

**VICTORIA FALLS: THE  
RESILIENCE OF TOURISM  
DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE  
UNDER SITUATIONS OF FRAGILITY  
(1965 TO 2015).**

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of the requirements  
of the University of Brighton for the  
degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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## **Abstract**

This study focuses on tourism development in modern Zimbabwe in various situations of fragility, which have characterized the country for over half a century between 1965 and 2015. In these fifty years, unconducive conditions characterized by civil war, international sanctions, economic structural adjustment, persistent political violence and insuperable economic problems made Zimbabwe a fragile state. This study critically analyses how and why tourism development was possible despite the destination's situations of fragility. Zimbabwe's fragilities are investigated within four specific themes and historical periods: civil war and United Nations sanctions - 1965-1980; ethnically based political discord during the first decade of independence- 1980-1990; International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) imposed economic structural adjustment program and the Zimbabwe Democracy Reform Act sanctions (ZIDERA) - 1990-2010; post conflict era including the muddled land reform, continued ZIDERA sanctions, political and election violence - 2010 - 2015. General perceptions of tourism development and state fragility in Zimbabwe stem from local, regional and international influences. This qualitative research adopts an interpretivist approach, using a single case study of Victoria Falls National Park to analyse the internal and external influences on tourism development. The study critically reflects upon the fragility of politics and policy and key issues framing tourism development in Zimbabwe. The methodology was steeped in archival document analysis and in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted with ten key stakeholders from government and non-governmental organisations, the private tourism sector and academic practitioners. The study is the first of its kind in examining tourism development at Victoria Falls National Park in modern times, within the frameworks of state fragility and resilience theories. The thesis contributes novel knowledge about the multidimensional aspects of tourism development and destination resilience despite the existence of adverse conditions of its state of fragility. Tourism development and its resilience was primarily associated with infrastructural and economic development, continued tourist arrivals, tourism revenue generation, employment creation and poverty eradication. Key findings show evidence of the historical operations, existence and survival of tourism in Zimbabwe associated with its strong regional ties and maintained relationships with international tourism organisations.

**Key words:** Zimbabwe, Victoria Falls, fragility, resilience, tourism development.

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## Abbreviations

ATTA	African Travel and Tourism Association
AZTA	Association of Zimbabwe Travel Agents
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BOAZ	Boats Association of Zimbabwe
BSAC	British South Africa Company
BSAP	British South Africa Police
CAA	Civil Aviation Authority
CAAZ	Civil Aviation Authority Zimbabwe
CAMPFIRE	Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resources
CBT	Community Based Tourism
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CFA	Commission for Africa
CIO	Central Intelligence Organization
CMS	Crisis Management Systems
CRE	School Research Ethics Committee
CSO	Central Statistical Office
CTA	Conservation Tourism Areas
CTA	Community Tourism Areas
DFID	Department for International Development
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EMA	Environment Management Act
EPA	Emergency Powers Act (EPA) Chapter 83, 1965
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Program
ESATO	Southern Africa Travel Organisation
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FIFA	Federation Football Association
FTLRP	Fast Track Land Reform Program
GDP	Gross Domestic Product (GDP)
GNU	Government of National Unity
HAZ	Hospitality Association of Zimbabwe
HIV/AIDS	Human immunodeficiency virus infection and acquired immune deficiency syndrome
ICA	Indemnity and Compensation Act (ICA) 45 of 1975
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organization
ICUN	The International Union for Conservation of Nature
IEEA	Indigenous Economic Empowerment Act
IFRC	International Federation of Red Cross and Crescent
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMF	Monetary Fund (IMF)
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel for Climate Change
ISDR	International Strategy for Disaster Reduction
ISI	Import Substitution Industrialization
ITT	Institute of Travel and Tourism
IUOTO	International Union of Official Travel Organizations
KAZA	Kavango Zambezi Trans- Frontier Conservation Area
LAA	Land Apportionment Act
LOMA	Law and Maintenance Act

