elected chairperson (Mandondo, 2002:10). However, the post of VIDCO chair is never regularly contested in democratic elections as lack of resources is usually cited, and due to the perception of the locals that the position is void and meaningless (Mandondo, 2002:10). VIDCOs have been criticised for lacking relevance to the community's socio-economic dimensions as well as ignoring cultural and social boundaries, ignoring traditional grazing areas, and splitting families (Mudiwa, 2002:180). WADCOs comprise of several VIDCOs, usually six per ward. Their membership is drawn from leaders of its constituent VIDCOs. WADCOs are presided over by an elected Councillor representing the ward at the district level (Mandondo,

2002:10). The philosophy behind the 1984 Department of Wildlife model was that wildlife is the most sustainable land use option in remote communal areas (Child, 2003:6). Nevertheless, the implementation of this model in Gokwe and Nyaminyami was hampered as payments from trophy hunting went through the government fiscal cycle, resulting in the treasury delaying payments to the local communities (Child, 2003:6).

The CAMPFIRE was officially designated in 1986 in a strategy paper by the then Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management (DNPWLM) (Murphree, 1998:10; Alexander & McGregor, 2000:607; Gujadhur, 2000:57). Due to the lack of resources to implement the strategy, the government sought assistance from NGOs, resulting in the formation of the CAMPFIRE Collaborative Group (CCG) in 1987 (Metcalf, 1993:3; Murphree, 1998:10; Gibson, 1999:111-112; Gujadhur, 2000:57). The CCG was the co-ordinating agency for the CAMPFIRE, responsible for institutional building, training, scientific and sociological research, monitoring and international advocacy (ART, 1996:6, CAMPFIRE Association, 2018). It was comprised of the CAMPFIRE Association (which represented RDCs and rural communities involved in the CAMPFIRE projects and also chaired the CCG), the DNPWLM (provided communities with technical advice on wildlife management), the Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development (MLGRUD) (was responsible for administration of RDCs), Zimbabwe Trust (focused on training, institutional building, and skills development among community members), WWF (provided ecological and economic research, monitoring, and advisory services to the CAMPFIRE), ART (which monitored external policy and regulations that affected the CAMPFIRE as well as providing information to decision-makers globally), CASS (involved in socio-economic research and monitoring within the CAMPFIRE communities), and Action (provided environmental education, training and materials to schools in CAMPFIRE districts) (Metcalf, 1993:18-19; ART, 1996:7; Murphree, 1998:10; Child *et al.*, 2003:19; Taylor, 2009a:2566; AWF, 2011:22; CAMPFIRE Association, 2018). It is argued that much of the success of the CAMPFIRE's first phase can be attributed to the spirit of collective endeavour shown by all the different groups in the CCG (Metcalf, 1993:18). The CCG was initially under the leadership of DNPWLM and later, the CAMPFIRE Association (CA), which was formed in 1992 and was the secretariat for all districts with the CAMPFIRE activities. The CA promoted the wildlife interests of RDCs and served as an association of producer communities (Booth, 2016:4). It also co-ordinated the CAMPFIRE activities while representing the CAMPFIRE within the national, regional, and international fora (CAMPFIRE Association, 2018). The CA's objectives have evolved over the years with the development of the CAMPFIRE, and in 2002, a process of

reforming its activities was started through the introduction of a three-year plan called the “Strategic Growth Initiative (SGI) 2002-2005” (CAMPFIRE Association, 2018). During the USAID funding programme, Natural Resource Management Programme (NRMP II), in 1994, the CCG was replaced by the CAMPFIRE Service Providers (CSPs) (Taylor, 2006:3). Some of the organisations (ART, WWF, and ZIMTRUST) are no longer associated with the CAMPFIRE as they have wound up their operations (AWF, 2011:22).

The CAMPFIRE was not implemented until 1989, when the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism awarded two RDCs (Guruve and Nyaminyami) Appropriate Authority (AA) status (Metcalf, 1993:4; 1994:166; Baker, 1997:280; Gujadhur, 2000:57; Child, 2003:7; Bond & Cumming, 2006:486; Harrison *et al.*, 2014:7). This meant that wildlife revenues would be paid directly to the councils instead of the treasury to avoid the 1984 mistake (Child, 2003:7). Within a year, 10 additional districts attained AA status as the programme was becoming popular among rural communities as it promised a new source of revenue as well as local control (Metcalf, 1993:4; Child, 2003:7). Although the CAMPFIRE was initially introduced in rural communities adjacent to national parks, the programme was never promoted as a “buffer-zone” parks, and people approach, but as a rural development programme in which wildlife would be a substantial or complementary land use (Metcalf, 1993:4).

The primary objectives of the CAMPFIRE include: (1) the promotion of voluntary participation of local communities to achieve long-term solutions to resources problems; (2) introducing a system of group ownership over natural resources for the local communities residing in target areas; (3) providing appropriate institutions under which resources can be legitimately managed and exploited by local communities for their own direct benefit; and (4) providing technical and financial assistance to communities who join the programme to enable them to realise these objectives (Murphree, 1990:3; Metcalf, 1993:14; 1994:182; AWF, 2011:19-20). These objectives have been refined to only three by the CAMPFIRE Association: (i) to enhance rural livelihoods; (ii) to facilitate rural development; and (iii) to promote conservation of biodiversity and the rich natural heritage of Zimbabwe through effective participation of communities and the generation of income for them (Harrison, 2015:35). Nevertheless, the devolution of rights to manage, use, dispose of, and benefit from natural resources forms the cornerstone of the CAMPFIRE (Taylor & Murphree, 2007:2; Taylor, 2009a:2563, 2564).

The CAMPFIRE initially focused on the conservation and exploitation of four natural resources, namely wildlife, forestry, grazing, and water; it has since diversified its natural resource management activities to include timber and bamboo harvesting, fisheries, honey and fruit

production, marketing mopane caterpillars and the sale of non-renewable resources such as river sand for construction purposes (Alexander & McGregor, 2000:607; Taylor & Murphree, 2007:2; Taylor, 2009a:2564; AWF, 2011:21; Booth, 2016:2). The utilisation of large mammals mostly through trophy hunting (consumptive tourism), has provided direct and immediate tangible financial benefits (Taylor & Murphree, 2007:2). The 1991 DNPWLM guidelines recommended that 50% of wildlife revenues be allocated to producer communities and, in 1992, the then Minister of Environment and Tourism requested that the local communities be allocated 80% of the wildlife revenues (Gujadhur, 2000:57; Child *et al.*, 2003:20; Bond & Cumming, 2006:487; AWF, 2011:19). Communities were also granted the right to decide how to spend the money from wildlife, and one of the choices was to retain cash for household needs, but they were required to make the process of revenue distribution transparent (Barker, 1997:280; AWF, 2011:19). The CA amended its constitution in 2007 where safari operators are now required to pay revenue directly into community controlled bank accounts and to adhere to the following guidelines: RDCs (41%), CAMPFIRE Association levy (4%), and communities (55%) (Booth, 2016:5). The CAMPFIRE's revenues come from trophy hunting, nature tourism (photographic safari), harvesting of natural products (timber, animal skins, and ivory), live animal sales, and meat cropping (culling of abundant species) (Logan & Moseley, 2002:4).

Hasler (1999:6) argues that the CAMPFIRE projects evolved through four phases: (a) birth (the phase in which community-based wildlife management was conceptualised). During this phase the assumption was that homogenous communities existed in parts of rural areas adjacent to national parks and safari areas hence the CAMPFIRE promoted the idea of community management of natural resources; (b) adolescence (when it was realised that more stakeholders should be involved in the core-management of resources as it was discovered that the programme is more complex). The centralised nature of the politics of Zimbabwe raised questions on the capacity of communities to own or manage wildlife; (c) middle age (the phase in which the CAMPFIRE was established as a social movement). "The term social movement refers to the collective organisation of people for a particular issue or cause". The movement from adolescence into the middle age was rapid and was achieved in a very short time (1989-1995). During this phase the programme managed to link locals, districts, national and international levels, and (d) adulthood (phase in which contradictions between different vested interests and flawed assumptions should have been resolved). This phase was missed by the CAMPFIRE due to the state's failure to devolve further legal rights to grassroots communities (Hasler, 1999:7).

It is argued that the products offered by the CAMPFIRE projects evolved from first to third generation (Ebony Consulting International (ECI), 2002:12). The “first generation” is when the projects relied on consumptive use of wildlife to generate revenues for communal people. The “second generation” emerged during the mid-1990s, where the emphasis was on non-consumptive tourism, mostly photographic safaris (ECI, 2002:13). There were huge investments in game lodge facilities on communal lands in the Nyaminyami ward of Kariba district and the Mahenye ward of Chipinge district by Zimsun (now Africasun) during this period (ECI, 2002:13). At least 12 lodges were established on communal land, mostly along the Zambezi and the south-east Lowveld by the late 1990s (ECI, 2002:13). These “second generation” products adopted the high cost low volume approach, and they became important drivers of rural development as well as bringing economic diversification on communal lands (ECI, 2002:13,15). Later a “third generation” type of product emerged in the communal lands of Zimbabwe, which are run by private partners on behalf of the community owners, but in most instances, community management committees run them on a “non-lease basis” (ECI, 2002:13-14). These “third generation” products offer lesser attractions at much lower prices, and so require a low cost high volume approach (ECI, 2002:15). A variety of facilities are offered by these projects, which range from overnight accommodation in rustic chalets to rudimentary camping sites. Amenities such as cultural centres and craft shops are offered to day visitors (ECI, 2002:14). The target market and product offering is also disparate and these include: (i) specialist activities such as bird watching and sport fishing in Nyanga, Chimanimani and the Zambezi; (ii) wilderness experience in locations close to Harare such as Guruve and Muzarabani camps; (iii) cultural experience linked to indigenous traditions and sites (e.g. rock paintings) in Domboshava, Matopos, Goromonzi and Umzingwane; and (iv) recreational opportunities in areas such as Bindura, Manyame and Mazowe facilities (ECI, 2002:14).

The CAMPFIRE has received mixed views from scholars. Some have cited spectacular successes, perverse outcomes, and a plethora of examples between the two (Murphree, 2009:2552). The programme has been viewed as an inspiration driving the emulation and proliferation of similar projects in the region (Hasler, 1999:12; Murphree, 1998:1). However, Murphree (1998:1) and Hasler (1999:12) warn other countries against using the CAMPFIRE as the model for CBNRM since it has Zimbabwean origins and hence might not fit in their contexts. Botswana and Namibia have managed to surpass Zimbabwe as they have legislation in place that empowers local communities to manage wildlife directly rather than manage it through RDCs (Hasler, 1999:12).

Bennet *et al.* (1999:36) argue that minimising negative environmental effects benefits the poor, as they are likely to bear the costs of damage. By creating employment opportunities, enhancing food and nutrition security, reducing dependence on agriculture, and facilitating an enabling environment for pro-poor economic growth, the CAMPFIRE has contributed to alleviating extreme poverty and hunger and can, therefore, be regarded a poverty reduction strategy (Child, 2003:26; Mazambani & Dembetembe, 2010:46; Hunt Forever, 2015). From 1989 to 1996, the number of beneficiary households increased from 7,861 to 85,543, while the total number of individual beneficiaries increased from 55,000 in 1989 to 480,000 in 1993 (Child, 2003:7; Chamberwa *et al.*, 2014:71). Booth (2016:5) states that approximately 77,000 households benefit from the CAMPFIRE directly or indirectly. By 2001, the programme generated US\$20,288,784 (Jones, 2004:29; Mbaiwa, 2008:145; Ngwira, Kolawole & Mbaiwa, 2013:793). Communities further benefit through being employed in the various CAMPFIRE projects. In 2007, 701 people were employed in the CAMPFIRE projects in only 10 districts, most of them as game scouts (Gibson, 1999:146; Mazambani & Dembetembe, 2010:xvi, 48).

The ability to attract funds from donors is considered one of the major successes of the CAMPFIRE. From 1989 to 1996, US\$45 million was donated to various projects by NGOs (Hasler, 1999:13). Donors invested 73% of the funds in the programme from 1989 to 2003, while the government invested 27% (Taylor, 2009a:2564-2565). Hasler (1999:13) argues that the ratio between revenue from donor funding and revenue generated by the CAMPFIRE programme since its inception in 1989 to 1999 is approximately 4 to 1. The attraction of donor support under the CCG evolved through four main phases: (1) phase I (1989-1994) where USAID and various partners provided US\$10 million grant support towards the improvement of safari hunting in districts that had been granted AA status; (2) phase II (1994-2003), USAID donated US\$30 million to support the capture of other natural resources and the development of non-consumptive tourism facilities. During this phase, an extra US\$1,253,743 (1994-1998) was funded by NORAD for the development of training materials. NORAD disbursed another US\$936,550 during this phase (1999-2002) for the delivery of training nationally and locally in communities using training materials developed in the previous years; (3) phase III (2003-2007) in which Ford Foundation donated US\$165,000. The phase witnessed the cessation of major donor funding due to the Land Reform Programme. This also led to the collapse of financial and technical support which was previously provided by the CCG, and (4) phase IV (2007-present) in which the only major donation has been US\$350,000 from WK Kellogg Foundation. However, part of the phase has been affected by hyperinflation, the situation stabilised after the GNU introduced multiple foreign

currency use and is currently affected by the cash shortages experienced in the country (Taylor, 2006:4; Mazambani & Dembetembe, 2010:10-11; Booth, 2016:3-4). The CA has managed to maintain its operations through a 4% levy paid by hunting districts which amounts to less than US\$100,000 annually (Booth, 2016:4).

The proliferation of these donor funds was crucial for supporting the initial setup of the CBTEs as well as providing training to community members. Hasler (1999:12) argues that the attraction of such a significant amount of donor funding by a programme that had a humble beginning in villages is a big achievement. However, the dependency on international donors has resulted in the programme furthering the agendas of the funders at the expense of the original goals and objectives of the programme (Hasler, 1999:13). The heavy dependence on donors is also cited as the reason for the abandonment of some projects after the donors stopped providing funds (Hasler, 1999:13; Balint & Mashinya, 2008a:791; Mitchell & Muckosy, 2008:102; Muchapondwa & Stage, 2015:3; MoTHI, 2016:58). This is because donor initiatives are a short-term and time-bound, thus resulting in a short-term survivalist perspective rather than affording communities a sense of long-term security of tenure over resources that is important for sustainable resource management (Roe, 2011:22). Murombedzi (1996:16) states that “External aid seems to have negative implications for the ability of the CAMPFIRE to facilitate local participation in decision-making”. It minimises efforts to market the projects and fails to build links between communities and source markets (Mitchell & Muckosy, 2008:102; Lapeyre, 2010:768). Further, donor interests are often perceived to be at odds with local perspectives and having agendas that are driven by political imperatives (Murphree, 2009:2551; Dalal-Clayton, Dent & Dubois, 2003:138). Bennet *et al.* (1999:13) argue that donor interventions in tourism are not driven by a poverty agenda but prioritise conservation. Donors and NGOs are also criticised for sidelining elected local authorities (Ribot, 2003:56). The WB (2016:4) postulates that top-down donor-driven investment programmes have failed in Africa.

The majority of the CAMPFIRE revenues (92%) come from consumptive tourism, of which 64% is from sport hunting of elephants (The Wildlife Society of Zimbabwe (WSZ), 1996:25; Hasler, 1999:13; Vorlauffer, 2002:194; Bond & Cumming, 2006:486; Taylor, 2009a:2572). Trophy hunting alone realised revenue of US\$41.4 million from 1989 to 2006, of which 20.8 million (50.2%) was allocated to communities (Mazambani & Dembetembe, 2010:41). By 2016, elephant hunting alone was providing 70% of annual revenue to the CA (Booth, 2016:5). From 2009 to 2014, net revenue of US\$11.5 million was realised from consumptive tourism (Booth, 2016:ii; MoTHI, 2016:58). In 1995, Muzarabani District received US\$108,025 from

Tshabezi Safaris for trophy hunting alone (Smith & Duffy, 2003:152). The sports hunting industry grew from a value of US\$195,000 in 1984 to US\$13 million in 1993, while the number of hunts rose from 25 to 1 300 over the same period (Smith & Duffy, 2003:156). In 2014, a net income in excess of US\$2 million was generated from 13 districts that were involved in consumptive tourism (MoTHI, 2016:57-58). This reliance on consumptive tourism is problematic as the Zimbabwean elephant population is now more of a world rather than a national heritage due to much international lobbying (Hasler, 1999:11). The largest market for trophy hunting, the USA, has suspended the importation of elephant trophies from Zimbabwe since April 2014 (The United States Fish & Wildlife Services (FWS), 2014; Booth, 2016:1). In March 2015, the suspension was extended to include future hunting seasons (Booth, 2016:1). Booth (2016:ii) states that 53 per cent of Zimbabwe's hunters come from America. This suspension has negatively impacted the CAMPFIRE as it resulted in the cancellation of 108 out of 189 elephant hunts, which were booked by American hunters, and this, in turn, has disrupted revenue inflows to communities (Hunt Forever, 2015; GoZ, MoTHI, MoFED & KDC, 2016:41). The American hunters alone contributed US\$9 million towards the CAMPFIRE revenues during the period 2010-2015 compared to US\$8 million, which came from the other 40 nations (Booth, 2016:ii). Nonetheless, it is argued that only 3% of the revenues from sport hunting reach the communities living in the hunting areas, and the rest benefits the government and individuals located internationally (Economists at Large, 2013:3,7).

Besides the direct economic benefits, the programme also brought indirect economic benefits. Various communities such as Mahenye, Masoka, the Binga district, and the Nyaminyami district have managed to build schools, clinics, grinding mills and improve roads (Conyers, 2002:16; Logan & Moseley, 2002:4; Vorlauffer, 2002:198; Taylor & Murphree, 2007:18; Balint & Mashinya, 2008a:789; 2008b:137; Mbaiwa, 2008:144; Tichaawa & Mhlanga, 2015:62). Hasler (1999:14) argues that indirect economic benefits are difficult to assess and quantify and may be invisible to project participants (for example, the building of a school may be partly funded by the CAMPFIRE revenues as well as by government grant). The CAMPFIRE is credited for promoting conservation. Poaching was reduced and an increase of wildlife numbers was noted in the CAMPFIRE districts (Balint & Mashinya, 2008a:790; Taylor, 2009a:2574; 2009b:210; AWF, 2011:22). The conservation of wildlife has been facilitated by the benefits that the communities are getting from trophy hunting (Child, 2009d:188). Nevertheless, some scholars (Mutana *et al.*, 2013:155) assert that the CAMPFIRE's over-emphasis on conservation has been one of its major weaknesses. Similarly, Gibson (1999:146) and Conyers (2002:18) argue that there is no systematic

data to support the claim that poaching has decreased in the CAMPFIRE areas. Gibson (1999:146) adds that Nyaminyami District actually reported an increase in poaching cases three years after attaining AA status. The suspension of the importation of elephant trophies by the FWS has caused some communities to start poaching elephants as the increase in their number has resulted in more cases of HWC while the communities are no longer getting revenues from them (Hunt Forever, 2015; Zhangazha, 2015).

To realise its objective of establishing appropriate institutions for local communities to benefit from natural resources, the CAMPFIRE decentralised the management of natural resources to the District CAMPFIRE Coordinating Committees, the Ward Level CAMPFIRE Committees and the Village CAMPFIRE Committees (Arntzen *et al.*, 2003:8). According to Ribot (2002:3), “Decentralisation takes place when a central government formally transfers powers to actors and institutions at lower levels in a political-administrative and territorial hierarchy”. Decentralisation promotes efficiency and accountability of government to its citizens (Ferguson & Mulwafu, 2002:6). Ribot (2002:4) argues that there are three forms of decentralisation: (1) political or democratic decentralisation in which powers and resources are transferred to authorities’ representative of and downwardly accountable to local populations. This form of decentralisation aims at increasing popular participation in local decision making. This is a secure form of decentralisation that theoretically provides the most considerable benefits; (2) deconcentration or administrative decentralisation which involves the transfer of power to local branches of the central state, such as administrators, or local technical line-ministry agents. This is a weak form of decentralisation as the downward accountability from which many benefits are expected are not as well established as in democratic forms of decentralisation; and (3) privatisation where power is transferred to non-state entities, including individuals, corporations, and NGOs. This form operates on an exclusive logic, rather than on the inclusive public logic of decentralisation. By 2003, over 100 village and ward wildlife committees were established and functioning in the CAMPFIRE districts (Arntzen *et al.*, 2003:13). The District CAMPFIRE Coordinating Committees are sub-committees of RDCs’ Conservation Committees which were formed to strengthen communication between the RDCs and their CAMPFIRE wards. The main tasks of the District CAMPFIRE Coordinating Committees include: (a) monitoring the exploitation of natural resources in project areas; (b) identifying training needs that must be addressed by the RDC CAMPFIRE units; (c) drawing up annual budgets for the RDCs CAMPFIRE activities; and (d) coordinating quota setting for the entire district. The Ward level CAMPFIRE Committees feed into district or inter-ward CAMPFIRE Committees. These are democratically elected Committees

whose membership comes from village wildlife committees. The Ward level CAMPFIRE Committees tasks include: (i) to coordinate village wildlife committees; (ii) to plan and implement ward projects; and (iii) coordinating vertical and horizontal management structures and systems for the effective administration of CAMPFIRE. The Village CAMPFIRE Committees form the basic units for CAMPFIRE and natural resource management. The main tasks of these Village CAMPFIRE Committees are control of veld fires, problem animal control, apprehending poachers, and participating in quota setting (Arntzen *et al.*, 2003:8-9). It is argued that these CAMPFIRE structures provide a forum for community participation in decision making on natural resources management and other issues (Arntzen *et al.*, 2003:13). By 2010, there were 676 community-based institutions which were created through Zimbabwe's CBNRM initiatives, and these include 192 wildlife committees, 41 community-based enterprises, 20 community trusts, 331 forestry-related resource management committees, and 92 project committees. The aim of these institutions is to decentralise management, devolve economic and environmental rights, and develop and build community capacity and skills (Mazambani and Dembetembe, 2010:xvi). Decentralisation is seen as a means of increasing access, use, management, and the voice of local people in their claim and concern about natural resources (Ribot, 2002:3-4). The most effective decentralisation empowers local authorities with discretionary decisions over resources that are relevant to local people (Ribot, 2002:4).

The CAMPFIRE defines a community as “a unit of production and decision making (each village, ward, and district)” (Logan & Moseley, 2002:7), which fails to recognise the heterogeneity of communities (Chapter Two; Mukamuri *et al.*, 2013:89). It is therefore criticised for assuming that communities can be defined simply as wards or villages (Murombedzi, 1991:19). These local government institutions are also criticised for failing to represent their communities (Murombedzi, 1991:19; Derman & Murombedzi, 1994:126). Hasler (1999:19) argues that the spatial or geographical definition of communities by the CAMPFIRE is not a sufficient criterion for guiding implementing authorities. An analysis of the CAMPFIRE illustrates that the programme is much more concerned with the political community (Hasler, 1999:19). As noted in Chapter Two, viewing communities as being homogenous fails to attend to differences within communities while ignoring how these differences affect resource management outcomes (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999:633; Muchapondwa & Stage, 2015:5).

Community development, as discussed in Chapter Two, entails community participation, empowerment, improving QOL, and promoting self-help and felt-needs. Within the context of CBNRM, sustainability is guaranteed where and when local people participate (Mudiwa,

2002:180). Mazambani and Dembetembe (2010:xvi) argue that devolution, democratisation, participation, and empowerment motivates communities to invest their IK, labour, and time for sustainable CBNRM. However, in an endeavour to bring about community development through participation, the CAMPFIRE has been criticised for giving power and authority to the RDCs who fail to devolve authority further to the local communities (Murphree, 1990:7, 1993:4-5, 1998:20; Metcalfe, 1993:16; Goredema *et al.*, 2005:3; Bond & Cumming, 2006:491; Chigwenya & Manatsa, 2007:111; Balint & Mashinya, 2008a:789; 2008b:128; Dhliwayo *et al.*, 2009:78; Child & Barnes, 2010:288). Devolution denotes the transfer of responsibility and authority over natural resources from the state to non-governmental bodies, particularly user groups (Mamimine, 2002:87). Dhliwayo *et al.* (2009:78) argue that RDCs are actually recentralising management authority of natural resources. Taylor (2009a:2565) posits that the AA status decentralises authority to the RDCs only and not to any other institutions at the lower levels. Mamimine (2002:90) argues that the role of RDCs should be mainly facilitatory and custodial as the CAMPFIRE principles emphasise full participation and decision-making by producer communities. Stone and Stone (2011:99) state that “ideally, community participation involves designing development so that the intended beneficiaries are at the forefront and participate, by mobilising their own resources, making their own decisions and defining their own needs and how to meet them”. Indeed, Sakata and Prideaux (2013:882) assert that CBT projects are seldom controlled and managed by the target community, and most problems encountered in these projects are due to the inequitable power relations between local communities and the outsiders. The RDCs have delayed and in some cases, failed to remit revenues to communities (Mamimine, 2002:91; Chigwenya & Manatsa, 2007:112; MoTHI, 2016:60). Where there are elected committees, it is argued that they are rarely trusted to represent their communities in matters of natural resource management (Ribot, 2003:56). The devolution and delineation of property rights has no legal backing in Zimbabwe (Mohamed-Katerere, 2001:126; Frost & Bond, 2006:6; Chigwenya & Manatsa, 2007:111; Dhliwayo *et al.*, 2009:76; Taylor, 2009b:204-5; AWF, 2011:23, 33; Chigwata, 2016:81), and the RDCs can thus only devolve power and pass on revenues to local communities at their discretion as they are not legally obliged to do so (Bond, 2001:232; Mamimine, 2002:96; Goredema *et al.*, 2005:2-3). This failure to devolve authority further by the RDCs has limited community participation and empowerment (Goredema *et al.*, 2005:3).

The CAMPFIRE has facilitated community development by empowering communities through various training. Getting basic skills through learning or upgrading skills is a key principle of community empowerment (Lapeyre, 2010:767; WB, 2016:9). The training of communities in

CBNRM strengthens the local institutional environment and supports the devolution of natural resource management (Mamimine, 2002:94). Arntzen *et al.* (2003:13) argue that over 100 village and ward CAMPFIRE Committees in 36 districts got training in basic organisational skills such as bookkeeping, recording and maintaining minutes of meetings, and maintaining bank accounts. Community leaders in at least 13 districts learnt wildlife management skills such as setting quotas, monitoring hunting, problem animal monitoring, managing electric fences, selling wildlife, counting wildlife, and ecological management (Arntzen *et al.*, 2003:13). The Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) and WWF-Norway's 10-year support to the CAMPFIRE project (SupCAMP) aimed at knowledge and skills transfer to communities at the ward, district and national levels were crucial in empowering local communities (Goredema *et al.*, 2005:8; Taylor, 2009a:2567). The training has been commended for recognising IK as they used participatory technology development (PTD) that incorporates local indigenous technical knowledge of communities with the scientific and technical knowledge of outside specialists (Taylor & Bond, 2000:215; Goredema *et al.*, 2005:5-6; Taylor, 2009a:2567). Yet, the training has been criticised for being too basic, and hence most projects have failed due to the lack of competitive skills. An example is the Guruve community-run safari that failed due to its inability to compete with commercial operators (Smith & Duffy, 2003:153). The training has also been criticised for being top down whereby the aim is to instil in councils and communities the systems that the national institutions consider desirable (Conyers, 2002:19). Conyers (2002:20) adds that, in some instances, the training has tended to be misleading and paternalistic. The incorporation of IK in Nyaminyami District's CBTE has been performed without first understanding indigenous people's cosmovision, nor accepting the spiritual and cultural values that indigenous people attach to flora and fauna. Indigenous people believe that spirits permeate and animate matter. Spirits are believed to affect nature in response to human actions (Dudley, Higgins-Zogib & Mansourian, 2005:20). Conventional science and knowledge that guides the CAMPFIRE do not understand issues of spirituality and the supernatural powers (Sibanda, 2001:125). This has prompted conflicts between community members and the CAMPFIRE workers especially ecologists in Nyaminyami District (Sibanda, 2001:120). Similarly, chiefs and local communities in Nyaminyami District feel that the CAMPFIRE does not recognise the importance of their IK to natural resource management (Sibanda, 2001:125). Chigwenya and Manatsa (2007:111) also cite an example from Bulilimamagwe district where local people had put in place by-laws governing harvesting of mopane worms based on their IK, but the RDC refused to recognise them causing the unsustainable utilisation of the mopane worms. Murombedzi (1991:20) argues that the CAMPFIRE's failure to recognise customary legal rights has been its major shortcoming. The trivialisation of chiefs has

affected community empowerment and community participation (Mohamed-Katerere, 2001:125). Chibememe *et al.* (2014a:193) state that traditional structures have been undermined in the Chibememe community and the Sengwe area.

Community development also entails self-help and felt-needs that facilitate effective participation, as discussed in Chapter Two. Thus, self-help promotes economic and psychological empowerment. Therefore, the incorporation of IK in the CAMPFIRE projects, as well as the promotion of devolution of authority to local communities, entail self-help and felt-needs. Both self-help and felt-needs are against heavy dependence on donors.

The CAMPFIRE has arguably improved the well-being and QOL of the community members through the direct and indirect economic benefits, as discussed. Dhliwayo *et al.* (2009:63-64) assert that improvement in people's QOL is a clear sign of community participation in tourism. However, Nelson (2008:314) states that while CBT projects can provide positive benefits that can improve the QOL of community members, the revenues generated are appropriated by local elites, and few economic benefits reach community members. Beeton (2006:80) argues that community well-being cannot be easily measured as it is shaped by complex relationships between physical, psychological, and environmental factors faced by all communities. She adds that the QOL of a community refers to the level of well-being as seen by members of that community. Similarly, Murphree (2009:2554) argues that the meaning of the term "benefit" in CBNRM context refers more to the perceptions of community members rather than the values imposed by outsiders. Andersson, Dzingirai and Cumming (2013:13,19) are of the opinion that most CBNRM literature misrepresents local people as it often presents them as victims in their interactions with international donors, private entrepreneurs, and the state. Therefore, it is critical to examine the views and perceptions of local people regarding the CAMPFIRE and its benefit distribution as well as tourism as a means of community development overall. With the caveats highlighted, it is also necessary to develop a CBT model that aims to minimise the weaknesses of the current CAMPFIRE programme.

3.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has shown that tourism development in Zimbabwe can be divided into two main phases, the pre-independence and the post-independence phases. In the former, tourism was used as a propaganda tool, and international tourist arrival numbers were modest due to the war of liberation. The latter phase is divided into five periods with the first (1980-1984) witnessing an increase in international tourist arrivals that was short lived by the outbreak of the civil war in

1982. The second period (1985-1999) saw the government's marketing efforts to increase the number of tourist arrivals with an emphasis on conferences and incentives. The Land Reform Programme resulted in the isolation of the country during the period of stagnation and decline (2000-2008), leading to the introduction of the LEP in 2003. During the fourth period (2009-2013), the GNU improved the image of the country. An independent MoTHI was formed that embarked on the drafting of an NTP. It has been in effect since 2014, commencing the period of recovery (2014-present).

Although the GoZ has made significant achievements in poverty alleviation, its poverty rate remains high (over 70%). As a result, it has considered tourism a potential contributor to poverty alleviation, particularly in remote areas. The GoZ has facilitated conditions for community-based tourism initiatives that were expected to improve the living conditions of community residents. CBT in Zimbabwe has evolved through CBNRM, wherein the CAMPFIRE is the most notable. The CAMPFIRE has brought about both economic and non-economic benefits to local residents in project areas, and hence it has arguably contributed to improving their well-being. However, this chapter has also argued that it is necessary to examine the perceptions and experiences of local people with respect to tourism as a means of poverty alleviation and community development, rather than rely on criteria or values imposed by outside experts or specialists. This provides a significant avenue for the present study.

CHAPTER 4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Since the literature review has been conducted in Chapters Two and Three, this chapter discusses the research methodology and design required to achieve the objectives and answer the research questions stated in Chapter One. The first section of this chapter recaps the methodological philosophy underpinning this research, which has been discussed in Chapter One. The second section describes the case study area of Manicaland. The third section explains the two-stage research design used in this research, with the first stage involving a qualitative content analysis of CBT projects in Zimbabwe while the second stage details the in-depth interviews which were conducted in the case study area as well as with specialist agencies and government employees involved with CBT development in the country. The data analysis process done in this research is explained in the fourth section. Ethical considerations are presented in the fifth section, followed by an explanation of the researcher's position in the research process. In the last section of this chapter, the validity and reliability of this research is explained.

4.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research design process begins with the philosophical assumptions that the researcher makes (Creswell, 2007:15). Whether stated or not, all research is guided by some philosophical orientation (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007:24). These philosophical orientations have been given different terms (Milliken, 2001:73; Merriam, 2009:8), among them “paradigms” (Mertens, 1998, 2010; Lincoln & Guba, 2000), “philosophical assumptions” (Crotty, 1998), “research methodologies” (Neuman, 2000), “traditions and theoretical underpinnings (Bogman & Biklen, 2007), “theoretical traditions and orientations” (Patton, 2002), “philosophical perspectives” (Merriam, 2009), or “worldviews” (Creswell, 2014). However, all the terms present the assumptions, concepts, principles, and nature of the research (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007:24; Cooper & White, 2012:15; Creswell, 2014:6). It is challenging to categorise research into few paradigms, but some scholars (Mertens, 2010:7; Creswell, 2014:6) concur that there are four major paradigms, namely: postpositivism, constructivist, transformative, and pragmatic, which are known by different terms (Table 4-1).

Table 4-1: Names associated with different research paradigms

Postpositivism	Constructivist	Transformative	Pragmatic
Quantitative	Qualitative	Critical theory	Mixed methods
Correlational	Naturalistic	Freirean	Participatory
Experimental	Ethnographic	Participatory	Mixed models
Quasi-experimental	Hermeneutic	Feminist theories	
Causal comparative	Phenomenological	Neo-Marxist	
Randomised control trials	Symbolic interaction	Emancipatory	
	Participatory action research	Disability theories	
		Queer theory	
		Action research	
		Postcolonial/indigenous	
		Critical race theory	

Source: Mertens (2010:8)

Postpositivism, constructivist, and pragmatic have been explained already (Chapter One). The transformative worldview arose in the 1980s and 1990s through individuals and groups who felt that postpositivists and constructivists were not advocating for an action agenda to help marginalised people (Creswell, 2014:9). Thus, transformative researchers advocate for social transformations in favour of the marginalised in society (Mertens, 2010:21). The agenda of the transformative research is to change the lives of the participants, the institutions in which individuals work or live as well as the researcher's life (Creswell, 2014:9).

The research paradigms (Table 4.1) can be summarised by the responses given to four interconnected questions of axiology, ontology, epistemology, and methodology (Guba & Lincoln, 2005:192; Mertens, 2010:12; Jennings, 2012:309; Tracy, 2013:38). The axiological question asks the values associated with the research and, thus, the nature of ethics in the research. The ontological question entails the nature of reality and what can be known about it. The epistemological question concerns the nature of knowledge and the relationship between the researcher and the known. The methodological question asks how desired knowledge is obtained and thus strategies for gathering, collecting, and analysing data (Guba & Lincoln, 1994:108; Creswell, 2007:18; Mertens, 2010:10; Jennings, 2012:309-310; Denzin & Lincoln, 2013:189; Tracy, 2013:38).

As stated in Chapter One, this research uses qualitative research methods to respond to the above questions. This research seeks to examine the perceptions and views of local people in Manicaland regarding tourism as a means of community development and poverty alleviation (Chapter One). This, therefore, means that a qualitative (constructivist) approach is seen as the

most appropriate given that it provides insight into the experiences and perspectives of the research participants (Creswell, 2014:8; Mertens, 2010:16; Yin, 2011:7).

Since data collection methods have been discussed in Chapter One, the next section describes the case study area.

4.3 THE STUDY LOCATION: MANICALAND PROVINCE

As highlighted earlier in Chapter One, Manicaland province is the case study area of this research. It is located in the Eastern part of Zimbabwe and is well-known for its natural attractions which include Nyanga mountains, Vumba mountains, Chimanimani mountains, Mutarazi falls, and Nyagombe falls, among others. The province has seven districts (Buhera, Chimanimani, Chipinge, Makoni, Nyanga, Mutasa, and Mutare) (Figure 4-1). Data collection took place in Nyanga district, Mutare district, Chimanimani district, and Chipinge district. These districts are home to CBTEs that have been regarded as successful (Madzara, Yekeye & Rewayi, 2012:4). Notable among them are Gairezi Eco-tourism (Nyanga district), Mahenye Chilo Gorge Lodge (Chipinge district), and Vimba Wilderness area (Chimanimani district). The other reason for selecting these districts was that they could be easily accessed and that they still had functional CBT projects (ZTA, 2018b) as most of the CBT projects, such as the Vimba Wilderness area, had gone defunct due to the harsh economic conditions which were bedevilling the country. It was also not feasible for the researcher to visit all the province's seven districts due to time and financial constraints.

