

Barriers to community participation in Zimbabwe's community-based tourism projects

Owen Gohori & Peet van der Merwe

To cite this article: Owen Gohori & Peet van der Merwe (2024) Barriers to community participation in Zimbabwe's community-based tourism projects, *Tourism Recreation Research*, 49:1, 91-104, DOI: [10.1080/02508281.2021.1989654](https://doi.org/10.1080/02508281.2021.1989654)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/02508281.2021.1989654>



Published online: 27 Oct 2021.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 1092



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



Citing articles: 13 View citing articles [↗](#)



Barriers to community participation in Zimbabwe's community-based tourism projects

Owen Gohori  and Peet van der Merwe 

Tourism Research in Economics, Environments & Society (TREES), North-West University, Potchefstroom, South Africa

ABSTRACT

Several barriers to the inclusion of local people in the development of tourism exist in most underdeveloped nations. The aim of this article is to present these impediments to the inclusion of local people in community-based tourism projects in Zimbabwe. A qualitative content analysis of community-based tourism projects in Zimbabwe was done, which involved a systematic search of community-based tourism projects' documents. The 48 documents found identified a total of 84 projects, and 22 of these projects experienced some constraints to the inclusion of local people in tourism. These impediments to local people's involvement in tourism were classified into operational, structural, and cultural barriers and include the absence of a legal system to defend community interests, lack of capacity, failure to devolve power and authority to local communities, domination by a few elites, lack of communities' involvement when making decisions, financial constraints, limited time and apathy. Recommendations on how to mitigate these obstacles to community inclusion in tourism development are given, and areas of future research are suggested.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 14 March 2021
Accepted 14 September 2021

KEYWORDS

CAMPFIRE; community-based tourism projects; community participation; tourism development; Zimbabwe

Introduction

Local communities' involvement in tourism brings about local development (Bello et al., 2017; Kunjuraman & Hussin, 2017) since local people benefit economically through the provision of employment (Harris-Smith & Palmer, 2021; Saito et al., 2018). Involving local people promotes the sustainable and responsible development of destinations (Chiutsi & Saarinen, 2019) while empowering indigenous people (Gohori & van der Merwe, 2021a). It also gives local people a chance to harness their traditional knowledge and expertise in tourism development (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2016). Community-based tourism (CBT) was identified as a strategy that facilitates the inclusion of local residents in tourism development (Zielinski et al., 2020).

In Zimbabwe, CBT is promoted through the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) which encourages local people to get involved in conserving natural resources while at the same time advocating for a bottom-up approach where the focus is on consulting communities and promoting community freedom (Child, 2003).

There are three schools of thought to community participation: (1) most residents are likely to attach little importance to community participation; (2) community involvement is optional as communities participate if

they anticipate some benefits and; (3) it is the community's legitimate and democratic right to get involved in decisions that have a bearing on their livelihoods. This third school of thought argues that local people are often willing to participate but are denied these entitlements by several impediments (Wondirad & Ewnetu, 2019).

This article, therefore, aims to identify and discuss a number of these impediments to the involvement of communities in tourism in developing countries as identified by Zimbabwe's CBT projects, which is also a developing country. This is key as the government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) embarked on establishing CBT projects in rural communities to advocate for their inclusion in tourism development and alleviate poverty through tourism in marginalised communities (Gohori & van der Merwe, 2020). Thus, this study may assist developing countries such as Zimbabwe to promote community participation in tourism by promoting and implementing ideal policies.

This article starts by reviewing literature on obstacles to the inclusion of local communities in tourism in underdeveloped nations. The literature review is followed by the discussion of the research method used in this research. The results are then presented and discussed. The discussion and conclusion section concludes this article.

Barriers to community participation in tourism in developing countries

Several barriers hinder local communities' inclusion in tourism in underdeveloped nations. The complexity of the definition of the word 'community' itself and the fact that communities are heterogeneous (Khazaei et al., 2015) makes the whole concept of community participation difficult due to the diverse and competing interests of residents (Zielinski et al., 2020). Even if the definition of community was less complex, Khazaei et al. (2015) argue that various reasons would still limit the full inclusion of rural communities in tourism development. Some of these limitations include centralised public administration, gender, lack of access to information, limited knowledge and skills, limited financial access, peripherality, lack of promotional activities, poor infrastructure, elite domination, absence of legal systems to protect community interests, apathy, and security issues. These obstacles are discussed in the order they are stated below.

The centralised public administration and planning common in developing countries is one reason that limits the involvement of communities in tourism development (Das & Chatterjee, 2015). It promotes a bureaucratic role in decision-making (Sood et al., 2017). In Zimbabwe, the Rural District Councils (RDCs) are unwilling to devolve power and authority to local people so that they can fully participate in tourism development (Gohori & van der Merwe, 2021b). This failure of the Zimbabwe policy framework to devolve power to grassroots levels hinders local people from participating in tourism. Effective community participation can only be realised when there is a decentralisation of political, administrative, and financial powers to the grassroots level (Bello et al., 2017). This demands political support and functional, legal and administrative systems (Zielinski et al., 2020), which are mostly absent in developing countries such as Zimbabwe.

Gender, due to the socio-political traditions of most patriarchal power structures found in developing countries, limits community participation in tourism (Giampiccoli & Kalis, 2012). In some African cultures, women are not allowed to get involved in community affairs (Gohori & van der Merwe, 2021b). Women are expected to bear and rear children while taking part in the occupations that are key to the survival and wellness of the family such as cooking and other household chores (Sood et al., 2017). Gendered roles at times dictate the types of employment considered ideal for females, and this may prevent them from taking part in leadership roles (Kala & Bagri, 2018). In India, women attributed their busy workload doing traditional

female activities such as cooking, childcare, collecting firewood, and washing to their lack of participation in tourism (Sood et al., 2017). However, Kala and Bagri (2018) found that education and entrepreneurial prospects were instrumental in changing the outdated patriarchal mindset. Therefore, it can be argued that if education is provided to society, this may assist in changing archaic and outdated traditions.

Lack of access to information, also known as 'information disempowerment' limits local people to take part in tourism development since they are unable to perceive the gains, costs, and opportunities of CBT (Zielinski et al., 2020). Due mainly to insufficient tourism data in developing countries, available information is distributed to people in a way that lacks order, arrangement, and continuity (Marzuki et al., 2012). This prompts an information gap between the public and other players in the planning process, resulting in a communication gap between residents and those involved in tourism planning (Kala & Bagri, 2018). Thus, a bottom-up approach where there is a connection between communities and local networks, and products are tailor-made according to local demand, is recommended (Gohori, 2020).