LRA	Labour Relations Act
LRPZ	Land Reform Program
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
	Monitoring Centre
MOTHI	Ministry of Tourism and Hospitality Industry
MP	Member of Parliament
NAZ	National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ)
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NPWM	National Parks and Wildlife Management (NPWM)
NTMP	National Tourism Master Plan
NTO	National Tourist Organization
ODI	Overseas Development Institution
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PCGA	Preservation of Constitutional Government Act Chapter 69
PWMA	Parks and Wildlife Management Zimbabwe
RAF	Rhodesia Air Force
RENAMO	Mozambique Resistance Movement
RETOSA	Regional Tourism Organization of Southern Africa
RFP	Rhodesia Front Party
RNPWD	Rhodesia National Parks and Wildlife Department
RNTB	Rhodesia National Tourist Board
RTG	Rainbow Tourism Group
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SDTP	Sustainable Development of Tourism Programme
SEI	Stockholm Environmental Institute
STD	Sustainable Tourism Development
TERN	Tourism Emergency Response Network
TFCA	Trans-frontier Conservation Areas
THC	Tourist Hotels Corporation
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNEP	United Nations Economic Program
UNEP-WCMC	United Nations Environmental Program-World Conservation
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICRI	Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute
UNISDR	United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
UOA	Unlawful Organizations Act, Chapter 91, 1971
UREIC	University Research Ethics and Integrity Committee
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VAA	Vagrancy Act
VFAP	Victoria Falls Anti-Poaching
VFNP	Victoria Falls National Park
WB	World Bank

WHO	World Health Organization
WHS	World Heritage Site
WTO	World Tourism Organisation
ZANLA	Zimbabwe National Liberation Army
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZAPU PF	Zimbabwe African People Union Patriotic Front
ZATSO	Zimbabwe Association of Safari Organization
ZAWA	Zambian Wildlife Authority
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions
ZESA	Zimbabwe Electrical Power Supply Authority
ZIDERA	Zimbabwe Democratic Recovery sanctions
ZIMSTATS	Zimbabwe Statistics
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army
ZNTB	Zambian National Tourism Board
ZPWMA	Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Management Authority
ZRP	Zimbabwe Republic Police
ZTA	Zimbabwe Tourism Authority
ZTB	Zimbabwe Tourism Board
ZTDC	Zimbabwe Tourism Development Corporation
ZUM	Zimbabwe Unity Movement

## **Glossary**

*Dzimba dza mabwe* - houses of stone

*Govavhu* – land reform

*Makorokoza* - panners

*Makipi* -villages fenced and closely guarded by Smith's army

*Murambatsvina* - violent and destructive controversial clean-up operation

*Nzembwe* - millet produced in response to drought spells

*Rambotemwa* -sacred nature forests and shrines

*Shangwa* – hunger

## **Dedication**

I dedicate this study to my late mother Sekai, Jasmine Samunyai, my grandmother Nellia, Zvinaiye Makoni and grandfather Che Saizi Mohammed Munjaidi. You brought me up, with love that encompassed everyone in our lives, including strangers in the street and you instilled in me your determination that whether we win or lose, we have applied the best of ourselves to the task at hand. I thank you for your immeasurable contribution to my life.

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I wish to extend my sincere gratitude to many members of the Zimbabwe National Archives, Bulawayo National Archives, University of Zimbabwe and Parliamentary Library staff. Thank you for helping me in gathering and collecting archival data.