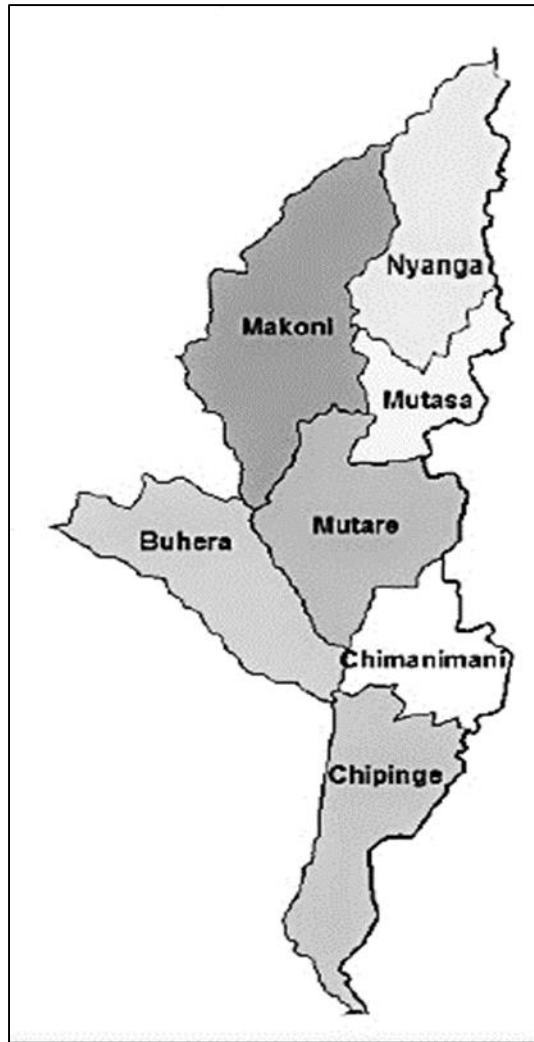


Figure 4-1: Map of Manicaland Province (Source: ZIMSTAT, UNICEF & WORLD BANK, 2016:12)

Besides the natural attractions, the province is rich in cultural heritage and wildlife. Despite all these attractions and the potential for tourism development, there is still a high poverty rate (70.6%; Chapter Three), with most of the poor people living in rural areas (ZIMSTAT, 2012a:15). According to the 2012 census, there were 830,697 males and 922,001 females, with most people being employed in agriculturally related occupations, followed by the service sector (ZIMSTAT, 2012a:15). The reason for more people being employed in the agriculturally related occupations could be that Chipinge, Nyanga, Chimanimani, and Mutare districts have a large percentage of their land reserved for commercial forestry activities where wattle trees, gum trees and pine trees are grown.

In order to advance the objective of poverty alleviation, the government has promoted CBT (Chapter Three), and most of the CBT projects in the province were established during the period of stable growth (1985-1999). Most of these projects were supported by the CAMPFIRE programme (Madzara, Yekeye & Rewayi, 2012:4). However, as stated, a number of them were severely affected by the economic melt-down during the period of stagnation and decline (2000-2008), resulting in most of the projects being abandoned due to the withdrawal of donors (Chapter Two). As of January 2016, there were 13 known functional CBT projects in the province, of which only three were under the CAMPFIRE programme (GoZ, MoTHI, MoFED & KDC, 2016:56). Besides consumptive tourism, the CBT projects in the province also focus on rock art, adventure tourism, hiking, cultural tourism, birding, photographic safaris, and mountain climbing (GoZ, MoTHI, MoFED & KDC, 2016:60-61). Previous research conducted in Manicaland has concentrated on single CBT projects such as Mahenye/Chilo Gorge Lodge (Balint & Mashinya, 2008a) and Mtema Ecotourism Centre (Mawere & Mubaya, 2012). This research, therefore, aims to allow local people from some CBT projects in the province to express their views and perceptions of the role that tourism has played in alleviating poverty and promoting community development.

A case study approach has been criticised for lacking rigor and representing biased views of the researcher who is the primary data collector and analyst (Yin, 2003:10; Beeton, 2005:39; George & Bennet, 2005:30; Dredge & Hales, 2012:431). The case study design has also been criticised on the basis that its results cannot be generalised (Yin, 2003:10; George & Bennet, 2005:42; Dredge & Hales, 2012:430). Yin (2003:10) adds that case studies are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations and, thus, they are conducted to expand and generalise theories (analytic generalisation). It is argued that triangulation is one way to overcome these biases when using a case study design (Yin, 2003:10; Beeton, 2005:39-40; Dredge & Hales, 2012:418).

4.4 RESEARCH DESIGN AND DATA COLLECTION METHODS

In this thesis, research design refers to the definition of Harwell (2011:148), which describes the methodology of a study (data collection and analysis) (Chapter One). Similarly, Creswell and Plano Clark (2011:53) define research design as “procedures for collecting, analysing, interpreting, and reporting data in research studies”. Therefore, data collection means “gaining permissions, conducting a good [...] sampling strategy, developing means for recording information both digitally and on paper, storing the data, and anticipating ethical issues that may arise” (Creswell, 2013:145). This research will take a two-stage process (Chapter One).

4.4.1 Stage One: Content analysis (objective one achieved and research question one answered)

According to Hall and Valentin (2005:191), content analysis is a research method that is used to evaluate the actual and symbolic content of all recorded communication. Content analysis can be useful for many purposes, including reflecting cultural patterns of societies, groups, or institutions, and can as well be an important technique for allowing the researcher to discover and describe the focus of individual, group, institutional, or societal attention (Weber, 1990:9; Stemler, 2001:137). Stemler (2001:137) adds that content analysis allows inferences to be made, which can be corroborated using other methods of data collection. This first stage identified the barriers to community participation as identified by CBT projects in Zimbabwe, thus, objective one of the research was achieved, and the first research question was answered. Key terms and phrases such as the CAMPFIRE projects, community-based enterprises, and community-based tourism were searched from electronic databases such as Google Scholar, Google Search, and online libraries of the CAMPFIRE, USAID, ZTA, Centre for Applied Social Sciences (CASS), and the Ministry of Tourism and Hospitality Industry. Online libraries of other development agencies such as WWF Zimbabwe, SNV Zimbabwe, UNDP Zimbabwe, African Resources Trust (ART), Zimbabwe Trust (ZIMTRUST), Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources (SAFIRE), African Wildlife Foundation (AWF), and the Norwegian Agency for Development Co-operation (NORAD) Zimbabwe who were once associated with the CAMPFIRE projects, were also consulted. However, as most of these agencies were no longer involved with the CAMPFIRE and CBT projects, some of the documents were not available from the online libraries. The researcher had to visit the offices of these organisations for assistance as well as send emails. As for the non-CAMPFIRE projects such as Mapembe Wilderness, the researcher consulted the Environmental Management Agency (EMA) website as it is the one that sponsors the project and sent emails and visited their Mutare offices. Online libraries of funding agencies such as the WB and the African Development Bank Group (AfDB), which funded a number of CBT initiatives were also useful. The documents sought included project reports from ZTA and the MoTHI as well as project factsheets. However, Robson and McCartan (2016:357) assert that documents used in the content analysis may have been written for some other purposes and not for the research in question, and thus it is difficult to avoid biases or distortions. However, data triangulation may help address this problem (Robson & McCartan, 2016:357).

4.4.2 Stage Two: Data collection in the case study area of Manicaland Province (objectives two, three and four achieved and research questions two, three and four answered)

The second stage was carried out to answer the second, third, and fourth research questions while achieving objectives two, three, and four of the research (Chapter One). A case study can be defined as “an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, programme, or system in real-life context” (Simons, 2009:21). The primary data for this research was collected in Zimbabwe from the 18th of June to the 18th of October 2018. The first two months were spent in Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe, conducting in-depth interviews with staff members from the government departments (the MoTHI and the ZTA) as well as the specialist agent (the ZNPWLMA). Data collection in Harare took a long time due to the general and presidential elections, which were held on the 30th of July 2018. Therefore, it was difficult to get hold of the government employees just before and immediately after the elections as they were involved in the electoral process as polling officers. The rest of the fieldtrip was then spent in Manicaland province’s four districts, where in-depth interviews were conducted with local people as well as key informants (the RDCs’ staff and EMA’s staff).

During the first two months spent in Harare, in-depth interviews were conducted with nine government employees (Appendix 3) and five ZNPWLMA employees (Appendix 4). Eight of the interviewed government employees were from the MoTHI, while the only staff member in the CBT department at the ZTA head office was also interviewed (Chapter Seven). Although the ZNPWLMA is a government department, they were regarded as a specialist agency as their role in CBT development is usually to oversee the conservation of wildlife, especially the quota setting. All the interviewees had valuable experience with tourism projects all over the country. The interviews were conducted face-to-face in English, although the interviewees were at liberty to respond in Shona. All the interviews were audio-recorded while notes were also taken. The respondents were chosen based on the recommendations of the head of departments and they, in turn, suggested more potential respondents to the researcher (Chapter One). The interviews ranged from 30 minutes to over an hour, and the respondents decided the times and venues. Thirteen of the interviews were conducted at the interviewees’ work place while one was conducted at a local hotel lobby where the respondent was attending a conference. The researcher also got names and contact details of potential respondents in Manicaland from most of the interviewees in Harare.

The researcher also had discussions with staff at the Department of Tourism, Leisure and Hospitality Studies, University of Zimbabwe, as well as staff at CASS, University of Zimbabwe.

These discussions were done in order to seek advice on how best to approach traditional leaders and community leaders when doing research. Contact details of some traditional leaders and elected committee members for CBT projects in Manicaland were given during these discussions. At CASS, three CBT project reports were obtained while the chairperson provided more names and contact details of people who could provide valuable information. After discussions at the University of Zimbabwe, the researcher had another discussion with the CAMPFIRE director, who provided more valuable information on the background of CBT development in the country and Manicaland. Contact details and names of elected committee members' chairpersons at Mahenye and Gairezi CBT projects were provided as well as contact details and names of Chipinge and Nyanga RDCs' staff. The researcher got three project documents at the CAMPFIRE. More tips were given on how to approach the traditional leaders and the communities when doing research.

After Harare, the researcher did the fieldwork in Manicaland. In particular, the researcher spent two more months in Manicaland. Two weeks were spent in each district, where he stayed with local households except in Mahenye, where management at Chilo Gorge Safari Lodge provided complimentary accommodation and meals to the researcher. However, in all the visited communities, the researcher was assigned a local person (usually the elected committee chairperson) to move around with during the interviews. A case study incorporates a number of data collection methods (Stake, 2005:443; Dredge & Hales, 2012:426; Thomas & Myers, 2015:7). Therefore, the data collection methods used in Manicaland are explained below.

4.4.2.1 In-depth interviews

Before data collection took place, the participants were identified using the snowball sampling method (Chapter One). In-depth interviews were conducted with local people in communities, traditional leaders, and community-based elected committee members of the CBT projects in Manicaland province to examine local people's perceptions and views on the potential of tourism to alleviate poverty and bring about community development. In-depth interviews were also conducted with key informants in Harare as well as in Manicaland in order to enrich the research findings (Chapter One). The researcher used a semi-structured in-depth interview format. This is particularly conversational in nature, with the interviewer referring to an interview guide to ensure that the relevant issues are covered, by modifying the questions for each interview as warranted by the particular responses or circumstances of the interviewee (Roller & Lavrakas, 2015:53). Likewise, the researcher referred to interview guides (Appendices 3, 4, 5, 6 & 7), and some questions were also modified depending on the circumstances. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were considered ideal for this research as they encourage an exchange or dialogue (real

conversation) between the interviewer and interviewee that manifests the personal component that is a unique and important benefit to qualitative research (Roler & Lavrakas, 2015:53). Roller and Lavrakas (2015:53) add that the semi-structured in-depth interview encourages a back-and-forth dialogue and allows the interviewer to react to the interviewee's comments by changing questions-wording, their order, interjecting relevant probing for clarification, and/or changing the direction of the interview since it is a shared experience between the interviewer and the respondent. It is argued that in-depth interviews seek to understand the perceptions of the respondents (Johnson, 2002:106; McGehee, 2012:367; Rossman & Rallis, 2012:176). Therefore, the use of in-depth interviews in this research made it possible to understand the perceptions and views of the local people regarding tourism's potential as a tool of poverty alleviation and community development. Their views and perceptions were important for the development of a tourism and community development framework in Chapter Nine. One of the main reasons why the researcher preferred the semi-structured in-depth interview format is the flexibility inherent to the format.

Two non-probability sampling methods (snowball sampling and opportunistic or emergent sampling) were used to identify interview respondents (Chapter One). For snowball sampling, the researcher started by identifying several participants (e.g., government employees and key informants) who later suggested other people whom the researcher could interview (Chapter One). Traditional leaders were interviewed so as to have their perceptions and views with respect to the use of IK in the development of CBT in the province as it is another focus of this research (Chapters One, Two, and Three). Interviews were conducted face-to-face as the researcher wanted to gain some hidden responses through nonverbal communication. The interviewees' responses were recorded by a voice recorder as it is considered more accurate in capturing the responses than note-taking (Yin, 2014:110). However, the researcher also took some notes during the interviews. As stated in Chapter One, the researcher used opportunities or emergent sampling where unforeseen opportunities were taken advantage of during the fieldwork.

Each district had different protocols that needed to be followed before the actual interviews began. In Mahenye village (Chipinge district), where the researcher began, management at Chilo Goege Safari Lodge advised that the chief had to be visited first to seek permission to conduct the interviews in the community. The researcher visited the chief accompanied by the local guide, who explained the purpose of the visit. Since the researcher wanted to interview the traditional leaders as well (Appendix 5), he used that opportunity to interview the chief. After being granted the permission the researcher started visiting the households where the local guide would introduce the researcher and advise him whether the person to be interviewed was a traditional leader (village

head), elected committee member, or just an ordinary community member so that the researcher would use the appropriate interview guide. Management at Chilo Gorge Safari Lodge had advised the staff that if approached by the researcher and they were not busy, they should give him the opportunity to interview them. With this arrangement, the researcher managed to interview four employees who occupied low-level jobs at the lodge as they fell into the poverty definition established in this study (Chapter Two).

In Chibasani village (Chimanimani district), the researcher had communicated with the elected committee chairperson who had informed the traditional leaders (village heads) in advance. When the researcher arrived, two village heads had already been gathered at the committee chairperson's residence for the introductions and explanation of the purpose of the visit as well as to seek permission to conduct the interviews. After being granted permission, the researcher decided to interview the village heads at the same time before visiting the households to interview the community members. When the researcher visited the Chimanimani town, he utilised the opportunistic or emergent sampling technique when he discovered the Chimanimani Tourist Association (CTA). Although it was not on the list of functional CBT projects from the ZTA, the researcher discovered that it promoted the participation and empowerment of the poorest youth in Matsetso village through facilitating employment opportunities and training opportunities. It is run by Peza trust in which tour operators and tourists send funds to assist the community with school fees, purchase of uniforms and books, and in some cases, supplementary feeding. Thus, the researcher also interviewed some of the youth in Matsetso village who worked at the CTA and were being trained to be tour guides. Besides the youths the researcher interviewed the vice chairperson of CTA, and the interviews were recorded.

In Mutare district, when the researcher contacted the chief at the Nyagundi Resettlement area, which is involved with Mapembe Nature Reserve, he was advised to contact the Environmental Management Agency (EMA), the sponsors of the project. After a written request, management at the EMA decided that the researcher should visit the project during the day when they were going to have a meeting with the community so that it would be possible to interview the villagers after the meeting. After the meeting between the community members and the EMA management, the researcher started conducting the interviews. The traditional leaders were interviewed at the same time as well as the elected committee members. Community members from the same village were also interviewed at the same time. After interviewing the local people in the Nyagundi Resettlement area, the researcher then had the opportunity to interview staff at the EMA.

As for the Gairezi CBT project (Nyanga district), permission had to be sought from the Nyanga RDC before conducting the interviews. After submitting a written request seeking permission to conduct the interviews in Gairezi and with the Nyanga RDC staff, the permission was granted (Appendix 12) after numerous follow ups. After the permission was granted, the researcher was referred to the elected committee chairperson. All the elected committee members waited for the researcher at the project offices where they were all interviewed at the same time. The committee chairperson then assigned one committee member from Dazi community to move around with the researcher whilst conducting the interviews. Another committee member from the Nyamutsapa community was also assigned to move around with the researcher in that community.

From the Nyanga and Chipinge RDCs, only one staff member was interviewed. At Nyanga, there was only one tourism officer who was responsible for tourism development in the district. However, although there were much staff in the social services department, only one agreed to be interviewed. From both the RDCs, the interviews were eventually conducted after several follow-ups.

4.4.2.2 Direct observations

Direct observation is another crucial way of collecting data when doing case study research (Yin, 2014:113). According to Angrosino (2007:54), “observation is the act of noting a phenomenon, often with instruments, and recording it for scientific purposes”. Observation involves watching physical settings, participants’ activities, interactions, and conversations (Ribeiro & Foemmel, 2012:381; Creswell, 2013:166). Similarly, Merriam (2009:117) states that observation takes place in the setting where the phenomenon of interest naturally occurs. Therefore, during the in-depth interviews, the researcher observed the physical settings as well as participants’ activities. Observations are a source of evidence in a case study and data from observations usually complement information collected through other methods (Yin, 2014:115; Robson & McCartan, 2016:320).

Data from direct observations can be written down or mechanically recorded, and the data are considered primary (Merriam, 2009:128; Yin, 2011:143; Ribeiro & Foemmel, 2012:381). In this research, data from direct observations were mechanically recorded through photographs taken by a camera as well as note-taking. The researcher captured by camera some evidence of infrastructural developments observed during the fieldwork (Chapter Seven). Observational data represent first-hand pictures of events since they are done in a natural field setting, and this enables researchers to obtain contextual factors (Zohrabi, 2013:257). Observation is regarded as a valuable

way of data collection as what is observed may not be filtered by reports from participants or documents (Yin, 2011:143).

4.4.2.3 Informal conversations

Informal conversations involve the researcher talking with people in the field without an interview guide (Robert Wood Johnson Foundation (RWJF), 2008b). The RWJF (2008b) adds that informal conversations go hand-in-hand with observations. In this thesis, the researcher used informal conversations to utilise the opportunistic sampling method. For example, in Mahenye the researcher did not expect to meet the owner of Chilo Gorge Safari Lodge since he is not based in Mahenye. Thus, the researcher ended up having an informal conversation with him over dinner at the lodge. The researcher also used the opportunistic sampling method when he had an informal conversation with the manager of the Jamanda Community Conservancy Project. The researcher had not heard about this project, which was new in Mahenye. Informal conversations were also conducted with the CAMPFIRE director, CBT project employees, and local people in Manicaland. Notes were taken immediately after the conversations, as it was not possible to record them as they were done without any prior arrangements. Valuable information was obtained from these informal conversations, and the researcher took an opportunity to ask about relevant areas that were overlooked in the interview guides. The informal conversations were key as they helped in the building of rapport with community members as well as gaining their trust.

4.5 QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

Qualitative data analysis is a process (Nieuwenhuis, 2016b:109). In that process, data collection, processing, analysis, and reporting are intertwined (Nieuwenhuis, 2007b:100). It aims to establish meaning from perceptions, attitudes, understanding, knowledge, values, feelings and experiences of participants (Nieuwenhuis, 2007b:99). However, during the data analysis process, the researcher has to keep in mind the study's aim, questions and objectives (Nieuwenhuis, 2007b:100).

Data analysis in this study was first done through a content analysis of CBT projects in Zimbabwe (Chapter Five). After content analysis, data from the field (in-depth interviews, direct observations, informal conversations) was analysed by following a five stage qualitative data analysis process proposed by Nieuwenhuis (2007b:103-113; 2016b:109-122). The first stage involved the preparation of data in which a description of the participants was done (selection process, age, sex, marital status and educational background). Identifying pseudonyms were also given to each interviewee (Chapter Seven). Still under the first stage, the organisation of data

followed. This was done by creating folders on the computer where different data sets (interview data, observation data, and field notes) were kept. This was made easy by the pseudonyms given to the participants. After the organising of data, transcribing of data followed where the recorded interviews were played and written down word for word. This was done to avoid bias (Nieuwenhuis, 2007b:104; 2016b:115). The interviews were listened to for several times “memoing” in order to have insights on the various themes arising.

The second stage involved data coding, where transcribed data was read line by line and divided into meaningful units and then codes were assigned. After coding, the third stage of establishing themes was done. Related codes were combined into one theme and the major themes were established in line with the focus of the research. These themes include poverty, community development, community participation, and community empowerment (Chapter Seven). The fourth stage of structuring the analysed data then followed. This involved tracing connections and establishing how many people had the same perspectives and views concerning the different themes. Once this was done, the final stage of interpreting data followed. This entailed finding meaning and understanding from the data by moving between existing theories and presenting insights of the aspects that may enhance or question existing theory (Nieuwenhuis, 2007b:105). This was made easy by triangulation. The results from data analysis contributed to the development of the framework in Chapter Nine.

4.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethics plays a crucial role throughout the research process (Ryan, 2005:9; Hesse-Bibber, 2010:56). This answers the axiological question that has been discussed earlier. Often researchers need to obtain explicit permission from multiple individuals and organisations during the research process (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011:175). Before going into the field for data collection, the researcher sought approval from the university’s ethics committee by completing all the required documents and following the established procedures. After this was done, the researcher was allocated an ethics number EMS2016/11/04-0203, and an ethical clearance letter was issued (Appendix 1).

4.6.1 Ethical considerations in the field

After being granted permission to go into the field to collect data, the researcher still had to adhere to some ethical standards. For the interviews with government employees and specialist agencies, the researcher first approached the relevant offices to seek permission for conducting interviews with their employees. In most cases, permission was granted in writing (Appendices 8 to 12). After the permission was granted, the interviewees were shown the letters from the relevant authorities

allowing the researcher to conduct the research first (Appendices 8, 9 & 10) and they were then given the opportunity to read the consent form (Appendix 2) and ask any questions if they had before they signed it. The other critical ethical issue when doing research is informed consent. All the interviewees were given a choice to participate willingly. The participants were politely asked to sign the consent forms wherever necessary, as pressuring them into signing is unethical (Berg, 2001:56-57; Marvasti, 2004:135-136; Creswell, 2014:97). Yin (2011:171) also points out the importance of seeking permission when using recording devices. Thus, the researcher sought participants' permission for recording the interviews.

While visiting local communities, the researcher had to respect indigenous cultural norms and protocols. The researcher was required to get permission from the traditional authorities first. After permission was granted, the same procedures which were explained above were followed. However, in rural communities, there were some respondents who could not read and understand what was written on the consent forms. Thus, the researcher followed Monica's (2012) proposal that the researcher reads the contents of the consent form to the participant in the presence of a literate witness who then signed the form on behalf of the participant. The researcher also sought permission to take pictures from the respondents during observation.

Deceiving participants during the fieldwork is unethical (Christians, 2005:65; Creswell, 2014:98). Deceiving participants entails lying to them about the purpose of study or even the researcher's identity. Participants need to be told the truth. The researcher, therefore, made sure that the participants fully understood the purpose of the study and was truthful about his identity. Creswell (2014:97-98) argues that respecting the sites and avoiding disruption is also key in ethics. As all the visited rural communities had sacred sites and most of them used the environment as the key attraction for tourists, the researcher respected the sites by adhering to what the local people advised him to do in order to avoid disruption of such sites.

Research ethics also entails the need to avoid exploitation of participants, especially in cases they are used to assist in data collection. The researcher did not use any research assistants, but he gave a token of appreciation to the local people who moved around with him in the communities. Creswell (2014:98) suggests sharing the final research report with the participants as another form of reward. The researcher is willing to share the final copy of the thesis with all CBT stakeholders in Manicaland province as well as government offices should they request (see appendices). Another key aspect of ethics in research relates to the protection of the participants' identities. The researcher ensured that the identity of all the participants was protected by using pseudonyms (Chapter Seven).

As the researcher collected data through informal conversations, Swain and Spire (2020) posit that the respondents should be aware of the research. In this research, all participants in the informal conversations were informed that the researcher was collecting data for his studies. However, Swain and Spire (2020) argue that other ethical issues such as informed consent and the respondents' right to know that they are participating in a research study are not important as researchers usually decide to use data collected through informal conversations when they are analysing data. That is when they realise that some notes taken from informal conversations can be used. Likewise, the researcher only decided to use some of the notes taken from the informal conversations during the data analysis process.

4.7 THE RESEARCHER'S POSITION IN THIS RESEARCH

According to Berger (2015:220-221), the researcher's position may impact the research in three ways: (a) it can affect access to the participants as respondents may be more willing to share their experiences with a researcher they perceive as a sympathiser to their situation; (b) it may shape the researcher-researched relationship, which, in turn, affects the information that the participants are willing to share; and (c) the worldview and background of the researcher affects the way he or she uses the language and poses questions, and this may shape the findings and conclusions of the study. Likewise, Milligan (2016:242) postulates that it is important to consider how the participants view the researcher in the field.

The researcher's positionality is also known as reflexivity, which is "a concept that entails that researchers should acknowledge and disclose themselves in the research, seeking to understand their part in it, or influence on the research" (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011:225). Reflexivity entails self-evaluation of the researcher's positionality as well as recognising that this position may affect the research process and outcome (Berger, 2015:220). Reflexivity enhances the quality of the research by allowing researchers to consider ways in which their position may both assist and hinder the research process, thus helping to address negative effects of power in the researcher-researched relationship (Berger, 2015:221). Berger (2015:220) adds that "questions about reflexivity are part of a broader debate about ontological, epistemological and axiological components of the self, intersubjectivity and the colonisation of knowledge".

As an entrepreneur and a person who has worked in the tourism industry, the researcher positioned himself as an advocate of tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation and community development. He supports the growth of CBT and intends to promote community-based tours as a way of assisting communities benefiting from tourism. Positioning the researcher as an advocate

has the advantage of minimising the power differential with the participants (Breen, 2007:163). However, it is argued that a researcher's position changes during the research process depending on the situation and the people being interacted with (Merton, 1972:22; DeVault, 1996:35; Mullings, 1999:340; Mercer, 2007:3; Milligan, 2016:239-240). Since the researcher visited the communities to conduct in-depth interviews, he, at this point, considered himself an "insider" or a local who sympathises with the local poverty situation. This is also because the researcher stayed in Manicaland Province for a number of years during his secondary school education.

Yet, it was possible that in some of the communities, the researcher was considered a domestic tourist by the participants, thus an "outsider". The researcher had no difficulty communicating with the people since the province speaks Ndaou while the researcher speaks Zezuru. Both languages are part of the native Shona language that is spoken by the majority of Zimbabweans. Although there are some terms that are different between the two languages, the researcher mastered the Ndaou language during his stay in the province. Mercer (2007:3) argues that the distinction between the "outsider" and the "insider" is not obvious, hence insider and outsider perspectives are "two mutually exclusive frames of reference" (Olson, 1977:131).

The research design used by the researcher is advantageous in that it makes it possible to communicate verbally with the participants through the in-depth interviews. This helped the researcher to gain a better understanding of their perspectives and views. Some of the aspects missing in the literature were unveiled through the in-depth interviews as well as the observation.

4.8 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

The goal of any research is to produce valid and reliable knowledge (Merriam, 2009:209). In qualitative research, validity entails trustworthiness, utility, and dependability that is placed into research (Zohrabi, 2013:258). Therefore, validity evaluates the quality and acceptability of research (Burns, 1999:160; Zohrabi, 2013:258). Bashir, Afzal, and Azeem (2008:40) argue that "in qualitative research, validity has to do with description and explanation, and whether or not the given explanation fits a given description". Although there are many types of validity and different names that have been used to define them, they have been grouped into two major forms (i.e., internal validity and external validity) (Brink, 1993:35).

Internal validity is concerned with the congruency of the research findings with the reality and also deals with the degree to which the researcher observes and measures what is supposed to be measured (Zohrabi, 2013:258). Thus, it hinges on the meaning of reality (Merriam, 2009:213). External validity is concerned with the applicability of the findings in other settings or with other

subjects (Burns, 1999:160; Zohrabi, 2013:259). According to Morse and McEvoy (2014:7), a case study utilises several strategies to enhance validity. Triangulation is one strategy which can strengthen the validity of a research as collecting data from a variety of sources and with a variety of techniques can confirm findings (Mathison, 1988:13; Patton, 2002:247; Golafshani, 2003:603; Baxter & Jack, 2008:556; Merriam, 2009:216; Zohrabi, 2013:258; Morse & McEvoy, 2014:7). As noted, in this research, data were collected using three different techniques (in-depth interviews, direct observations, informal conversations). This enhanced the validity of this research. Validity in qualitative research may also be achieved by addressing the issue of the researcher's bias (Brink, 1993:36; Zohrabi, 2013:259). As every researcher has his/her own particular values, beliefs, and worldviews, this may create some bias and affects the validity of the research. However, this can be overcome by sticking to the ethical rules and principles of research and reporting the findings accurately and honestly (Zohrabi, 2013:259). In this research, the researcher followed all the ethical rules and principles before going into the field and in the field as well (see section 4.5). As the interviews were recorded by a voice recorder, the researcher tried his best to accurately and honestly report the findings as captured by the voice recorder.

Reliability is key in any research process (Zohrabi, 2013:259). It is about the consistency, dependability and replicability of the results obtained in research (Nunan, 1999:14). However, Merriam (2009:221) posits that "replication of a qualitative study will not yield the same results because human behaviour is not static". She emphasises that what is important is for the results to be consistent with the data collected. There are two forms of reliability, which include internal and external reliability (Zohrabi, 2013:260; Morse & McEvoy, 2014:7).

Internal reliability is concerned with the consistency of collecting, analysing, and interpreting the data (Burns, 1999:21; Zohrabi, 2013:260). For the four proposed strategies used to ensure internal validity (low inference descriptions, multiple researchers/participant researchers, peer examination, and mechanically recorded data) by Zohrabi (2013:260), this study used peer examination in which some relevant studies were utilised (Chapters Two, Three, and Five). The other strategy used was recording in-depth interviews with a voice recorder. This can make it possible to reanalyse or replicate the data by an independent investigator (Zohrabi, 2013:260). External reliability is concerned with the replication of the study (Burns, 1999:20-21; Zohrabi, 2013:260). It can be increased by five aspects, which include the status of the researcher, the choice of informants, the social situations and conditions, the analytical constructs and premises, and methods of data collection and analysis (Nunan, 1999:21; Zohrabi, 2013:260). As for the choice of informants, as recommended by Zohrabi (2013:260), the researcher fully described the

participants and clarified the poverty criteria used in this thesis (Chapter Seven). Thus, if an independent inquirer desires to replicate the study, it will be easy. The different methods used to collect data were also explicitly explained, which can also make it easy to replicate the research. Reliability (internal and external) can also be enhanced by triangulation and by the investigator clarifying his/her position in the research (Merriam, 2009:222; Zohrabi, 2013:259). This, as explained, was done in this research.

4.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has discussed the methodological approach that was adopted in this research. It has argued that the qualitative approach was the most appropriate as the research sought local people's views. The case study area of Manicaland has been described, and it has been noted that it has the potential to appeal to tourists as there are a number of attractions. The poverty rate in Manicaland province is high (70.6%) and there are 13 functional CBT projects scattered around the seven districts, making it ideal for carrying out research in the province. The two-stage research design has been outlined: the first stage involves a content analysis where project documents such as study reports, among others, were sought, while the second stage used qualitative methods in the case study area to explore the perspectives and views of the local people and key informants regarding tourism's ability to alleviate poverty and bring about community development. The data collection methods used include in-depth interviews, direct observations, and informal conversations. The data analysis process has been explained. The ethical considerations of this research have also been noted while the researcher's position has been clarified. The issues of validity and reliability of this research have been explained. The next chapter presents the findings of the first stage of the research.

CHAPTER 5 BARRIERS TO COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN ZIMBABWE’S CBT PROJECTS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the findings of the first stage of the research. This stage aims to achieve objective one of the research, that is, to examine the barriers to community participation and poverty alleviation in tourism as identified by CBT projects in Zimbabwe. This chapter is divided into four sections. First, an overview of CBT projects in Zimbabwe is discussed. The role of NGOs (both local and international) in the development of CBT in the country is highlighted. It is indicated that NGOs have mainly provided funds, facilitated institutional development, and helped build capacity for CBT projects. Next, a search strategy is described in which various terms and phrases were used to identify CBT projects around the country. Eighty-four projects were identified. Then a classification of the barriers to community participation was made. Barriers to community participation in tourism were found in 22 projects, the most significant being absence of land tenure laws and policies, lack of involvement of local people in the decision-making process, elite domination by traditional leaders, elected committee members, politicians and technocrats, and limited capacity.

5.2 AN OVERVIEW OF CBT PROJECTS IN ZIMBABWE

As noted in Chapter Three, initially, CBT projects were established through the CAMPFIRE programme. By 2016, the CAMPFIRE districts covered a significant portion of Zimbabwe’s land (Figure 5-1).

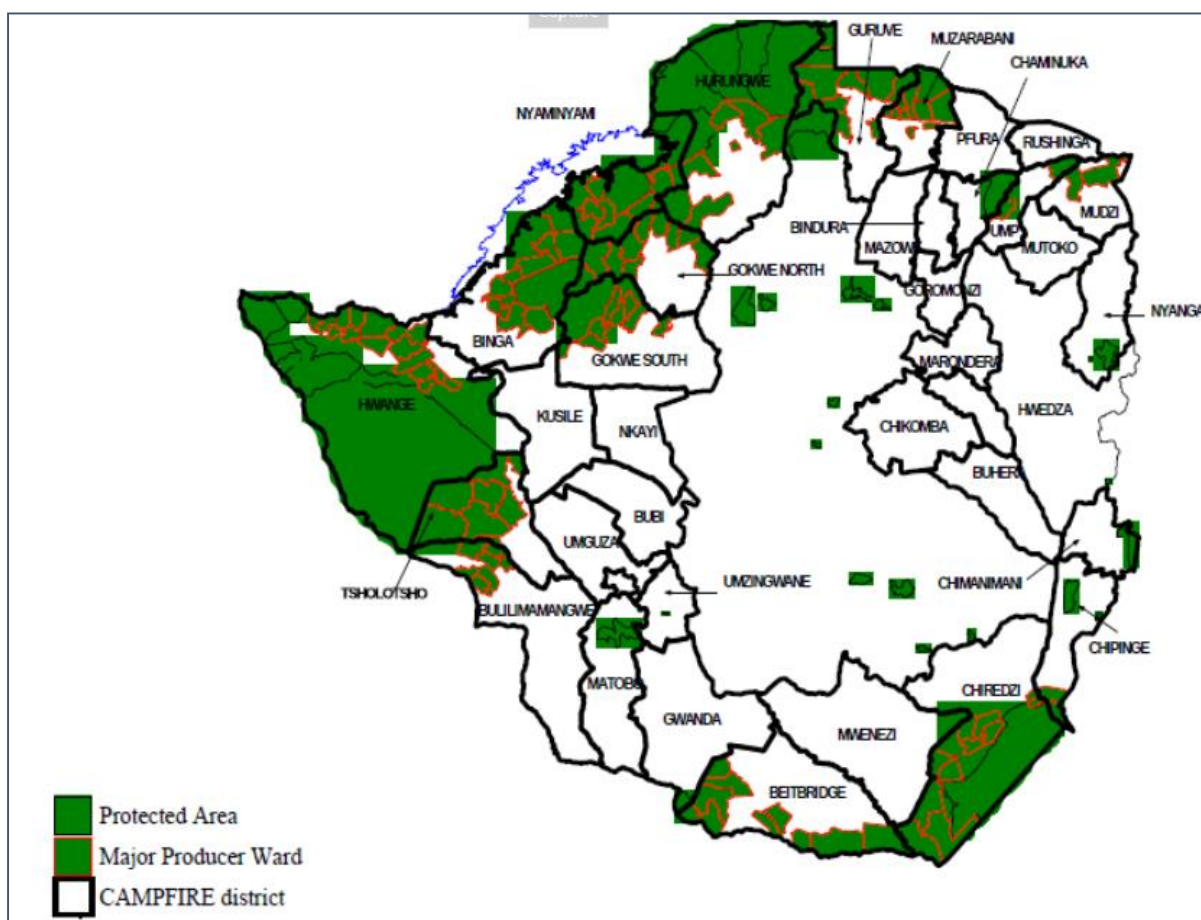


Figure 5-1: Zimbabwe’s CAMPFIRE districts 2016 (Source: GoZ, MoTHI, MoFED & KDC, 2016:56)

Although some scholars (Muzvidziwa *et al.*, 1999:3; Mazambani & Dembetembe, 2010:78-79) concur that there are four main categories of CBT projects in Zimbabwe, it can be argued that the categories are six: (i) those located in communal land and operated by communities; (ii) the ones operated by private companies and located in communal land; (iii) projects leased from communities and run by private sector operators who pay lease fees to the RDCs; (iv) those that are located outside communal land but still have established links with the communities in communal land; (v) projects in communal land but with access to National Park areas; and (vi) community-owned projects on communal land and run by individual members. By 2010, there were nearly 40 CBT projects that could be classified under any of these categories (Mazambani & Dembetembe, 2010:79).