Since tourism is considered 'new' in most remote places in developing countries (Harris-Smith & Palmer, 2021), local people have limited tourism knowledge, skills, experience and training opportunities (Saito et al., 2018; Sood et al., 2017). Thus, they avoid getting involved in tourism development (Giampiccoli & Kalis, 2012). In this instance, lack of knowledge refers to basic tourism knowledge that allows locals to be part of the decision making (Gohori, 2020). However, lack of formal education also hinders communities from participating in tourism (Gohori & van der Merwe, 2021b). Kala and Bagri (2018) opined that the lack of tourism awareness not only affects effective community participation but local people's capacity to fulfil the expectations of the visitors. For instance, villagers of Chibasani in Manicaland Province, Zimbabwe were hesitant to take part in tourism because the concept was new to them (Gohori & van der Merwe, 2021b). This barrier was exacerbated by the fact that local indigenous knowledge systems, expertise, and traditional structures were neglected by outsiders (Gohori & van der Merwe, 2020). Knowledge is key as it is a precursor for those who may want to get involved in decisions about tourism planning and management, while ignorance remains the greatest barrier to local peoples' involvement in tourism development (Bello et al., 2017). It is argued that most developing countries lack professionals that specialise in community planning which can include citizen involvement in their planning initiatives as most

projects are conceived in the boardrooms of the private and public sector stakeholders (Chiutsi & Saarinen, 2019).

Another impediment to the participation of residents in tourism development is limited financial access which increases dependence on external agents, thereby strengthening their grip on tourism development issues at the expense of citizens (Das & Chatterjee, 2015). Due to these financial challenges, most residents in developing countries are poor. They end up diverting their attention to issues to do with making ends meet rather than concentrating and participating in matters of developing their communities (Booth & Halseth, 2011). Likewise, communities' minimal benefits realised from CBT projects result in community members losing interest and support for such projects (Zielinski et al., 2020). In Zimbabwe, the withdrawal of CBT projects' funding by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) after 2000 resulted in the projects becoming defunct as local people refrained from participating since they were no longer getting benefits (Gohori, 2020).

Peripherality, which refers to areas that are physically isolated and regions that are located on the national physical margins, is a further obstacle to community participation in developing countries (Giampiccoli & Kalis, 2012). Although remoteness can attract tourists due to natural beauty, it may inhibit local people from participating in the formal economy (Dodds et al., 2018). Peripherality can marginalise local people's concerns during policy development, denying them opportunities to take part in development initiatives taking place in their communities. On the contrary, in Tajikistan, Harris-Smith and Palmer (2021) observed that despite the government's efforts to promote the establishment of CBT projects in marginalised communities, there was limited success as tourists found it difficult to access the destinations. Likewise, despite using a four-wheel drive vehicle, Gohori and van der Merwe (2021b) indicated that they had difficulties accessing some CBT projects in Manicaland Province, Zimbabwe. In Makgadikgadi, Botswana, Lenao (2015), found that Lekhubu CBT project could not be accessed easily, especially during the wet season when the roads become muddy.

Another example of communities in remote areas struggling with tourism development is the Dagat village in Malaysia. Again poor infrastructure, for example, electricity supply, clean water, and terrible roads, made any tourism development initiative difficult and even more for tourists to reach these areas to partake in tourism activities (Kunjuraman & Hussin, 2017). This prohibited local people to participate

in homestays as it became difficult to fulfil tourists needs and demands. Most remote communities also lack facilities for waste disposals. Harris-Smith and Palmer (2021) stated that the lack of municipal waste collection and household waste disposal in the Tajik mountain villages caused problems for visitors as well as residents, prompting some villagers to avoid participating in tourism. They also argued that good roads and reliable transport are needed for destinations to be easily accessed by tourists.

Lack of promotional activities is another major barrier to community participation in tourism in developing countries. In Botswana, Mbaiwa (2004) observed that local communities lacked marketing skills resulting in most projects failing to reach appropriate international markets. This affected the generation of revenues, which in turn discouraged local people from participating in tourism. Most CBT projects in developing countries, therefore, depend on word-of-mouth (Kunjuraman & Hussin, 2017). Although the internet has become a major modern-day marketing tool, internet access and website skills to access online booking systems and Online Travel Agents such as Expedia and TripAdvisor are problematic for most rural people (Harris-Smith & Palmer, 2021; Zielinski et al., 2020).

Elite domination is another prevalent barrier to the inclusion of communities in tourism in underdeveloped nations (Saito et al., 2018). Some elites seize any slight opportunity which arises to get involved in tourism development initiatives at the expense of other community members. In developing countries, it is usually members of the ruling party who have the opportunity to exploit the disintegrated and uncoordinated systems (Gohori, 2020). Besides the ruling party elites, the outspoken, rich, better educated, and skilled members of the community also end up dominating (Bello et al., 2017). These elites involve their relatives and cronies rather than the whole community in tourism development (Gohori, 2020). Consequently, the wishes of the minority end up being accommodated instead of the majority's wishes (Bello et al., 2017).

The absence of relevant legal and regulatory systems to protect community interests is a limitation to community involvement in tourism (Bello et al., 2017; Zielinski et al., 2020). In Zimbabwe, rural people are not recognised legally in natural resources management and they have no land tenure rights (Gohori, 2020). This leads to the marginalisation of local people as external investors dominate (Zielinski et al., 2020). Governments in developing countries should develop policies that advocate for the inclusion of rural people in the implementation and control of CBT projects (Dodds et al., 2018; Zielinski et al., 2020).

Apathy (lack of interest) is another limitation to community involvement in tourism development, especially in Africa (Saito et al., 2018). Apathy may be due to limited capacity, which makes local people to lose interest in handling matters that do not concern their immediate family spheres (Tosun, 2000). It 'may also be derived from a sense of cynicism, disenchantment, or lack of trust, leading to the belief that agencies don't acknowledge, hear, or honour what the public say' (Lachapelle et al., 2003, p. 486). In some cases, it is due to the tourism peak season coinciding with the harvest or planting season (Sood et al., 2017). A tokenistic attitude towards participation by external stakeholders also promotes apathy (Saito et al., 2018). Kala and Bagri (2018) noted that local people participate less in tourism as they are inadvertently involved in tourism. External development agencies fund CBT projects in rural areas and by doing so forcing local people to be in tourism by chance and not by choice.

Safety and security issues are obstacles to community participation in tourism. Tourists feel safe with uniformed security operatives (Kunjuraman & Hussin, 2017), yet there are no uniformed forces in remote rural developing countries where most CBT projects were established. In Dagat and Billit villages, Malaysia, income generated from homestays dwindled when tourist arrivals rapidly decreased due to security concerns prompted by the Lahad Datu invasion crisis of 2013 (Kunjuraman, 2021). Likewise, most CBT projects went defunct in Zimbabwe due to low tourist arrivals when the country was regarded as an unsafe destination by its major source markets after the violent 2018 Presidential elections.

From the above reviewed literature, we have so far highlighted and discussed the prevalent obstacles that hinder local people to participate in tourism development in developing countries. The next section, methodology, aims to answer the question through content analysis: what are the obstacles to local people's involvement in tourism as identified by Zimbabwe's CBT projects?

Methodology

A qualitative content analysis (CA) of Zimbabwe's CBT projects was done to identify the obstacles to local communities' involvement in tourism. A qualitative CA can be defined as 'a method for studying the meaning that is contained in the body of a message' (Williamson et al., 2018, p. 461). It classifies and organises content of communication systematically into categories that then describe the themes, topics and context of that message (Williamson et al., 2018). Qualitative CA is,

therefore, an interpretive approach that enables researchers to describe the themes and topics that are more meaningful and relevant to the research objectives of the study (Williamson et al., 2018). Although Stepchenkova et al. (2009) posit that qualitative CA examines textual data, Williamson et al. (2018) argue that qualitative CA can be applied to any type of media such as text, verbal or visual. Despite Hall and Valentin's (2005) opinion that CA was neglected in comparison with other research methods in tourism studies, Camprubi and Coromina (2016) observed that there has been an increase in the number of studies that use CA in the tourism field in recent years (e.g. Lane & Kastenholz, 2015; Whitford & Ruhanen, 2016; Zielinski et al., 2020). Nevertheless, the studies are still few compared to those that use other methods. Hsieh and Shannon (2005) attributed this limited use of CA to the lack of a firm definition and procedures.

The purpose of qualitative CA in this study was to identify the obstacles to community involvement in Zimbabwe's CBT projects and to classify them into categories. Qualitative CA is preferred when a researcher cannot directly obtain data from respondents due to time, space, or financial constraints (Stepchenkova, 2012). Likewise, in this study, CA was deemed ideal as it was not feasible for the researchers to visit CBT projects in Zimbabwe due to time and financial constraints. It was also preferred as it allows large amounts of data to be easily organised (Stepchenkova et al., 2009).

CA can be used in both quantitative and qualitative approaches (Stepchenkova, 2012; Williamson et al., 2018). There is no sharp dividing line between qualitative and quantitative CA as the two share several similarities (Williamson et al., 2018). CA provides knowledge, new insights, representation of facts, increases researchers' understanding of phenomena under study as well as practical support and critique (Camprubi & Coromina, 2016). It systematically examines and interprets a particular body of material to identify patterns, themes, biases, and meanings (Camprubi & Coromina, 2016; Williamson et al., 2018). Thus, it is based on systematisation and quantification (Camprubi & Coromina, 2016). Nonetheless, CA has some limitations. It is regarded to have reliability, subjectivity, and credibility problems (Camprubi & Coromina, 2016; Stepchenkova et al., 2009). In this study, these limitations were minimised by triangulation as the researchers collected data from a variety of sources and reference was made to other research during data analysis. CA has also been criticised for being simple and failing to give a detailed statistical analysis, while other scholars consider it not sufficiently qualitative in nature (Elo & Kyngas, 2008). However, it has been argued that any method

of research used may result in simplistic results if skills of analysis are lacking (Elo & Kyngas, 2008). Since CA uses secondary data, Morrow et al. (2014) argue that this poses an ethical challenge of misrepresentation and misinterpretation. Nevertheless, they suggested that researchers should have a sufficient understanding of the context of the research to minimise this problem.

Content analysts need to be more explicit about the steps they follow when using content analysis as there are no guidelines for analysing data when doing a content analysis (Williamson et al., 2018). Since a PRISMA systematic review approach was used in this study (see figure 1), Moher et al. (2010)'s four-phase was followed, where the first phase identified the databases where the documents could be found. The identified databases were Google Scholar, Google Search, the Ministry of Tourism and Hospitality Industry (MoTHI) website, the Zimbabwe Tourism Authority (ZTA) website, and online libraries of major funding and consulting agencies involved or once involved with CBT development in Zimbabwe, such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Centre for Applied Social Sciences (CASS), World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), African Resources Trust (ART), Zimbabwe Trust (ZIMTRUST), Southern Alliance For Indigenous Resources (SAFIRE), African Wildlife Foundation (AWF), The World Bank (WB), African Development Bank Group (AfDB), Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD), Department for International Development (DFID), International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED). More documents were identified through a snowball technique. The search for the documents from the websites was done from 28 June to 3 November 2018.

Project documents were systematically searched from the identified databases. Key terms and phrases which include 'the CAMPFIRE projects', 'community-based tourism projects in Zimbabwe', 'community-based natural resource management', 'trophy hunting', 'natural resource conservation' and 'community-based tourism' were used to search the project documents from the databases. These terms were developed from titles, abstracts, and key words of articles and books on barriers to community participation in Zimbabwe and Africa. The sought documents were 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, the Zimbabwe National Parks and Wildlife Management Authority (ZNPWMA), CAMPFIRE, the MoTHI, and the ZTA staff to obtain

additional documents that were not on their websites and online libraries. Personal visits were also made to offices of organisations that did not respond to the messages and emails. The researchers learnt that organisations such as the WWF, USAID, SAFIRE, NORAD, ART, CASS and ZIMTRUST were no longer involved with CBT projects in Zimbabwe. Nevertheless, the online libraries of these organisations had some useful documents. In total, 48 documents were found, and 84 CBT projects were identified. After the systematic search of the project documents, a formulation of categories of the obstacles to community involvement in Zimbabwe's CBT projects was done based upon Tosun's (2000) classification. This classification is more ideal for developing nations (Tosun, 2000), thus since Zimbabwe is also a developing country, the researchers deemed this classification as more appropriate for this study. Tosun (2000) categorised the impediments to community participation in tourism into operational (due to operational procedures), structural (due to prevailing structural challenges) and cultural (results from cultural factors) barriers.

The second phase involved excluding documents that had no mention of obstacles to community involvement in Zimbabwe's CBT projects from the 48 identified documents. During the third phase, the remaining documents were further assessed and documents which mentioned projects that were established before 1982 were excluded since the first official CBT project in Zimbabwe was established in 1982 (Child, 2003). The fourth phase involved analysing data from the selected documents. The results from the above content analysis are presented and discussed in the next section.

Results

Results in the qualitative CA may be presented by tables that contain text instead of numbers (Elo & Kyngas, 2008; Table 1). Among the 48 documents identified and analyzed during the phases three and four, only 17 were found to have obstacles to community involvement in Zimbabwe's CBT projects. Of the 84 projects identified, 22 were found to have limitations to community involvement in tourism drawing upon Tosun's (2000) classification (see Table 1).