The period of stable growth 1985-1999 (Chapter Three) encouraged the expansion of the CAMPFIRE programme as well as the establishment of non-CAMPFIRE projects in rural and urban communities (Madzara, Yekeyeke & Rewayi, 2012:4; GoZ, MoTHI, MoFED & KDC, 2016:55). Both the CAMPFIRE and non-CAMPFIRE projects can further be categorised as consumptive (trophy hunting) and non-consumptive (photographic safaris, cultural heritage and special interests) tourism projects (Chapter Three). The CBT projects found in the country's 10 provinces offer products that vary in type, institutional frameworks, level of project sustainability, quality, and sophistication. On the one hand, the density of the projects is a result of each province's natural and cultural resource base, while on the other hand, it is a result of the presence or absence of entrepreneurial champions in that area (GoZ, MoTHI, MoFED & KDC, 2016:55; MoTHI, 2016:47).

NGOs played a crucial role in the development of CBT in Zimbabwe. Although the term NGO is commonly used by academicians, it remains unclear what it encompasses and the current NGO works reveal diverse and even contradicting interpretations of the term (Vivian & Maseko, 1994:1; Martens, 2002:273). Makumbe (2015:43) argues that the definition of NGOs varies depending on the context. Michael (2002:3) defines NGOs as "independent development actors that exist apart from governments and corporations, operating on a no-profit basis, with an emphasis on voluntarism, and following a mandate of securing development amenities, embarking on communal development work or promoting developmental issues". According to the International Centre for Not-for-Profit Law (ICNL, 2018) and ZIMFACT (2018), in Zimbabwe, NGOs are divided into three organisational types: (1) Private Voluntary Organisations (PVOs) which make up the majority of NGOs in the country; (2) trusts which have unlimited objectives, are often intended to benefit an identifiable constituency, and are registered by the Registrar of Deeds under the deeds Registries Act; and (3) Common Law Universitas which are organisations that have members, a constitution and activities that are entirely for the benefit of its members.

Similarly, Tsiga, Hofisi, and Mago (2016:238) state that there are five types of NGOs in the Zimbabwean context: Community-Based Organisations (CBOs) which emerged during the colonial era and instilled a sense of participation and solidarity among the disempowered blacks; Service NGOs which offer technical services to other NGOs in the form of training, consultancy, research, project design and formulation; Intermediary NGOs that are involved in facilitating the activities of development within rural communities and have extensive geographical coverage; Trusts and Unions whose roles include fundraising and; International NGOs, which are funding organisations that support intermediary organisations in their work. Tsiga, Hofisi, and Mago

(2016:239) add that there is, however, a thin line in this classification as some NGOs that fall under intermediary (e.g., Action Aid, Care International) are also International NGOs. Thus, they add that this classification could be characterised by size and subset (Tsigu, Hofisi & Mago, 2016:239). The terms NGO and Civil Society Organisation (CSO) are used interchangeably in Zimbabwe, and the latter comprises of charity organisations, community-based organisations (CBOs), NGOs, trusts, and other developmental and faith-based organisations (FBOs), among others (Kuzhanga, 2013:1; ICNL, 2018).

The lack of resources to implement the CAMPFIRE programme prompted the government to seek the assistance of NGOs (Chapter Three). Their presence in Zimbabwe can be traced back to the pre-independence period (ZIMFACT, 2018). From the 1930s to the 1970s, NGOs were involved in burial societies, trade unions, and women's clubs. In the 1980s, they shifted their attention to women's rights, income generating activities, policy making, and human rights. The 1990s witnessed NGOs' involvement in poverty, environment, and post-ESAP issues. By the 2000s, the emphasis was on governance, constitutionalism, and policy making (ZIMFACT, 2018). As of 2000, 10% of NGOs operating in Zimbabwe were involved in poverty alleviation related programmes (ZIMFACT, 2018). The post-independence period has also witnessed an explosion of various NGO activities, which initially were largely welfare-oriented, focusing on disadvantaged groups such as orphans, the disabled, and the elderly. The focus then shifted to be more development-oriented and aimed at poverty alleviation (Muir & Riddell, 1992:82; Vivian & Maseko, 1994:3).

In Zimbabwe, the operation of NGOs has been governed by legislation since the colonial era (ICNL, 2018). Although NGOs played a crucial role in CBT development in post-independence Zimbabwe, the legislation governing their operation has not been favourable. The Private Voluntary Organisations (PVO) Act [Chapter 17:05] which governs their operation has been critiqued for its heavy state interference as it gives the Minister of Public Service and Social Welfare absolute control over the appointment of the NGO council, which determines the registration and de-registration of NGOs (Human Rights Watch (HRW), 2004; ICNL, 2018). After 2000, most of the opposition parties in Zimbabwe evolved from civil society (ICNL, 2018; ZIMFACT, 2018). This prompted the government to target NGOs through increased legislative and administrative interference as it perceived them as extensions of political opposition (HRW, 2004; ICNL, 2018). In 2004, the NGO Bill was enacted by the Parliament, but it was not approved by the President. The Bill not only maintained most repressive features of the PVO Act, but also introduced new provisions, which include preventing NGOs from receiving foreign funds for

human rights as well as disclosing the sources of their funding (HRW, 2004; ICNL, 2018). This has been perceived as the government's reaction to the United States and the European Union's sanctions after the controversial 2002 Presidential elections and the violent Land Reform Programme (HRW, 2004).

Despite this unfavourable climate, NGOs have been very instrumental in sponsoring the initial setup of CBT projects and promoting capacity building through the CAMPFIRE programme. Table 5-1 shows the major NGOs (both international and local) in alphabetical order that have been involved in CBT development in the country. The majority of the NGOs (Table 5-1) are registered under the three organisational types discussed earlier that define NGOs in Zimbabwe, and those not registered in Zimbabwe channelled their funds through the CAMPFIRE or other NGOs registered in the country. Nonetheless, most of these NGOs are no longer associated with the CAMPFIRE or CBT development in the country.

Table 5-1: NGOs involved in CBT in Zimbabwe

Non-Governmental Organisation	Responsibilities and activities
ACTION (Action Magazine) Duration: 1989 - 2003	Facilitated and supported the delivery of formal and informal training to strengthen CBNRM capacity through curricula development and materials provision and the availability of locally skilled trainers.
African Development Bank (AfDB) Duration: 2014 - 2017	Supported the Youth and Tourism Enhancement Project through: Funding workshops and training of CBT projects members; Funding the MoTHI and the ZTA staff trips to CBT projects to identify gaps and provide recommendations. The total amount allocated for the project was US\$1,500,000.
African Resources Trust (ART) Duration: 1991 - present	Monitored external policy regulation that affected the CAMPFIRE and provided information to decision makers worldwide; Currently supports the CAMPFIRE programme through promoting conservation and development in local, regional and international media; Also currently involved in the ecotourism project that is designed to establish an ecotourism network for East and Southern Africa.
African Wildlife Foundation (AWF) Duration: 2001 - present	Has four main programmes: applied science and research; land and habitat conservation; conservation enterprise; and capacity building, which is being implemented through the African Heartland Programme.
Australian Embassy – Direct Aid Programme Duration: 2015 - present	Donated US\$41,000 to support phase I of the Wildlife in Livelihood Development (WILD) programme which was used to purchase the hydro form brick making machine. The machine has been used to produce building blocks for the Jamanda Conservancy community project in Mahenye and the Naivasha Conservancy community project near Gonarezhou National Park.
Centre for Applied Social Sciences (CASS) Duration: 1989 - 2004	Provided support for the execution and analysis of baseline socio-economic studies at local and district level; Provided training to RDCs and community representatives; Assisted the establishment of socio-economic monitoring and evaluation of district natural resource programmes in order to enable continuous assessment of the impact of the CAMPFIRE programme; Provided critical analyses of existing policies; Provided research findings on prioritised CAMPFIRE related issues that had been researched, analysed, presented and published; and Provided advisory services.

Non-Governmental Organisation	Responsibilities and activities
Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources Association (CA) Duration: 1992 – Present	The CA was registered as a welfare organisation in 1992 to lead the CAMPFIRE programme. Its main responsibilities include: To represent and promote the interests of RDCs who have communities endowed with natural resources; To promote the management of wildlife and other natural resources for the benefit of producer communities; To work closely with various other stakeholders involved in CBT; Developing project proposals on behalf of CBT projects that are submitted to donors for funding.
Department for International Development (DFID), UK - Duration: 1989 – 2004	Provided funds for institutional support, and infrastructural development projects at the community level in support of the CAMPFIRE programme.
European Union (EU) Duration: 1989 – present	Donated Euros 12,000,000 to support CBNRM for institutional building, capacity support and applied research in 2016; Currently, the major funder of the WILD programme.
Frankfurt Zoological Society (FZS) Duration: 2015 – present	It is currently funding the WILD programme.
Ford Foundation Duration: 2003 – 2008	Funded the CAMPFIRE projects between 2003 and 2007 with an amount of US\$165,000. This was the period when most donors had withdrawn their support for the programme.
Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) Duration: 2015 – 2017	Provided funding for the resuscitation of CBT projects' infrastructure; Assisted the MoTHI and the ZTA with technical support; Produced the Community-Based Tourism Master Plan Targeting Poverty Alleviation, the Community-Based Tourism in Zimbabwe: Guidelines for development and the CBT manual in 2017 during the Youth and Tourism Enhancement Project (YTEP); Carried out a baseline survey of CBT projects around the country; Organised familiarisation trips for tour operators to CBT projects as a way of assisting the MoTHI and the ZTA to market the CBT projects.
Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD) Duration: 1989 – 2003	Initially provided funds directly to the CAMPFIRE and subsequently through WWF-Norway to support CBT projects; It also supported local-level natural resource management techniques and capacity building.

Non-Governmental Organisation	Responsibilities and activities
Safari Club International Duration: 1989 - 2003	Provided funding to support the CAMPFIRE programme's wildlife quota-setting methodologies.
Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources (SAFIRE) Duration: 1995 - present	Increased the participatory planning skills of RDCs, the CAMPFIRE partners, and district level officers; Increased the abilities of communities and local-level organisations to participate in natural resource management planning through its Community-based Natural Resource Management and Sustainable Agriculture (CONASA) project. Although at present not associated with the CAMPFIRE programme, SAFIRE is still very much involved in supporting various CBNRM projects around the country.
Sustainable Agriculture Technology (SAT) Duration: 2008 - present	Initiated, funded and is implementing the WILD programme which is aimed at improving socio-economic and ecological resilience in semi-arid communal areas of Zimbabwe through incorporating wildlife-based land use enterprises into the mainstream of communal economies; Donated computers to some CBT projects, for example, the Mahenye CAMPFIRE project.
Sustainable Tourism Enterprise Promotion Zimbabwe (STEP) Duration: 2012 - present	It supports CBT through research, capacity building, policy formulation, marketing, governance, product development, development of eco-tourism enterprises and landscape conservation.
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Duration: 2015 - 2017	Provided funds for the construction of the lodge for the Siyamuloba Biodiversity Ecotourism Project through the GEF Small Grants Programme.
United States Agency for International Development (USAID) Duration: 1989 - 2003	It has been the best funder of the CAMPFIRE programme. Funded the programme with more than US\$30,000,000 during NRMP I and II from 1989 – 2003; These funds have been used for the improvement of safari hunting districts with AA status. The funds have also been instrumental in diversifying CBT projects products by constructing non-consumptive tourism facilities (lodges, chalets)
United States Fish and Wildlife Services (USFWS) Duration: 1989 - 2003	Provided funding through the Safari Club International to support the CAMPFIRE's wildlife quota-setting methodologies.
Wild Africa Organisation Duration: 2015 – present	Responsible for funding and implementing the WILD programme.

Non-Governmental Organisation	Responsibilities and activities
Worldwide Fund for Nature (WWF) Duration: 1989 - 2003	Conducted ecological research and monitored the economic aspects of CBT projects; Provided technical advisory services to RDCs and sub-district levels; Provided monitoring and evaluation services through: Annual aerial census of all areas with large mammal populations. Monitoring areas and quality of wildlife habitat in the CAMPFIRE areas. Coordination of the CAMPFIRE monitoring and evaluation. Assessing the organisational development and institutional performance of CBT projects. The monitoring financial and economic indicators of performance, revenue generation and related marketing and management information conducted and an appropriate database established for the CAMPFIRE programme. Researched and disseminated information to assist natural resource management and land use planning in the CAMPFIRE areas; Provided natural resource management training.
WK Kellogg Foundation Duration: 2004 - 2008	Funded the CAMPFIRE projects with US\$350,000 in 2007.
Zimbabwe Trust (ZIMTRUST) Duration: 1989 - 2003	Facilitated institutional development; Provided training to district and sub-district levels to strengthen organisational, financial, management and administrative planning skills; Strengthened institutional arrangements for integrated CBNRM; Provided and facilitated the provision of specialist services such as environmental education, technical and socio-economic to district and sub-districts levels.
Zubo Trust Duration: 2015 - 2017	Provided funds (US\$70,000) to the Siyamuloba Biodiversity Ecotourism Project for the construction of Lodges. Provided training in business management and marketing support services for community-based tourism projects.

Sources: Metcalfe (1993:19-21); Arntzen *et al.* (2003:15-16); Taylor (2006:3-4); Mazambani & Dembetembe (2010:10-11); AWF (2011:1, 22); Booth (2016:3-4); AfDB (2017:1-2)

Note: International Development Agencies and Embassies are registered as NGOs in Zimbabwe.

The withdrawal of most NGO funding after 2000 put an end to the operation of most CBT projects (Abel *et al.*, 2013:13). Similarly, STEP Zimbabwe has scaled down its involvement with CBT projects as it has been hit hard by the harsh economic conditions bedevilling the country. The MoTHI and ZTA initiated the concept of township tourism in 2012 in order to promote CBT in the cities as a means to address the increasing poverty rate (Munyanyiwa, Mhizha & Mandebvu, 2014:184; Tsoroti, 2014; Mhlanga, 2017; Sibanda, 2018). The concept was not successful as the MoTHI and ZTA ignored all the aspects of PPT development and did not take into consideration all the necessary steps towards the enhancement of responsible and sustainable community development (Munyanyiwa, Mhizha & Mandebvu, 2014:184). The initiative is criticised for lacking wide consultation and participation of people in the suburbs (Munyanyiwa, Mhizha & Mandebvu, 2014:193; Tsoroti, 2014). Moreover, it has been denounced for being political as its main focus was the transformation of the former houses of liberation war icons such as the former President Robert Mugabe, the late Hebert Chitepo, the late Leopold Takawira, the late Ernest Nkala, among others (Majoni, 2012; Munyanyiwa, Mhizha & Mandebvu, 2014:184). The failure of the township tourism concept led the MoTHI to initiate the “Youth and Tourism Enhancement project” (YTEP) in 2014 with the aim of reducing poverty and youth unemployment through the improvement of the enabling environment for youth and tourism development (AfDB, 2017:3; GoZ, MoTHI & JICA, 2017a:12).

There has not been any systematic assessment of the CBT projects in Zimbabwe, although some research has been conducted on particular projects (Dzingirai, 1995, 1998; Ranganai & Zaba, 1995; Madzudzo, 1996; Nabane, Dzingirai & Madzudzo, 1996; Chikandiwa, 1998; Dube, Maphosa & Mhlotshwa, 1998; Hasler, 1999; Nabane, 1998; Taylor & Murphree, 2007). The emphasis of these prior research studies has been on the status of the projects, gender, and ethnic differentiation, or revenue distribution. None of them has examined the barriers to community participation and poverty alleviation. Aref and Redzuan (2008:938) hold that barriers to community participation in tourism have barely been debated by tourism scholars. A systematic search for project documents was, therefore, performed to identify the barriers to community participation in tourism.

5.3 SEARCH STRATEGY

This first step for the systematic search involved searching for key terms and phrases such as “the CAMPFIRE projects”, “community-based tourism projects in Zimbabwe”, “community-based natural resource management projects”, “trophy hunting”, “natural resource conservation” and

“community-based tourism”. These terms were searched from electronic databases such as Google Scholar, Google Search, MoTHI website, ZTA website, and online libraries of major funding and consulting agencies which were associated with the CAMPFIRE programme (e.g. CA, USAID, CASS, WWF, SNV, UNDP, ART, ZIMTRUST, SAFIRE, AWF, WB, AfDB, NORAD, DFID, Zimbabwe National Parks and Wildlife Management Authority (ZNPWMA), IIED). Documents sought included study reports, project fact sheets, evaluation reports (both mid-term and final), and inventory reports. Personal email correspondence, phone calls, and WhatsApp messages were sent to local tourism scholars, ZNPWMA, MoTHI, and ZTA staff to obtain other documents that might not have been available from their websites and the online libraries. Visits were also made to offices of some organisations as there were no responses from most of them. With organisations such as WWF, USAID, SAFIRE, NORAD, ART, and ZIMTRUST, the researcher was advised that the organisations no longer have any CBT department as they wound up their operations and staff has since left. At CASS, the person in charge of their resource room took a sabbatical and efforts to meet with him were fruitless. However, a number of documents were found in their online library. In total, 48 documents were found. Only four inventory reports by the ZTA, MoTHI, STEP Zimbabwe and JICA had information on the products offered by the CBTEs, date established, and the challenges faced by the projects. At the end of the search period, 84 CBT projects were identified. Those that did not state the barriers to community participation were excluded. Although the GoZ, MoTHI, and JICA (2017a) state that some projects (Tengenenge Arts and Crafts, Mukaera Arts and Crafts, Shona Village, Ejikweni Crafts Centre) were established as far back as the 1940s and 1960s, in this research only the projects established from 1982 were analysed, a time when the first official community wildlife programme was implemented in Zimbabwe (Chapter 3).

5.4 CLASSIFICATION OF BARRIERS TO COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN TOURISM

Tosun (2000:618-629) argues that barriers to community participation in developing countries may be divided into three categories: operational limitations, structural limitations, and cultural limitations. Tosun’s (2000) classification has been used in some previous studies of a similar nature (Aref & Redzuan, 2008; Dogra & Gupta, 2012; Mustapha, Azman & Ibrahim, 2013; Ushantha & Wijesundara, 2016). Tosun (2000:629) adds that in developing countries, the barriers may also be due to the political, social, and economic structure. Mustapha, Azman, and Ibrahim (2013:106) posit that although these barriers are found in developing countries, they do not exist in every tourist destination. In the present research, the barriers to community participation in CBT

projects in Zimbabwe will be analysed drawing upon Tosun’s (2000) classification, given that Zimbabwe is also a developing country. The classification is outlined in Table 5-2.

Table 5-2: Classification of barriers to community participation in tourism

Barrier	Description
Operational	These barriers are a result of operational procedures, where planners face obstacles in implementing a participatory development approach in tourism. Examples include lack of decentralisation, lack of coordination and cohesion, and lack of information.
Structural	These barriers result from the prevailing structural constraints which include institutional, power structures and, legislative and economic systems. Examples include attitudes of professionals, lack of an appropriate legal system that defends community interests and ensures community’s participatory rights, lack of expertise and qualified personnel resulting in an influx of employees from other parts of the country, elite domination, and lack of financial resources.
Cultural	Barriers under this category are mostly a result of cultural factors which include: limited capacity of poor people to handle development effectively (majority of people in rural communities have difficulty in meeting basic and felt-needs, and this limits them to get involved in issues of community concern such as CBT projects); and apathy and low level of awareness in the local community.

Sources: Tosun (2000:618-625); Aref & Redzuan (2008:938)

5.5 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Of the 84 projects identified, 22 were found to have barriers to community participation in tourism drawing upon Tosun’s (2000) classification (Table 5-3). Table 5-3 shows that the projects differ by location, funding sources/implementers, year of commencement, duration, and products offered. All of them are located in rural areas where poor people reside (Chapter Three). Of the 22 projects, 17 are the CAMPFIRE projects, while five are non-CAMPFIRE projects.

Table 5-3: Barriers to community participation in tourism as identified by CBT projects in Zimbabwe

Project name	Main activities/products	Operational barriers	Structural barriers	Cultural barriers
<p>Mahenye/Chilo Gorge CAMPFIRE project</p> <p>- Time: 1982 – present</p> <p>- Location: Manicaland Province</p> <p>- Sponsors/implementers: Chilo Gorge, GTZ, CA, ART, WWF, USAID, ZIMTRUST, Chipinge Rural District (CRDC), Mr Clive Stockil</p> <p>-References: Murombedzi (1996:13-14) Muzvidziwa, <i>eta al.</i> (1999:113-118); Madzara, Yekeye & Rewayi (2012:19); GoZ, MoTHI & JICA (2017a:25)</p>	<p>Trophy hunting, lodges, game drives, village tours, canoeing</p>	<p>- Lack of consultation by the CRDC during the selection process of the safari operator.</p> <p>- The CRDC delays in disbursing revenues to the community.</p> <p>- Revenue distribution decisions lie with the CAMPFIRE co-ordinator without consulting the community.</p> <p>- The hunting quota determined by the Parks and Wildlife Management Authority without involving the community.</p>	<p>- Elite domination by the traditional leadership.</p> <p>- Outsiders occupy managerial positions at the lodge.</p> <p>- Absence of laws and policies which promote land tenure for local people.</p> <p>- Fewer women representation in the elected committee.</p>	<p>- Limited capacity as the community members lack computer skills (e.g., donated computers by SAT were not used for a long time)</p>
<p>Masoka CAMPFIRE project</p> <p>- Time: 1988 - present</p> <p>- Location: Mashonaland Central Province</p> <p>-Sponsor/implementer: CA, WWF</p> <p>- References: Nabane (1996:7-10) Nabane, Dzingirai & Madzudo (1996:3) Muyengwa & Child (2017:33)</p>	<p>Trophy hunting, camping site</p>	<p>- The elected committee makes budget decisions without consulting the community.</p> <p>- RDC enters into an agreement with safari operators without consulting the community.</p> <p>- Quotas determined by the Parks and Wildlife Management Authority without the participation of the community.</p>	<p>- Falsifying financial reports and delays in disbursing revenues to the communities by the RDC.</p> <p>- Abuse of funds by the elected committee.</p> <p>- Ethnicity (the dominant ethnic group Korekore marginalises the VaDoma and Karanga the minor groups).</p> <p>- Gender differentiation (women marginalised during employment).</p> <p>- Elite domination by the elected committee and the traditional leadership.</p>	<p>- Limited capacity, as there is a lack of basic tourism and hospitality skills.</p>

Project name	Main activities/products	Operational barriers	Structural barriers	Cultural barriers
<p>Guruve District CAMPFIRE projects</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Time: 1989 – present - Location: Mashonaland East Province - Sponsors/implementers: CA, Guruve Rural District Council (GRDC) - References: Ranganai & Zaba (1995:6) Hasler (1991:3-9) Nabane (1998:103) 	Trophy hunting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Centralisation of power and authority by the GRDC <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Failure by the GRDC to disburse trophy hunting fees to local communities in Chapoto/Kanyemba Ward. - The community not consulted on how to use revenues from the project by the GRDC. - The GRDC signs contracts with the safari operators without consulting the communities. - Quotas determined by the Parks and Wildlife Management Authority without the participation of the community. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gender and ethnic differentiation (minority VaDema tribe got fewer benefits from the project than the majority Kanyurira tribe in Chapoto Ward). - Minority VaDema men not represented in the local institutions in Chapoto Ward. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limited capacity (e.g., Elected committee members in Chapoto/Kanyemba Ward not aware of their duties resulting in them absconding meetings and not contributing to any deliberations).
<p>Nyaminyami CAMPFIRE projects</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Time: 1989 - present - Location: Mashonaland West Province - Sponsors/implementers: Nyaminyami, Rural District Council (NRDC), CAMPFITRE Association, WWF, ZIMTRUST -References: Murombedzi (1996:120) GoZ, MoTHI & JICA (2017a:19) Muzvidziwa <i>et al.</i> (1999:141-146) 	Trophy hunting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - NGO partners (WWF and ZIMTRUST) created institutions that opt for highly skilled technocrats (e.g. the Nyaminyami Wildlife Management Trust (NWMt), the quota setting programme, and the environmental audit). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Absence of a legal framework and policy which grants land tenure rights to local people. - Most community members spend their time practising subsistence farming and fishing as they are the main economic activities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limited capacity (e.g., lack of basic tourism skills).

Project name	Main activities/products	Operational barriers	Structural barriers	Cultural barriers
<p>Bulilimamagwe District CAMPFIRE projects</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Time: 1990 - present - Location: Matebeleland South Province - Sponsor/implementer: Bulilimamagwe Rural District Council (BRDC), CA, ZIMTRUST -References: Nabane, Dzingirai & Madzudzo (1996:13) Bird <i>et al.</i> (1996:7-9) 	Trophy hunting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The BRDC enters into contracts with the safari operators without consulting the communities. - The Parks and Wildlife Management Authority determines the hunting quota without any community participation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ethnic differentiation (the minority San Bakwa tribe marginalised by the majority of Kalanga and Ndebele tribes). - Absence of laws and policies which grant land tenure rights to the local people. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limited capacity (community members lack basic management and marketing skills).
<p>Binga District CAMPFIRE projects</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Time: 1991 – present - Location: Matebeleland North Province - Sponsors/implementers: Binga Rural District Council (BRDC), CA - References: Conyers (2002:11-24); Dzingirai (1995:1-8); Nabane, Dzingirai & Madzudzo (1996:6); Dzingirai (1998:2) 	Trophy hunting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Training activities have been top-down in nature as they have been designed at the national level. - Quota allocations are done by the Parks and Wildlife Management Authority without community participation. - The BRDC enters into contracts with safari operators without consulting the communities. - BRDC not disbursing revenues from trophy hunting to the communities. - Community members sidelined in decision-making (erection of an electric fence in Kabuba village without the consent of the villagers). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Elite domination (VIDCO committee members elected by traditional leaders and a few individuals selected by the traditional leaders). - Misuse and abuse of the project revenues by the RDC and elected committees. - Absence of laws and policies which grants land rights to the local people. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limited capacity due to lack of basic tourism, management, and marketing skills).

Project name	Main activities/products	Operational barriers	Structural barriers	Cultural barriers
<p>Hurungwe District CAMPFIRE projects</p> <p>- Time: 1991 - present</p> <p>- Location: Mashonaland West Province</p> <p>-Sponsors/implementers: Hurungwe Rural District Council (HRDC), CAMPFIRE Association.</p> <p>-Reference: Bird & Metcalfe (1996:11)</p>	<p>Trophy hunting</p>	<p>- The HRDC enters into contracts with safari operators without consulting the community.</p> <p>- Quotas determined by the Parks and Wildlife Management Authority without community input.</p>	<p>- The marginalisation of women in the elected committees</p> <p>- Absence of land tenure rights</p>	<p>- Limited capacity due to lack of most basic skills such as management, tourism, marketing, and accounting.</p>
<p>Mamvuradonha Wilderness Ecotourism Lodge</p> <p>- Time: 1991 - present</p> <p>- Location: Mashonaland Central Province</p> <p>-Sponsors/implementers: WWF, Zambezi Wilderness Society (WSZ), CA, Raleigh International, Zambezi Society, Volunteer Service Overseas (VSO)</p> <p>-Reference: Muzvidziwa <i>et al.</i> (1999:141-146)</p>	<p>Chalets, trophy hunting, hiking, game viewing, waterfalls, scenic views</p>	<p>- Lack of consultation in decision making by the RDC when entering into agreements with private partners.</p> <p>- The NGO partners (WWF, WSZ) created a forum that has no representation from the VIDCO but commercial farmers from the surroundings.</p>	<p>- Lack of laws and policies to promote community participation and land tenure.</p> <p>- Elite domination (the private partner The Small World Back Packers makes all decisions).</p> <p>- Many local people spend most of their time practising commercial farming.</p>	<p>- Limited capacity as community members lacks basic tourism and hospitality skills.</p>
<p>Serengeti Ecotourism project</p> <p>- Time: 1991 - present</p> <p>- Location: Manicaland Province</p> <p>- Sponsor/implementer: Africa 2000, Makoni Rural District Council (MRDC), Mr David Jura</p> <p>-References: Muzvidziwa <i>et al.</i> (1999:133-140)</p> <p>Madzara, Yekeye & Rewayi (2012:32-35).</p>	<p>Accommodation and conference facilities, scenic views, caves, fishing, swimming</p>	<p>- Centralisation of power as the founder makes all key decisions.</p>	<p>- Lack of funds to finish construction of the conference room, but the community cannot get loans from banks due to lack of title deeds to land.</p>	<p>- Limited capacity due to lack of leadership, planning, and management skills amongst community members.</p>

Project name	Main activities/products	Operational barriers	Structural barriers	Cultural barriers
<p>Tsholotsho District CAMPFIRE project</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Time: 1992 – present - Location: Matebeleland North Province - Sponsors/implementers: CA, Tsholotsho Rural District Council (TRDC) - References: Nabane, Dzingirai & Madzudzo (1996:13) Mazambani & Dembetembe (2010:88) 	<p>Trophy hunting</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The quota setting is determined by the Parks and Wildlife Management Authority without community participation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Absence of laws and policies which grant land tenure rights to local people. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limited capacity as community members lack basic tourism and management skills.
<p>Mapembe Nature Reserve</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Time: 1993 - present - Location: Manicaland Province -Sponsors/implementers: Netherland Embassy, Environmental Management Agency (EMA) - References: ZTA (2015b:17-25); GoZ, MoTHI & JICA (2017a:28) 	<p>Rock paintings, mountain climbing, fishing, game viewing</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - N/G (not given) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Absence of laws and policies which give land tenure rights to local people. - Most people concentrate on tobacco farming and illegal gold mining. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limited capacity (lack of basic tourism, planning, and marketing skills).
<p>Sunungukai Ecotourism project</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Time: 1993 - present - Location: Mashonaland East Province -Sponsors/implementers: CA, Uzumba Maramba-Pfungwe Rural District Council (UMPRDC), ZIMTRUST, Embassy of New Zealand, Wildness Safari -References: Muzvidziwa <i>et al.</i> (1999:119-126); ZTA (2018b:7) 	<p>Chalets, camping site, hiking, fishing, game viewing</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The UMPRDC office in charge of bookings and marketing of the project. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The elected committee has few women. - Community members concentrate on illegal mining and subsistence farming. - Lack of financial resources to pay a joining fee to become a member. - No tenure rights for land ownership. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limited capacity as the community lacks basic tourism and hospitality skills prompting the UMPRDC office to make the bookings.

Project name	Main activities/products	Operational barriers	Structural barriers	Cultural barriers
<p>KoMpisi Cultural Village</p> <p>- Time: 1996 - present</p> <p>- Location: Matebeleland North Province</p> <p>-Sponsors/implementers: Mr Melusi Ndlovu, CA</p> <p>- References: Madzara, Yekeye & Rewayi (2012:15-16); MoTHI (2016:49); GoZ, MoTHI & JICA (2017a:33); GoZ, MoTHI & JICA (2017b:14-30) ZTA (2018b:1)</p>	<p>Souvenir shop, accommodation, traditional food, story telling</p>	<p>- N/G (not given)</p>	<p>- Lack of a proper framework for private-community partnership.</p> <p>- A limited number of community members drawing income directly from the project, prompting a majority of them to concentrate on farming.</p> <p>- Absence of laws and policies that give land tenure rights to the local people.</p>	<p>- Limited capacity as community members lacks pricing knowledge.</p>
<p>Vimba Ecotourism Project</p> <p>- Time: 1996 – 2012</p> <p>- Location: Manicaland Province</p> <p>-Sponsors/implementers: CA, USAID, SAFIRE, Chimanimani RDC (CRDC)</p> <p>- References: Muzvidziwa <i>et al.</i> (1999:93); Mazambani & Dembetembe (2010:88); ZTA (2015b:26-30); GoZ, MoTHI & JICA (2017a:28)</p>	<p>Chalets, Ndau culture, tropical forest, rare species of butterflies, birds and trees, traditional dance, mountain climbing, waterfalls, canoeing</p>	<p>- Lack of devolution of power and authority by the Chimanimani Rural District Council (CRDC) to the grassroots level.</p>	<p>- Lack of financial resources.</p> <p>- The low representation of women in the elected committees.</p> <p>- Absence of laws and policies which give land tenure rights to local people.</p> <p>- Most local people spent their time in their banana fields instead of participating in the project.</p>	<p>- Limited capacity as community members lacked the necessary skills to manage the project.</p> <p>- Low level of awareness of the tourist products and the benefits of tourism.</p>

Project name	Main activities/products	Operational barriers	Structural barriers	Cultural barriers
<p>Dumbamwe Sangano Ecotourism project</p> <p>- Time: 1998 – 2008</p> <p>- Location: Manicaland Province</p> <p>- Sponsor/implementer: Zimbabwe Ahead</p> <p>- Reference: ZTA (2015b:49-55)</p>	<p>Accommodation and conference facilities</p>	<p>- N/G (not given)</p>	<p>- Lack of financial resources.</p> <p>- The harsh economic conditions prevailing in the country since 2000 affected the revenues generated by the project.</p> <p>- Absence of laws and policies which grant land tenure rights to local people.</p>	<p>- Limited capacity as community members lacks basic tourism and hospitality skills.</p>
<p>Kabila/Saba Ecotourism project</p> <p>- Time: 1998 - present</p> <p>- Location: Matebeleland North Province</p> <p>- Sponsors/implementers: CA, Africa 2000, Binga Rural District Council (BRDC), Heifer Project International</p> <p>- Reference: Madzara, Yekeye & Rewayi (2012:27) Muzvidziwa <i>et al.</i> (1999:127-132)</p>	<p>Hot springs, birdwatching, game viewing, trophy hunting</p>	<p>- N/G (not given)</p>	<p>- Lack of financial resources</p> <p>- Lack of legal framework for land ownership, which is preventing the community from accessing bank loans.</p>	<p>- Limited capacity due to a lack of planning and management skills.</p> <p>- Low level of awareness of the tourist products and the benefits of tourism.</p>
<p>Sanyati Bridge Camp</p> <p>- Time: 1998 - present</p> <p>- Location: Mashonaland West Province</p> <p>-Sponsors/implementers: CA, Hurungwe Rural District Council (HRDC)</p> <p>-Reference: Madzara, Yekeye & Rewayi (2012:28-31)</p>	<p>Chalets, game viewing, bird watching, scenic viewing</p>	<p>- N/G (not given)</p>	<p>- Lack of financial resources since the withdrawal of the private partner in 2010.</p> <p>- Absence of laws and policies which give land tenure rights to local people.</p>	<p>- Limited capacity due to a lack of management skills by community members.</p>

Project name	Main activities/products	Operational barriers	Structural barriers	Cultural barriers
<p>Sentinel Limpopo Safaris CAMPFIRE project</p> <p>- Time: 2000 - present</p> <p>- Location: Matebeleland South Province</p> <p>- Sponsor/implementer: CA, Sentinel Limpopo Eco Safaris, Beitbridge Rural District Council (BRDC)</p> <p>- Reference: GoZ, MoTHI, MoFED & KDC (2016:62)</p>	<p>Trophy hunting, accommodation, game viewing, birding, village tours</p>	<p>- N/G (not given)</p>	<p>- Elite domination (a group of war veterans who were resettled in the area claim to be the leaders of the community's Pingwe Association, and when money for trophy hunting is deposited, it is not distributed to the whole community).</p>	<p>- Apathy as the CA and the private partner (Sentinel Eco Safaris) rarely involve community members.</p>
<p>Gairezi Ecotourism project</p> <p>- Time: 2002 – present</p> <p>- Location: Manicaland Province</p> <p>- Sponsors/implementers: USAID, CA, Nyanga Downs Fly Fishing Club (NDFFC), Nyanga Rural District Council (NRDC)</p> <p>- References: Conyers (2002:11-24) Taylor & Murphree (2007:47-61); Madzara, Yekeye & Rewayi (2012:18); ZTA (2015b:10-13); MoTHI (2016:48); GoZ, MoTHI & JICA (2017a:22); GoZ, MoTHI & JICA (2017b:14-30); ZTA (2018b:3)</p>	<p>Fly-fishing, hiking, camping site, chalets, bird watching, water rafting</p>	<p>- Centralisation of power by the NDFCC.</p> <p>- No transfer of skills from the private partner (NDFFC) to the community.</p>	<p>- Lack of laws and legislation that give land tenure rights to local communities.</p> <p>- Lack of basic knowledge about the tourism industry.</p> <p>- Communities not fully benefiting from the project due to the working arrangement with the NDFFC.</p> <p>- Lack of finance (a joining fee is required for one to be a member of the project).</p> <p>- Community members spend most of their time growing potatoes as it is a major economic activity in the area.</p>	<p>- Limited capacity as the educational background is considered when selecting board members.</p> <p>- Lack of management, marketing and tourism skills.</p>

Project name	Main activities/products	Operational barriers	Structural barriers	Cultural barriers
<p>Muni Lodges</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Time: 2002 - 2008 - Location: Mashonaland West Province - Sponsors/implementers: Makonde Rural District Council (MRDC) - Reference: GoZ, MoTHI & JICA (2017a:21) 	<p>Chalets</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of devolution of power and authority to the local people by the MRDC. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Absence of laws and policies which give land tenure rights to the local people. - Most community members spent their time practising subsistence farming. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Apathy - Limited capacity (Local people lack tourism and hospitality management skills).
<p>Ngomakurira Ecotourism project</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Time: 2002 - 2012 - Location: Mashonaland East province -Sponsors/implementers: CA, RDC, National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ) - References: Madzara, Yekeye & Rewayi (2012:25); GoZ, MoTHI & JICA, (2017a:9); ZTA (2018b:8) 	<p>Mountain climbing, rock paintings, ancient caves, bird viewing</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of devolution of power and authority by the RDC - Since NMMZ took over the management of the project in 2005 community participation was affected as the community was no longer consulted. - There were unclear governance arrangements for the proper management of the project. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of laws and policies that give land tenure to local people. - Lack of financial resources to complete construction of the museum - Lack of tangible benefits from the project made the community concentrate on subsistence farming. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limited capacity as the tour guides lacked professional training. - Apathy.
<p>Lupane Women's Crafts Centre</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Time: 2004 - present - Location: Matebeleland North Province - Sponsors/implementers: Bernard Sunley Foundation, Sulzberger Foundation, Canadian Fund Development Agency - Reference: Madzara, Yekeye & Rewayi (2012:14-15) 	<p>Accommodation, basketry weaving, tours around the craft centre and surrounding villages</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - N/G (not given) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A limited number of visitors due to the prevailing harsh economic conditions in the country. - Lack of land tenure rights. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limited capacity as community members has no training in hotel and catering management. - Lack of pricing skills for the crafts.