The results (Table 1) show that eight barriers (i.e. absence of a legal system to defend community interests, limited capacity, lack of devolution of power and authority to grassroots levels, elite domination, lack of consultation of local people in decision-making, financial constraints, limited time, and apathy) affected community participation in Zimbabwe's CBT projects. These identified eight barriers fall under

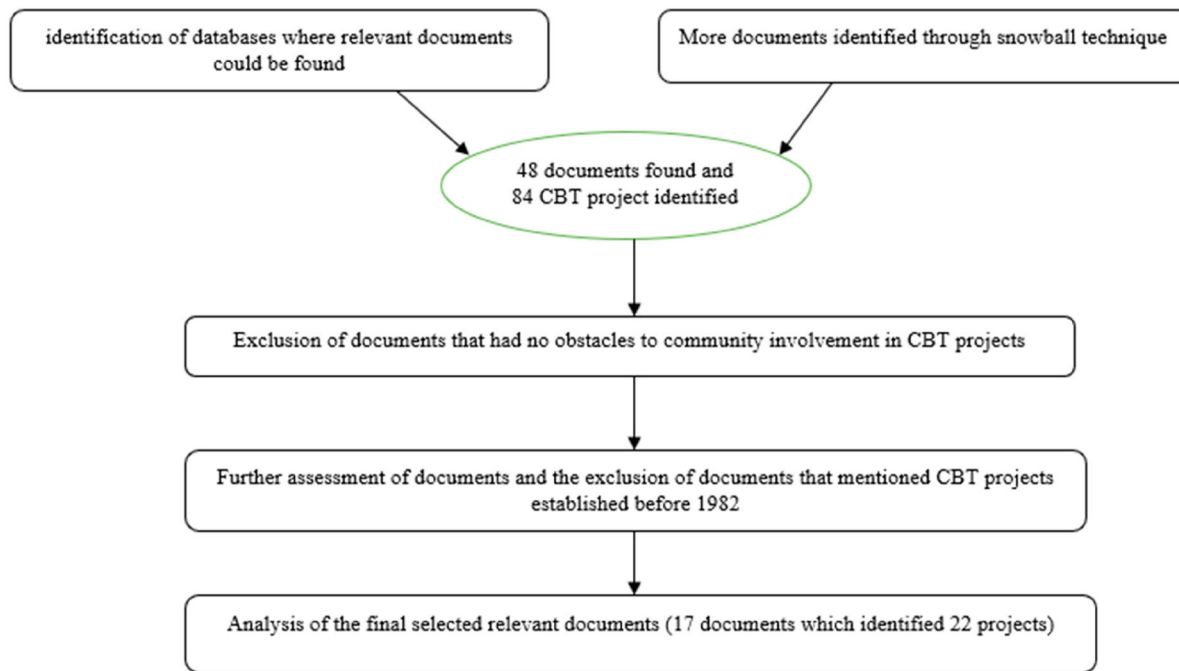


Figure 1. Phases followed to identify documents (Source: Adapted from Moher et al. (2010)).

Tosun (2000)'s three broad categories used to classify the obstacles to community participation (i.e., operational, structural and cultural) barriers. Therefore, in Table 1, these identified eight obstacles to community participation in Zimbabwe's CBT projects are listed under the three categories. For example, the Binga District CAMPFIRE projects were dominated by traditional leaders (elite domination), which is listed under structural barrier in Table 1 as well as the exclusion of the community from decision making, which is an operational barrier (Table 1).

Absence of a legal system to defend community interests

The most common limitation to community involvement in Zimbabwe's CBT projects (Table 1) was found to be the absence of a legitimate system that presented community interests. This is due to the absence of land ownership rights. As the 22 projects are in the rural areas, the land is vested in the President of the country as per the Communal Land Act [Chapter 209:04] of 1982 (Mazamabani & Dembetembe, 2010). Rural people are therefore unable to use land as collateral to raise capital since they are excluded from land ownership. Due to the absence of land title deeds, the Kabila/Saba and Serengeti ecotourism projects could not secure loans from the banks (Muzvidziwa et al., 1999). Although Dodds et al. (2018) suggested that CBT projects in developing countries should approach financial institutions for

loans, this has proved difficult in Zimbabwe due to lack of collateral. This research therefore argues that Zimbabwe's government uses community participation to legitimise the political system as a form of social control rather than defending community interests.

Limited capacity

Limited capacity was the second most prevalent obstacle to community involvement in Zimbabwe's CBT projects (Table 1). Education and training are key to capacity building as they provide communities with the tools to become more active participants in tourism development (Dodds et al., 2018). Gairezi ecotourism project could not diversify its products from fly-fishing to village tours due to lack of guiding skills by the local people (GoZ, MoTHI & Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), 2017). Some elected wildlife committee members from the Guruve District's CAMPFIRE project avoided attending meetings or contributing to any deliberations as they were unaware of their obligations and the reason for their appointment (Hasler, 1991). Likewise, the absence of leadership skills, planning, pricing skills and managerial skills affected the involvement of local people in some projects (e.g. Sunungukai ecotourism project and Serengeti ecotourism projects) (Madzara et al., 2012; Muzvidziwa et al., 1999). Nonetheless, Zimbabwe's CBT training programmes have been criticised for being too basic and administered in a didactic manner (Gohori & van der Merwe, 2020).

Table 1. Barriers to community participation in tourism as identified by CBT projects in Zimbabwe.

Project Name	Operational barriers	Structural barriers	Cultural barriers	Sources
Binga District CAMPFIRE projects	Top-down training programmes designed at national level. Trophy hunting revenues not distributed to the communities by the RDC. Community excluded in decision making.	- Dominated by traditional leaders. - RDCs and elected committee members abused revenues. - Absence of land rights for local people.	- Limited basic tourism skills	- Conyers (2002) - Dzingirai (1995, 1998) - Nabane et al. (1996)
Bulilimamagwe District CAMPFIRE projects	RDC and National Parks and Wildlife Management Authority (NPWLMA) did not involve communities in decision-making.	- Majority Kalanga and Ndebele tribes dominated. No land tenure rights for local people.	- Lack of management and marketing skills.	- Nabane et al. (1996)
Dumbamwe Sangano Ecotourism project	- N/G (not given)	- Financial constraints due to harsh economic conditions. - No laws to protect community interests.	- Limited basic tourism and hospitality skills.	- ZTA (2015)
Gairezi Ecotourism project	- Power concentrated in the private partner. The private partner did not transfer skills to the community.	- Absence of land tenure rights for local communities. - Limited finance to pay the required joining fee to be a member of the projects. - Communities spent time growing potatoes.	- Lack of tourism skills.	- Conyers (2002) - GoZ et al. (2017) - Madzara et al. (2012) - Taylor and Murphree (2007) - ZTA (2015) - ZTA (2018)
Guruve District CAMPFIRE projects	- The RDC and the NPWLMA Centralised power and authority. - Revenues not distributed to communities by the RDC.	- Minority VaDema dominated by majority Kanyurira tribe.	- Chapoto/Kanyemba Ward elected committee members were not aware of their duties.	- Hasler (1991) - Nabane (1998) - Ranganai and Zaba (1995)
Hurungwe District CAMPFIRE projects	- Decisions made by the RDC and the NPWLMA without consulting communities.	- Marginalisation of women - Absence of land tenure rights	- Limited management, tourism and marketing skills.	- Bird and Metcalfe (1996)
Kabila/Saba Ecotourism project	- N/G (not given)	- Limited finances - Absence of legal framework for land ownership.	- Community members were not aware of the tourist products.	- Madzara et al. (2012) - Muzvidziwa et al. (1999)
KoMpsi Cultural Village	- N/G (not given)	- Unclear framework for private-community partnership. - Majority of the local people concentrated on farming. - Absence of land tenure rights.	- Lack of pricing knowledge.	- GoZ et al. (2017) - Madzara et al. (2012) - ZTA (2018)
Lupane Women's Crafts Centre	- N/G (not given)	- The harsh economic conditions in the country exacerbated the financial constraints. - No land ownership rights.	- Limited training in hospitality and tourism. - Lack of pricing skills.	- Madzara et al. (2012)

(Continued)

Table 1. Continued.

Project Name	Operational barriers	Structural barriers	Cultural barriers	Sources
Mahenye/Chilo Gorge CAMPFIRE project	- Community not consulted by the RDC and the NPWLMA in decision-making. - The RDC delayed disbursing revenues to the community.	- Traditional leadership dominated, women were marginalised, and outsiders occupied top positions at the lodge. - Absence of land tenure laws.	- Lack of computer skills as computers donated by SAT remained idle for a long time.	- GoZ et al. (2017) - Madzara et al. (2012) - Muzvidziwa et al. (1999)
Mamvuradonha Wilderness Ecotourism Lodge	- The RDC and NGO partners excluded the community when making decisions.	- Lack of laws that advocated for community interests and land ownership. - The private partner dominated the community. - Local people spent their time farming.	- Limited tourism and hospitality skills.	- Muzvidziwa et al. (1999)
Mapembe Nature Reserve	- - N/G (not given)	- No land tenure rights for local people. - Tobacco farming and illegal gold mining were the main livelihood activities which left local people with little time to participate in tourism.	- Lack of basic skills such as planning and marketing skills.	- GoZ et al. (2017) - ZTA (2015)
Masoka CAMPFIRE project	- Community members excluded in decision-making by the RDC, the NPWLMA and the elected committee.	- The RDC Delays to disburse revenues to the communities. - Elected committee members abused project funds. - Dominated by committee members, traditional leaders, majority Korekore tribe and men who marginalises women.	- Lack of basic tourism and hospitality skills.	- Nabane (1996) - Nabane et al. (1996)
Muni Lodges	- Centralisation of power and authority by the RDC.	- No land ownership rights for local people. - Limited time to participate in tourism since local people concentrate on farming.	- Lack of interest - Lack tourism and hospitality management skills.	- GoZ et al. (2017)
Ngomakurira Ecotourism project	- The RDC were not willing to give power and authority to the community. - Community members were not consulted in decision making by management.	- No land tenure laws. - Construction of the museum was not completed due to limited finances. - Community members concentrated on farming.	- Tour guides lacked professional training. - Apathy.	- GoZ et al. (2017) - Madzara et al. (2012) - ZTA (2018)
Nyaminyami CAMPFIRE projects	- Institutions created by the NGO partners prevented the full participation of local people.	- No legitimate framework that gives local people land ownership rights. - Farming and fishing left community members with limited time to participate in tourisms.	- Lack of basic tourism skills.	- GoZ et al. (2017) - Muzvidziwa et al. (1999)
Sanyati Bridge Camp	- N/G (not given)	- The withdrawal of the private partner in 2000 worsened the financial constraints. - Absence of land tenure laws.	- Lack of management skills	- Madzara et al. (2012)
Sentinel Limpopo Safaris CAMPFIRE project	- N/G (not given)	- Resettled war veterans in the area dominated local people.	- Lack of interest as the CAMPFIRE and the private sector excluded local people.	- GoZ et al. (2016)

(Continued)

Table 1. Continued.

Project Name	Operational barriers	Structural barriers	Cultural barriers	Sources
Serengeti Ecotourism project	- Centralisation of power by the founder.	- The construction of the conference room was not completed due to the shortage of funds. - Absence of land ownership laws.	- Community members lacked leadership, planning, and management skills.	- Madzara et al. (2012) - Muzvidziwa et al. (1999)
Sunungukai Ecotourism project	- Centralisation of power and authority by the RDC.	- Marginalisation of females. - Local people concentrated on illegal mining and farming. - Limited funds to pay a joining fee to become a project member. - No land ownership rights.	- Lack of tourism and hospitality skills resulted in all the bookings being done by the RDC office.	- Muzvidziwa et al. (1999) - ZTA (2018)
Tsholotsho District CAMPFIRE project	- All key decisions were made by the NPWLMA without involving the community.	- No legitimate laws and policies to give land ownership rights to local people.	- Lack of tourism and management skills.	- Mazamabani and Dembetembe (2010) - Nabane et al. (1996)
Vimba Ecotourism Project	- The RDC did not devolve power and authority to the community.	- Lack of financial resources. - Elected committee had fewer women. - No empowerment policies and laws for local people to own land. - Community members spent most of their time in the banana fields.	- Limited skills to be able to professionally manage the project. - Community members unaware of the potential tourist attractions.	- GoZ et al. (2017) - Mazamabani and Dembetembe (2010) - Muzvidziwa et al. (1999) - ZTA (2015)

Note: The final 17 documents are the ones which are listed as sources in table 1

Lack of devolution of power and authority to grassroots levels

The failure to devolve power to communities was the third most common barrier identified by Zimbabwe's CBT projects (Table 1). The RDCs hold power as they have authority to issue hunting permits, draft contracts with safari operators, receive income from trophy hunting, develop land use plans and make by-laws for the protection of natural resources in rural communities (Mazamabani & Dembetembe, 2010). Although the RDCs should devolve the trophy hunting revenues to communities, this has not been happening (Table 1). In 1989, money was paid into the RDC's account by a Safari operator for a hunting concession in Chapato Ward, but the money was not disbursed to the community by September 1990 (Hasler, 1991). In some projects (e.g. Gairezi ecotourism and Serengeti ecotourism), the private partner and founder held power at the expense of the community (Madzara et al., 2012; Table 1). Although some projects formed trusts (e.g. Karunga Community Trust in Guruve) where revenues could be paid directly into the community's trust account this was hampered by the fact that the formation of trusts rely on the desire of the RDCs to empower communities to take management responsibilities (Gohori, 2020; Table 1).

Elite domination

Elite domination, which was identified as the fourth prevalent impediment to community involvement in Zimbabwe's CBT projects, comes in different forms (Table 1). Some projects were dominated by traditional leaders (e.g. Mahenye/Chilo Gorge, Binga district CAMPFIRE projects). In the early to mid-2000s, community members refrained from participating in the Mahenye/Chilo Gorge CBT project as the traditional leadership hijacked the project and allocated positions in the committee to family members (Gohori & van der Merwe, 2021b). Others experienced the marginalisation of women (e.g. Masoka, Hurungwe district CAMPFIRE projects). The elected committees of Mahenye/Chilo Gorge, Gairezi ecotourism and Mapembe Nature Reserve were dominated by men as local cultures demanded that women should take care of the families while men get involved in community issues (Gohori & van der Merwe, 2021b). Mavuradonha Wilderness project was dominated by the private partner, whereas the Sentinel Limpopo Safaris project was controlled by a group of war veterans who were resettled in the area during the land reform programme. Majority ethnic groups dominated the minority in Masoka, Bulililamangwe district and Guruve district projects (Table 1).