Note: International Development Agencies and Embassies are registered as NGOs in Zimbabwe.

As Table 5-3 shows, the most prevalent barrier to community participation in tourism, as identified in the projects, is the lack of land tenure rights since all the projects are located in communal land. Although the District Councils Act [Chapter 29:31] gives RDCs authority to administer communal land, communal land is vested in the President of Zimbabwe by virtue of section 4 of the Communal Land Act [Chapter 20:04] of 1982 (Muzvidziwa *et al.*, 1999:93; Child *et al.*, 2003:28; Mazambani & Dembetembe, 2010:71; Chibememe *et al.*, 2014b:22). The exclusion of poor people in developing countries from land ownership means that they cannot use their assets as collateral to raise capital. This means that they are denied participation in trade and production (De Soto, 2000:29; Creos, 2014:210). As an example, the Kabila/Saba and Serengeti ecotourism projects were denied loans by the banks to invest in the projects as they do not have title deeds to the land (Muzvidziwa *et al.*, 1999:131, 140). RDCs have the authority and responsibility to issue permits for hunting, harvesting of natural resources (e.g., fishing), as well as develop land use plans and make by-laws for the protection of natural resources (Mazambani & Dembetembe, 2010:71). The potential of CBT to alleviate poverty and empower local people through participation in tourism is undermined by the land tenure issue. The GoZ's inability to reform the land tenure laws seriously limits the resource autonomy objectives of the CBT concept (Murombedzi, 1996:14; Logan & Moseley, 2002:9; Magaya & Mandivengerei, 2003:2, Taylor & Murphree, 2007:63).

Limited capacity is the second most prevalent obstacle to community participation in tourism. According to Balint (2006:140), "capacity refers to the levels of competence, ability and skills necessary to set and achieve relevant goals". As Table 5-3 shows, most of the projects are characterised by a lack of relevant skills by the community members. For instance, the Gairezi ecotourism project has failed to diversify tourist products to include village tours and traditional dance because local people there lack competence and basic tourism and marketing skills (GoZ, MoTHI & JICA, 2017b:5). However, the community members keep sending their committee members to training sessions conducted by the CAMPFIRE, the MoTHI, ZTA, and some NGOs to acquire various basic skills such as accounting, marketing, management, among others (GoZ, MoTHI & JICA, 2017a:22). Meanwhile, some members elected to the wildlife committee of the Guruve district CAMPFIRE project had no idea about their duties and the reason why they were appointed. This resulted in the committee members avoiding attending meetings or contributing to any deliberations in the ward or wildlife resource management (Hasler, 1991:6-7). Similarly, lack of leadership skills, planning, and managerial skills has affected the participation of local people in some projects (e.g., Sunungukai ecotourism project and Serengeti ecotourism projects) (Muzvidziwa *et al.*, 1999:124, 131). Madzara, Yekeye, and Rewayi (2012:36-37) are of the view

that the lack of pricing skills has also limited the participation of local people in CBT projects. Muzvidziwa *et al.* (1999:131) recommend the training of local people in basic legal concepts so that they participate fully in the drafting of the partnership agreements when they get private partners.

The third most common barrier identified is the lack of devolution of power and authority. Originally CBNRM in Zimbabwe intended to give residents of communal areas a significant amount of *de jure* control of their natural resources and land (Chapter Two; Child *et al.*, 2003:69). This principle was compromised during the CAMPFIRE implementation as AA was given to RDCs and not local communities (ECI, 2002:16; Child *et al.*, 2003:69). Authority over natural resources in communal land stops at the level of the RDCs (Murphree, 1991:9; Murombedzi, 1996:14; Moyo, 2000:6; Child *et al.*, 2003:28; Jones, 2004:28). Thus, RDCs are responsible for contracts with the safari operators involved in hunting and also receive the income from trophy hunting (Mazambani & Dembetembe, 2010:71). Vorlaufer (2002:193) attributes this to the elected members' lack of adequate legal and economic experience to negotiate advantageous contracts. Although the RDCs are expected to devolve the revenues down to lower levels, this proves to be difficult (Dzingirai, 1995:1; Moyo, 2000:10; Mandondo, 2002:11; Jones, 2004:28). In Chapoto Ward, a safari operator paid money into an RDC's account for a hunting concession in 1989, but by September 1990, the money had not been paid to the community (Hasler, 1991:3-4). Besides the RDCs, some projects such as the Gairezi ecotourism project and the Serengeti ecotourism project have their private partner or founder holding power (Muzvidziwa *et al.*, 1999:133-140; Madzara, Yekeye & Rewayi, 2012:32-35). CBT projects were encouraged to form trusts in order to promote devolution to grassroots levels (Child *et al.*, 2003:71; Jones, 2004:28). The idea of trusts was believed to have been borrowed from Botswana after some district representatives and the CAMPFIRE Service Providers visited that country's CBT projects (Arntzen *et al.*, 2003:11). The trusts can gain land leases from RDCs, which places them in a strong position in terms of providing group rights over land and resources, thereby promoting participation (Child *et al.*, 2003:71; Jones, 2004:28). The Karunga Community Trust in Guruve District managed to sign a lease agreement with Ingwe Safaris and the revenues from trophy hunting were paid directly into the trust account and not into the RDC account (Arntzen *et al.*, 2003:11). Trusts are regarded as a devolutionary measure since they are created by an RDC, and through the Trust Deed, management responsibilities of the trust are legally defined (Child *et al.*, 2003:71). It is an autonomous body that has a legal *persona* and can enter into contracts with the private sector. Instead of RDCs managing projects on behalf of the communities and receiving the income for

disbursement downwards, trusts, elected by communities, manage the projects and receive the income directly (Child *et al.*, 2003:71). Nonetheless, some communities have taken time to appreciate the concept of trusts as by 2003, only 16 districts had registered their trusts, and of those registered, a few were functioning effectively (Arntzen *et al.*, 2003:13; Child *et al.*, 2003:71; Jones, 2004:28). Nevertheless, trust formation depends upon the willingness of RDCs to allow communities to take an increased management responsibility (Jones, 2004:28). Jones (2004:28) adds that trusts also need more capacity and support in developing appropriate accountable and transparent relationships between the trustees and the community members to be successful. As noted (Table 5-3), limited capacity is still a big challenge in most communities.

Elite domination is another impediment that prevents community residents from participating in tourism activities. As Table 5-3 reveals, elite domination comes in different forms, with each project being dominated by a different elite group. Some (e.g. Mahenye/Chilo Gorge, Binga district CAMPFIRE projects) experienced elite domination by traditional leaders (Dzingirai, 1995:1-8, 1998:2; Murombedzi, 1996:13-14; Nabane, Dzingirai & Madzudzo, 1996:6; Balint & Mashinya, 2006:813, 2008a:792; Mombeshora & Le Bel, 2010:8; Rihoy, Chirozva & Anstey, 2010:183), while others (e.g., Masoka, Vimba, Hurungwe district CAMPFIRE projects) are dominated by men as women are being marginalised (Bird & Metcalfe, 1996:11; Nabane, 1996:7-10; Mazambani & Dembetembe, 2010:88; ZTA, 2015b:26-30). In the case of the Mavuradonha Wilderness project, the private partner dominates (Muzvidziwa *et al.*, 1999:141-146), but the Sentinel Limpopo Safaris project is dominated by a group of war veterans who were resettled in the area during the land reform programme (GoZ, MoTHI, MoFED & KDC, 2016:62). In some other projects (e.g., Masoka, Bulililamagwe district, projects and Guruve district projects), the majority ethnic groups dominate their minority counterparts (Hasler, 1991:9; Derman, 1995:209; Bird *et al.*, 1996:7-9; Nabane, 1996:7-10; Nabane, Dzingirai & Madzudzo, 1996:13). Politics has also been attributed to elite domination (Mapedza & Bond, 2006:423). The councillor of Nenyunga ward formed what he called Force Committee to target those perceived to be pro-opposition of the ruling party. The Force Committee removed the CAMPFIRE Committee and set up a new committee. This new committee owed their position to the Force Committee (Mapedza & Bond, 2006:423). Nyaminyami district ward wildlife committee members were perceived as rubber stamps of the ruling ZANU PF councillors (Balint & Mashinya, 2008b:793; Mombeshora & Le Bel, 2010:8). However, lack of basic education by the local community members has contributed to elite capture in CBT projects (Muchapondwa & Stage, 2015:5). Indeed, donors can also in a way promote elite domination in CBT projects as they facilitate the development of institutions

that are typically top-heavy bureaucracies, which in turn negate local people's participation (Derman, 1995:207; Murombedzi, 1996:3; Mandondo. 2002:14; Muchapondwa & Stage, 2015:3). ZIMTRUST facilitated the formation of the Nyaminyami Wildlife Management Trust (NWMT) in the CAMPFIRE projects in Nyaminyami district, which opted for highly skilled technocrats to manage the programme and they ended up dominating the project while limiting local people participation (Derman, 1995:207; Murombedzi, 1996:12). Similarly, the WWF quota setting and the environmental audit programmes in the same district excluded local people in preference of safari operators (Murombedzi, 1996:12). Nevertheless, in the Masoka CBT project, the WWF's participatory quota setting included some community members although there was still a lack of participation and buy-in from most of the community members (Taylor & Murphree, 2007:40).

In some CBT projects such as Mahenye/Chilo Gorge, Guruve District CAMPFIRE projects, and Mavhuradonha Wilderness local people have not been consulted in decision-making regarding the distribution and utilisation of wildlife revenues (Ranganai & Zaba, 1995:6; Hasler, 1991:3-9; Murombedzi, 1996:13-14; Nabane, 1998:103; Muzvidziwa *et al.*, 1999:113-118). In the CAMPFIRE projects in Binga district, the safari operator decided to drill a borehole and erect an electric fence to control the game without consulting the community. The local people objected to this idea as they felt that they were ignored (Dzingirai, 1995:5). Likewise, in Chapoto ward, the RDC's 1989 financial report claimed to have distributed funds for the construction of Chapoto school but the local people including school authorities believed that the finances came from the District Development Fund (DDF) as they were not consulted in making decisions about how revenues from their wildlife could have been spent (Hasler, 1991:3-4; Ranganai & Zaba, 1995:7). Communities are also not involved in the selection of the safari operator to sell hunting quotas in their area (Mazambani & Dembetembe, 2010:71). In Masoka and Nyaminyami wards, the details of lease agreements are negotiated between the safari operator and the RDC (Murombedzi, 1996:13; Taylor & Murphree, 2007:37). Comparably, in the Chapoto ward, the safari operator signed a lease agreement with the RDC without the community being consulted (Hasler, 1991:3). In 1997, the elected committee from the Masoka CBT project made budget decisions without recourse to the general meeting resulting in an entertainment video facility project which became very unpopular with the community. The decision on the final determination of the quota is made by the Parks and Wildlife Management Authority in most of the CBT projects (Bird *et al.*, 1996:7-9; Murombedzi, 1996:120; Conyers, 2002:11-24). Murombedzi (1996:12) argues that the exclusion of local people in wildlife utilisation decisions has led the CAMPFIRE and the whole concept of CBT to be perceived as limiting local participation for the benefit of external interests.

In 1992, the VIDCO from Chikwarakwara refused to accept their wildlife dividends for 1991 as they felt that the RDC wanted to impose its own decisions on them (Murombedzi, 1996:13). The lack of local communities' participation in decision-making has been exacerbated by the government's interference by decreeing that the CAMPFIRE revenues must be used only on community infrastructure (Taylor & Murphree, 2007:25). This stance has been viewed as the government's indirect way of evading its duties since community infrastructure is usually perceived as a government's responsibility (Taylor & Murphree, 2007:25).

Communities are discouraged from participating in CBT projects due to the lack of funds which is being exacerbated by the harsh economic condition bedeviling the country since 2000. This has triggered the unavailability of funding for the completion of the construction of infrastructure for CBT projects (e.g., Serengeti ecotourism project, Ngomakurira ecotourism project). Some CBT projects, such as the Sunungukai ecotourism and the Gairezi ecotourism project require local people to pay a fee to become members. Thus, some people are declined to become project members due to the lack of funds. Revenues generated from the projects have also dwindled due to the prevailing harsh economic conditions, making people lose interest in CBT projects and instead concentrate on other income-generating activities, especially farming (GoZ, MoTHI & JICA, 2017a:12). The Masoka CBT project revenues dropped sharply from US\$31,620 in 1990 to US\$11,434 between 2003 and 2005 (Taylor & Murphree, 2007:22). This is also attributed to both the cash-strapped RDCs and the impacts of the land reform programme on the country's macro-economic performance since 2000 (Taylor and Murphree, 2007:23). Dogra and Gupta (2012:137) argue that participation in tourism requires time (structural barrier). The main economic activity in the communal areas in Zimbabwe is subsistence farming and, in some areas, commercial. Hence there is little time left to take part in CBT projects (GoZ, MoTHI & JICA, 2017a:35). This is the case with a number of projects (e.g. Mapembe Nature Reserve, Muni Lodges, KoMpisi, and Ngomakurira) where local people spend most of their time farming instead of participating in the projects.

The least prevalent barrier, apathy (lack of interest), is found in only two projects (Muni Lodges, Sentinel Limpopo) where the implementers have not attempted to involve local people in the day-to-day running of the projects. In the case of Muni Lodges, the Makonde Rural District Council preferred to involve private partners and not the community (GoZ, MoTHI & JICA, 2017a:21). At the Ngomakurira project, the lack of a benefit-sharing scheme between the community and NMMZ, as well as unclear governance arrangements, has prompted the

community to lose interest in participating in the project (Madzara, Yekeye & Rewayi, 2012:25; GoZ, MoTHI & JICA, 2017a:10).

5.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has presented the findings of the first stage of the research. It has indicated that the absence of tenure laws and policies is the most prevalent barrier to community participation in CBT projects, while apathy is less prevalent. Other barriers to community participation in tourism include lack of basic skills such as marketing, management and leadership; lack of devolution of power and authority to grassroots levels; elite domination; lack of consultation in decision making; lack of funds due to the prevailing economic conditions in the country, and apathy. The identified projects have implemented a number of measures, such as training of local people in various basic skills, the formation of trusts, and encouragement of local people participation in CBT projects to minimise these barriers. Based on the findings of this stage, the second stage seeks to examine the barriers to community participation in tourism and poverty alleviation through tourism as perceived by poor people in Zimbabwe. A description of the case study site of Manicaland province will be provided in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6 MANICALAND PROVINCE: THE CASE STUDY AREA

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This study examines the perspectives of local people in Manicaland province on the potential of tourism to bring about community development and alleviate poverty. After outlining the research methods and creating a research design (Chapter Four), Chapter Five has presented the results of the first stage of the research where the barriers to community participation in tourism were presented using a content analysis of CBT projects implemented in Zimbabwe. This chapter provides an overview of the case study area of Manicaland province. First, some background information about Manicaland is presented. Second, the development of tourism in the province is chronicled. Finally, the province's poverty situation is analysed. This chapter indicates that tourism is one of the key economic sectors in Manicaland. Yet, the province has a relatively high poverty rate despite its rich natural resources for tourism development. The local CBT projects have played a crucial role in alleviating poverty and bringing about community development by creating jobs for local people and developing the local infrastructure.

6.2 MANICALAND PROVINCE: AN OVERVIEW

Manicaland province largely covers the eastern highlands and the south-eastern plateau of Zimbabwe with an area of 36,459 km² (Zimbabwe-Info, 2018). Its name is believed to derive from the largest ethnic group residing in the province, the Manyika (Revolv, 2018). It is bordered by Mashonaland East province to the north, The Republic of Mozambique to the east, Masvingo province to the south, and Midlands province to the west (Figure 6-1).

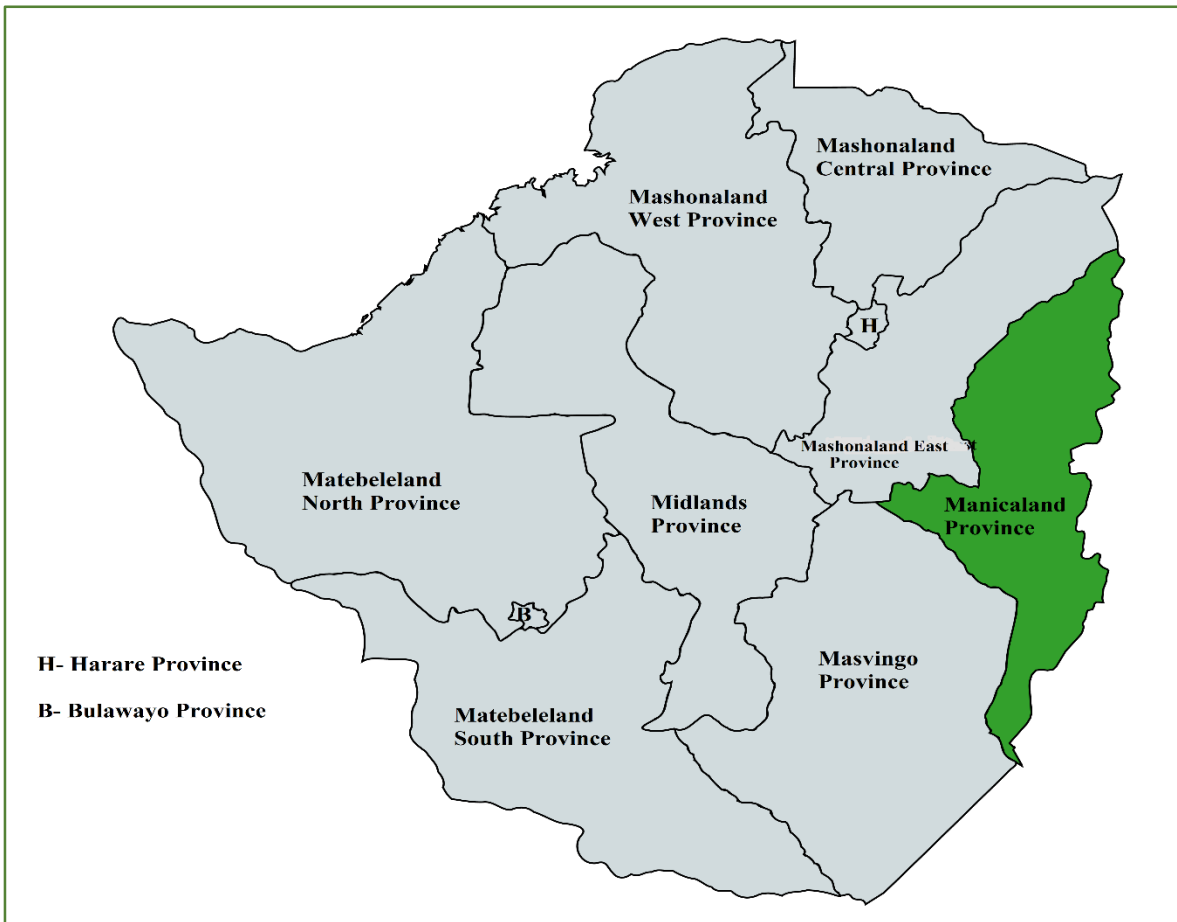


Figure 6-1: Zimbabwe’s administrative provinces (Source: Nations Online website)

Manicaland is one of the 10 administrative provinces of Zimbabwe, whose provincial capital is Mutare. It is the sixth largest of Zimbabwe’s provinces (Revolv, 2018). The province’s climate is generally friendly with an annual average high temperature of approximately 23°C and an annual average low temperature of 13.9°C, while the average annual rainfall is around 1,098mm (Pindula, 2018). Its topology varies from below 915m to 2,592m (Mount Nyangani, which is the highest in Zimbabwe). The bigger portion of Manicaland is mountainous with thick indigenous forests (Pindula, 2018). Ethnically, almost the entire population is of African origin, with a mere 0,23% being non-African. In terms of language, although the people of Manicaland speak Shona, the different districts have their own sub-dialects (Pindula, 2018).

Administratively, the province has seven districts (Chapter Four). Table 6-1 shows the population distribution in these seven districts as of 2012 when the last official census was conducted.

Table 6-1: Manicaland’s population distribution by district (2012 census)

District	Female	Male	Total
Mutare	235,265	214,480	449,745
Chipinge	174,443	149,690	324,133
Makoni	154,989	147,667	302,656
Buhera	131,772	114,106	245,878
Mutasa	89,199	79,548	168,747
Chimanimani	70,195	64,745	134,940
Nyanga	66,138	60,461	126,599

Source: Adapted from ZIMSTAT (2012a:5)

Manicaland is the second most populous province after Harare. Of the total population of 1,752,698, 922,001 are females and 830,697 males as of 2012 (Chapter Four; ZIMSTAT, 2012a:5; ZIMSTAT, 2012b:9-10). In terms of age, those below 14 years old account for the highest proportions of the population (44%), while the 70-74 years old age group accounts for only 1,2% (ZIMSTAT, 2012a:20). This could be because the fertility rate of the 15-24 age group is high (ZIMSTAT & UNFPA, 2015:27) and that child marriages are rife in Mutare, Buhera, Makoni, Mutasa and Chipinge districts (Kurebwaseka, 2017). About 56% (978,747) of the population constitutes those who can be employed (at least 15 years), and out of this population, 69% (671,876) are economically active (2012 census). Those who are economically active but are not employed constitute 6% (43,093). Students constitute 44% (132,353) of the economically active, while 20% (57,644) are retired, sick, or too old to be employed. The agricultural sector employs 60% of the population, while the service industry employs only 16% (ZIMSTAT, 2012a:16). Concerning education and literacy, 12% of the population aged 3-24 never went to school, while 62% attends school (ZIMSTAT, 2012a:15).

The province’s economy is mostly centred on diamond and gold mining, timber, tea, coffee plantations, and tourism (Revolvy, 2018). The GoZ has promoted the development of tourism in rural areas throughout the country as a means to ensure that rural communities benefit from tourism through the formation of CBT projects (Chibaya, 2013:85; Chapter One). The next section describes the development of tourism in Manicaland.

6.3 TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN MANICALAND

Evidence suggests that tourism in Manicaland began in the 1890s upon the arrival of the Pioneer Column in Mutare, which led to the establishment of the first European settlement in the province (Pindula, 2018). By 1895, the British South African Company (BSAC) had begun the erection of

infrastructure as Mutare had developed as a market centre prompting the opening of four hotels, some shops, banks, schools, and churches. The laying of the railway line in 1895 facilitated easier access to the province for travellers and business people (Pindula, 2018).

Manicaland is endowed with various natural and man-made attractions. Its four districts, Nyanga, Chimanimani, Chipinge, and Mutare, are popular with tourists due to their various attractions. Attractions in the Nyanga district include Mount Nyangani, the Nyanga National Park, the Rhodes Museum, waterfalls (Mutarazi, Nyagombe, Nyamuziwa, Nyamombe, Pungwe and Gorge falls), and Ziwa ruins (Zimbabwe National Parks and Wildlife Management Authority (ZNPWMA), 2017; Nyanga Rural District Council (NRDC), 2018). Tourist activities in the district include sky walking, and zip line at Mutarazi falls, rafting and kayaking on the Pungwe river and Gairezi river, mountain biking, mountain climbing, forest trails, fly-fishing on the Gairezi river, and guided birdwatching (Far and Wide Zimbabwe, 2016). Chimanimani district's main attractions include the Chimanimani mountain, the Chimanimani national park, waterfalls (Bridal Veil, Tesa's Pool, Muhohwa, Haroni, Mukurupira, Mutsvore, Mufandaedza, Caanan, and Mutangebanda), the Eland Sanctuary and Nyakwaha and Haroni Botanical reserves (ZNPWMA, 2017; ZTA, 2015b:33-46). In Chipinge district, trophy hunting is the main activity in the Mahenye area. However, there are non-consumptive tourism activities offered by Chilo Gorge Safari Lodge, which include game drives, birdwatching, village tours, and a visit to the Chivilila falls (Chilo Gorge, 2018). The Chirinda Forest Reserve in Mount Selinda is another important attraction (Zimfield Guide, 2019). Tourist attractions in Mutare district include the Vumba mountain, the Vumba Botanical Gardens, the Bunga Forest Botanical Reserve, the Mapembe mountains, and the Mapembe Nature Reserve (ZTA, 2015b:18; ZNPWMA, 2017).

Nonetheless, access to the province has been hampered by poor road networks (The Standard, 2012; Nyangani, 2018). Although the highway from Harare to Mutare was rehabilitated, the roads leading to the attractions have not been repaired. There are no scheduled luxury coaches as well as passenger trains, which can be used as an alternative by tourists. The province is inaccessible by air despite having 16 registered aerodromes as they are not functional and are in a dilapidated state (Our Airports, 2016). Efforts to refurbish the Grand Reef airport have been stalled by bureaucracy (Dapira, 2019).

There are a number of accommodation establishments that cater to tourists. As stated earlier, as early as 1895, four hotels had already been constructed in Mutare. The two-star Rhodes Nyanga Hotel was opened in 1933 (Experience Zimbabwe, 2015), and it targets visitors to the Nyanga National Park where it is located. The Leopard Rock Hotel, a four-star establishment, was

built in 1947 that hosts a casino, a conference venue, a game sanctuary, and a world class golf course (Leopard Rock, 2019). It is popular for hosting international golf tournaments as well as business conferences. In the same year (1947), the three-star Troutbeck Resort in Nyanga was built, which is famous for its log fire that has never been put out since it was lit when the hotel was opened (African Sun, 2016). The Troutbeck Resort has conference facilities, a golf course, a wedding venue, and trout fishing is done on the lake by the hotel. It has become an ideal conference venue, although families stay at the hotel during festive seasons. In 1949 another three-star hotel, the Montclair Hotel and Casino was built as a 64-bedroom house (Montclair, 2019). Other three-star hotels include Holiday Inn Mutare and Golden Peacock Villa Hotel. The Golden Peacock Villa Hotel was built in 2012 as a result of the Look East Policy. Many Chinese nationals who visit the province for mining business stay at the hotel, while Holiday Inn Mutare is well known for hosting conferences. There are other accommodation establishments such as the White Horse Inn in Vumba, the Chimanimani Hotel, the Aberfoyle Lodge in Honde Valley, the Musangano Lodge in Mutare, and the Chilo Gorge Safari Lodge in Mahenye. There are bed and breakfast (B&B) establishments such as Frog and Fern in Chimanimani, self-catering chalets that include the Gairezi CBT project accommodation facilities, rest camps (Rhodes, Udu, Mare), campsites, caravan sites and time shares (Blue Swallows) in Nyanga. Self-catering accommodation establishments have been busy during the past years with domestic tourists, especially school children. Over the past years, the ZTA has been recording the total number of rooms based on registered establishments (Table 6-2).

Table 6-2: Manicaland’s total registered accommodation rooms (2005-2017)

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Total rooms	671	671	696	-	714	714	714	781	781	781	781	781	781
Total beds	1,350	1,350	1,511	-	1,389	1,389	1,389	1,535	1,535	1,535	1,535	1,535	1,535

Sources: ZTA (2006:43; 2007:34; 2010:34; 2011:41; 2012:38; 2013:36; 2014:47; 2015a:39; 2016:12; 2017:14)

Regardless of the harsh economic conditions experienced by the country in over a decade, the total number of rooms and beds in the province increased from 671 to 781 between 2005 and 2012. This number has remained constant since 2012 (Table 6-2). This could be attributed to the continued rise in international tourist arrivals since the post-GNU period (Chapter Three) as well as the use of the United States dollar as an official currency, which helped stabilise the economy.

However, other establishments continued to face challenges, such as the Inn On Rupurura in Nyanga that was closed in 2017 due to declining tourist arrivals (Zimbabwe Expeditions, 2017).

Despite the many attractions and several hotels rated three stars or better, there is no tour operator that is based in the province. Several tour operators that offer tours to Manicaland are either based in Harare or Victoria Falls. Those based in Harare include Sustainable Tours and Safaris, Nyati Travel and Tours, Unique Travel Company, and Rockshade Car Rental and Tours. Other operators such as Africa-Zim Travel and Tours and Batoka Safaris are based in Victoria Falls. The busiest operators in the country such as Wild Horizons, Shear Water Adventures, and Wilderness Safaris do not organise tours to Manicaland as they prefer to concentrate on Victoria Falls. This could be the reason why tourist arrivals are low. Furthermore, the process of registering a tour business in the country is laborious, especially for those outside Harare. A tour operator requires several licences (7 to 13), and all the government departments which handle the license applications are based in Harare (Abel & Le Roux, 2017:135). Most of these departments have not embraced technology, with only the ZTA recently having launched the online application. The applicant has to visit the relevant departments several times physically after applying until the licenses are issued. However, in Chimanimani district, the Chimanimani Tourist Association (CTA) is marketing the district and assisting tourists with information on the attractions, activities, and accommodation establishments as well as providing tour guides. Similarly, Far and Wide in Nyanga district which initially started as an outdoor education centre for private schools, companies, families, individuals and church groups has since diversified and now offer activities such as zip line, rafting, sky walking and kayaking to tourists as well as books accommodation (Far and Wide Zimbabwe, 2016).

There is no consistent recording of tourist arrivals for the whole province. The ZTA has been publishing tourist arrivals for national parks as well as tourist arrivals to the Vumba Botanical Gardens only (Table 6-3).

Table 6-3: Manicaland province's tourist arrivals (1999-2015)

Year	Nyanga National Park		Chimanimani National Park		Vumba Botanical Gardens		Total
	Domestic	International	Domestic	International	Domestic	International	
1999	15,327	2,601	6,200	5,151	9,281	4,214	42,774
2000	20,471	1,006	2,979	909	7,840	3,425	16,159
2001	26,620	836	4,670	1,215	5,769	1,637	40,747
2002	20,428	424	1,656	189	2,039	268	25,004
2003	18,812	11	-	-	-	-	18,823
2004	1,525,040	65	-	-	-	-	1,525,105
2005	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2006	12,142	-	805	-	2,011	-	14,958
2007	12,330	-	419	-	1,880	-	14,629
2008	17,947	-	-	-	3,526	-	21,473
2009	11,792	-	1,427	-	1,322	-	14,541
2010	11,158	-	877	-	1,937	-	13,972
2011	-	-	2,324	-	2,136	-	4,460
2012	21,454	416	1,535	-	3,172	396	26,973
2013	1,704	85	1,997	405	2,473	337	7,001
2014	23,882	598	3,383	666	3,074	399	32,002
2015	20,675	467	4,712	662	3,405	412	30,333

Sources: ZTA (2002:21; 2003:9; 2004:14; 2006:48; 2007:38; 2008:41; 2009:41; 2010:41; 2011:51; 2012:49; 2013:47; 2014:55; 2015a:46)

The total number of tourists to the province over the years is difficult to ascertain due to the absence of consistent records. Nevertheless, the province is popular with domestic tourists (Table 6-3). As stated earlier, this could be due to the lack of airline connectivity which is exacerbated by bad roads to most attractions. Only 8% of the international tourists to Zimbabwe visit Manicaland, with Germany being the biggest generator. Other notable generating countries include Britain, France, and the USA. South Africans and Namibians prefer to drive (self-drive) (High, 2017). The Nyanga National Park is popular with domestic tourists especially schools due to the availability of self-catering lodges, which makes it a cheaper destination. Due to the province's popularity with domestic tourists, the peak season lasts from October to December, while the low season lasts from January to March. International tourists often come to visit from April to September. Despite receiving just 8% of the international tourists to Zimbabwe, the service industry is the second biggest employer in the province after agriculture.

In 2016, Zimbabwe adopted the Special Economic Zones Act (Chapter 14:34) in an attempt to attract investors to different parts of the country (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), 2018:30). According to the Act, “a special economic zone is a geographical region that has a policy, a legal and regulatory framework and an environment which is significantly better than the rest of the economy”. In the field of tourism, the MoTHI divided the country into 11 tourism development zones (TDZ) in the same year “as a way of identifying the investment needs of the tourism sector throughout the country, and detail the nature of such investment for the various spatial development zones” (MoTHI, 2016:16). TDZs are “designated geographical areas identified for increased growth in related businesses” (Waynesboro Economic Development, 2018). The 11 TDZs are endowed with a range of unique natural and cultural attractions. Two TDZs (the Eastern Highlands, which is TDZ two and Chimanimani which is TDZ three) are found in Manicaland while part of the Gonarezhou TDZ, which is TDZ, four is also in Manicaland (MoTHI, 2016:84). The Eastern Highlands (TDZ two) is dominated by mountains, forests, and waterfalls, and the tourist activities in the TDZ include mountain climbing, scenic drives, cycling, horse riding, fly-fishing, golfing, cultural tours, and soft adventures (MoTHI, 2016:74). The TDZ has 15 CBT projects of which only four (Gairezi ecotourism project, Mtarazi ecotourism bike rides, Hauna crafts, and Dumbamwe Sungano centre) were fully operational in 2015 (MoTHI, 2016:74). Currently the Gairezi ecotourism project is the only functional project that has played a crucial role in alleviating poverty as the local people are employed (Madzara, Yekeye & Rewayi, 2012:17; ZTA, 2015b:12; GoZ, MoTHI, & JICA, 2017a:24; 2017b:4). The accommodation establishments such as the Mutare Holiday Inn, the Golden Peacock Villa Hotel, Troutbeck Inn, and the Montclair Hotel and Casino are in TDZ two. The Chimanimani TDZ (TDZ three) is endowed with mountain ranches and biodiversity. The area is part of the Chimanimani Transfrontier Conservation Area (TFCA). Tourists’ attractions in the TDZ include the Chimanimani mountains, hot springs in Nyanyadzi and hence it is known as a nature-based TDZ (MoTHI, 2016:78). Tourist activities include mountain climbing, birdwatching, and hiking. In terms of CBT, the TDZ is well known for art and crafts activities (MoTHI, 2016:79). However, most CBT projects in this TDZ are non-functional except the Chibasani community project which is rather difficult to access due to bad roads. Accommodation is scarce in this TDZ: 55 rooms were recorded in 2015, most of which are B&B (MoTHI, 2016:78). The Gonarezhou TDZ’s (TDZ four) main tourist activities include game drives in the Gonarezhou National Park, birdwatching, trophy hunting and village tours. The Chilo Gorge/Mahenye CBT project is located in this TDZ. It has contributed to poverty alleviation as more than 90% of the employees at the Chilo Gorge Safari Lodge are from the local community. The project has also contributed to community development

through infrastructure development (ZTA, 2015b:31; GoZ, MoTHI & JICA, 2017a:27). Accommodation is even more scarce in this TDZ as only 40 rooms were recorded in 2015. Although the TDZ can be accessed by air through the Buffalo Range international airport, tourist arrivals are still very low since the period of land invasion (MoTHI, 2016:84).