Nevertheless, politics was also attributed to elite domination as the councillor of Nenyunga ward in Gokwe formed a Force Committee which replaced the elected CAMPFIRE committee as it was perceived to comprise of pro-opposition of the ruling party (Mapedza & Bond, 2006). Similarly, the Nyaminyami district wildlife committee members were regarded as puppets of the ruling ZANU-PF councillors (Mombeshora & Le Bel, 2010). Gohori and van der Merwe (2021b) observed that the ruling party flag was displayed at the project offices of Mapembe Nature Reserve and they opined that this could discourage those not affiliated to the ruling party to avoid participating in the project. ZIM-TRUST promoted the formation of the Nyaminyami Wildlife Management Trust (NWMT) in the CAMPFIRE projects in Nyaminyami district, which preferred highly skilled technocrats, and these controlled the project while denying local people to get involved (Murombedzi, 1996). Likewise, the WWF quota setting and the environmental audit programmes in the same district preferred safari operators while excluding local people (Murombedzi, 1996). Nevertheless, although the WWF's participatory quota setting encouraged local people to get involved in the Masoka CBT project, there was still limited community involvement and acceptance by most local people (Taylor & Murphree, 2007).

Lack of consultation of local people in decision-making

As shown in Table 1, the lack of consultation of local people in decision-making was the fifth most prevalent barrier identified by Zimbabwe's CBT projects. In Binga District, a safari operator drilled a borehole and erected an electric fence to control game in the CAMPFIRE projects without asking the local people, prompting their resistance as they felt they needed to be consulted first (Dzingirai, 1995). Likewise, although the Chapato ward's RDC 1989 financial report claimed to have channelled funds from the CBT project towards the construction of Chapato School, the local people including school authorities believed that the funds used were from the District Development Fund since they were not consulted on how revenues from the project could have been spent (Ranganai & Zaba, 1995). In some projects (e.g. Masoka, Chapato, Nyaminyami, Mahenye), the details of lease agreements were negotiated between the safari operator and the RDC without involving the communities (Taylor & Murphree, 2007). The elected committee for the Masoka CBT project in 1997 financed an entertainment video facility with the project funds without involving the community and it became very unpopular with the community (Conyers,

2002). This barrier has been exacerbated by the GoZ which decreed that the CAMPFIRE revenues must be used only on community infrastructure without consulting communities (Taylor & Murphree, 2007). As the construction of community infrastructure is regarded as the government's responsibility, Taylor and Murphree (2007) viewed this stance as the government's indirect way of evading its duties.

Financial constraints

The sixth most common obstacle to community involvement in Zimbabwe's CBT projects was financial constraints that has been aggravated by the bad economic climate in the country since 2000. This has resulted in the unavailability of funds to complete the construction of infrastructure at some projects, such as the Serengeti ecotourism project and Ngomakurira ecotourism project. In some projects, such as Sunungukai ecotourism and Gairezi ecotourism, some community members were not able to participate as a joining fee was required to become a member, yet local people could not afford the joining fee (Gohori & van der Merwe, 2021b; Table 1). The dwindling of revenues generated from the projects due to the economic situation prevailing in the country have also discouraged local people from participating as they are not getting any meaningful benefits (GoZ et al., 2017).

Limited time

The identified seventh most common obstacle to community involvement in Zimbabwe's CBT projects (Table 1) was time. Farming is the main economic activity in the communal areas of Zimbabwe, and this leaves local people with little time to be involved with CBT projects (GoZ et al., 2017). Local people from several projects such as Mapembe Nature Reserve, Muni Lodges, KoMpisi and Ngomakurira spent their time farming (Table 1). Kala and Bagri (2018) argue that rural people are reluctant to leave their primary and traditional sources of income to participate in tourism. Members of the Chibasani CBT project and Mapembe Nature Reserve in Manicaland Province, Zimbabwe spent their time farming or doing illegal mining as these generated more revenues (Gohori & van der Merwe, 2021b).

Apathy

Only three projects (Muni Lodges, Ngomakurira and Sentinel Limpopo) were affected by this barrier as the implementers of the projects were not involving local people in running the projects (Table 1). In the Makonde Rural

District Council, the implementers of Muni Lodges preferred to involve private partners instead of the community while at the Ngomakurira project, unclear governance arrangements and the lack of benefit-sharing scheme caused local people to lose interest in taking part in the project (GoZ et al., 2017).

Discussion and conclusion

The results of this study show that community members in Zimbabwe's CBT projects are denied the opportunity to participate in tourism by operational, structural, and cultural barriers. The identified obstacles to community participation in Zimbabwe's CBT projects are also prevalent in other developing countries such as India, Malaysia and Botswana as highlighted by the reviewed literature. This calls for universal guidelines for community participation in tourism for developing countries such as Zimbabwe. This must be spearheaded by organisations such as the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) or the African Union. These can be adopted by developing nations such as Zimbabwe to promote genuine residents' inclusivity in tourism.

This study has found that eight main limitations affect the participation of local people in Zimbabwe's CBT projects. The most prevalent barrier, the absence of a legal system to defend community interests may have been exacerbated by the generally weak legal frameworks that are meant to protect people's rights to resources in the Southern African region (Mazamabani & Demberembe, 2010). However, Zimbabwe can learn from South Africa which has legislation in place for community participation where the government drafted *The Tourism in GEAR* (Growth, Employment and Redistribution) document which signals the need for a collaborative approach to tourism development, that involves the government, the private sector and the community. This is further emphasised in the country's tourism policy and other documents such as *The Responsible Tourism Handbook: A Guide to Good practices for Tourism Operators*, which contains guidelines for developing partnerships and joint ventures, in which communities obtain a significant stake in CBT projects (Giampiccoli & Saayman, 2018).

As the results of this study show that the training programmes given to local people are administered in a didactic manner, it is suggested that external partners should consult with communities and incorporate their ideas and indigenous knowledge systems before designing training programmes (Gohori & van der Merwe, 2021a). Incorporating indigenous peoples' indigenous

knowledge systems might also mitigate the barrier of apathy.

While most governments regard community participation as unnecessary, time-consuming and expensive as it delays decision-making (Marzuki et al., 2012), this study argues that communities should participate in CBT projects to promote their sustainability. Therefore, to mitigate the lack of devolution of power and authority to grassroots levels, it is recommended that strong democratic institutions be established from the community level to the central government (Chiutsi & Saarinen, 2019). In the case of Zimbabwe, the RDCs should cede more power and responsibilities to local communities.