As mentioned, tourism is the second biggest employer in Manicaland. The GoZ stipulates in the NTP that tourism can be a tool for poverty alleviation (Chapter Three), hence the promotion of tourism nationwide as well as CBT projects in rural poor communities in all provinces. The poverty situation in Manicaland is presented next.

6.4 POVERTY IN MANICALAND

Although Manicaland has abundant natural resources including diamonds and gold, 70% of its people are living in absolute poverty (Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC), 2017). It is believed that 1.2 million people live below the poverty datum line in the province (Zinyuke, 2017), and poverty is high in rural areas. Despite the absence of consistent poverty records, the poverty rate reportedly declined from 73.1% in 2001 to 70.6% in 2011 (Central Statistics Office (CSO), 2007:36; ZIMSTAT, 2013:i; UNICEF, WB & ZIMSTAT, 2015:10). The 2011 prevalence rate has remained constant until 2015 (ZIMSTAT, 2013:i; UNICEF, WB & ZIMSTAT, 2015:10). As seen in Table 6-4, poverty rates are high across all the districts where poverty is defined as “not having an income or consumption sufficient to support specific normative functioning” (UNICEF, WB & ZIMSTAT, 2015:x; UNICEF, WB & ZIMSTAT, 2016:viii).

Table 6-4: Manicaland’s poverty prevalence by district (2012)

Chipinge	Mutasa	Buhera	Chimanimani	Nyanga	Makoni	Mutare
86.2%	78.9%	78%	76%	73.7%	68.2%	60.7%

Source: ZIMSTAT (2015:18-36)

As Table 6-4 shows, Chipinge district has the highest poverty rate where the rural areas have a poverty rate of 93,3%. However, where there is irrigation the poverty rate tends to be lower (about 69.5%) due to farming activities (UNICEF, WB & ZIMSTAT, 2015:22). Although the Mutasa district has better infrastructure than the other districts (Revolv, 2018), it has the second highest poverty rate. Buhera district comes third with 78%. All the wards in Buhera have a poverty rate of over 65% due to low rainfall (UNICEF, WB & ZIMSTAT, 2015:18). Chimanimani district has a lower poverty rate than Buhera, with 76%. Semi-urban areas in Chimanimani district have lower poverty rates than rural areas (UNICEF, WB & ZIMSTAT, 2015:20). The poverty rates in Nyanga

district vary, with Ward one having the highest rate of 88.8% and Ward 29 37%. This variation could be because all the five agro-ecological regions in Zimbabwe are located in the district (UNICEF, WB & ZIMSTAT, 2015:30). In Makoni district, which has the sixth highest poverty rate, poverty is most prevalent in Ward 31 (86.1%) (UNICEF, WB & ZIMSTAT, 2015:24). The poverty rate is also high in rural Mutare (80.9%) (UNICEF, WB & ZIMSTAT, 2015:26).

ZIMSTAT's (2015) survey showed that there are 2,883 operating businesses in Manicaland. Of these, 179 are accommodation and food services. The survey also revealed that a total of 32,043 people are employed (22,852 as full-time, 5,054 as part-time, and 4,138 as casual workers) (ZIMSTAT, 2015:15, 21). Despite having quite a number of operating businesses, the main source of livelihood in Manicaland is farming, and the crops grown vary by district. In Buhera North, Buhera South, and Buhera West, local people rely on subsistence farming, and the main crops grown are millet, groundnuts, roundnuts, and maize. Small-scale subsistence cattle ranching is also practised, and there are several irrigation schemes to supplement harvests since the area receives erratic rains (Election Resource Centre (ERC, 2018:25, 28, 30; Revolvly, 2018). In Buhera North, about 300 people are employed by Dorowa Minerals, a phosphate mine, which is the biggest employer in the district (Revolvly, 2018). Nonetheless, Buhera Central has poor infrastructure, and most people depend on agriculture and fishing. They grow maize, millet, roundnuts, groundnuts, and water melons, while subsistence cattle ranching and fishing are maintained to increase food supplies (ERC, 2018:31).

In Central Chipinge, people rely on fruit growing for survival while the discovery of gold has resulted in illegal gold panning, but the level of poverty has been on the rise (ERC, 2018:1). Chipinge South's crop yields are generally poor because it lies in a valley. People rely mostly on humanitarian aid for food (Parliament of Zimbabwe (POZ), 2016:4). In Chipinge West, people mainly depend on subsistence farming and seasonal work at the Middle Sabi Estates and tea plantations in Tanganda. The area is underdeveloped, and the poverty rates are high (POZ, 2011a:3; ERC, 2018:3). Chipinge East receives high rainfall and thus, local people grow coffee, tea, and nuts for sale and domestic consumption while they also keep dairy cattle. The area is food secure, and its poverty rate used to be very low until the country's economy started to deteriorate (ERC, 2018:35).

Chimanimani town used to have a vibrant tourism industry, a mining industry, and a forestry industry that absorbed a large proportion of the labour force. By late 2013, it had collapsed and turned into a ghost town and as a result, unemployment peaked at unprecedented levels (Revolvly, 2018). Chimanimani West's livelihoods for local people are subsistence farming and

market gardening. Employment opportunities are limited as many factories, and diamond mines were closed due to the harsh economic conditions (POZ, 2011b:3; Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN), 2016:2; ERC, 2018:19). Chimanimani East has various wattle plantations, flowers and fruit estates where local people are employed. Gold panning has increased in the area, and local people earn some income by selling gold, while its proximity to Mozambique allows local people to cross the Mozambique border to buy basic goods that are in short supply for reselling (ERC, 2018:33).

In Mutare Central, the capital of the province, most local people earn their living by mining, both legally and illegally (ERC, 2018:23). Although it has the lowest poverty rate (Table 6-4), poverty is on the rise due to the land reform programme, which reduced production output and increased food insecurity (ERC, 2018:45). In Mutare West, subsistence farming and market gardening are the main sources of livelihood, but poverty is also rising due to the economic decline (ERC, 2018:48). Commercial and subsistence farming is the local people's main livelihood activities in Mutare South, while others are employed in the timber plantations. The infrastructure in the area is developed, especially roads that link the farms and plantations with markets. However, the closure of the Chiadzwa diamond mine has reduced the income of the locals (ERC, 2018:50).

In Central Mutasa, small-scale farming and illegal diamond mining are the main economic activities. The area is underdeveloped as the mined diamonds are not benefiting the community (ERC, 2018:5). Mutasa North has a good road network, which is deteriorating as it has been neglected for years. There is apple production due to rich soils, and the majority of the local people are employed in the vast plantations in the area (ERC, 2018:7; Revolvly, 2018). In Mutasa South, farming is the major livelihood activity (ERC, 2018:9). In Nyanga South and Nyanga North in Nyanga district, the local people derive their livelihood from working in the tourism sector or making curios for sale to tourists. Since tourist arrivals declined, many people have been retrenched, and poverty has increased as the terrain in the area is not suitable for agriculture (ERC, 2018:15, 56).

Local people in Makoni district's wards (Makoni Central, Makoni West, Makoni North, and Makoni South) earn their living by subsistence farming, while some are employed in the small businesses in the surroundings (ERC, 2018:37-44; Revolvly, 2018). Although electricity is available in Makoni North, subsistence farming remains the main source of livelihood (ERC, 2018:44). Local people in Headlands from the same district mainly practice small-scale farming (ERC, 2018:21).

6.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has presented a background to the case study area of Manicaland. It indicates that Manicaland is the second most populous province in Zimbabwe, where tourism is a key economic sector. Due to its rich resources for tourism development, tourism activities began in the province in the 1890s. Yet, tourist arrivals have remained relatively low due to poor roads and inaccessibility by air. This chapter also shows that the province is home to a large number of poor people. Most of the locals earn their living by farming, while some earn additional income from other activities such as fishing, growing fruits, working in the timber plantations, or mining gold and diamonds. Some CBT projects have been implemented with the aim of improving the lives of the locals. However, poverty rates remain high throughout the province. The evidence suggests that further research is warranted. The next chapter thus examines the views and perceptions of poor people in Manicaland regarding the potential of tourism to develop communities and alleviate poverty.

CHAPTER 7 RESULTS: INTERVIEWS AND OBSERVATIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the findings of the in-depth interviews conducted with local people and key informants in Manicaland and of the direct observations performed during the fieldwork. The findings will achieve research objectives two, three, and four while simultaneously providing answers to research questions two, three, and four. This chapter examines local people's perspectives on poverty and tourism's potential to alleviate poverty and bring about community development. It also investigates barriers to community participation in tourism as perceived by local people. This chapter opens with a description of the interviewee selection process and the interviewees' profiles. Next, respondents' perspectives of tourism as a means of poverty alleviation and community development are presented. Their perceptions of barriers to community participation in tourism and issues of community empowerment are then analysed. Finally, respondents' recommendations on what should be done for tourism to alleviate poverty effectively concludes the chapter.

7.2 INTERVIEWEE SELECTION

Snowball sampling and emergent or opportunistic sampling were used to identify the interviewees, because the target population was difficult to access (Tracy, 2013:136; Chapter One). Firstly, the researcher visited the MoTHI, ZTA, and the National Parks and Wildlife Management Authority (NPWLMA) head offices to seek permission to conduct interviews with their staff. While waiting for permission, the researcher held discussions with the CAMPFIRE director, the director of CASS, and the University of Zimbabwe's Department of Tourism staff. Based on these discussions, valuable advice was obtained concerning how best to approach the chiefs, village heads, and community members. The researcher was also given contact details of some chiefs, village heads, and elected project committee members.

Upon being granted permission, interviews were conducted with staff of the ZTA, MoTHI, and NPWLMA. The reason for starting with these informants was to get the contact details of community leaders who would assist the researcher in identifying potential respondents in the communities. From the ZTA head office, only one staff member of the CBT Department was interviewed. This staff gave the researcher the latest database of all functional CBT projects across the country so that functional projects in Manicaland could be identified. The researcher was then referred to their Mutare provincial office, where another respondent was interviewed. From the

MoTHI, 12 people were invited, but eight agreed to participate in the interviews. From the NPWLMA, 10 people were invited, but five agreed to be interviewed. All the three people who were the staff members of the EMA and were involved with the Mapembe Nature Reserve CBT project agreed to be interviewed while one interview was conducted with staff of Chipinge RDC. The only tourism officer at Nyanga RDC was interviewed. In total, 20 interviews were conducted with key informants; they were divided into two groups: agency specialists and government employees. In addition, informal discussions were also held with two more key informants where notes were taken.

The interviewed key informants provided the researcher with contact details of traditional leaders and elected CBT projects' committee members. When the chiefs and project' committee members were contacted, they promised to coordinate with the community members before the researcher's arrival. This was important as rural people often spent most of their time doing other livelihood activities (Chapter Five). In most cases, the researcher had to phone several times before the community members confirmed the dates and times most convenient to them. At Mapembe Nature Reserve, the chief advised the researcher to contact EMA's Mutare provincial office first to obtain permission because they were the project sponsors. A written request was made before the permission was granted.

It was important to establish poverty criteria to identify potential poor people for the interviews. As noted in Chapter Two, in this thesis poverty is perceived as a multi-dimensional concept which encompasses a lack of not only monetary income but also non-income aspects such as being vulnerable socially, economically, and politically; having no/limited voice in the decision making process; or lacking opportunities to participate in community issues. Vulnerability means "exposure and defencelessness. It has two sides: the external side of exposure to shocks, stress, and risk; and the internal side of defencelessness, meaning lack of means to cope without damaging loss" (Chambers, 1995:175). Three main qualitative methods were used to collect research data: in-depth interviews, direct observations, and informal conversations (Chapter Four). The traditional leaders were visited first in the communities to seek permission. After the permission was granted, a CBT project committee member, usually the chairperson, was asked to assist the researcher in moving around the communities and suggesting potential interviewees as he was deemed to understand the local living conditions.

As stated in Chapter Four, the interviews were conducted in four districts of Manicaland. In Chipinge district, local people in Mahenye village were interviewed while in Mutare district interviews were conducted with villagers of the Nyagundi Resettlement area. The other interviews

were conducted in Nyamutsapa and Dazi communities (Nyanga district) as well as Chibasanai village and Matsetso village (Chimanimani district). Local people were also divided into three sub-groups (community members, CBT projects' elected committee members, and traditional leaders). A total of 37 local poor people were interviewed in all the four districts. In addition, informal conversations were held with six more local people where notes were taken. Accordingly, 65 in-depth interviews were conducted with both the local people in Manicaland and key informants, where the latter served to enrich the former. Details of the 43 local people interviewed in Manicaland are given below.

7.3 INTERVIEW RESPONDENTS' PROFILES

As shown in Table 7-1, 34 respondents were male (79.1%), and nine were female (20.9%). The average age of the interviewees was 41 years at the time of the interview. The average age of females was 42 and males 41.

With respect to marital status, 35 were married, while six were single, and two were widowed. On average, each respondent had four children, where the biggest family had 12 children. A number of those with seven children or more were polygamous, and most families were extended. In terms of education, 19 had completed primary school, 17 had finished secondary school (ordinary level certificate holders), one had a high school certificate (advanced level certificate holder), one had a college diploma, and one had a university degree. The remaining four respondents did not go to school at all.

Table 7-1: Interview respondents' profiles

No.	Name pseudonym	Gender	Age	Marital status	Level of education	No.	Name pseudonym	Gender	Age	Marital status	Level of education
1	Shoko	Male	30	Married	University graduate	24	Mombe	Male	33	Married	Primary school
2	Danda	Male	43	Married	Primary school	25	Gonzo	Male	22	Single	Secondary school
3	Gore	Male	31	Married	Primary school	26	Nyundo	Male	22	Single	Secondary school
4	Madhuve	Female	27	Single	Secondary school	27	Bveni	Male	45	Married	Primary school
5	Inzwi	Male	46	Married	No education	28	Gejo	Male	41	Married	Secondary school
6	Tino	Male	46	Married	Secondary school	29	Chiwepu	Male	31	Married	Secondary school
7	Taku	Male	49	Married	Secondary school	30	Zumbu	Male	53	Married	Secondary school
8	Piki	Male	83	Married	No education	31	Nzungu	Male	30	Married	Secondary school
9	Feso	Male	38	Married	Primary school	32	Zviso	Female	50	Widow	Primary school
10	Hombarume	Male	39	Married	Secondary school	33	Chenai	Female	33	Widow	Primary school
11	Gweta	Male	53	Married	College diploma	34	Tsoro	Male	52	Married	Secondary school
12	Muwuyu	Male	45	Married	High school	35	Tombi	Female	76	Married	No education
13	Tsubvu	Male	48	Married	Primary school	36	Mufudzi	Male	31	Single	Secondary school
14	Zino	Male	55	Married	Primary school	37	Shanje	Female	43	Married	Primary school
15	Saka	Male	43	Married	Secondary school	38	Mbudzi	Male	52	Married	No education
16	Chipikiri	Male	18	Single	Secondary school	39	Huku	Male	46	Married	Primary school
17	Muti	Male	33	Married	Secondary school	40	Hwai	Female	37	Married	Primary school
18	Gonhi	Female	38	Married	Primary school	41	Katsi	Male	43	Married	Primary school
19	Tsvimbo	Male	55	Married	Primary school	42	Juru	Male	32	Married	Secondary school
20	Svodai	Female	32	Single	Primary school	43	Svosve	Male	28	Married	Secondary school
21	Rukova	Female	38	Married	Primary school						
22	Sango	Male	37	Married	Primary school						
23	Vende	Male	50	Married	Primary school						

Of the key informants interviewed, eight were male (36,4%), and 14 were female (63,6%). The average age was 37 years at the time of the interview (females 33 and males 46). Twenty of these were university graduates, while two had a college diploma. Local people's perceptions of poverty are presented below.

7.4 POVERTY AS INTERPRETED BY LOCAL POOR PEOPLE

Manicaland has the highest poverty rate (70%) in Zimbabwe (ZBC, 2017; Chapter Six). The term "poverty" may mean different things to different people in different contexts (Ditch, 1999:10; Chambers, 2006:4). It is thus important to understand local people's interpretation of the meaning of poverty.

Of the 43 local people interviewed, 34 perceived poverty as a lack of basic needs especially food and clothing. For example:

Poverty means a lack of food, clothing, and domestic animals (Danda, Mahenye village).

When one does not have clothes and farm implements, that person is poor (Shanje, Nyagundi Resettlement area).

A lack of basic needs for use in the day to day survival such as food, clothing, and having no shelter is what poverty is all about (Saka, Chibasani village).

I think poverty is suffering to the extent of failing to get enough food (Tombi, Nyamutsapa community).

Alongside the lack of basic needs, the lack of farm implements and/or domestic animals was also constantly referred to as a sign of being poor. This situation could be explained by the fact that farming is the main livelihood activity for many local people (Chapter Six). Many other respondents shared a similar view:

Poverty means not having enough food and not having basic farm implements such as a wheelbarrow (Shoko, Mahenye village).

If one does not have cattle, an ox-drawn plough and enough food then that person is poor (Tsanga, Nyagundi Resettlement area).

Poverty means not having equipment to use for farming (Mombe, Chibasani village).

These statements show that respondents appeared to prefer assets to income. This is somewhat consistent with Narayan *et al.*'s (1999:26) argument that poor people's main focus is on assets rather than income because they tend to associate the lack of assets (physical, human, social, and environmental) with vulnerability and exposure to risk. This understanding of poverty is, however, different from the perceptions of poor people in Elima, Ghana who defined poverty as a lack of income (Holden, Sonne & Novelli, 2011:325).

Besides basic necessities and farm implements, inability to afford school fees was considered as a sign of poverty as illustrated by the following statements:

Poverty is struggling to make ends meet and not affording school fees (Chenai, Dazi community).

Poverty means not affording school fees, clothing, and not having enough food (Bveni, Nyagundi Resettlement area).

Not having enough food, clothing, and school fees is a sign of being poor (Zino, Chibasani village).

Poverty is not having enough in life, such as failing to pay school fees and not having enough food (Tino, Mahenye village).

Although interviewees wished to see their children get educated, their poverty forced their children to abandon schooling. Most of them managed to send their children to primary school but failed to attain higher levels. However, those who managed to pay school fees struggled to buy books and school uniforms. The interviewees stated that they viewed education as crucial for accessing jobs and securing a better future for their children; thus, they considered it a means to break the poverty cycle. Nonetheless, some respondents said secondary schools were too far from their villages for their children to attend. In addition to education, five of the interviewees perceived poverty as a lack of knowledge, as illustrated by the following statements:

Poverty means not having knowledge (Muti, Nyagundi Resettlement area).

Poverty is a state of mind or lack of knowledge (Mufudzi, Chibasani village).

The above statements suggest the important role of knowledge (and hence of education as discussed above) as a dimension of poverty. This interpretation of poverty aligns with the World Development Report (WDR 1998/99) which considers knowledge, rather than capital, as a key to sustained economic growth and human development. Knowledge empowers individuals to act and transform their conditions towards improved QOL (Hjorth, 2003:385; Urquhart, Liyanage & MO Kah, 2008:205-206). Krumer-Nevo (2005:100) calls this knowledge of poor people “life knowledge” that, if incorporated properly in development policies, can be a useful tool in the fight against poverty.

Two people associated poverty with being unemployed:

Poverty means not having a job (Gonhi & Gejo; Nyagundi Resettlement area and Nyamutsapa community).

The researcher observed that the majority of the local people interviewed were unemployed, as only 10 were employed by the CBT projects. The dearth of employment opportunities was attributed to the harsh economic conditions being experienced in the country, which prompted many lodges in rural areas to close and the CBT projects to downsize.

None of the respondents had the same understanding of poverty as the GoZ (Chapter Three), suggesting that poor people's interpretation of poverty may differ from that of academics and policy makers (Chapter Two). The universal dollar-a-day measure of poverty (Chapter Two) may neglect the many important dimensions of poverty. Indeed, the interviewees' statements show that although income is important, other dimensions should be taken into consideration, such as lack of basic needs, farm implements and/or inputs, and lack of education and knowledge. Criticising academics' and policy makers' interpretation of poverty does not mean to undermine efforts to estimate the number of poor people but instead to emphasise that poor people tend to understand poverty very differently. This difference may hold significant implications for PPT, where much focus has been placed upon job and income creation. The next section presents the causes of poverty, according to local people.

7.5 THE CAUSES OF POVERTY ACCORDING TO LOCAL POOR PEOPLE

Hunt (1996:293) claimed that beliefs about the causes of poverty differed across race and ethnic groups. Similarly, Narayan *et al.* (1999:27) argued that the perceived causes of poverty were affected by one's status and location. Of the 43 local people interviewed, 23 attributed poverty to external causes, such as limited employment opportunities, bad weather, wild animals, lack of farm implements, and their peripheral location. Nine people ascribed poverty to internal causes, including the lack of education and knowledge as well as laziness. The remaining 11 ascribed poverty to both internal and external causes.

Although most interviewees' main livelihood activity was subsistence farming when asked about the main causes of poverty, they often mentioned the lack of employment:

The main cause of poverty in our community is the absence of companies to employ the people (Feso, Mahenye village).

We are poor because there are no employment opportunities. There are people who hold various professional qualifications, but they are still unemployed (Gonzo, Matsetso village).

Poverty is caused by the scarce employment opportunities we have and is exacerbated by the lack of assistance from any organisation (Svodai, Chibasani village).

The above statements concur with the International Labour Organisation's (ILO) (2008:1) view that poverty is related to unequal access to employment opportunities. Gonzo's statement was confirmed by the researcher's observation in the Mahenye village, where one of the committee members was a degree holder but was not employed. The interviewees also indicated that although they survived by farming, they needed income to buy agricultural inputs and farm implements; hence, they considered unemployment as a cause of poverty. Others living in Mapembe and

Mahenye (NR III; Chapter Six), where the rains are erratic, highlighted the need to have employment in order to earn some income. The above statements are also in line with Addae-Korankye (2014:150), who asserts that inadequate employment opportunities in sub-Saharan Africa are one of the main causes of poverty.

Peripherality was regarded as another cause of poverty. For instance:

Since we are far away from the road network, there is no development in our community and this contributes to poverty (Sango & Tsubvu; Chibasani village and Nyagundi Resettlement area).

We are located far away from schools and the major roads, and this is the reason why there is widespread poverty in this community (Rukova, Chibasani village).

These above comments confirm what has been highlighted in Chapter Two that poor rural communities in Africa are located on the national physical margins and in areas of physical isolation where they are marginalised when it comes to development. Svodai and Rukova in Chibasani village further elaborated on how peripherality contributed to their poverty by stating that “*We are failing to sell our farm produce as we do not have access to markets due to our location; thus, we remain poor*”. They, therefore, had to resort to barter trade with fellow community members. Narayan *et al.* (2000:49) reported that poor people in many countries faced difficulties accessing markets. The researcher observed that besides making it difficult for local people to access markets, peripherality also affected tourist arrivals as the roads were only suitable for 4X4 vehicles. This was even more difficult in the rainy season, when the roads became slippery.

Meanwhile, the other respondents ascribed bad weather, notably drought, as the cause of poverty. Shoko commented:

If we don't receive enough rainfall, people will not harvest enough to feed their families and that causes poverty.

Although Manicaland has all the five agro-ecological zones found in Zimbabwe, parts of the other districts such as Mutare (Nyagundi Resettlement area) and Chipinge (Mahenye communal area) fall under the NRs III and IV. These districts receive an average rainfall of 450-500mm per annum which makes farming negligible (Murphree, 2000b:182; Vorlaufer, 2002:188-89; Mudzengi & Chiutsi, 2014:309). This perception of the causes of poverty resonates with and helps explain many interviewees' definition of poverty as the lack of food discussed earlier.

Danda in Mahenye village said wild animals were the main cause of poverty:

Wild animals are causing poverty in this community: lions are feeding on our domestic animals, while elephants are destroying our crops.

Some research (Gandiwa *et al.*, 2013:6-7) concluded that 85% of the people who lived close to national parks experienced crop damage and livestock attacks by large carnivores. Crop damage has been identified as the most prevalent form of HWC in Africa, whilst the attack on domestic animals by predators is regarded as adverse (Lamarque *et al.*, 2009:8, 11). When a follow-up question was asked on why crop raids were not reported to the NPWLMA and the RDC, the response was that it did not help because both took long to respond, and at times they did not respond at all. This confirms de Garine-Wichatitsky *et al.*'s (2013:138-139) view that most crop damages are no longer reported by rural communities as the NPWLMA and the RDCs have become less responsive to issues of HWC. Similarly, Conyers (2002:21) argues that the system of problem animal control (PAC) used in the CAMPFIRE districts is ineffective as RDCs do not have resources to attend to all PAC reports.

Besides being regarded as a sign of poverty, the lack of farm implements was also mentioned as a cause of poverty in Manicaland. Since the main source of livelihood is farming, the lack of farm implements or inputs results in food shortage. Chiwepu in the Nyamutsapa community stated that "*I believe poverty is caused by lack of farm implements*". Similarly, Zviso in Dazi community commented:

Poverty is caused by a lack of farming inputs such as fertiliser.

Chenai in the same community, narrated that "*Not affording to buy potato seedlings is the main cause of poverty in this community*". Since most respondents who mentioned the lack of farm implements as the cause of poverty lived in Nyanga district, it could be the reason why members of the Gairezi ecotourism project preferred to get fertiliser and maize seeds instead of household income as benefits from the project (Taylor, 2009b:218; GoZ, MoTHI & JICA, 2017b:24).

Limited education was also mentioned as the cause of poverty, for example:

We are poor because we are not educated. All the managerial positions at Chilo Gorge Safari Lodge are taken by outsiders. When the lodge was established, the agreement was that all the employees should come from the community, but because we are not educated, most of the vacancies end up being occupied by outsiders (Taku, Mahenye village).

Education has been considered a key to poverty alleviation (Bigsten, 2007:292; van der Berg, 2008:4; Chapter Two). At Chilo Gorge Safari Lodge, the researcher observed that managerial jobs were occupied by outsiders, with tour guiding being the highest position occupied by a local as local people were not educated enough to take the posts. It is easy to understand why some respondents stated that the lack of knowledge was the main cause of poverty, given their limited access to education:

Our land is blessed with a lot of natural resources, but we remain poor because we lack knowledge to fully utilise them (Muti, Nyagundi Resettlement area).

Muti, who defined poverty as a lack of knowledge, also regarded limited knowledge to utilise natural resources as the main cause of poverty. Chapter Two has shown that indigenous people's IK may be useful in the sustainable use of natural resources. Likewise, Eyong (2007:129) provided an example of Central African people who used their IK to extract natural resources sustainably. Therefore, Narayan *et al.* (2000:232) posit that poor people need access to knowledge and opportunities instead of charity to fight poverty.

Nonetheless, three respondents stated that laziness was the main cause of poverty:

Although we managed to get irrigation equipment from a donor to use in the community garden, some people are still unable to feed their families since they are lazy (Sango, Chibasani village).

Our area does not receive much rainfall, but some of us have embarked on tobacco farming, which is generating enough revenue for us to take care of our families. However, others complain that tobacco farming requires much labour because they are lazy; thus, they remain poor (Gonhi, Nyagundi Resettlement area).

I believe laziness is the cause of poverty in our community. As we receive enough rains, those who work hard always harvest plenty of potatoes, which are bought by customers who come from all over the country (Nzungu, Nyamutsapa community).

The above statements are in accordance with the perceptions of some poor people in Sapa, Vietnam, who were of the view that working hard in the rice fields would help lift them out of poverty (Truong, 2014a:167; Truong, Hall & Garry, 2014:1078).

To the contrary, the researcher observed that despite the majority of local people having big families, they did not consider this as exacerbating poverty:

I have one wife and one child, but I live with 22 children who were left by my late father, who was a polygamist (Gore, Mahenye village).

Despite being in that predicament, Gore considered limited education as the main cause of poverty rather than having a big family. While the UNFPA (2012:12) argues that smaller families have greater chances of rising out of poverty, none of the interviewees mentioned having a big family as a possible contributor to poverty. To alleviate poverty, the GoZ has promoted tourism development, particularly in rural areas (Chapters One and Chapter Three). The next section presents local poor people's perceptions of tourism as a means of poverty alleviation.

7.6 PERCEPTIONS OF TOURISM AS A MEANS OF POVERTY ALLEVIATION

Tourism has been regarded as a poverty alleviation strategy in some rural areas (Chapter One). Zimbabwe's NTP emphasises the need to promote the development of marginalised communities, and the empowerment of the youth and women in rural areas as a way of addressing rampant poverty in these communities (Chapter Three).

The GoZ established CBT projects in poor rural communities to alleviate poverty. Thus, rural people took this opportunity to be involved in various tourism-related activities in order to benefit either directly or indirectly from tourism.

When asked whether they perceived tourism as a means of poverty alleviation, 31 considered tourism to be a tool of poverty alleviation, and nine did not consider tourism to be effective in alleviating poverty, while three stated that it could not be depended upon as a tool for poverty reduction. The researcher observed that those who regarded tourism as a potential tool for poverty alleviation were either employed formally by the CBT projects, sold curios and crafts to tourists, performed traditional dances for tourists or received disbursements in the form of fertilisers and maize seeds from the projects:

Tourism can be a tool for poverty alleviation. For example, 33 people in the community are currently employed at Chilo Gorge Safari Lodge. Besides the CAMPFIRE project, we have a new project Jamanda which has just been launched and already employed a number of people in the community with promises to employ more when in full operation (Inzwi & Hombarume; Mahenye village).

When tourists come, a market has been created for our curios, and we earn money to take care of our families (Saka & Mombe; Chibasani village).

Tourism is doing a lot in this community to alleviate poverty as local people are employed at the chalets as housekeepers and others as river wardens by the project while the rest of the project members get fertiliser and maize seeds at the end of the year as disbursements. (Chenai, Zumbu & Nzungu; Dazi and Nyamutsapa communities).

Danda in Mahenye village indicated that revenues generated from tourism had been used to pay school fees for orphans, and hence he regarded tourism as a means of poverty alleviation. This concurs with Zvita of the MoTHI, who perceived the paying of school fees as a great step towards alleviating poverty through tourism in poor communities.

Ten of those who considered tourism an effective tool of poverty alleviation were employed by Chilo Gorge Safari Lodge, the Gairezi CBT project, and by the CAMPFIRE in the Mahenye village. Although they all occupied lower positions such as river wardens, housekeepers, and natural resource monitors, they stated that their wages helped meet their needs:

With the US\$80, I am paid monthly, I can pay school fees and buy agricultural inputs (Hwai, Mahenye village).

The above statement shows that some locals considered their low paying jobs as being able to reduce their poverty. Chenai, who was employed as a housekeeper at the Gairezi CBT chalets, said that there were times they were not paid on time due to the harsh economic conditions but that she still considered tourism as a tool of poverty alleviation. This is contrary to the views of some scholars (e.g., Saayman & Giampiccoli, 2016:160; Chapter Two) who argue that low paying jobs cannot alleviate poverty. Likewise, Muvhimi of the NPWLMA stated that the potential of tourism to alleviate poverty had been hampered by the low salaries paid for the lower positions held by local people.

Eight other respondents who regarded tourism as a means of poverty alleviation received fertiliser and maize seeds as disbursements from the Gairezi CBT project:

The disbursements we receive from the project have increased our harvests as we used to struggle to buy fertiliser. We are now able to feed our families (Chenai, Zumbu & Nzungu; Dazi and Nyamutsapa communities).

A discussion with one villager of the Dazi community revealed that it was the project members who advocated for the disbursements in the form of agricultural inputs instead of household income where cash was paid to each household at the end of each year. Although the interviews revealed that the project members got disbursements, the GoZ, MoTHI, and JICA (2017b:24) argued that local people also received part of the net income as cash at Gairezi. Svovi of the MoTHI also stated that other projects they are associated with provided local people with household incomes. However, in Manicaland, this is not the case, although respondents in Mahenye village mentioned that during the early years of the project, they used to get household income annually.

Six of the interviewees who regarded tourism as a tool of poverty reduction sold crafts and curios to tourists. They, therefore, considered tourism to have created a market for their products. Due to the low tourist arrivals, the respondents indicated that it had become difficult to be in direct contact with the tourists. As a result, they had resorted to selling the crafts through the project offices or the lodges. Nonetheless, a discussion with one of the villagers in Mahenye established that some crafts were still sold directly to tourists since those at the project offices or lodges took long to be sold. Some cited the low tourist arrivals as the reason why their crafts and curios took long to be sold at the lodges and project offices, while others blamed the staff for being not good enough at persuading tourists to buy. Regarding the revenues generated from the selling of crafts and curios, they mentioned that it had reduced drastically due to the low tourist arrivals:

We used to get an average of US\$30 per week during the peak season, but these days, we get the same amount in two months (Juru, Mahenye village).

Although the respondents blamed the low tourist arrivals for having affected their sales revenues, their products were arguably overpriced and of poor quality (MoTHI, 2016:79; GoZ, MoTHI & JICA, 2017b:24). Indeed, one respondent in the Mahenye village revealed that a tourist once complained that a walking stick sold at the lodge was priced by more than three times compared to the price he had been charged in Masvingo. Nevertheless, in Chibasani and Mapembe, the interviewees claimed that the bulk of their products were bought by people from Harare who later exported them to South Africa. Thus, Marujata of the MoTHI, Jaha, and Para of the NPWLMA stated that generally, tourism development in rural communities created markets for local crafts and curios.

Four interviewees who were members of a traditional dance group in Mahenye also regarded tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation. They highlighted that they performed for tourists at Chilo Gorge Safari Lodge and also during the annual cultural gala. They stated that during the peak season they performed for an average of three times every fortnight while they did so once per month during the low season. They earned an average of US\$80 per month in the peak season and US\$30 per month in the low season, which they shared among the 12 members. They stated that the revenues earned have been key in paying school fees and feeding their families. However, they stated that during the pre-2000 era, they would perform an average of three times a week and made more revenues from tips that they used to improve their lives, including buying bicycles, radios, and farm implements.

Those who considered tourism as a tool of poverty alleviation concurred that they used to struggle to pay school fees, buy agricultural inputs, and implements before they engaged in the different tourism activities. They also stated that they used to depend on farming alone and were greatly affected during drought, but that, with their involvement in tourism activities, they were able to increase their income and improve their family lives.

However, three of the people who perceived tourism as a means of poverty alleviation warned against depending on it:

Tourism can alleviate poverty to a certain extent; hence it cannot totally be depended upon. Most of the benefits of tourism are indirect. Personally, I have not benefited directly from tourism (Feso, Tsubvu & Taku; Mahenye village).

Feso, Tsubvu, and Taku stated that their main source of income was farming and that they only benefited from tourism when they got temporary employment during the erection of fences and

the social development projects. They stated that they would prefer getting household incomes, as was the case in the early days of the project. Similarly, Zivo of the EMA stated that local people preferred direct benefits to indirect benefits. These statements suggest that tourism revenues, although important, may serve as supplemental to the lives of some local people. Therefore, it should not be viewed as a sole or main tool to lift them out of poverty.

Meanwhile, nine respondents were of the opinion that tourism was not a tool of poverty alleviation. For example:

I do not think tourism can alleviate poverty. Since the Mapembe Nature Reserve project started in the early 90s, there has been no money generated for the community (Shanje, Nyagundi Resettlement area)

Likewise, Svodai and Rukova in Chibasani village commented, “*We just hear that tourism can alleviate poverty, but we have not yet benefited from the Chibasani CBT project*”. The researcher observed that those projects which were not generating revenues were the non-CAMPFIRE ones (Mapembe Nature Reserve and Chibasani CBT project). This is in line with Jaha of the NPWLMA, Bira, and Chigiyo of the MoTHI, who argued that non-CAMPFIRE projects had struggled as they specialised in non-consumptive tourism which was affected most by the low tourist arrivals. Similarly, Chapter Five revealed that most of the functional projects specialise in trophy hunting, which has proved to be resilient despite the low tourist arrivals and the country’s negative publicity in the traditional source markets (Lindsey, Roulet & Romanach, 2007:464). The researcher observed that a majority of those who did not consider tourism as a means of poverty alleviation concentrated on farming:

I grow a lot of vegetables, yet I am struggling to find the market while the Chilo Gorge Safari Lodge purchases vegetables from Chiredzi town (Shoko, Mahenye village).

Although Mitchell and Ashley (2010:21) assert that local people can benefit from tourism by selling their farm produces to local businesses, this is not really the case in Manicaland, where many lodges do not purchase from local people. A discussion with one employee at the lodge revealed that the management considered the vegetables to be of poor quality. He also mentioned that their clients often complained that the vegetables were not fresh. This perhaps explains why the majority of lodges located in communal areas source their fresh produces from established urban distributors in the urban areas, as noted in Chapter Two. This finding suggests that to benefit from tourism, local people may need to improve the quality of their farm produces on the one hand. On the other hand, there may be a need for the private sector to evaluate its supply chain linkages to local supplies in order to maximise incomes for the local poor.

It appears that those who received economic benefits from tourism, either directly or indirectly, tended to view it as a means of poverty alleviation. In contrast, those who did not involve in any tourism-related activities and benefited from them did not consider tourism a means of poverty alleviation. Even in cases where tourism contributed to reducing poverty, it was not viewed as a sole means of poverty alleviation given the low visitor arrivals and the RDCs who failed to disburse tourism revenues to poor people. This raises the issue of equitable distribution of tourism benefits among local people. Interviewees' perspectives on tourism as a contributor to community development are examined next.

7.7 PERCEPTIONS OF TOURISM AS A MEANS OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Tourism is said to have brought about community development in rural Zimbabwe (Chapter Three). Indeed, interviews conducted in Manicaland also revealed that tourism has brought about social, economic, environmental, and cultural benefits to poor communities.

A majority of respondents were of the view that tourism development brought improvements to their communities through the construction of social development projects:

Through tourism, we now have a clinic, a school, a grinding mill, and a tractor in our community (Madhube, Mahenye village).

The chalets and the project offices were all built because of tourism. A grinding mill was also bought with tourism revenues (Nzungu, Dazi community).

The windmill, project offices, and toilets in the Mapembe Nature Reserve are all the results of tourism (Muti, Nyagundi Resettlement area).

Revenues from consumptive tourism have been used to construct clinics, schools, and boreholes in many communities (Jaha, NPWLMA)

The researcher observed that the construction of social development projects was still ongoing, especially in Mahenye, where Early Childhood Development (ECD) School blocks were being constructed (Figure 7-1).



Figure 7-1: ECD Classroom block under construction in the Mahenye village (*Photo courtesy: Owen Gohori*)

At the Mapembe Nature Reserve, these projects had just built some toilets at their offices and installed a water tank. It was observed that social development projects were more visible at the CAMPFIRE projects. This was substantiated by Nyemba of the MoTHI and Muvhimi of the NPWLMA, who mentioned that social development projects were more pronounced at the CAMPFIRE projects. Nonetheless, Foshoro of the Nyanga RDC stated that communities could have developed more if they were not disadvantaged by the private sector partners who were not transparent on the actual amount generated by tourism and hence they ended up giving the communities little revenues. As discussed in Chapter Two, one characteristic of community development is felt-needs, which limits the powers of the outside intervener, suggesting that the unfair treatment of the community by the private sector partners could be an indication that communities have not been fully developed as the outsiders still hold greater power.

Regarding economic benefits, many respondents cited the provision of employment opportunities:

All the workers at the Gairezi chalets are from the Dazi and Nyamutsapa communities (Mufudzi, Nyamutsapa community).

Just like Mufudzi, most of the local people appreciated the role of tourism in creating employment for them. However, despite tourism development having been known to benefit poor communities through creating employment opportunities (Enemuo & Oyinkansola, 2012:33), Chapter Two has argued that development implies quality while growth is about quantity. The statement above shows that many local people were employed (quantity), but as noted earlier, they occupied low-paying positions (quality). Although some local people stated that their lives had been improved economically due to tourism development, the extent to which their overall quality of life has been enhanced seems less clear. Nevertheless, some government officials, such as Zvita of the MoTHI, stated that there was a general improvement in the local communities' quality of life where there are CBT projects due to the salaries paid to employed local people.

The communities also economically benefited from tourism by getting revenues from trophy hunting:

Through the CAMPFIRE programme, we are benefiting from our natural resources as we get revenues from trophy hunting (Gore, Mahenye village).

All the developments in this community (e.g., grinding mill, tractor, and trailer) were bought with the revenues generated by trophy hunting (Shoko, Mahenye village).

The trophy hunting revenues in the Mahenye village were also used to pay annual household taxes for each community member to the RDC. Besides revenues from consumptive tourism, in Mahenye, respondents claimed that the community was paid a monthly fee of US\$2,000 by the Chilo Gorge Safari Lodge as per their contractual agreement. These revenues have been useful to the community during drought:

Last year, there was a drought, and three tonnes of maize were bought from the Grain Marketing Board. The maize was equally distributed to all the households in this community (Danda, Mahenye village).

Apart from generating economic revenues, trophy hunting has provided meat for the communities, as stated by Hombarume in Mahenye village: *"We get meat which is distributed equally to all households when a hunter kills an elephant"*. Tourism has, therefore, contributed to community development in poor rural communities by providing food security to local people. Zvido of the NPWLMA cited the Tour De Tuli event in the Greater Mapungubwe transfrontier conservation area, which benefited the communities economically by creating markets for their products. Meanwhile, members of the Gairezi CBT project enjoyed economic benefits in the form of fertiliser and maize seeds which were disbursed annually:

All the members get equal shares of one bag of fertiliser and four kilos of maize seeds as disbursements from the project; hence, the community is benefiting (Chiwepu, Nyamutsapa community).

Interviewees in Mahenye and those involved in the Gairezi CBT projects affirmed that some orphans in their communities economically benefitted by being assisted with school fees through the NDFFC and the Mahenye Charitable Trust.

In terms of environmental benefits, tourism appears to have contributed to the conservation of local flora and fauna:

The quota setting has resulted in the conservation of wildlife. If it was not for the quota setting, some animal species in this area could have been extinct by now (Inzwi, Mahenye village).

Previous research showed that poaching had reduced significantly in Mahenye after the inception of the Mahenye CBT project in 1982. By 1986, the hunting quota was increased by the NPWLMA (Peterson, 1991:16-17; Murphree, 2000b:184). At Mapembe, Tsanga and Muti commented that *“Through this project, we now have zebras in our area which we did not have before and some of our indigenous tree species which are no longer found outside the nature reserve have been conserved”*. The ZTA (2015b:17) has applauded the conservation of flora at the Mapembe Nature Reserve, calling it a little island in a desert. Various species of indigenous trees such as Msasa (*Brachystegia speciformis*), Teak (*Baikia plurigra*), and Mukwa (*Pterocarpus angolensis*) have been protected at the Mapembe Nature Reserve. Mbiya of the MoTHI stated that there had been conservation of flora and fauna in many rural areas where there are CBT projects.

In addition, some interviewees were of the opinion that tourism development has contributed to preserving their culture, heritage, and IKS. In Mahenye, respondents constantly referred to the annual cultural gala, which was believed to have revived their culture. The community got the chance to learn and exhibit their traditional food, make handcrafts, and perform traditional dances. Many stated that without the gala, their culture could have disappeared years ago. One of the traditional leaders revealed that the gala was initiated by tourists who once stayed at the Chilo Gorge Safari Lodge, and it has since become one of their major tourist attractions. In Mapembe, the researcher observed that the caves where the chiefs were buried have been fenced and protected from the public and they have become a major tourist attraction as well. In Chibasani, a number of ancient caves have also been preserved and become part of their product. The preservation of these heritage sites was carried out in consultation with the traditional leaders and community elders who provided their IK on how it should be done. Zivo of the EMA also mentioned the preservation of culture and IKS as the cultural benefit brought about by tourism. Nonetheless, Chibage of the MoTHI highlighted that the recognition of culture and IKS in tourism development has contributed to community pride and solidarity. Manwa (2003:49) observed that more still needs to be done to fully incorporate IKS into tourism development as the traditional

methods of hunting, which successfully conserved wildlife for decades was not utilised in preference of the Western-influenced NPWLMA hunting guidelines. Para, one of the respondents who worked for the NPWLMA also argued that “*Much emphasis on CBT development has been on wildlife conservation and not promoting culture and IKS*”. Likewise, Muvhimi of the NPWLMA blamed tourism development for the disappearance of local culture as local people had become Westernised. To him, this was most visible in terms of dressing and traditional dances: girls and women were seen dressed in trousers and miniskirts in some rural areas which used to be areas where local cultures were respected. Further, traditional dances had become commercialised as they were no longer performed during certain rituals or ceremonies. Interviewees’ perceptions of barriers preventing communities from participating in tourism are examined below.

7.8 PERCEIVED BARRIERS TO COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN TOURISM

Although the barriers to community participation in tourism were identified through a content analysis of CBT projects in Zimbabwe (Chapter Five), local people’s perspectives were also sought. The identified barriers included a lack of knowledge, limited time to participate in tourism, inadequate benefits of tourism, the policy framework, limited finance, peripherality, marginalisation of women, elite domination, lack of decentralisation, and lack of community consensus.

Most respondents mentioned more than one barrier. The lack of tourism knowledge and education was frequently mentioned:

People in this community do not have any idea about what tourism is as it is a new concept to us. Hence they are still hesitant to take part (Saka, Chibasani village).

Local people in Gairezi do not have tourism knowledge, and all the accommodation bookings are done in Harare by the private sector partner (Foshoro, Nyanga RDC).

Most of the people are reluctant to take part in the project due to the lack of education (Taku, Mahenye village).

Nyaupane *et al.* (2006:1374) assert that most isolated rural communities avoid participating in tourism as it is a new concept to them. These isolated communities are mostly unaware of the benefits of tourism (Kala & Bagri, 2018:325). Likewise, the International Labour Office (ILO) (1977:28) stated that “lack of education denies people the opportunity to participate fully and meaningfully in the social, economic, cultural and political life of the community”. Some agency specialists (e.g., Zvido of the NPWLMA, Zivo of the EMA) stated that the lack of tourism knowledge and education prompted local people to sell crafts and perform traditional dances instead of being in the leadership structures. This is because poor education limits local people’s

ability to make professional decisions on their own as well as understand the objectives of tourism-related development programmes (Kala & Bagri, 2018:325). Chibage of the ZTA stated that most CBT projects including the Gairezi in Manicaland got some training in basic tourism principles, house-keeping, food hygiene, and preparation. Nevertheless, the training programmes did not have much impact as they were too basic and failed to provide competitive skills while they targeted a few individuals (Chapter Three).

Limited finance was another frequently mentioned barrier. For example:

We were required to pay a joining fee to become Gairezi CBT project members, and most of the people in the two communities (Dazi and Nyamutsapa) could not afford it (Tsoro, Dazi community).

This statement was confirmed by Mbiya of the MoTHI and Marujata of the ZTA, who also said that the fee to join the Gairezi CBT project was a barrier to community participation in tourism as the poor condition and low income of the locals exacerbated their financial challenges. An informal conversation with Gejo, an elected committee member of the Gairezi CBT project, revealed that they had stopped taking new members as they felt that the benefits given to the 306 project members would diminish upon increasing the number. Tsoro stated that besides the joining fee, the denial to take new members was also a barrier to community participation in tourism. The last members joined the project in 2007 after paying a joining fee of Z\$3,000 (US\$20), which was quite a substantial amount. Further, an annual membership fee of Z\$80 was also required. A number of government officials elaborated that local people failed to invest in tourism as they could not access bank loans due to the lack of collateral. The lack of land tenure rights (Chapter Five) makes it difficult for rural poor people to borrow money from banks.

Finance inadequacy, therefore, prompts local people to spend most of their time doing other livelihood activities, leaving them with limited time to participate in tourism. However, a majority of the interviewees said the little benefits of tourism actually reduced their motivations to get involved in tourism-related activities:

Since we are getting very few visitors, little benefits are realised from the project. Thus, most of us prefer spending most of our time doing other income-generating activities (Vende, Chibasani village).

The researcher observed that local people spent their time either farming or doing illegal mining as they were getting little revenues from tourism. This somewhat resonates with Chapters Two and Five, which showed that inadequate benefits from tourism prompt local people to focus their attention and time on alternative livelihood activities.

Zino in Chibasani village attributed the low tourist arrivals to their peripheral location, and hence he considered peripherality as a barrier to community participation in tourism:

People here find it difficult to fully commit themselves to the Chibasani CBT project due to our location. In the rainy season, we do not get many visitors as the road becomes slippery. In the dry season, one has to have a high clearance vehicle to get to this place (Zino, Chibasani village).

Likewise, in Gairezi, Zumbu raised a concern about the inaccessibility of their area during the rainy season. Chibage of the MoTHI highlighted that most of the projects they were associated with could not be accessed easily due to their peripheral location, which was aggravated by bad roads. Indeed, the researcher had difficulties in accessing some of these projects due to the state of the roads, although he used a 4x4 vehicle. In Chibasani, the vehicle had to be left a few kilometres away from the project. This finding suggests that tourism development may not be an easy strategy for poverty alleviation even in areas where there is political will, and substantial resources exist, but that are physically isolated.

The interviews with the elected committee members revealed that women were marginalised. In Mahenye and Gairezi, only one woman was part of the committee, while in Chibasani, the committee had two women. In Mapembe, four women were on the committee. Respondents cited cultural reasons for restricting women to be part of the elected committees:

In our culture, a married woman is expected to be confined to her home and take care of the family while men involve in community issues (Hombarume, Mahenye village).

Moore (1998:399) posits that some rural men forbid their wives from being part of the committees for fear of adultery. It was observed that most of the women in the committees were either single, divorced, or widowed. In discussion with one of the committee members in Chibasani, it was established that there used to be four women in their committee, but they resigned once they got married. This confirms Moore's (1998:399) and Gandiwa *et al.*'s (2014:44) observations that there are a gendered pattern and exclusion of women from public fora and that this is exacerbated by community opinions in rural areas. Manwa (2003:49) argued that rural women should be involved in all decisions on the use of natural resources because they provide firewood and water. A majority of the interviewed agency specialists also blamed cultural reasons for the exclusion of women from tourism.

Elite domination was another obstacle to community participation in tourism, as illustrated in the following statement:

Most local people are no longer keen to participate in the CBT projects as they became politicised after the land reform programme and political elites took over the projects (Marujata, ZTA).

Marujata added that when the projects became politicised, local people were divided along political party affiliations hence affecting their participation in tourism. In Mapembe, the researcher observed that a flag of the ruling party was displayed at the entrance of the project's offices. This might be interpreted as a political slogan. An informal conversation with one informant revealed that political elites at times affected the smooth operations of some CBT projects, and this negatively impacted local people's participation. Shoko and Gweta in the Mahenye village stated that during the early to mid-2000s, the traditional leadership hijacked the project, and their family members were given positions in the committee without following proper procedures. Community members thus refrained from taking part in the project. Another informal discussion with a villager in Mahenye divulged that the previous committee members diverted the project money for their personal use. This confirms Balint and Mashinya's (2006, 2008) findings that the Mahenye CBT project was controlled by a few traditional leaders and local elites. One informant criticised the committee members for not involving community members:

The committee members are the ones who seem to be active in the CBT projects without involving the rest of the community members (Mbiya, MoTHI).

This finding resonates with and confirms that of Chapter Five, where it was reported that the elected committee of the Masoka CBT project made budget decisions without consulting the community and invested in an entertainment video facility project which was not popular with the community. On the contrary, interviews with the committee members in Manicaland revealed that they sought local people's opinions before making budget decisions.

Meanwhile, some agency specialists of the NPWLMA condemned the policy framework for failing to address the land tenure system that restricted local people's participation in tourism:

The policy framework denies rural people to have title deeds, and therefore they cannot access bank loans to finance their projects and fully participate. It is, therefore, rigid (Jaha & Bira; NPWLMA).

Moscardo (2011:425) argued that African countries' reluctance to address land tenure policies is an impediment to community participation in tourism. Section 4 of the Land Tenure Act of 1982 gives authority to the President of Zimbabwe over all the rural land. Local people, therefore, cannot use it as collateral if they need to borrow from banks to fund their CBT projects (Chapter Five). At the local level, an appropriate policy framework is also missing that results in limited devolution of power to the grassroots level:

The Chipinge RDC does not involve us in choosing the hunter. Jabezi Safaris is the one which the community preferred, but the Chipinge RDC opted for Shangaan Hunters, the current hunter (Shoko & Danda; Mahenye village).

As discussed in Chapter Five, the District Councils Act [Chapter 29:31] gives the RDCs authority to administer communal land and power to issue hunting permits and harvesting of natural resources. As a result, rural communities are not consulted in decisions concerning tourism development. The above statement is consistent with Pleumaron's (2012:46) argument that the voices of the poor and underprivileged are rarely heard in tourism development. Likewise, some committee members in the Mahenye village said the Chipinge RDC did not consult the community when drafting contracts for safari operators. There is thus a need to engage poor people in the tourism policy-making process, not only as a target group but also as active participants, if tourism is to become an effective tool of poverty alleviation (Holden *et al.*, 2011:317).

Local people were also not consulted by the private sector partners. For example:

Our private sector partner makes key decisions without consulting us. We believe he looks down upon us (Tino, Mahenye village).

Similarly, Foshoro of the Nyanga RDC highlighted that the NDFFC was limiting the participation of local people at Gairezi as all the major administrative issues were done in Harare by the private sector partners. A villager in Mahenye stated that the annual cultural gala was organised by the Chilo Gorge Safari Lodge without much involvement of the local people. This could be because the gala had become a major tourist product, but local people had limited tourism skills to be involved.

The failure by the private sector partners to involve local people in decision making has resulted in another barrier, the lack of consensus among local people. Dzidzo of the MoTHI stated that local people were divided on whether to continue engaging private sector partners or to terminate the contracts. Similarly, the GoZ, MoTHI, and JICA (2017b:6) stated that the two communities (Dazi and Nyamutsapa) involved with the Gairezi CBT project could not reach a consensus on whether to continue the partnership with their private sector partner or to end it. Those who were against the partnership decided to distance themselves from the project until the ZTA intervened to resolve the dispute. Mensa and Ernest's (2013:41) research in Ghana also revealed that the lack of community consensus restricted the participation of community members in tourism.

7.9 TOURISM AND COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT

The WB (1999:3) states that empowerment "addresses directly a range of interconnected inequalities [...] which disadvantage the poor and prevent them from having influence over policies and interventions that in turn influence their lives". Community empowerment promotes

local people's participation in tourism and can be an effective strategy for poverty alleviation and community development (Chapter Two). The term "empowerment" has different meanings in different socio-cultural and political contexts and does not translate easily into all languages (Chapter Two). Therefore, there was no direct question on empowerment in the interview guide although most of the questions sought local people's perspectives on how tourism development has empowered them.

Scheyvens' (1999) empowerment framework (Chapter Two) encompassed four dimensions of community empowerment in tourism development: political, economic, psychological, and social. Based on this framework, the extent to which local people in Manicaland have been empowered with respect to tourism is analysed below.

The GoZ conceives community empowerment as a process of decentralisation of power to grassroots levels (Logan & Moseley, 2002:6). The researcher observed that each of the visited CBT projects had an elected committee and held Annual General Meetings (AGMs) where local people voted for new committee members. This represents political empowerment, given that local people could air their views through the elected committees. For example, a traditional leader in Mahenye mentioned that the decision to buy maize for each household was proposed by the community. It is argued that when community members decide what to do with funds generated from CBT, it is an indication of political empowerment (Stone, 2015:91). Bira and Shizha of the MoTHI, Chibage of the ZTA, and Tsime of Chipinge RDC stated that local people had a voice in tourism development:

There are elected committees in place in each CBT project in which local people can air their views.

This statement confirms what was stated by some committee members (e.g., Muwuyu of Matsetso village, Vende of Chibasani village, and Nzungu of Dazi community), that they sought community opinions before making decisions. It is argued that decentralisation of decision-making power to the grassroots level may result in more effective development outcomes (Timothy, 2007:203). However, the results of this research revealed that there were still signs of political disempowerment. As noted, the RDCs and the private sector partners made decisions without consulting the communities, and there was once elite domination in the Mahenye CBT project. Muboko and Murindagomo (2014:209) argued that all community institutions below the RDC level did not empower local people. Likewise, Para of the NPWLMA stated that local people were not politically empowered as they were weak administratively and were not legally recognised due to the land tenure system. Scheyvens (2000:242; 2009b:248) posits that for a community to be

politically empowered, there should be decentralisation of power to grassroots levels, and local people should voice their concerns in tourism development.

As for economic empowerment, there is evidence that employment opportunities have been created for some local people. Besides being economically empowered through employment, the Mahenye community got revenues from consumptive tourism and from the Chilo Gorge Safari Lodge. Local people also got game meat from trophy hunting. According to Stone (2015:92), the provision of game meat economically empowers communities as it enhances food security. They were also economically empowered through the paying of annual household taxes from tourism revenues in Mahenye and the disbursement of fertilisers and maize seeds in Gairezi while school fees were paid for orphans in both communities. Huku in the Mahenye village and Juru of Gairezi were concerned about the inequitable distribution of economic benefits. They stated that the same people continued to be employed as casual workers even though the positions did not require any skills. In Gairezi, it was observed that non-project members did not get any disbursements. As revenues generated were sporadic, this economically disempowered local people, for example, the failure to pay employees on time at the Gairezi CBT project. Likewise, the traditional dancers' and crafts and curio sellers' income could not be depended on as it was not stable. The RDCs' failure to disburse revenues to the communities is another sign of economic disempowerment. Tino of Mahenye village stated that *"A few elites are benefitting from tourism development"*. This confirms Scheyvens' (2000:237) research, which revealed that at the Chilo Gorge Safari Lodge, and the now-defunct Mahenye Safari Lodge employment was heavily biased in favour of men. Women, therefore, remained economically disempowered. It is, however, argued that increasing female employment plays a crucial role in reducing poverty, sustaining economic growth, and supporting women's empowerment and independence (WTTC, 2019b:1). The limit imposed by the government on the hunting quota affected the revenues generated from consumptive tourism as well, which in turn disempowered local people economically. For example:

We have many elephants in our area, but the government keeps limiting the hunting quota to a maximum of three each year (Taku, Mahenye village).

Taku further explained that the elephants destroyed their crops and other wild animals fed on their livestock. This once again disempowered local people economically who depended on farming for their livelihood. Piki in the Mahenye village, Gonzo in the Matsetso village, and Chiwepu of the Dazi community stated that the establishment of the Gonarezhou, Chimanimani, and Nyanga National Parks had denied them the rights to hunt and till the land that belonged to their ancestors. This left them with limited land to plough and maximise on the harvest.

In terms of psychological empowerment, it has been revealed that tourism development incorporated local people's IKS and culture. The recognition of culture and IKS psychologically empowers local communities through creating cultural awareness, self-esteem, and pride (Scheyvens, 2000:239; 2009b:247; Munyanyiwa, Nyaruwata & Njerekai, 2019:79). In the Mahenye village, Tino, a traditional leader, stated that female tourists were not allowed to wear miniskirts or trousers during village tours as that was against the local culture. Likewise, Gore, another traditional leader in the same village stated that trophy hunters first visited the chief where they paid a certain amount of money (known as *chirovo*) in line with the local tradition. A traditional ceremony was then performed in the presence of a spirit medium before they were allowed to commence hunting. In Chibasani and Mapembe, the village heads claimed that traditional ceremonies were performed to appease the spirits before the arrival of tourists as most of their attractions were sacred and that the ancestors needed to be consulted first. Scheyvens (2000:239) posits that "tourism initiatives which respect and show interest in aspects of traditional culture can, therefore, be psychologically empowering for local people". The production and selling of crafts and curios by local people enhanced local people's self-esteem and pride since tourists recognised the uniqueness and value of their culture and traditional knowledge (Scheyvens, 2000:247; Zhou, 2017:6; Yang, Shafi, Song & Yang, 2018:2). Further, the employment opportunities and revenues generated from tourism increased the status of poor people, therefore, psychologically empowering them. It is argued that when poor communities get employed, and their IK is recognised, they become confident and seek further education and training opportunities (Scheyvens, 2009b:247). Getting a basic skill through learning or upgrading skills is key to empowering communities (Tilak, 2002:197; Chapter Three). This research shows that local people were trained in different disciplines including housekeeping, book-keeping, and natural resource monitoring. For example:

My son was trained to be a natural resource monitor by the CAMPFIRE. This has helped him secure a job with the NPWLMA in Gonarezhou National Park (Hombarume, Mahenye village).

Nonetheless, some government employees (e.g., Chigiyo of the MoTHI) criticised the training programmes for being too basic: "*The training programmes have been too basic and once-off while also being dictated by the government or NGOs*". Chigiyo stated that the training programmes were only useful in providing local people with a general understanding of tourism but were not designed to make them occupy decision making positions. A conversation with Nzungu of the Nyamutsapa community revealed that it was the NGOs or the government that determined the number of people to be trained and the disciplines without consulting local people.

Thus, the training programmes were also considered to be top-down and administered in a didactic manner with no regard for people's inputs or responses (Conyers, 2002:19). Local people, therefore, felt inferior as they had no control over the training programmes resulting in psychological disempowerment.

In terms of social empowerment, communities had social development projects being constructed with tourism revenues. A discussion with one CAMPFIRE employee revealed that the construction of the social development projects was the main form of empowerment brought to local communities through the CBT programme. This resonates with Scheyvens' (2000:242; 2009b:248) view that advocates of the CAMPFIRE claim that social development has been the major benefit of CBT in poor rural areas. Social development projects are considered empowering as they are used by every community member, and they usually bring the community together (Stone, 2015:94). In Gairezi, Tsoro stated that after the CAMPFIRE availed the funds, the community gathered all the stones to build the chalets while local builders were involved in the construction of the structures. This brought the community together and improved community cohesion. The presence of strong community groups was another sign of social empowerment (Scheyvens, 2009b:248). The researcher observed that there was a vibrant traditional dance group in the Mahenye village that performed for tourists. Nevertheless, some social disempowerment still existed, for example, the marginalisation of women in the local leadership structures as well as the displacement of indigenous people from their traditional lands and the loss of access to natural resources. Stone (2015:94) claimed that tourism socially disempowers local people when wildlife damages their crops because communities lose self-sufficiency in food production and security. As noted, there was rampant HWCs in Mahenye. The inequitable distribution of benefits (e.g., in Gairezi where non-project members did not get revenues, in Mahenye where casual workers were recruited from the same families) represents social disempowerment given that it increased jealousy among community members.

7.10 HOW CAN TOURISM EFFECTIVELY ALLEVIATE POVERTY?

Respondents were asked about what should be done for tourism to alleviate poverty and bring about community development effectively. Their suggestions would be useful in formulating meaningful strategies to alleviate poverty through tourism (Chapter Two).

The most common recommendation was the expansion of the CBT projects and the introduction of new projects so that more local people could be employed:

If we have more tourism-related projects in our community, most of the people will get employed. For instance, the recently introduced Jamanda Community Conservancy project has already employed a reasonable number of local people on top of those already employed by the Chilo Gorge Safari Lodge and the CAMPFIRE (Inzwi, Mahenye village).

If the Mapembe Nature Reserve CBT project expands by building chalets, then more local people will get employed, and more revenue will be generated (Muti, Gonhi & Tsvimbo; Nyagundi Resettlement area).

More chalets should be built so that the quantity of disbursements increases and more project members get employed (Zviso, Tsoro & Tombi; Dazi community).

These statements further explain and reinforce local people's perspectives on the main causes of poverty in their communities (i.e., the dearth of employment). Similarly, government officials (e.g., Chibage of the MoTHI) recommended more funding towards CBT development so that projects can expand as well as avoid being defunct. Nonetheless, van der Duim, Lamers, and van Wijk (2015a:4) argued that CBT projects failed to achieve sustainable success due to long-term dependency on external donor funding and that they collapsed when donor funding stops. Thus, Shizha of the MoTHI and Zvido of the NPWLMA suggested more relevant training programmes for local people to eventually be in a position to run the projects on their own. However, the quality and relevance of the training programmes may need consideration: they have focused only on basic skills (e.g., house-keeping, basic book-keeping) and this makes it difficult for local people to run the projects without expert guidance.

Respondents also suggested that private sector partners should be in partnerships through joint ventures with local communities as another way of ensuring the viability and expansion of the projects. Gungwa of the MoTHI stated that most of the current functional projects are in partnership with the private sector. During the fieldwork, it was also observed that the Mahenye and the Gairezi CBT projects had a private sector partner while the Mapembe Nature Reserve was funded by the EMA. Jones, Diggle, and Thouless (2015:27) argued that although partnerships between communities and the private sector bring good returns and have low risk, they have the least sense of ownership. Therefore, some agency specialists (e.g., Jaha of the NPWLMA) recommended the amendment of the land tenure policy for communities to have title deeds. Nevertheless, the main challenge is that the private sector partners may be discouraged by the plethora of licenses and application procedures needed to enter into the tourism sector (Chapter Six).

Interviewees also recommended the diversification of the products offered by the CBT projects. Nzungu in Gairezi underscored the need to introduce other products such as horse riding,

village tours, and mountain climbing so that they can attract visitors who are not only interested in fly-fishing. Bira and Muvhimi of the NPWLMA highlighted that each project should aim to develop a unique product rather than duplicating products. In Mapembe, the researcher observed that the EMA had started introducing fish farming and bee keeping to avoid overreliance on tourism. In Mahenye, committee members stated that they had started selling slate stones and pit sand to maximise revenues from the natural resources at their disposal. Muvhimi of the NPWLMA added that with the current low tourist arrivals, dependence on tourism could be catastrophic hence the need to diversify and make use of other natural resources. He gave an example of the Matopos CBT project, which was harvesting and selling thatching grass. Diversification of the products without proper marketing can still be a problem for the communities, though. Without market linkages, the communities may continue to generate little revenues. For instance, the fish farming initiative introduced at the Mapembe Nature Reserve was most likely to end up producing fish for local people consumption instead of generating revenue as there were no efforts made to link the product with the market.

The devolution of power and authority to grassroots levels by the RDCs was another common recommendation. Respondents argued that the RDCs imposed on them what needed to be done instead of consulting them; thus, most of the imposed decisions benefited the RDCs while the communities remained poor. The government employees, on the other hand, stated that the current top-down approach was not doing much to alleviate poverty as the benefits remained with the private sector partners and the RDCs. Therefore, they recommended a shift towards a bottom-up approach. Yet, Zimbabwe's economic situation may make it difficult for this suggestion to be realised. The GoZ is not in a position to give its departments (e.g., the RDCs) enough funds, and as a result, the RDCs will continue to hold on to the revenues intended to benefit the communities.

Other traditional leaders (Gore and Tino) in Mahenye village suggested that the communities should be given more new fire arms for the game scouts as poaching was increasing. They disclosed that the poachers were aware that the game scouts had non-functional weapons. They indicated that wild animals were their main product; hence, they needed to be protected for the benefit of the community. They also recommended that more efforts should be made to promote the project to visitors. Yet, the RDCs' reluctance to devolve revenues to communities would make it difficult for this recommendation to materialise.

Local people also recommended that systems should be put in place to ensure that the whole community benefits as they believed that a few elites were benefitting. Feso in the Mahenye village proposed that the government should allocate to the local community half of the annual

tourism levy paid by the Chilo Gorge Safari Lodge. Meanwhile, Tsime of Chipinge RDC suggested that the safari operators do more for the communities where they operate, such as sourcing drugs for their clinics, donating books, computers, and building school blocks on top of the payments for trophy hunting. Nevertheless, some respondents in the Mahenye village stated that the MoTHI should monitor the CAMPFIRE to ensure that revenues from consumptive tourism would be disbursed to communities within the stipulated time frame. Likewise, some people in the same village suggested that the RDCs should be excluded from the selection of the safari operators, stating that the communities were the custodians of the natural resources and that they already had records of previous safari operators.

Hombarume in the Mahenye village and Tombi of Nyamutsapa community proposed that their private sector partners should sponsor the communities to start an irrigation scheme for all the vegetables required by the lodges and initiate other related projects such as chicken and pig rearing so that all the money spent on outsourcing suppliers goes to the community. Shoko in the Mahenye village shared the same view as he showed the researcher some tomlberries, which he had harvested (Figure 7-2). He said that he was struggling to find the market, while the Chilo Gorge Safari Lodge bought them from external suppliers in Chiredzi town.



Figure 7-2: Harvested tomlberries in Mahenye village (*Photo courtesy: Owen Gohori*)

Zvita of the EMA recommended that all the stakeholders involved in CBT development should coordinate. She provided an example of the EMA, which was not involving the ZTA in the Mapembe CBT project, stating that it affected the marketing of the project as it was not linked with tour operators. The researcher observed that the key CBT stakeholders (the ZTA, the MoTHI, the CAMPFIRE, and the NPWLMA) visited the projects without the knowledge of the other, and each implemented parallel programmes. During an informal conversation, Nyika from the CAMPFIRE raised the same concern as he highlighted that the ZTA requested a list of projects which needed funding assistance since they had secured funding from the AfDB. Once the funds were availed, the ZTA never contacted them to discuss how best they could work together to assist the projects. The main challenge which affects the coordination of the government departments involved in tourism is the continuous restructuring by the GoZ. For example, for the past three years, the MoTHI had four different ministers, while it was merged with the Ministry of Environment twice, as is the case since the end of 2018. Each of the Ministers came with a new strategy and vision, which in turn affected the coordination with other ministries.

Whereas, employing casual workers at the lodges and the CBT projects on a rotational basis was suggested by Huku in the Mahenye village and Juru of the Nyamutsapa community as a way of making tourism effectively alleviate poverty. They stated that this would ensure that community members benefit equally. Yet, elite domination remains a challenge: few individuals were controlling the employment system. The elected community committees should be given a role to make sure that those involved in employing local people are rotating the casual workers.

7.11 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has presented the results of the in-depth interviews conducted with local people in Manicaland and key informants in the country. The results show that most of the interviewed rural people perceived poverty as a lack of basic needs, especially food and clothing, while some defined it as not having farm implements, domestic animals, and not affording school fees. The majority of them attributed poverty to the lack of employment opportunities while others perceived their peripheral location, lack of education and farm implements as the causes of poverty.

The chapter also indicates that tourism seems to be contributing to poverty alleviation and community development through the construction of social development projects, the provision of employment and the disbursements given to the project members annually. In spite of regarding tourism as a tool of poverty alleviation, many local people still spent their time doing other income-

generating activities. The barriers that prevented their participation in tourism included a lack of tourism knowledge, limited time to participate in tourism, inadequate benefits of tourism, the policy framework, limited finance, peripherality, marginalisation of women, elite domination, lack of decentralisation, and lack of community consensus. While tourism development has empowered local people economically, socially, politically, and psychologically, signs of disempowerment were still found. The next chapter will discuss the research findings in more depth.

CHAPTER 8 DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyses and combines the main findings that were presented in Chapters Five to Seven in this thesis. The discussions presented in this chapter are based on the four research objectives that were stated in Chapter One. First, the tourism-poverty relationship is examined. Second, the link between tourism and community development is elaborated. Finally, the interrelationships between tourism, poverty alleviation, and community development are discussed.