The results have also shown that financial constraints affected the involvement of local people in Zimbabwe's CBT projects. Establishing strong partnerships between key tourism stakeholders (e.g. NGOs, the private sector, the public sector, communities) may improve the financial situation of the projects (Wondirad & Ewnetu, 2019). This study suggests that agriculture be integrated into the tourism value chain where lodges located near communal areas (e.g. Mahenye/Chilo Gorge in Manicaland, Zimbabwe) are encouraged to buy their food supplies from local communities. Nonetheless, communities should consider improving the quality and to have a constant supply of the food to the lodges (Gohori, 2020).

This study contributes to the main body of knowledge in three ways: Firstly, theoretically, as it adds to the growing number of studies on the limitations to community involvement in tourism in African nations and other developing countries. Secondly, methodologically it has also added to the increasing research which use qualitative CA technique in tourism studies (Camprubi & Coromina, 2016). Finally, practically, the results may assist tourism stakeholders involved with CBT development in Zimbabwe in crafting policies and strategies that promote community participation in tourism.

However, there are limitations to this study. The data collection method involved reading a lot of documents that were presented in different forms, and it was not easy to summarise the findings (see Stepchenkova et al., 2009). Finally, the results of this study may not be generalised to all the CBT projects in Zimbabwe as they are based on the documents which were found during the search strategy, neither can they be generalised to all developing countries as they are based on the case study of Zimbabwe.

The stated limitations to this study, therefore, provide avenues for future research. There is a need for future research on local people's perspectives on the barriers to community participation in Zimbabwe's CBT projects

from other CBT projects in other parts of Zimbabwe which are not included in this study. Future research may also seek the views of other stakeholders involved with CBT in Zimbabwe (e.g. government employees, the private sector, development agencies) as they might provide new fascinating findings that may contribute to contemporary knowledge to the field of CBT.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Notes on contributors

Owen Gohori is a Post-Doctoral Fellow at North-West University, Potchefstroom campus. He worked in the tourism industry for seven years before he became an entrepreneur before doing a PhD in Tourism Management. His research interests include pro-poor tourism, community-based tourism and sustainable tourism. He has extensive knowledge and experience working with inbound tourists and promotes the development of community-based tourism in rural communities as a strategy to benefit disadvantaged local people.

Peet van der Merwe is currently a Professor and researcher at the School of Tourism Management, at North-West University, Potchefstroom campus. He is also part of the Tourism Research in Economics, Environs and Society, which is the only research unit in South Africa with a focus on tourism related aspects. His main area of specialisation lies with natural-area tourism, which includes ecotourism, wildlife tourism, adventure tourism, marine ecotourism and sustainable tourism development.

ORCID

Owen Gohori  <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-1323-2399>

Peet van der Merwe  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-6640-4062>

References

- Bello, F. G., Lovelock, B., & Carr, N. (2017). Constraints of community participation in protected area-based tourism planning: The case of Malawi. *Journal of Ecotourism*, 16(2), 131–151. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14724049.2016.1251444>
- Bird, C., & Metcalfe, S. (1996). *Two views from CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe's Hurungwe district: Training and motivation who benefits and who doesn't?* International Institute for Environment and Development.
- Booth, A., & Halseth, G. (2011). Why the public thinks natural resources public participation processes fail: A case study of British Columbia communities. *Land Use Policy*, 28(4), 898–906. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2011.03.005>
- Camprubi, R., & Coromina, L. (2016). Content analysis in tourism research. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, 18, 134–140. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tmp.2016.03.002>

- Child, B. (2003). *Origins and Efficacy of Modern Community-based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) Practices in the Southern African Region*. http://cmsdata.iucn.org/downloads/cca_bchild.pdf.
- Chiutsi, S., & Saarinen, J. (2019). The limits of inclusivity and sustainability in transfrontier peace parks: Case of sengwe community in great Limpopo transfrontier conservation area, Zimbabwe. *Critical African Studies*, 11(3), 348–360. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21681392.2019.1670703>
- Conyers, D. (2002). *Whose elephants are they? Decentralization of control over wildlife management through the CAMPFIRE Program in Binga District, Zimbabwe*. World Resources Institute.
- Das, M., & Chatterjee, B. (2015). Ecotourism: A panacea or predicament? *Tourism Management Perspectives*, 14, 3–16. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tmp.2015.01.002>
- Dodds, R., Ali, A., & Galaski, K. (2018). Mobilizing knowledge: Determining key elements for success and pitfalls in developing community-based tourism. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 21(13), 1547–1568. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2016.1150257>
- Dzingirai, V. (1995). *Take back your "CAMPFIRE". A study of local level perceptions to electric fencing in the framework of binga's CAMPFIRE program*. Centre for Applied Social Sciences.
- Dzingirai, V. (1998). *Migration, local politics and CAMPFIRE*. Centre for Applied Social Sciences.
- Elo, S., & Kyngas, H. (2008). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 62(1), 107–115. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2648.2007.04569.x>
- Giampiccoli, A., & Kalis, H. J. (2012). Community-based tourism and local culture: The case of the AmaMpondo. *Posos: Revista de Turismo y Patrimonio Cultural*, 10(1), 173–188. <https://doi.org/10.25145/j.pasos.2012.10.017>
- Giampiccoli, A., & Saayman, M. (2018). South African community-based tourism operational guidelines: Analysis and critical review. *African Journal of Science, Technology, Innovation and Development*, 10(6), 759–770. <https://doi.org/10.1080/20421338.2018.1463653>
- Gohori, O. (2020). *Towards a tourism and community development framework: An African perspective* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). North-West University, Potchefstroom.
- Gohori, O., & van der Merwe, P. (2020). Towards a tourism and community-development framework: An African perspective. *Sustainability*, 12(05305|5305), 1–35. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su12135305>
- Gohori, O., & van der Merwe, P. (2021a). Tourism and community empowerment: The perspectives of local people in Manicaland Province, Zimbabwe. *Tourism Planning & Development*, 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21568316.2021.1873838>
- Gohori, O., & van der Merwe, P. (2021b). Limitations to community participation in tourism from local people's perspectives: Manicaland Province, Zimbabwe. *Development Southern Africa*, 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0376835X.2021.1913099>
- Government of Zimbabwe, Ministry of Tourism and Hospitality Industry and Japan International Cooperation Agency. (2017). *Community-based tourism master plan targeting poverty alleviation in the Republic of Zimbabwe: Final report main text*. http://open_jicareport.jica.go.jp/pdf/12288759.pdf.
- Government of Zimbabwe, Ministry of Tourism and Hospitality Industry, Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (MoFED) & Keios Development Consulting (KDC). (2016). *Tourism master plan: Inventory and assessment of tourism resources*. <http://keios.it/portfolio/english-consulting-services-to-develop-a-tourism-master-planzimbabwe/>.
- Hall, C. M., & Valentin, A. (2005). Content analysis. In B. W. Ritchie, P. Burns, & C. Palmer (Eds.), *Tourism research methods: Integrating theory with practice* (pp. 191–209). CABI.
- Harris-Smith, K., & Palmer, C. (2021). Donor funded community-based tourism development projects: The experience of rural mountain communities in Tajikistan's zerafshan valley. *Tourism Planning & Development*, 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21568316.2021.1887345>
- Hasler, R. (1991). *The political and socio-economic dynamics of natural resource management: The Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) in Chapoto ward 1989-1990*. Centre for Applied Social Sciences.
- Hsieh, H. F., & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 19(9), 1277–1288. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732305276687>
- Kala, D., & Bagri, S. C. (2018). Barriers to local community participation in tourism development: Evidence from mountainous state uttarakhand, India. *Tourism: An International Interdisciplinary Journal*, 66(3), 318–333.
- Khazaei, A., Elliot, S., & Joppe, M. (2015). An application of stakeholder theory to advance community participation in tourism planning: The case for engaging immigrants as fringe stakeholders. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 23(7), 1049–1062. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2015.1042481>
- Kunjuraman, V. (2021). Local community participation challenges in community-based eco-tourism development in Sabah, Malaysian borneo. *Community Development Journal*, 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1093/cdj/bsaa065>
- Kunjuraman, V., & Hussin, R. (2017). Challenges of community-based homestay programme in Sabah, Malaysia: Hopeful or hopeless? *Tourism Management Perspectives*, 21, 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tmp.2016.10.007>
- Lachapelle, P. R., McCool, S. F., & Patterson, M. E. (2003). Barriers to effective natural resource planning in a 'messy' world. *Society & Natural Resources*, 16(6), 473–490. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920309151>
- Lane, B., & Kastenholz, E. (2015). Rural tourism: The evolution of practice and research approaches - towards a new generation concept? *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 23(8–9), 1133–1156. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2015.1083997>
- Lenao, M. (2015). Challenges facing community-based cultural tourism development at Lekhubu island, Botswana: A comparative analysis. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 18(6), 579–594. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2013.827158>
- Madzara, A., Yekeye, T., & Rewayi, J. (2012). *Report on the national review of the status of community-based tourism enterprises (CBTEs) in Zimbabwe*. Zimbabwe Tourism Authority.
- Mapedza, E., & Bond, I. (2006). Political deadlock and devolved wildlife management in Zimbabwe the case of Nenyunga ward. *The Journal of Environment & Development*, 15(4), 407–427. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1070496506294635>

- Marzuki, A., Hay, I., & James, J. (2012). Public participation shortcomings in tourism planning: The case of the langkawi islands, Malaysia. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 20(4), 585–602. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2011.638384>
- Mazamabani, D., & Dembetembe, P. (2010). *Community-based natural resource management stock-taking assessment: Zimbabwe profile*. https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00JRRM.pdf.
- Mbaiwa, J. E. (2004). The successes and sustainability of community based natural resources management in the Okavango delta, Botswana. *South African Geographical Journal*, 86(1), 44–53. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03736245.2004.9713807>
- Moher, D., Liberati, A., Tetzlaff, J., Altman, D. G., & The PRISMA Group, (2010). Preferred reporting items for systematic reviews and meta-analyses: The PRISMA statement. *International Journal of Surgery*, 8(5), 336–334. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijsu.2010.02.007>
- Mombeshora, S., & Le Bel, S. (2010). Community-based game ranching and politics in chiriwo ward of mbire district, Zimbabwe. *Innovation and Sustainable Development in Agriculture and Food*, 1–11.
- Morrow, V., Boddy, J., & Lamb, R. (2014). *The ethics of secondary data analysis: Learning from the experience of sharing qualitative data from young people and their families in an international study of childhood poverty*. Institute of Education, University of London.
- Murombedzi, J. C. (1996). *Paying the buffalo bill: The impact and implications of external aid on the Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE)*. Centre for Applied Social Sciences.
- Muzvidziwa, V. N., Mamimine, P. W., Pangeti, G., Nyakunu, E., & Mukogo, R. (1999). *The state of eco-tourism in CAMPFIRE districts Zimbabwe*. Centre for Applied Social Sciences.
- Nabane, N. (1996). *Lacking confidence? A gender sensitive analysis of CAMPFIRE in Masoka village*. International Institute for Environment and Development.
- Nabane, N. (1998). *Gender and ethnic differentiation in the Communal Areas Management programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) in Guruve district, Zimbabwe*. Centre for Applied Social Science.
- Nabane, N., Dzingirayi, V., & Madzudzo, E. (1996). *Membership in common property regimes: A case study of guruve, binga, Tsholotsho and Bulilimamagwe CAMPFIRE programs*. Centre for Applied Social Sciences.
- Ranganai, R. M., & Zaba, B. (1995). *Animal conservation and human survival: A case study of the tembomvura people of Chapoto ward in the Zambezi valley, Zimbabwe*. Centre for Applied Social Sciences.
- Saito, N., Ruhanen, L., Noakes, S., & Axelsen, M. (2018). Community engagement in pro-poor tourism initiatives: Fact or fallacy? Insights from the inside. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 43(2), 175–185. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02508281.2017.1406566>
- Sood, J., Lynch, P., & Anastasiadou, C. (2017). Community non-participation in homestays in Kullu, Himachal Pradesh, India. *Tourism Management*, 60, 332–347. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2016.12.007>
- Stepchenkova, S. (2012). Content analysis. In L. Dwyer, A. Gill, & N. Seetara (Eds.), *Handbook of research methods in tourism: Quantitative and qualitative approaches* (pp. 443–458). Edward Elgar.
- Stepchenkova, S., Kirilenko, A. P., & Morrison, A. M. (2009). Facilitating content analysis in tourism research. *Journal of Travel Research*, 47(4), 454–469. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0047287508326509>
- Taylor, R. D., & Murphree, M. W. (2007). *Case studies on successful Southern African NRM initiatives and their impacts on poverty and governance Zimbabwe: Masoka and gairezi*. International Resources Group.
- Tosun, C. (2000). Limits to community participation in the tourism development process in developing countries. *Tourism Management*, 21(6), 613–633. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177\(00\)00009-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177(00)00009-1)
- Whitford, M., & Ruhanen, L. (2016). Indigenous tourism research, past and present: Where to from here? *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 24(8–9), 1080–1099. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2016.1189925>
- Williamson, K., Given, L. M., & Scifleet, P. (2018). Qualitative data analysis. In K. Williamson, & G. Johanson (Eds.), *Research methods: Information, systems, and contexts* (pp. 453–476). Chandos Publishing.
- Wondirad, A., & Ewnetu, B. (2019). Community participation in tourism development as a tool to foster sustainable land and resource use practices in a national park milieu. *Land Use Policy*, 88, 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2019.104155>
- Zielinski, S., Kim, S., Botero, C., & Yanes, A. (2020). Factors that facilitate and inhibit community-based tourism initiatives in developing countries. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 23(6), 723–739. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2018.1543254>
- Zimbabwe Tourism Authority. (2015). *An audit of community-based tourism Projects in Manicaland Province, Zimbabwe*. (Unpublished report).
- Zimbabwe Tourism Authority. (2018). *Community-based tourism database*. (Unpublished report).