8.2 TOURISM AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION

The findings of this research indicate that a majority of the local people in Manicaland survive by farming and that the crops grown vary from district to district. They, therefore, tend to perceive poverty as a lack of food. Poverty is generally defined as the lack of enough food to feed the family. Thus, those who cannot afford to feed their families are considered poor. The dearth of farm implements and/or farm inputs, as well as domestic animals, is also perceived as a sign of being poor by some people. Various views of poverty are found among local poor people, which include not affording school fees, a lack of knowledge, and being unemployed. This finding is similar to that of Truong, Hall and Gary (2014:1076) who showed that poor people in Sapa, Vietnam defined poverty as a shortage of food, but it is different from that of Holden, Sonne and Novelli (2011:326) who indicated that poor people in Elmina, Ghana defined poverty as a lack of income. On the contrary, some indigenous communities may not consider themselves poor if they can preserve their culture and utilise natural resources (Chapter Two). Likewise, Suntikul *et al.* (2009:162) found that villagers in Viengxay, Laos did not consider themselves poor despite being in the quantitative definitions of poverty. This suggests that poverty is multi-dimensional and is interpreted differently by different people in different locations and contexts. This illustrates the weaknesses of the WB and the IMF's US\$1 per day measurement of poverty (Chapter Two). It has also been argued that poverty reduction policies and strategies have failed because they ignore local people's IKS as well as local participation (Krishna, 2003:634; Kotler *et al.*, 2006:238; Unwin, 2007:946; Carr, 2008:728; Chapter Two). Therefore, this study attests that the perspectives and lived experiences of poor people need to be considered in the design of policies, projects, and strategies aimed at alleviating poverty (Krantz, 2001:11; Holden *et al.*, 2011:332; Pleumarom, 2012:46; Holden, 2013:128; Truong *et al.*, 2014:1071,1087; Chapter Two).

The poverty prevalence in Manicaland's rural communities can be attributed mainly to the lack of employment opportunities and peripherality. However, it is also suggested that most people lack the required education and knowledge, resulting in them either occupying low-paying jobs or failing to secure employment at all. As indicated in Chapter Seven, most people have four or more children as well as extended families, which places them in a difficult position to afford higher education than primary schooling for their children. Local people also spend most of their time doing other livelihood activities, especially farming (Chapter Five). Therefore, a majority of them consider tourism as a means to supplement their income during the non-farming season, engaging in various tourism activities such as selling crafts and curios and performing traditional dances to tourists. This thesis suggests that tourism development is economically important and culturally and environmentally significant to the rural communities of Manicaland since it makes use of the natural and cultural resources available in their communities.

Although the main objective of CBT development is to alleviate poverty in poor rural areas (Murphree, 2004:206; Lukhele & Mearns, 2013:119; Chapter Three), some scholars (e.g., Goodwin & Santilli, 2009:9; Groverman, 2012:26; Lukhele & Mearns, 2013:202; Croes, 2014:207; Chapter Two) argue that the vast research on tourism has not been able to demonstrate its impact on the poor in developing countries. This study has revealed that the majority of the interviewed local people perceived tourism to be a tool of poverty alleviation as it offered them employment opportunities, created markets for their crafts and curios, and provided disbursements in the form of fertilisers and maize seeds (Chapter Seven). Indeed, many local people interviewed stated that their living conditions had been improved as a result of tourism development. In contrast to some previous research that has drawn a relatively poor picture of the impacts of tourism on poverty (Vanhove, 1997:61; Mihalic, 2002:101; Scheyvens, 2007:238), this research has shown that tourism development can contribute to poverty reduction by providing employment opportunities, enhancing food and nutrition security through the distribution of meat from trophy hunting, and reducing reliance on agriculture (Chapter Seven). This study suggests that the establishment of CBT projects in poor rural communities may be a viable strategy for poverty reduction. Nonetheless, it is argued that tourism employment may not guarantee poverty reduction as it mostly improves monetary conditions whilst ignoring other aspects of poverty such as long working hours and verbal abuse which are some attributes of employment in the tourism industry (Scheyvens, 2009a:194; Gartner & Cukier, 2012:560; Chapter Two). For example, in Manicaland, the local people occupied the low-level jobs, which are mostly characterised by these conditions. In that case, tourism employment may perpetuate poverty (Gartner & Cukier, 2012:560). As the

visited CBT projects in Manicaland were located in peripheral locations, tourism jobs were crucial as there were limited alternative employment opportunities for the local people. Previous research (e.g., Richard, 2007:17; Zhou, 2017:2; Yang *et al.*, 2018:2) found that the arts, crafts and curios contribute to poverty alleviation through income generation and providing employment to local poor people. Nevertheless, this research shows that the sector's ability to generate reasonable revenues is affected by low tourist arrivals. The limited pricing skills also affected the crafts and curios' sector's potential to generate revenues in Manicaland (Madzara, Yekeye & Rewayi, 2012:15-16; MoTHI, 2016:49; GoZ, MoTHI & JICA, 2017a:33; GoZ, MoTHI & JICA, 2017b:14; ZTA, 2018b:1; Chapter Seven). For the craft and curio sellers to maximise on the revenues generated from the sale of their products, this thesis suggests that they should get some training in pricing and negotiating skills and in improving the quality of their products.

This study identified a number of prevalent barriers to poverty alleviation in Manicaland. Limited education as the most prevalent barrier to poverty alleviation not only denied local people an opportunity to occupy high-paying jobs, but it also resulted in unfavourable contractual agreements between the private sector partners and the communities. As highlighted in Chapter Five, the lack of education and relevant skills by community members resulted in the failure to diversify products offered by the CBT projects (e.g., Gairezi CBT). The other common barrier to poverty alleviation was peripherality, which prompted low tourist arrivals as the projects were not easily accessible due to their location and bad roads. Corruption was identified as another barrier to poverty alleviation as one interviewee in the Mahenye village stated that "*The rampant corruption at Chipinge RDC is affecting the disbursement of trophy hunting revenues to our community*". Likewise, Spenceley and Meyer (2012:305) found that corruption in government departments was a major barrier to local communities reaping tourism's benefit in Tanzania. Given a chance to get the revenues, local people stated that they could have started other income generating projects to benefit their communities (Chapter Seven). In Zambia, Dixey's (2008:334) research concluded that some communities with CBT projects did not realise revenues due to poor governance. The RDCs were also criticised for failing to involve communities in decision making (Chapters Three, Five, and Seven). In Zimbabwe, most research has concentrated on poor governance issues among the institutions involved with CBT development (e.g. Bond & Cumming, 2006:491; Balint & Mashinya, 2008a:789; 2008b:128; Dhliwayo *et al.*, 2009:78; Child & Barnes, 2010:288). This research has, however, shown that corruption could also be a major factor affecting the disbursement of tourism revenues to the local communities. This study suggests that of the four methods used to select a safari operator, which include negotiating and

roll-over, postal tender only, postal tender and interview, public auction (CAMPFIRE Association, 2003:13-15), public auction seems to be the most transparent to deal with corruption. Furthermore, since the RDCs have undermined devolution of power and authority to grassroots levels (Tchakatumba *et al.*, 2019:133; Chapters Three, Five, and Seven), there is a need to have a policy framework and institutions in place that ensure that power is transferred to local communities.

The results of this study show that the non-CAMPFIRE projects and those without external partners/donors were not generating substantial benefits for the local people (Chapters Three and Seven). Simpson (2008:7) argues that the inclusion of external partners in tourism development ensures that the CBT projects get more sustainable and prolonged benefits. This research indicates that a majority of the functional CBT projects have an external partner/funder (Chapters Five and Seven). Conversely, the heavy reliance on donors has been criticised for reinforcing dependency as communities fail to run the projects on their own when the donors withdraw their support (Kiss, 2004:232; Manyara & Jones, 2007:639; Dixey, 2008:335; Mitchell & Muckosey, 2008:1; Kontogeorgopoulos, Churyen & Duangsaeng, 2014:115; Chapters Three, Five and Seven). Therefore, this research suggests that the external partners should capacitate the local people in order to prepare them for the eventual takeover of the projects. This thesis has also revealed that CBT projects which specialise in consumptive tourism have done much better in terms of bringing both direct and indirect benefits to the rural communities (Chapters Five and Seven). This is due to the fact that consumptive tourism is less affected by economic and political problems (Chapter Seven). As this research has shown that tourism cannot be relied on as a sole strategy for poverty reduction (Chapter Seven), it is suggested that local people should not abandon their livelihood activities (e.g., farming) and should utilise other natural resources at their disposal as well.

Pro-poor tourism proponents have argued that poor communities can benefit through the secondary effects of tourism, which include the sale of agricultural products (Chapter Two). Likewise, Ahebwa and van der Duim's (2013:104-105) research indicated that rural people in the Buhoma-Mukono communities in Uganda benefited from tourism development by supplying local lodges with bananas, milk, vegetables, and eggs. However, this research found that despite farming being the main economic activity in Manicaland, local people struggled to get markets for their products as the local lodges preferred to buy their vegetables from external suppliers. This, therefore, resulted in leakages. Anderson (2013:70) argued that the tourism sector could only play an important role in poverty reduction if there is effective integration with the local economy, particularly agriculture. This study shows that leakages in Manicaland were visible not only in the agricultural sector but in the employment pattern as well since most managerial positions were

occupied by outsiders (Chapter Seven). These findings confirm Chirenje *et al.*'s (2013:13-14) research, which found that the most common form of leakage in Nyanga district was the importation of foodstuffs by the accommodation establishments while most tourism high-paying jobs were occupied by outsiders. This research proposes that the local lodges should consider local linkages in the supply chain while preparing local people for managerial positions by conducting relevant training programmes. The rural lodges should also promote local cuisines so that they might purchase not only local vegetables but also other locally produced products. Promoting local cuisines means that local people utilise their IK, which does not require special cooking skills, as in the case of preparing Western dishes. In terms of leakages caused by the employment pattern, limited capacity among local people was found to be the main contributor (Chapters Five and Seven). As a way of dealing with employment leakages, this research suggests that the private sector partners identify academically gifted children from the local communities and fund their education up to tertiary level so that they can occupy higher positions at the lodges. They may start as interns in order to gain experience and self-confidence and then eventually take over managerial positions. Such an arrangement would help ensure CBT projects continue after private partners decide to pull out.

The results of this thesis show that in an endeavour to reduce poverty, tourism development created inequalities among local poor people as some did not benefit (Chapter Seven). Inequalities prompt jealousy and internal conflicts among community members and this, in turn, affects community cohesion (Simpson, 2008:11; Ahebwa & van der Duim, 2013:98; Lukhele & Mearns, 2013:211). Tourism benefits are regarded as pro-poor if they only consider the inequality context of the poor (Croes & Rivera, 2016:73). It is usually the poorest groups within communities that are excluded from the provision of tourism benefits. This research has shown that inequalities were also caused by elite domination and this, in turn, affected the realisation of benefits by the communities' poorest groups (Chapter Five). Therefore, tourism development must be reoriented according to local poor people's interests so that they realise tourism benefits (Forstner, 2004:500). This research, thus, proposes that the CBT projects be linked to the markets and/or tour operators so that the challenge of low tourist arrivals is averted and more employment opportunities may be created while markets for crafts and curios are expanded for the majority of poor community members to benefit from tourism. Similarly, local poor people should have a voice in tourism development as poverty alleviation is not only about addressing the lack of income but also having an opportunity to participate in community issues (Chapters Two and Seven).

Chapter Two in this thesis states that the WB has adopted empowerment as one of its primary strategies for poverty reduction since the beginning of the new millennium. The WB advocates for the participation of the poor in economic, social, and institutional aspects that influence their lives. This is in line with the UN's SDGs, which aim to eliminate poverty through the combination and balance of the three dimensions of sustainable development (economic, social, and environmental). Other pro-poor scholars (Krishna, 2003:634; Kotler *et al.*, 2006:238; Unwin, 2007:946; Carr, 2008:728) emphasise that participation and empowerment are critical to poverty alleviation and advocate for the incorporation of IKS in development initiatives (Chapter Two). However, this research has found that there are still prevalent barriers to community participation in tourism as well as signs of disempowerment (Chapters Five and Seven). It is, thus, possible to claim that tourism's potential to alleviate poverty in rural poor communities has been partly affected by the limitations to community participation in tourism as well as the disempowerment which is visible. This thesis suggests that there is a need to come up with policies and legislation that address the land tenure rights in consultation with the poor rural people to deal with the identified barriers to community participation and community empowerment in tourism.

The literature on PPT emphasises the creation of jobs as one of the major strategies of reducing poverty even though the jobs may be low-paying (Chapter Two). This study has shown that concentrating on the number of jobs without emphasising their quality may fail to address poverty alleviation in poor communities as leakages may result when high-paying jobs are taken by outsiders. This research, therefore, suggests the employment of local people in higher positions since some villages such as Matsetso and Mahenye had graduates who were unemployed (Chapter Seven). They, however, might need some basic training in tourism management as they did not study tourism. PPT proponents also believe in the trickle-down of income to the poor people (Chapter Two). According to the results of this study, the trickle-down effect has been limited by elite domination and also due to the fact that tourism revenues were not paid directly into community accounts but instead through third parties (Chapters Five and Seven). This study suggests that the government should ensure that the CAMPFIRE guidelines which stipulate that revenues must be paid directly into community accounts are adhered to. Likewise, alternative strategies that discourage elite domination should be adopted. For example, the creation of a local body which comprises community representatives such as traditional leaders, women groups, elected committee members, and youth groups help oversee the distribution of revenues. The next section discusses the linkage between tourism and community development.

8.3 THE LINKAGE BETWEEN TOURISM AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Although tourism is regarded as an effective tool for development, its direct relationship with development is still debatable (Forstner, 2004:497; Sharples, 2009:178; Holden, 2013:51; Ahebwa & van der Duim, 2013:97, UNWTO, 2018:24). The relationship between tourism growth and the overall level of development in many countries appears to be less clear (UNWTO, 2018:25). Yet, this research has found that a majority of the interviewees believed that tourism development benefitted rural communities in Manicaland socially, economically, environmentally, and culturally. This substantiates Beeton's (2006:80) view that community development is shaped by a range of social, psychological, cultural, economic and environmental factors. The meaning of community development in the CBT context refers to community well-being, as seen by the members of that community (Beeton, 2006:80; Kontogeorgopoulos, Churyen & Duangsaeng, 2014:107; Chapter Three). Despite benefiting rural communities in Manicaland socially (through the construction of social development projects), economically (lease fees, meat from trophy hunting), environmentally (conservation of flora and fauna), and culturally (preservation of culture, heritage and incorporation of IKS in tourism development), this study has established that local people prefer personal benefits rather than community benefits. One respondent in Mahenye village stated, *"I think we benefitted in the early days of the project when we used to get household income"*. Indeed, Simpson's (2008:11) research revealed that local people resented the construction of social development projects because they did not meet their expectations. This study suggests that community development should be done in consultation with the local poor people rather than being imposed by the government or external partners. For example, the use of the CAMPFIRE revenues for the construction of social development projects was due to the GoZ's decree (Taylor & Murphree, 2007:25; Chapter Five). Murombedzi (1991:20) posited that local interests are ignored in the implementation of the CAMPFIRE programme. Nonetheless, Bond and Cumming (2006:491) argued that household incomes became useless due to the high number of people in rural families. This evidence is consistent with Ahebwa and van der Duim's (2013:105) research which found that the huge population of the Buhoma-Mukono communities in Uganda made it difficult for the tourism revenues to be distributed equally among the local people.

Since community development is a broad concept (Chapter Two), Telfer (2003:155-156) contends that it entails empowerment, participation, partnership, community capacity, and community change. This research concurs with Telfer's (2003) view as the results reveal that tourism development brought about community development in Manicaland's rural areas through empowering local people economically, psychologically, socially, and politically. However, the

findings of this study also show that disempowerment still existed due to elite domination, the sporadic nature of tourism revenues, the marginalisation of women, and a lack of local people's voice in tourism development. Other researchers (e.g., Scheyvens, 2003a:244; Dhliwayo *et al.*, 2009:62; Boley & McGehee, 2014:92; Stone, 2015:96) also found that although local people were empowered in CBT initiatives, signs of disempowerment were still visible (e.g. Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust in Botswana, Mahenye CBT project in Zimbabwe). In terms of community participation, Fennel (2003:159) and Dhliwayo *et al.* (2009:63) argued that empowerment could not be separated from community participation as it aims to take community participation to a higher level where communities have a voice in tourism development. Butcher (2012:102) claims that "community participation...does not warrant its generally held status as part of a progressive shift in development policies, specifically with regard to tourism". In terms of community empowerment, this thesis suggests that the CBT approach in Zimbabwe needs to address land tenure rights and to craft a policy that gives local people power to make decisions in tourism development in order to minimise signs of disempowerment. Although one of the key objectives of the country's NTP advocates for women empowerment, this study shows that women are still marginalised due to cultural reasons. This research suggests the education of rural men through workshops and various fora regarding the importance of empowering women. This should be done by relevant stakeholders involved with CBT development in the country. Furthermore, the GoZ should make sure that all the local structures and institutions reserve positions for women so that they are not marginalised. Local women may need to form co-operatives which specialise in making crafts and curios. These products have culturally been made by women; hence, this may not be regarded as conflicting with their cultural duties. This does not require much training as well since IK is utilised. However, there may be a need for exchange programmes with other successful women associations and co-operatives such as the Lupane Women's Centre which has penetrated international markets to improve the quality of their products as well as to get exposure and the opportunity to connect with foreign markets (Atelier55, 2013; Bafana, 2015).

The use of tourism to bring about community development is fraught with challenges (Lukhele & Mearns, 2013:201; Chapters Two, Five, and Seven). Indeed, this research found that limited education was the most prevalent barrier to community participation in tourism (Chapter Seven). Thus, this research proposes the capacitation of local people through training in various tourism-related disciplines. The other common limitation to local people's participation in tourism was the failure by the RDCs and private sector partners to devolve power and authority to the local people as one villager from the Dazi community stated that "*Our participation in tourism is limited*

by our private sector partner who makes all the bookings for the Gairezi CBT projects' chalets and makes all key decisions without consulting us". This concurs with Mohamed-Katerere (2001:127), who observed that rural communities are mere "gate-keepers" as they are not involved in all levels of decision-making. As stated, the crafting of laws and policies which promote devolution in consultation with local people could be the solution. Local people need to be empowered by having title deeds to the land so that they are able to borrow money to fund their projects. One of the major barriers to community participation in tourism identified in this research is the fact that local people prefer to spend their time doing other livelihood activities since little revenues are generated from the CBT projects (Chapters Five and Seven). Tchakatumba *et al.* (2019:121) argue that local people participate in CBT projects when benefits fare well in comparison with other land use options such as agriculture and livestock. The results of this thesis show that little revenues were generated due to low tourist arrivals, and the situation was exacerbated by the revenue distribution mechanism, which created inequalities. Therefore, this research suggests that the ZTA and the MoTHI should devise a marketing strategy for CBT projects such as advertising them through their websites as well as encouraging some tour operators to do the same. Furthermore, a fair revenue distribution strategy should be devised in consultation with the local people. The next section describes the interrelationships between tourism, poverty alleviation, and community development, which is the main objective of this research.

8.4 INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN TOURISM, POVERTY ALLEVIATION, AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Although there have been efforts to link tourism with poverty alleviation since the 1950s (Chapter Two), much has not been done to show the interrelationships between tourism, poverty alleviation, and community development (UNWTO, 2018:25). The findings of this research indicate that the lack of employment opportunities is the most critical barrier to poverty alleviation in Manicaland. The formation of joint ventures (JVs) between communities and external partners (private sector or NGOs) seems to be the most appropriate strategy to address this barrier. These partners inject funds into the projects so that they can expand and employ more people. This thesis recommends that experiences from Kenya (e.g., Lions Bluff), Rwanda (e.g., Sabinyo Silverback Lodge), Uganda (e.g., Clouds Mountain Gorilla Lodge), Tanzania (e.g., Manyara Ranch Tented Camp), and Zambia (Machenje Fishing Lodge) may offer some learning points (van Wijk, Lamers & van der Duim, 2015b:212). These projects were implemented based on the African Wildlife Foundation's (AWF) Tourism Conservation Enterprise (TCE) joint venture model (van Wijk,

Lamers & van der Duim, 2015b:209) in which three parties (communities, private sector partners & NGOs) are involved. In the case of Manicaland, only two partners (communities and private sector partners) were involved (e.g. Mahenye and Gairezi CBT projects). Under the TCE model, the community becomes the land owner who provides land for the construction of lodges through different funding mechanisms, usually donor funding. The second party (the private sector) runs the TCE as a sound business through managing, sales and marketing, and product development since local people lack the required business skills and the capacity to perform such activities (van Wijk *et al.*, 2015b:209; Chapters Two, Five, and Seven). The NGO is the trusted third party and helps to prepare and establish a deal between the community and the private sector partner. In Kenya, the AWF is the third party responsible for mobilising the community, raising capital, identifying private sector partners, handling legal issues regarding the contracts, and business planning. Additionally, the AWF acts as the interim arbitrator in case the deal is contested (van Wijk *et al.*, 2015b:209). The TCE is governed by a trust through a Board of Trustees, which has equal representation of all the three parties involved (van Wijk *et al.*, 2015b:209). As the TCE joint venture model regards communities as owners of the land and the infrastructure constructed with donor funds, it empowers local people while the NGO's role in ensuring that the community gets a favourable contract may avert the limitations to community participation (Chapters Five and Seven). The private sector partner's linkage with the market may address the issue of low tourist arrivals. This results in more revenues being generated from the projects. Since the TCE model is governed by a trust, tourism revenues are deposited directly into communities' bank accounts. This may be the solution to the delay in the disbursement of revenues to the communities by the RDCs while it might give local people an opportunity to freely decide what to do with the tourism revenues (Chapters Two, Three, Five and Seven).

To apply this model to the Manicaland context and Zimbabwe as a whole, this thesis further suggests that the Rural District Councils Act [Chapter 29:31] be amended as it was noted that the success of the trusts depends upon the willingness of the RDCs to allow communities to take an increased management responsibility (Jones, 2004:28; Chapter Five). The power structures in Zimbabwe's rural communities may also affect the implementation of the TCE model due to complex authorities and structures in place (Centre for Conflict Management and Transformation (CCMT), 2015:32). Some of these structures were discussed in Chapter Three (e.g., the RDCs, VIDCOs, WADCOs, and traditional leaders which include chiefs and village heads). These structures have overlapping functions, especially with respect to land allocation (CCMT, 2015:18). This results in bureaucracy, which may frustrate external partners as it may take long to have the

JVs approved (Snyman & Spenceley, 2019:30). Siakwah, Musavengane, and Leonard (2019:19) argue that overlapping jurisdictions and competing institutions make it difficult to establish collaborative natural resources management institutions as the competing institutions tend to attract conflicts due to diverse goals. Mohamed-Katerere (2001:124) claims that there have been increasing power struggles among the institutions involved in natural resources management in Zimbabwe especially the traditional leadership and the RDCs. Furthermore, these various structures have different priorities and interests, which are exacerbated by the legislation that does not clarify their responsibilities and relationships (CCMT, 2015:32). However, the NGOs' responsibilities in the TCE model of being a mediator and handling legal issues may be instrumental in addressing these challenges. Politics may also hinder the successful implementation of the TCE model in Manicaland. The GoZ seems to involve politics in most institutions including those in the tourism sector (Siakwah *et al.*, 2019:18). For example, each RDC has an office of the councillor who is politically elected during the general elections. The councillor has a role in community-based projects from the ward he/she represents. Similarly, the chiefs and village heads get a monthly salary from the GoZ. Chiefs even receive brand new vehicles every five years from the government. The GoZ has been, therefore, criticised for turning the position of the chiefs into a political office (Dodo, 2013:35). Due to the direct and indirect influence of politics on these institutions, their decisions and actions tend to be politically motivated rather than being independent. Local people's participation in tourism has also been affected by this political environment as they have been divided along political party affiliations (Chapters Five and Seven). The ruling party has always suspected NGOs and the private sector for having a regime change agenda; hence, the involvement of the NGOs and the private sector in the TCE model might face resistance from the institutions involved with CBT development as a way of protecting their image in the eyes of the government. This thesis suggests that the GoZ should not politically interfere in tourism development programmes as investors and donors are pushed away, thereby affecting the alleviation of poverty.

Nevertheless, the TCE model might not address the issue of inequalities brought about by tourism development as some people might remain unemployed due to limited skills and knowledge while the marginalisation of women might continue due to cultural reasons (Chapters Five and Seven). This suggests that local people should embark on what Gujadhur and Motshubi (2001:26) call self-managed tourism, which relies on local people's indigenous knowledge and skills while targeting very rare tourism niche markets. Its products include curios and crafts, traditional dance performances, gastronomy (with emphasis on traditional dishes), storytelling,

and homestays in thatched African huts. These products require minimal training in new skills since they depend on the utilisation of IKS and the participation of both men and women in tourism without conflicting with the traditional and cultural gender roles. The /Xai-/Xai community in Okavango Delta, Botswana may offer some learning points for this type of tourism. The SNV convinced the Maun based tour operators to include the /Xai-/Xai community in their tour packages (Gujadhur & Motshubi, 2001:25). Likewise, the private sector partners, the CAMPFIRE Association, the ZTA, the MoTHI, and NGOs involved with CBT development in Zimbabwe can encourage tour operators to include the CBT projects in their packages while they also market them through their websites as well as during travel conventions and shows. Once this happens the communities may start to realise the benefits of tourism and then be encouraged to participate in tourism. As for those who might not be interested in participating directly in tourism, this study suggests that they should be given the opportunity to become part of the value chain where they can sell their agricultural products to the local lodges.

Although poverty alleviation should result in community development, the lack of empirical evidence on the role of tourism in reducing poverty (Chapter Two) seems to make it difficult to show the interrelationships between tourism, poverty alleviation, and community development. Nonetheless, this thesis' findings appear to suggest that these interrelationships clearly exist. As tourists visit poor rural communities for either consumptive or non-consumptive tourism activities, revenues are generated while employment opportunities are created, and markets are developed for curios and crafts. This reduces poverty levels by providing household incomes, school fees, additional income, and disbursements in the form of fertiliser and maize seeds (Chapters Two, Three, and Seven). In turn, local people participate in tourism development by taking part in various tourism related activities, which include but are not limited to the production and selling of crafts and curios and performing traditional dances to tourists. They may also participate through the elected committees (Chapters Two, Three, and Seven). A framework which illustrate these interrelationships is developed in the next chapter (Figure 9-1).

8.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has combined and analysed in more depth the main findings obtained in this research. The tourism-poverty alleviation relationship was revisited, where the findings of this research and those from previous studies were discussed. The connection between tourism and community development was then outlined with specific reference to the case study area of Manicaland province. Finally, the interconnection between tourism, poverty alleviation, and community development was explained. The next chapter draws conclusions from this study wherein a tourism

and community development framework is developed. The chapter also provides areas for further research.

CHAPTER 9 CONCLUSION AND FUTURE RESEARCH

9.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter concludes this research by elucidating the main findings and the main arguments provided in the previous chapters. First, the main findings of this research are summarised. Second, the theoretical, practical, and methodological contributions of this research to the study of poverty, PPT, and tourism overall are elaborated wherein a tourism and community development framework is developed. Third, the limitations to the study are noted, and areas for future research indicated. Finally, the main conclusions of this research are highlighted. The discussions given in this chapter are centred on the four main research questions stated in Chapter One: What are the barriers to community participation in tourism as identified by CBT projects in Zimbabwe? What are the roles of tourism as a means of community development and poverty alleviation as perceived by local people in Manicaland? What are the obstacles to community development and poverty alleviation as perceived by local people in Manicaland? What are the roles of tourism as a means of community development and poverty alleviation as perceived by key informants?

9.2 SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

This research has examined the interrelationships between tourism, poverty alleviation, and community development with Manicaland province in Zimbabwe being the case study area. It started by examining the community, development, and community development concepts (Chapter Two). These concepts were found to be broad but relevant to tourism studies. This study found that tourism involves visiting places and; people, and hence it cannot exist outside of a community context. As for development, it is argued that tourism brings about economic, social, environmental, and cultural benefits to poor communities (Chapters Two and Seven). Tourism is seen as a tool for community development as it contributes to national economies and has the ability to unify local communities. Furthermore, this thesis argues that community development is a process of empowerment, while its most important principle is participation (Chapter Two).

The tourism-poverty nexus was explored as the main focus of this research (Chapter Two), where it was found that the definition and measurement of poverty have changed over time. In the 1950s, the concept was only concerned with economic issues and was measured by GDP growth. This view has evolved over the years, wherein poverty became a multi-dimensional concept. Nevertheless, the WB and the IMF's US\$1 a day measure remains the most widely used indicator of poverty on a global scale.

The relationship between tourism and community development has been presented where it was revealed that academics criticised mass tourism for failing to trickle-down benefits to poor people, and hence alternative forms of tourism were sought wherein CBT emerged as one of them. This prompted a number of studies on CBT in which a number of models have been developed (Chapter Two). Some of these models emphasise the empowerment of local people and their participation in tourism while advocating for a bottom-up approach to tourism development. The models also show that external partners should be strategically involved in ways that minimise leakages. It has been argued that alongside CBT, PPT can bring about community development and help reduce poverty (Chapter Two). However, there is a lack of quantitative data to demonstrate the impacts of tourism on poor people. Attempts have been made to quantify the impacts of tourism on the poor through value chain analysis, assessment of tourism impacts, governance and biodiversity conservation, input output (I-O) models, and Computable General Equilibrium (CGE) models (Mitchell, 2012; Snyman, 2012, Nelson, 2012), which, however, have ignored poor people's perspectives and lived experiences (Chapter Two). Therefore, a qualitative approach that seeks the perspectives and experiences of poor people in relation to tourism and poverty alleviation has been adopted in this study.

This thesis has shown that CBT and PPT are relevant to Africa due to its high poverty rates. The CBNRM approach from which the CBT concept emerged is not new to indigenous African people, because rural communities have used their IKS to conserve natural resources through taboos, totemism, and the imposition of sacred sites which were enforced by local institutions such as traditional leaders (Chapter Two). It is further argued that these strategies have been instrumental in conserving endangered species that are still found in Africa today, such as the African elephant (*Loxodonta africana*). Thus, this thesis suggests that CBT development should incorporate local people's IKS and culture.

The tourism development and poverty situation in Zimbabwe was discussed in Chapter Three to set the context for this research. The country appears to provide an appropriate setting for this research, where poverty is a dominantly rural phenomenon, and most CBT projects were established in poor rural communities. Tourism development in Zimbabwe is divided into two main phases (i.e., the pre-independence phase 1975-1979 and the post-independence phase 1980-present) where significant changes have been found regarding the intervention of the GoZ into tourism development. While various poverty reduction strategies have been implemented by the GoZ, tourism was only regarded officially as a tool of poverty alleviation after the formation of the GNU in 2009 when the NTP was crafted and came into effect in 2014 (Chapter Three). The

evolution of CBT in Zimbabwe has been most visible through the CAMPFIRE programme, although there has been an increase in non-CAMPFIRE projects in recent years.

Chapter Four discussed the selection of the research methods as well as the research design. The qualitative approach is deemed to be the most appropriate to achieve the objectives set in this study. The qualitative research methods used in this study (content analysis, in-depth interviews, direct observations, and informal conversations) allowed the researcher to obtain a deep understanding of the living conditions of the respondents (Truong, 2014a:221). A two-stage design was formulated. The first stage involved a content analysis of CBT projects in Zimbabwe (Chapters One and Four). A systematic search of CBT projects and documents was made. A total of 84 projects were identified, which were then analysed on the basis of Tosun's (2000) typology of barriers to community participation in tourism (Chapter Five). Twenty-two projects were found to indicate the barriers to community participation in tourism. These include a lack of land tenure rights, limited capacity, lack of devolution of power and authority to grassroots levels, elite domination, lack of consultation in decision-making regarding the use of tourism revenues, lack of funds, and apathy. This stage has helped answer the first research question posed in this thesis.

Before seeking answers to the remaining research questions posed, Chapter Six provided an overview of the case study area of Manicaland province. Although the province has the potential to be one of the leading destinations in the country, it is not easily accessible due to the absence of air connectivity, which is exacerbated by bad roads. Poverty alleviation remains a priority in Manicaland as 70% of the people live in absolute poverty (ZBC, 2017; Chapters Six and Seven). Since the province is home to a number of CBT projects, some of which are regarded as success stories (e.g., Mahenye and Gairezi), it has proven to be an ideal case study area for exploring poor people's points of view regarding the potential of tourism to alleviate poverty and bring about community development.

The second stage of this research involved the collection of data from the key informants in Harare and Manicaland as well as in the four districts in the case study area (Chipinge, Chimanimani, Mutare, Nyanga). In-depth interviews were conducted with 43 local poor people and 22 key informants (government employees and specialist agencies). The in-depth interviews were enriched by informal conversations, indirect observations, and field notes. This study indicates that local people defined poverty as a lack of food and clothing and that they attributed it to both internal and external causes. They regard tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation and community development as it provides employment, creates markets for crafts and curios as well as brings about social, economic, environmental, and cultural benefits. The most common barriers

to community participation in tourism, according to the interviewees, include the lack of tourism knowledge and skills, limited finance, peripherality, elite domination, and the marginalisation of women. Although the local people perceived limited tourism knowledge and skills as the main barrier to community participation in tourism, the key informants regarded the policy framework and the lack of devolution of power to community members as the most critical obstacles. This research also shows that although tourism development has empowered local people, disempowerment still exists.

This research suggests that the land tenure issue be addressed so that local people may be empowered. Furthermore, local people should diversify their products, especially the Mahenye CBT, that relies on consumptive tourism. Trophy hunting is likely to be greatly affected once the USA's President signs the proposed Cecil Act (Kuyedzwa, 2019) that aims to impose a total ban on the importation of elephant or lion trophies from Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Zambia (Mooney, 2019). As stated, American hunters are the biggest market for Zimbabwe's trophy hunting (Chapter Three). Trophy hunting has also been recording massive booking cancellations during the past three years (Dlamini, 2019). There is thus a need to diversify the products offered by CBT projects. This study further suggests that women's participation should be promoted by reserving some positions for women in the elected committees as women empowerment is another effective way of reducing poverty and promoting community development (Chapter Three). This thesis suggests that the views of local people should be heard and considered in the policy making process to ensure that meaningful approaches to poverty alleviation through tourism can be formulated.

9.3 CONTRIBUTIONS OF THIS RESEARCH

Although considerable research has been conducted on tourism, poverty alleviation, and community development (Hashimoto, 2015; Jamal & Dredge, 2015), very little focused exclusively on Manicaland province. Those studies that have been done on the potential of tourism to alleviate poverty in Manicaland (Chirenje *et al.*, 2013; Chirenje, 2017) concentrated on a single district (Nyanga). These studies did not give local people an opportunity to voice their views and lived experiences. The present study has investigated the interrelationships between tourism, poverty alleviation, and community development, suggesting that tourism may help alleviate poverty in poor rural communities by providing both direct and indirect benefits. Thus, it contributes to the literature on tourism, poverty alleviation, and community development by generating new knowledge on the contemporary situation of poor people in Manicaland. In other words, it adds a local voice perspective to the study of tourism, poverty, and community

development, and to tourism research at large (Truong, Liu & Pham, 2019:13). Theoretically, this research extends the extant tourism literature on poverty in that it has not merely looked at the economic impacts of tourism but rather argues that poor people also need to be empowered through the recognition and incorporation of their IKS and culture in tourism development. This study suggests that poor rural African people are not only concerned with attaining economic benefits but environmental and cultural benefits as well (Chapter Seven). According to them, these two aspects are arguably their most valuable assets that bring self-esteem. This could be the reason why indigenous communities may not consider themselves poor if they can preserve their culture and utilise natural resources (Chapters Two and Eight).

Methodologically, this research sets itself apart from prior studies on tourism and poverty in that it has employed multiple qualitative methods (content analysis, interviews, observations, and informal conversations) to shed light on the lived experiences of poor people in Manicaland and the challenges confronting them in participating in and benefiting from tourism. Rarely is a two-stage research design used in qualitative research (Wahyuni, 2012:76). This two-stage design has helped enhance the validity and reliability of this research (Chapter Four). A number of research instruments (five interview guides) were used during the research process which gave the various groups in poor communities an opportunity to express their views and experiences concerning tourism's role in poverty alleviation and community development.

On a practice front, this study is potentially helpful to academics, practitioners and the public in Zimbabwe as it has highlighted the roles of CBT projects in poverty reduction and bringing about community development as well as the challenges they face from local poor people's perspectives. Although studies on the role of tourism in poverty alleviation and community development dated back to the 1950s (Chapter Two), few have investigated the interrelationships between these bodies of knowledge (e.g., Southgate & Sharpley, 2015). As noted, the lack of empirical evidence has left a void in most of the prior studies on PPT (Chapter Two). Thus, this study has attempted to fill this gap in knowledge by developing a tourism and community development framework (Figure 9-1). The framework was based on both the literature reviewed and the findings obtained in this research wherein the shaded elements were added on basis of the analysis of the empirical data.

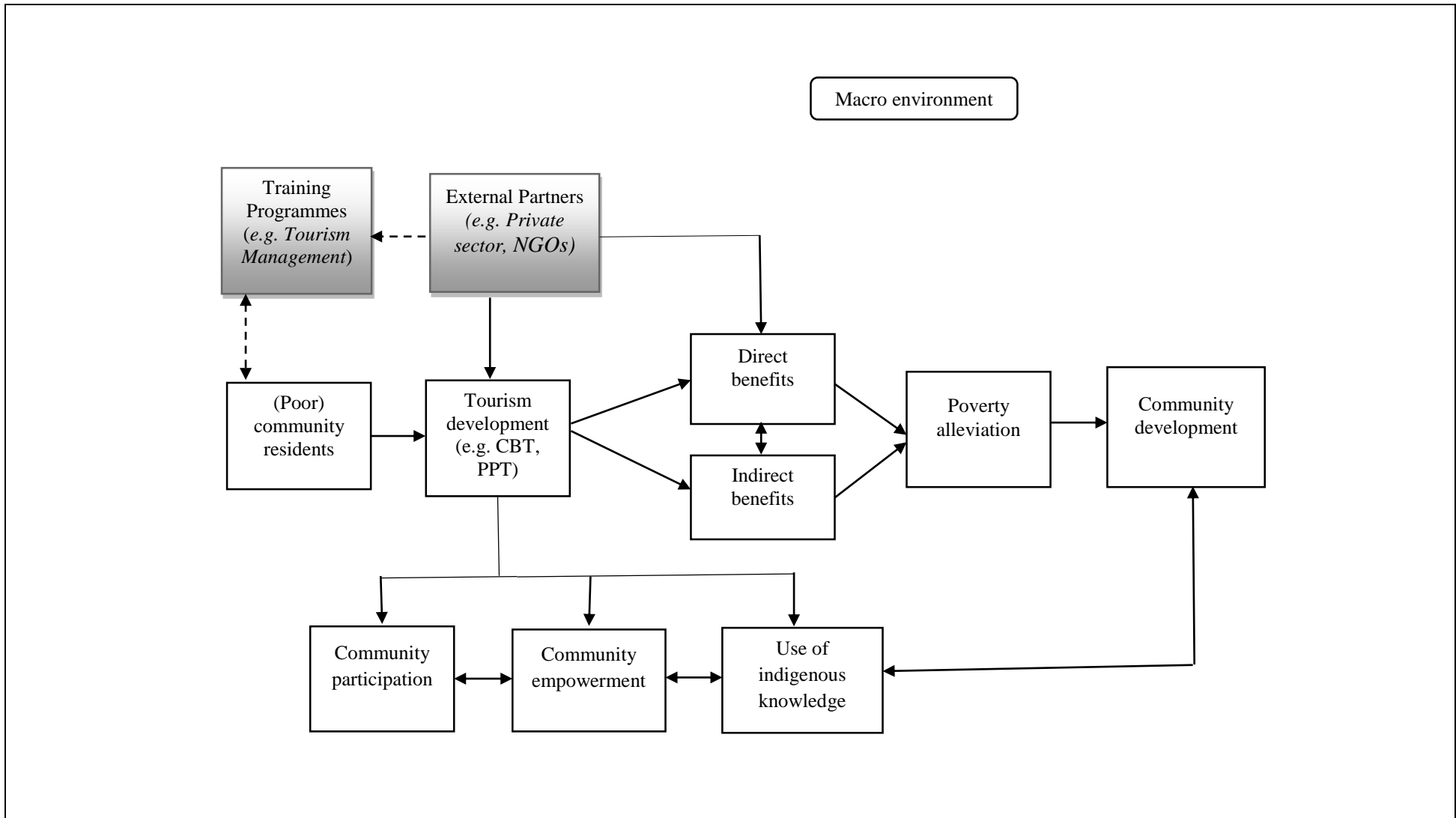


Figure 9-1: A tourism and community development framework

The elements of the framework are explained below:

Macro-environment

Tourism development takes place in a macro environment (i.e. political, social, technological, ecological, and legal). In Africa, political instability scares tourists (ZTA, 2008:5; Chapters Three, Six, and Seven) while its poor economies discourage domestic tourism and local people from investing in tourism. Elite domination results in the unfair distribution of tourism revenues and it also affects community cohesion (Chapters Five and Seven). The absence of information communication technology (ICT) increases leakages (Davison, Harris & Vogel, 2005:1398; Reino, Frew & Albacete-Saez, 2011:66; Pena, Jamilena & Molina, 2013:75-76) while wildlife attracts tourists to poor communities and is vital for poor people's livelihoods (Chapters Two, Three, Five and Seven). The absence of land title deeds for rural African people affects their participation in tourism (Jones, Diggle & Thouless, 2015:19; Chapters Five and Seven). In Africa, much of the macro environment is accountable for the poverty situation in communities; this raises the need for poor community residents to participate in tourism development as a means to escape from poverty.

Poor community residents

Unspoiled rural African communities and local people's culture attract tourists (Scheyvens, 2011b:85). Tourism development is called for in poor rural communities as a strategy for poverty alleviation (Chapter Three). To this end, poor community residents are encouraged to participate in tourism development.

Tourism development

A type of tourism that aims to increase net benefits and expand opportunities for poor community residents (e.g., CBT, PPT) is ideal for reducing poverty in poor rural communities. It should promote community participation, community empowerment, and the use of indigenous knowledge and culture in tourism development. As stated in Chapters Three and Seven, CBT development in the African context may require the financial and technical support of external partners. However, over-reliance on external partners is risky and thus there is a need to find strategies for generating revenues rather than sourcing funds from external partners by targeting increased tourist arrivals. This calls for the promotion of domestic tourism rather than concentrating on international tourism, which has not brought about the desired results (Chapter Three). Despite the harsh economic conditions, there is arguably a growing middle class that has the potential to both engage and invest in tourism (Zhou, 2016:11; Mapingure, du Plessis &

Saayman, 2019:4). As Zimbabwe's domestic tourists prefer visiting destinations that are closer to nature, give the opportunity to meet local people, and have cultural attractions (Mapingure *et al.*, 2019:6), they need to be provided with information about CBT projects so that they do not only visit national parks (Zhangazha, 2016; Chapter Six). However, the reparation of roads should be a priority to enhance accessibility. The introduction of ICT may also increase tourist arrivals (Davison, Harris & Vogel, 2005:1398), and local youth with secondary and/or high school qualifications can be trained to use the technology. Thus, training programmes are key in alleviating poverty through tourism development.

Training programmes

As these are key in tourism development, external partners also capacitate local people by providing training programmes (Chapters Three and Seven). This is crucial in reducing poverty as local people may secure high-paying jobs as well as be able to run the projects on their own in the long term (Chapters Two and Seven). Nevertheless, the training programmes should not be top-down and administered in a didactic manner but instead be consulted with the local people (Chapters Two, Three, Five and Seven).

Direct and indirect tourism benefits

Tourism development in poor rural communities and the external partners bring about both direct and indirect benefits (Chapters Two, Three, Five, and Seven).

Poverty alleviation

Direct and indirect benefits help alleviate poverty (Chapters Three and Seven). Tourism in rural African communities provides jobs where there are limited alternative employment opportunities (Mbaiwa, 2015:69; Chapter Seven). This may improve local people's living conditions (Chapter Seven). Tourism also offers additional livelihood opportunities in poor communities (WTO, 2002:39; Chapter Seven). The promotion of community participation, community empowerment, and the incorporation of local culture and IKS address non-monetary poverty aspects (Chapters Two and Seven) which are key in bringing about community development.

Community development

Poverty alleviation leads to community development through the provision of social, economic, environmental, and cultural benefits (Chapters Three and Seven). However, development should be done in consultation with local poor people rather than being imposed by the government or external partners in order to meet their expectations (Simpson, 2008:11). As illustrated in Figure 9-1 (forward and backward arrows), community participation, community empowerment, and the

use and recognition of IKS in tourism development are interconnected, and they symbolise a developed community (Chapters Two and Eight).

Regarding the implementation of the framework, the government is expected to play a greater role by creating a conducive environment through the introduction of favourable land ownership policies for the local poor rural people and friendly visa policies for tourist generating countries, ensuring a peaceful political environment, and facilitating infrastructure development. However, the government needs support and proper coordination from all the other stakeholders (e.g. private sector, NGOs, community residents) involved in CBT development. Poor coordination between these stakeholders (Chapters Two and Seven) affects the successful implementation of the framework. Most importantly, both the government and all the other stakeholders involved in tourism development in the country should ensure that the identified barriers to community participation in tourism (Chapters Two, Five and Seven) are minimised so that the implementation of the developed framework (Figure 9-1) may be optimised.

9.4 LIMITATIONS TO THE RESEARCH

A number of limitations to this study need to be acknowledged. As noted in Chapter Two, the poverty concept is multi-dimensional. This study has employed a working definition of poverty where it is perceived as a multi-dimensional concept that encompasses a lack of not only monetary income but also non-income aspects (Chapters Two and Seven). However, according to the local people interviewed, poverty means the lack of basic needs such as food, shelter, and clothing as well as other non-income aspects, which include limited education and being powerless. Other dimensions of poverty discussed in Chapter Two (e.g., life expectancy, health) are not given much attention due to limited time and financial resources, as well as the scope of this study. It is a challenge to address all these aspects of poverty in a single research. Similarly, other key concepts discussed in this thesis (community, development, and community development) are also multi-dimensional (Chapter Two) and as a result, they may not be explored comprehensively in the present study that has primarily focused on the voices of the local poor people in the case study area.

There were also some challenges that were experienced by the researcher in the field. The fieldwork was carried out from June to October 2018 (Chapter Four). This coincided with the 2018 presidential elections in Zimbabwe (Chapter Four). This made it difficult to fix appointments with most government employees. Most of them had to be interviewed after the elections, and hence some valuable time was wasted waiting for the post-election period. The pre and post-election

period in Zimbabwe has a history of political violence, and in rural areas, most people are reluctant to entertain strangers during that time. However, the researcher's reputation as an entrepreneur and his previous experiences as an employee in the tourism industry as well as the supporting letters giving the researcher permission to conduct the interviews with the government departments (e.g. the MoTHI and the ZTA) helped to convince the traditional leaders and the local people that the research was not politically related.

The accessibility of the CBT projects (Chapters Three and Seven) represented another major obstacle. Apart from being peripherally located and having bad roads, the households in most of the visited communities were dispersed (e.g., in Chibasani village) and could not be accessed by car due to the terrain. Given the researcher's limited time, this reduced the number of respondents that could be interviewed. Nonetheless, since the researcher had communicated with the traditional leaders as well as some elected committee members in advance, most of the local people were expecting the researcher as they were also informed in advance and arrangements were made for some to wait for the researcher at the projects' offices so that the interviews could be conducted there.

The interviews with local people were conducted in the local language (Shona), and some words such as empowerment could not be easily translated into Shona (Chapter Seven). Nonetheless, the researcher made sure that most of the questions in the interview guide covered some aspects of community empowerment. Some of the key informants who were interviewed preferred to respond in the local language as well despite the fact that they were interviewed in English. This posed a challenge to the researcher during data analysis as those responses in Shona had to be translated into English. As discussed, some of the words in the local language could not be translated easily into English. This obstacle was, however, overcome by the use of the notes which were taken during the interviews as words that needed elaboration were jotted down and later revisited to establish their meaning.

Finally, most NGOs were no longer actively involved in the formation and implementation of CBT projects in Zimbabwe (e.g., USAID, WWF). It was thus difficult to get information because there were no longer relevant departments. This affected the number of the projects' documents, which were required for the content analysis conducted in Chapter Five. Nevertheless, the researcher managed to get some useful projects' documents from the organisations' online libraries. There was also a lack of relevant tourism policy documents prior to the launch of the NTP in 2013 and its implementation in 2014 from the ZTA and the MoTHI. Thus, the researcher

had to rely on the NTP in issues relating to tourism policies in the country. This limitation may provide a gap for further research, which is outlined below.

9.5 FUTURE RESEARCH

As stated in Chapter Two, there is a lack of empirical research that quantifies the contributions of tourism to poverty alleviation, and there are few studies that give poor people an opportunity to have their voice in tourism development. There is, therefore, a need for further research into ways that can best quantify the impacts of tourism on poverty reduction in Zimbabwe. Further research is also warranted into the perceptions and experiences of poor people elsewhere in Zimbabwe and other developing countries to provide a fuller understanding of the roles of tourism in poverty alleviation and community development as well as the challenges confronting them in participating in and benefiting from tourism.

As highlighted in the previous section, there is a dearth of academic research on Zimbabwe's national tourism policy framework for both the pre and post-independence era. Although Chapter Three chronicled the development of tourism in the country dating back to the pre-independence era as well as the poverty reduction strategies used by the GoZ, much attention was not paid to the various policies and strategies which were used during these phases mainly due to the scope of the research. This limitation offers potential avenues for future research on the development of tourism policy in Zimbabwe.

This thesis has shown that the only way for CBT projects to be sustainable and to successfully alleviate poverty is for them to generate enough revenues. This, however, does not mean that the other three pillars of sustainability (i.e. socio-cultural sustainability, environmental/ecological sustainability, political sustainability) are not important as they are critical in ensuring the long term survival of the CBT projects (Ritchie & Couch, 2003:45-47; UNEP & UNWTO, 2005:9; Mowforth & Munt, 2009:101-105; Hall, Gossling & Scott, 2015:27-28). At the same time, low tourist arrivals have been identified as the main reason why most projects are not generating enough revenues. This study has suggested that linking the CBT projects with the markets and/or tour operators as well as the promotion of domestic tourism may be possible solutions to this problem. This, therefore, provides another potential area for future research into the perspectives and experiences of CBT project managers and staff, private tour operator managers and staff, as well as policy makers with respect to the linkage of the CBT projects with the market. Such studies may offer useful information concerning the facilitators and inhibitors of the CBT projects-market linkage. Furthermore, future research is possible into the

perspectives of national level policy makers in Zimbabwe regarding the revision of the policy framework that entitles local (poor) people to land title deeds.

Although this study has shown that donors and external partners are key to the sustainability of CBT projects in developing countries, it also indicates that most projects could not continue or otherwise struggle after the withdrawal of donor funding. This then illustrates that donor funding might be required to support CBT projects but it is not sustainable in the long term. As noted earlier, all the four pillars of sustainability are key for the long term viability of CBT projects. Although it is argued that one of the main reasons could be that the external partners are not preparing the communities for the eventual take-over of the projects, there is a need for further research on potential strategies to prepare local people for own running of the CBT projects sustainably after the withdrawal of external partners.

9.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

A number of conclusions can be drawn from this research. First, tourism development in poor rural communities of Manicaland province has the potential to alleviate poverty and bring about community development. However, this potential has been affected by the various prevalent barriers to community participation in tourism, such as the land tenure system, which prohibits rural people from owning land, limited education, peripherality and lack of finance (Chapters Two, Five, and Seven). This has been exacerbated by the low tourist arrivals. In spite of many local people regarding tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation, it is argued that its potential to bring about community development is limited by disempowerment and inequalities created among community members. It can also be concluded that regardless of foreign aid being criticised as an ineffective way to fight poverty (Chapter Three), donor funding is still vital in CBT development as all projects without external funders had poor infrastructure and were not getting any benefits due to poor marketing.

Second, most local people considered the provision of employment opportunities as the main benefit of tourism development. Nonetheless, they occupied low-paying jobs that were not secure because of a number of barriers, such as limited education and tourism knowledge. Such jobs may not move them out of poverty over the long term (Chapter Two) as they are not only associated with low salary but also long working hours and verbal abuse. Those who sold crafts and curios stated that tourism development created markets for their products, but the lack of pricing skills and the poor quality of their products resulted in tourists not buying their products. Therefore, this study argues that there is a need to improve the quality of the products while

training programmes in pricing and negotiating skills are provided with the help of various stakeholders involved in CBT development in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, it is suggested that since the projects are getting few visitors, the ZTA and the MoTHI may help the craft sellers find new markets by, for example, assisting them exhibiting at local, regional, and international travel shows such as Sanganai and Africa's Travel Indaba as well as promoting domestic tourism and linking the projects with the markets and tour operators.

Third, this research also suggests exchange programmes between local people in Manicaland with other successful local CBT projects (e.g., Kompisi) as well as successful regional and international CBT projects as this may provide valuable lessons so that local people can run their projects professionally and sustainably especially after external partners withdraw. If these projects are sustainable, they may help lift local people out of poverty. The private sector partners should also do more to promote local people's participation in tourism by allowing them direct contact with the clients and by involving them in the booking and marketing processes. Furthermore, external partners should involve communities in decision-making.

Finally, this research has shown that poor people in Manicaland province define poverty as a lack of basic needs, especially food and clothing. This view is similar to that of poor people in Sapa, Vietnam (Truong, Hall, and Gary, 2014) but is different from poor people in Elima, Ghana (Holden *et al.*, 2011) who considered poverty to be a lack of income. These findings, therefore, show that the understanding of poverty varies among different people in different contexts (Ditch, 1999:10; Chambers, 2006:4). This evidence suggests that poor people's understanding of poverty may be very different from that of academicians and policy makers. The same may be said of tourism, that is, poor people may interpret the impacts of tourism on their lives very differently in different situations and settings. It is thus plausible to argue that only by attending to the views and lived experiences of poor people can meaningful approaches to poverty alleviation through tourism be established in a specific community or society. It is noted, however, that giving poor people a chance to voice their own opinions is just a beginning. Poverty alleviation also requires greater changes at the structural (policy) level and that such changes are actualised in practice. The question of whether the voices of poor people in Manicaland and elsewhere will be heard and considered and their living conditions improved as a result of tourism development depends on the efforts of many individuals and institutions across the globe.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Ethics Letter



NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY
YUNIBESITHI YA BOKONE-SOPHRIMA
NOORDWES-UNIVERSITEIT
POTCHEFSTROOM CAMPUS

Private Bag X6001, Potchefstroom
South Africa 2520

Tel: 018 299-1111/2222
Web: <http://www.nwu.ac.za>

**TREES: Tourism Research in Economic
Environns and Society**

Tel: 018 285-2331
Fax: 018 2994140
Email: Hannerl.Borstlap@nwu.ac.za

31 January 2018

ETHICAL CLEARANCE

This letter serves to confirm that the research project of Gohori, Owen (27785343) with the title "*Towards a tourism and community development framework: An African perspective*" has undergone ethical review. The proposal was presented at a Faculty Research Meeting and accepted. The Faculty Research Meeting assigned the project number EMS2016/11/04-0203. This acceptance deems the proposed research as being of minimal risk, granted that all requirements of anonymity, confidentiality and informed consent are met. This letter should form part of your dissertation manuscript submitted for examination purposes.

Yours
sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "M Saayman", written over a horizontal line.

Prof M Saayman
Director: TREES

Appendix 2. Consent Form

Consent form for interviews



TREES: Tourism Research in Economic Environs and Society
School of Tourism Management
Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences
Private Bag X6001
Potchefstroom 2520
Republic of South Africa
Cell: +27 (0)62 305 8482
E-mail: oweng1977@hotmail.com

INFORMED CONSENT FORM: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Title of study: Towards a tourism and community development framework: An African perspective [EMS2016/11/04-02/03]

You are invited to participate in the study with the title outlined above being undertaken by myself, Owen Gohori (student number 27785343), in fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Tourism Management at the North-West University. This study examines the perspectives and views of local people in Manicaland Province on the potential of tourism to bring about community development and alleviate poverty. Specifically, it investigates the involvement of local people in tourism activities, the role of traditional institutions, and the incorporation of indigenous knowledge in tourism development.

Please note that by signing and consenting to participating in the study:

- (i) Your participation in this semi-structured interview is voluntary and you may choose to withdraw from the interview at any particular time without getting reprimanded;
- (ii) You are guaranteed of your ethical rights to privacy and confidentiality and therefore you are not obliged to disclose personal information that can identify you as a participant in this study;
- (iii) You agree to have your responses captured by a voice recorder;
- (iv) The results of the study shall be ethically handled, made available to all stakeholders, and will be published in an academic thesis as well as academic journals;
- (i) Your cooperation and participation in this academic endeavour are gratefully appreciated since it will concurrently enable the study to realise its objectives and help improve the promotion of local people's participation in tourism as a means of poverty alleviation in Manicaland Province and the Republic of Zimbabwe at large.

Participant's signature

Date

Appendix 3. Interview Guide – Government employees (ZTA, MoTHI and RDCs)

(Note that the information they provide will be strictly confidential and they can withdraw from the interview at any time)

Theme	Questions
Personal information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Gender (b) How old are you? (c) What is your marital status? (married, single, divorced, widower, living together) (d) What is the highest level of education you have attained? (e) What is your position in the organisation? (f) How long have you been with the organisation?
Tourism development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Does your organisation have a community-based tourism policy? If yes, who is responsible for its enforcement? (b) On average, how many tourists are there who take community-based tours per year? (c) What is your general opinion about the participation of local people in tourism? (d) In your opinion, what are the main barriers to tourism participation by local people? (e) In your opinion, how has tourism benefited rural communities? (f) Do you think that local people have been empowered in community-based tourism projects? Give examples. (g) What are the main products offered by community-based projects in Zimbabwe/in your district?
Community development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Has there been an increase in wildlife populations where there are community-based projects in the country/in your district? (b) How many times have you disbursed income to communities in the past two years? (question specifically for RDCs). (c) In your opinion, has tourism development incorporated indigenous knowledge and culture? (d) Has the number of community-based projects in the country/district increased or decreased in the past ten years? Give reasons. (e) What are your recommendations for tourism to effectively promote poverty alleviation and community development?

Note: ZTA stands for Zimbabwe Tourism Authority

MoTHI stands for Ministry of Tourism and Hospitality Industry

RDCs stands for Rural District Councils

Appendix 4. Interview Guide – Specialist Agencies (EMA and ZNPWLMA)

(Note that the information they provide will be strictly confidential and they can withdraw from the interview at any time)

Theme	Questions
Personal information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Gender (b) How old are you? (c) What is your marital status? (married, single, divorced, widower, living together) (d) What is the highest level of education you have attained? (e) What is your position in the organisation? (f) How long have you been with the organisation?
Tourism development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) What is your general opinion about the participation of local people in tourism? (b) In your opinion, what have been the main barriers to tourism participation by local people? (c) In your opinion, how has tourism benefited communities? (d) Do you think that local people have been empowered in community-based tourism projects? Give examples. (e) What are the main products offered by community-based tourism projects you are associated with?
Community development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (f) Has there been an increase in wildlife populations where there are community-based projects in the country? (g) Are there any community-based projects you are currently supporting with funding? If no, why? (question specifically for NGOs). (h) What kind of support do you give to community-based tourism projects? (question specifically for ZNPWMA). (i) In your opinion, has tourism development incorporated indigenous knowledge and culture? Explain how? (j) What are your recommendations for tourism to effectively promote poverty alleviation and bring about community development?

Note: ZNPWMA stands for Zimbabwe National Parks and Wildlife Management Authority

Appendix 5. Interview Guide – Traditional Leaders

(Note that the information they provide will be strictly confidential and they can withdraw from the interview at any time)

Theme	Questions
Personal information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Gender (b) How old are you? (c) What is your marital status? (married, single, divorced, widower, living together) (d) What is the size of your household and how many dependants do you have? (e) What is your main source of income? (f) What is the highest level of education you have attained? (g) How many years have you been a traditional leader? (h) How big is the community you represent?
Poverty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) In your opinion, what does poverty mean? (b) What are the causes of poverty in your community? (c) Would you consider your community poor and why? (d) What are the main sources of livelihood/income in your community? (e) According to your view, have the natural resources benefited your community? If yes, please explain in what way your community has benefited. If no, explain why. (f) What are the barriers to poverty alleviation in your community? (g) What could be the solution to these barriers?
Tourism development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Are you aware of any community-based tourism project in the area? (b) Have you ever been involved in any way in the project as a traditional leader? What is/was your role? (c) According to your view, has tourism development incorporated indigenous knowledge and culture? How? (d) According to your view, what aspect(s) of the indigenous culture have been utilised or ignored and what is the most important of them to tourism development? (e) In your opinion, who are the main beneficiaries of tourism development in your area? (f) According to your view, has tourism project(s) that were developed in the area made any contribution to the improvement of the personal/family lives of community members? If so, explain the dimensions of improvement. If no, explain why. (g) According to your view, what have been the benefits from the tourism projects? (For example, skills development.) (h) Overall, do you think tourism has contributed to the preservation/reviving of our culture as well as the conservation of natural resources/wildlife? If yes, why? If no, why?
Community development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) According to you, has your community benefited, or not, or the situation remained unchanged since tourism has been developed in the area? (b) What are the main barriers to community participation in tourism development? (c) For tourism to contribute significantly to community development and poverty alleviation, what would you recommend?

Appendix 6. Interview Guide – Local People (community members)

(Note that the information they provide will be strictly confidential and they can withdraw from the interview at any time)

Theme	Questions
Personal information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Gender (b) How old are you? (c) What is your marital status? (married, single, divorced, widower, living together) (d) What is the size of your household and how many dependants do you have? (e) What is your main source of income? (f) What is the highest level of education you have attained? (g) How many years have you been living in this community?
Poverty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) In your opinion, what does poverty mean? (b) What are the causes of poverty in your community? (c) Would you consider yourself/your family as poor and why? (d) What are the main sources of livelihood/income in your community? (e) Have the natural resources benefited you? If yes, please explain in what way you have benefited? If no, explain why. (f) What are the barriers to poverty alleviation in your community? (g) What could be the solution to these barriers?
Tourism development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Are you aware of any community-based tourism projects in the area? (b) Are you involved in the tourism project? If yes, explain your role. If no, explain why. (c) What type of tourism activities have you been involved in during the last couple of years? If no, explain why. (d) What are the main types of tourism activities that are commonly undertaken by members in your community? (e) In your opinion, who are the main beneficiaries of tourism development in your area? (f) According to your view, has the tourism project(s) that were developed in the area made any contribution to the improvement of your personal/family lives? If so, explain the dimensions of improvement. If not, explain why. (g) What have been the main benefits from tourism to your personal/family and the community at large? (h) Overall, do you think tourism is a contributor to poverty alleviation in your area? If yes, why? If no, why?
Community development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) According to you, has your community generally been improved, gotten worse, or remained unchanged since tourism developed in the area? If improved, please explain the dimensions of improvement. If not, explain why. (b) Do you think that tourism development in your community has incorporated indigenous knowledge and respected local culture? Give examples. (c) What are the main barriers to community participation in tourism? (d) For tourism to contribute significantly to community development and poverty alleviation, what would you recommend?

Appendix 7. Interview Guide – Community-based Tourism Projects’ Committee Members

(Note that the information they provide will be strictly confidential and they can withdraw from the interview at any time)

Theme	Questions
Personal information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Gender (b) How old are you? (c) What is your marital status? (married, single, divorced, widower, living together) (d) What is the size of your household and how many dependants do you have? (e) What is your main source of income? (f) What is the highest level of education you have attained? (g) How many years have you been living in this community?
Poverty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) In your opinion, what does poverty mean? (b) What are the causes of poverty in your community? (c) Would you consider yourself/your family as poor and why? (d) What are the main sources of livelihood/income in your community? (e) Have the natural resources surrounding you benefited your community at all? If yes, please explain in what way your community has benefited from them. If no, explain why. (f) What are the barriers to poverty alleviation in your community? (g) What could be a possible solution to these barriers?
Tourism development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) How does one become a committee member and is there a limit to the term of office? (b) How long have you been a committee member? (c) What are your roles in the tourism project as a committee member? (d) How many people are there in the committee? How many women/men? (e) What are the main barriers to community participation in tourism? Explain them. (f) What are the main products/attractions offered by the project? (g) In your opinion, who are the main beneficiaries of tourism development in your area? (h) According to your view, have the tourism project(s) that were developed in the area made any contributions to the improvement of the personal/family lives of community members? If so, explain the dimensions of improvement. If not, explain why. (i) According to your view, what have been the benefits from the tourism projects? (For example, skills development.) (j) Overall, do you think tourism has been effective in alleviating poverty in your community? If yes, why? If no, why?
Community development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) In what way has the tourism project encouraged the participation of local people? (b) What are the tourism related activities that the local people are mostly involved with the tourism project? (c) Has tourism contributed to improving the living standards of local people and benefited the community as a whole? Explain how? (d) In what ways has tourism specifically benefited local people economically and non-economically? (e) Overall, do you support tourism as a means of poverty alleviation and community development? If yes, why? If no, why?

Appendix 8. Zimbabwe Tourism Authority Letter

Permission to do data collection Inbox x



Memory Canaan <canaanm@ztazim.co.zw>

Jun 25 ☆

to me, Tsitsi ▾

Dear Mr Gohori

Reference is made to your request to do data collection.

May you kindly note that permission has been granted for you to gather all the information you require from us. Kindly note that the contact person is Mrs Tsitsi Munetsi.

Should you require further information do not hesitate to contact us.

Kind regards



Memory Canaan Nyirenda | PA – Executive Director | Domestic Tourism & Strategic Research

Zimbabwe Tourism Authority

55 Samora Machel Avenue, Harare, Zimbabwe

Office: +263 4 758712/4 | Office: +263 4 758793 |

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Skype: memorycanaan

Email : canaanm@ztazim.co.zw



Appendix 9. Ministry of Tourism and Hospitality Industry Letter

All communications should be addressed to
"The Secretary for Tourism and Hospitality Industry"
Telephone: 770897/ 759391
Telegraphic address: "TOURISM"
Fax: 702054



Secretary for Tourism and Hospitality Industry
7th Floor John Boyne Building
Corner Innez Terrez and Speke Avenue
P.O. Box CY 1718
Causeway
Harare
ZIMBABWE

28 June 2018

Att: Mr. O. Gohori
PhD Student
North-West University
South Africa

REF: PERMISSION TO DO INTERVIEWS WITH MINISTRY STAFF

The above subject matter refers.

The Ministry of Tourism and Hospitality Industry, acknowledges receipt of your request to conduct interviews with the Ministry's Community-Based Tourism department staff as you partake in your academic research to examine the perspectives and views of local people in tourism to bring about community development and alleviate poverty.

The Ministry is in support of any scholarly attempt to build onto the existing body and repository of scholarly work on tourism that we hope can only make our country and sector richer in knowledge and assist in evidence-based policy making.

We, therefore, grant you the permission to carry out the interviews and wish you the best in your studies.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'T. Chitepo'.

T. Chitepo (Dr)
SECRETARY FOR TOURISM AND HOSPITALITY INDUSTRY

Appendix 10. Zimbabwe National Parks and Wildlife Management Authority Letter



REF: DM/Gen/ (T)

PERMIT NO.:23(1) (C) (II) 55/2018

PERMIT TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH IN PARKS ESTATES

Permission is hereby granted on the authority of the Minister of Environment, Water and Climate in terms of section 23(1) (c) (ii) of the Parks and Wildlife Act, Chapter 20:14 to:

Owen Gohori
North- West University
Tourism Research in Environs and Society
Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences, Private Bag X6001
Potchefstroom 2550, Republic of South Africa

To carry out a research on a title “towards a tourism and community development framework”, and also interview National Parks Staff Head Office who are involved with community-based tourism projects.

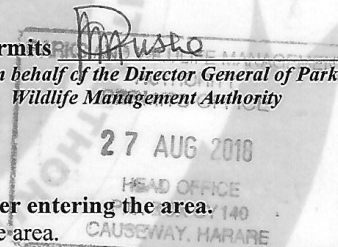
Unless sooner cancelled, amended or modified in terms of Section 123(4) (b) of the Parks and wildlife Act, this permit is valid until **31st December, 2018** is issued subject to the following terms and conditions being strictly adhered to:

Senior Wildlife Officer- Permits

For and on behalf of the Director General of Parks and Wildlife Management Authority

TERMS AND CONDITIONS

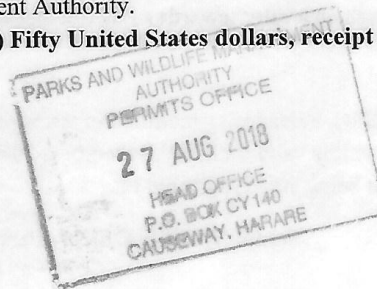
1. This permit is not transferable.
2. **To report to the Area Manager before and after entering the area.**
3. To liaise closely with Ecologists of the respective area.
4. To be allowed to do night drives and to travel off road, subject to notifying Area Manager in advance of the specific planned activities.
5. To set up a temporary camp, when necessary with the permission of the Area Manager who specifies the camping terms and conditions.
6. To submit monthly progress reports to the Area Ecologist, Area Manager and Chief Ecologist.
7. Recognition of the participation of the Area Ecologists is emphasized in the publication under co-authorship.
8. To submit a final report to the Director General of Parks and Wildlife Management Authority after the research completion.



PTO

Please do not fold this document

9. To submit a bound copy of thesis/dissertation to the Chief Ecologist for the ZPWMA library.
10. Not to interfere with any animals and not to disturb the habitat e.g. destroying trees and no collection of samples without prior authorization.
11. For any wildlife immobilization for purposes of collaring, micro chipping including collection of any biological material such as blood, semen etc. Report each case to the Provincial Veterinary Officer.
12. No samples including genetic material can be exported from Zimbabwe without signing a Biological Transfer Agreement with the Research Council of Zimbabwe.
13. Foreign Researchers to obtain a Research Council of Zimbabwe permit and meet appropriate Immigration requirements.
14. The permit is to be renewed annually if there is need to continue.
15. **No person is allowed to make press statement or publish any information on the exercise on behalf of the Authority. If there is any need to make any statement, the ZPWMA Director General/ Public Relations Manager must be informed beforehand.**
16. This permit is solely/exclusively issued for Scientific studies/research purposes only.
17. **No commercial activities/tourism activities in whatever manner are permitted.**
18. Publication of material such as documentaries to be cleared by the Director General of Parks and Wildlife Management Authority.
19. **Administration fee: (US\$50) Fifty United States dollars, receipt number; H10R076318 (HQ)**



Please do not fold this document

Appendix 11. Chipinge Rural District Council Letter

Capture



All communication should be addressed:
Chief Executive Officer
P.O. Box 19
CHIPINGE

Chipinge Rural District Council
Council Headquarters
858 Main Street
CHIPINGE
Telephones: (0227) 5631/2/3/4/5
Fax: (0227) 2375
Website: www.chipingerdc.gov.zw
E-mail: info@chipingerdc.gov.zw

Any enquiries on this matter ask for:
S. MAPOSA

Our Reference: SM/sm/09/18:

24 September 2018

Mr Owen Gohori
214 Tangwena Square
MARONDERA

PERMISSION TO INTERVIEW CHIPINGE RDC STAFF

Reference is made to your email dated 20 September 2018 on the above mentioned subject.

Please be advised that permission has been granted for you to interview Chipinge RDC staff in involvement of local people in tourism activities, the role of traditional institutions and the incorporation of indigenous knowledge in tourism development.

May I take this opportunity to wish you the best in your research.

Yours faithfully,


S. MAPOSA
COMMITTEE OFFICER
FOR: CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER
CHIPINGE RURAL DISTRICT COUNCIL



Appendix 12. Nyanga Rural District Council Letter

Permission to do data collection

☆ nyanga rural district council N/A<nyangardc@gmail.com>

To: gohoriowen1977@gmail.com

Thu, Oct 4, 2018 at 1:07 PM

[Reply](#) | [Reply to all](#) | [Forward](#) | [Print](#) | [Delete](#) | [Show original](#)

The office kindly acknowledges receipt of your letter dated 26 September 2018, seeking permission to undertake data collection at Gairezi Eco-tourism project. Council is granting you permission to carry the research but will not be liable if any damages, injuries or mishaps occur during the research. We also advise that you observe research ethics and share with us the findings of your study when complete.

Regards

I.Boozai

For: CEO NYANGA RDC



Quick Reply

To: gohoriowen1977@gmail.com

[More Reply Options](#)

Appendix 13. Language editing Letter

REGCOR

ENTERPRISES PTY LTD

(2015/375453/07)

Date: 26/11/2019

Dear Sir/Madam

This letter is to certify that I, Sarah Louise Cornelius, of Regcor Enterprises Pty Ltd, have completed the initial editing of the dissertation titled *Towards a tourism and community development framework: An African perspective* by Owen Gohori.

I have ten years of experience in the field, having worked on multiple doctorates. Currently, I am a member of the Professional Editor's Guild (PEG).

This has been an initial (first-time) edit and all recommendations and errors have been noted in the comments. Any changes or lack of corrections done to the document after editing is not a reflection of the editing services provided. Students are welcome to send the document for a further proofread before the final submission.

Kind Regards

Sarah Louise Cornelius

Professional Editor's Guild

Associate Member

Membership number: COR003

Regcor Enterprises Pty Ltd

Registration no: 2015/375453/07

Contact no: 0768156437

Email: sarah@regcor.co.za