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## **Declaration**

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

Signed: Kuda Felicia Munjaidi

Date: 30 September 2019



## **Chapter One**

### **Introduction of the study**

#### **1.0 Introduction**

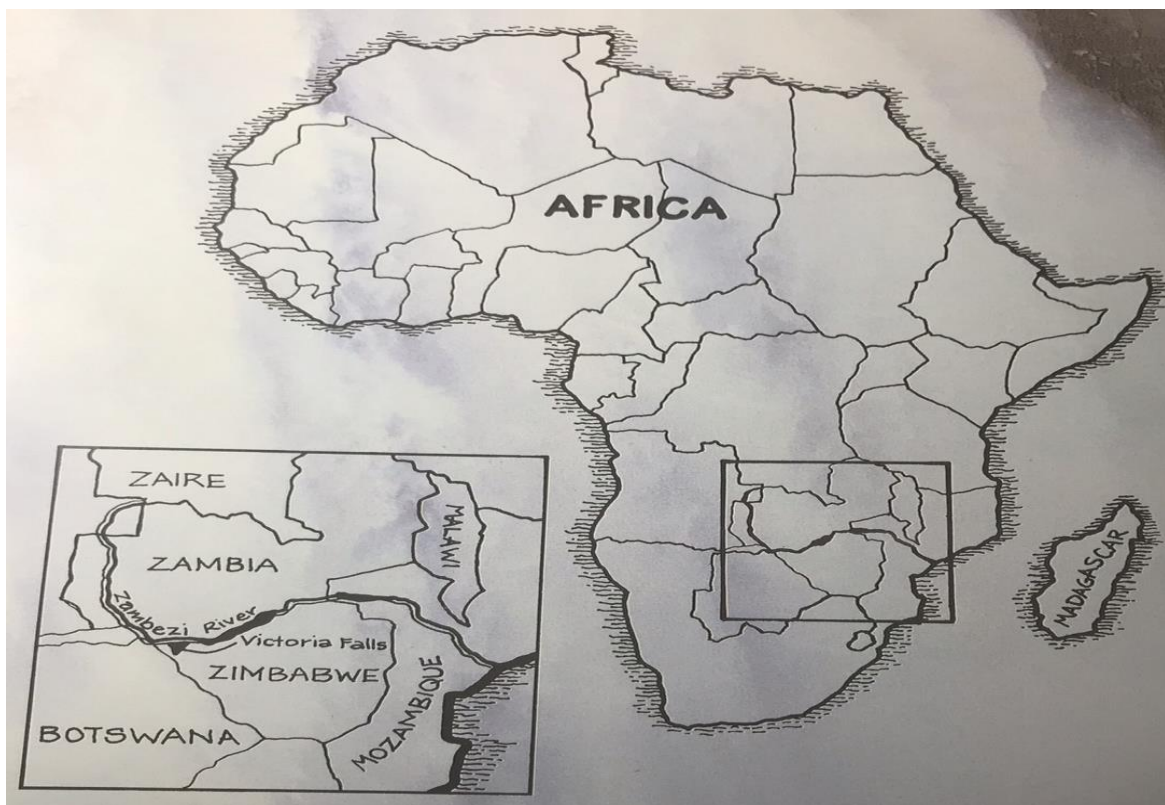
This study focuses primarily on examining tourism development in modern Zimbabwe in various situations of fragility over half a century from 1965 to 2015. In these 50 years, unfavourable conditions characterised by civil war, United Nations sanctions, economic structural adjustment, a haphazard land reform program and insuperable economic problems made Zimbabwe a fragile state. Specifically, the study investigates various patterns of fragility at Victoria Falls and Zimbabwe more generally. The research analyses the fragility of politics and policy, and problems of international sanctions. For the purposes of this study, fragility or situations of fragility is used to examine the interrelationships between state fragility, tourism development and its resilience. The conceptual clarity of situations of fragility to the problems above are tested by the levels of tourism development and resilience of the tourism industry specifically at Victoria Falls and Zimbabwe more generally by using archival and raw data from in-depth semi-structured interviews. The participants included individuals from the tourism ministry, tourism board, a tour operator, hotelier, lodge owner, tourism consultant, an academic, national parks board and a hotel manager.

Zimbabwe's fragilities are investigated within specific timeframes and themes associated with different historical periods from 1965 to 2015. Under the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), 1965- 1980, tourism faced the limitations brought about by both international sanctions and the war of liberation that ended with independence in 1980. Despite much goodwill from the international community in the 'socialist' decade 1980-1990, there were safety concerns not only raised by political instability in Matabeleland but also the attacks from the then apartheid South Africa. During much of the period 1990-2000, Zimbabwe experienced acute droughts and food shortages in a period of economic structural adjustment, general lack of finance, violence, a major land reform programme which prompted the 2001 Zimbabwe Democracy Reform Act (ZIDERA) sanctions imposed by the United States and the European Union. The tourism sector also had to navigate its way from 2000-2015 under continued ZIDERA sanctions.

Perceptions of tourism development and state fragility in Zimbabwe stem from local, regional and international influences. A case exists for carrying out social science research

interrogating the nature of tourism development in a fragile state, with a specific focus on Victoria Falls.<sup>1</sup> Victoria Falls is understood in local, regional and global terms as a unique geographical entity characterised by several features. The main objective of this research is to provide better understanding of tourism development, its trajectory and the resilience demonstrated by the tourism sector in countering Zimbabwe's different situations of fragility. Despite many challenges, findings showed that the tourism sector displayed resilience associated with its infrastructural and economic development as well as the growth of carrying capacity of tourist arrivals. Also, Zimbabwe continued to position itself as a competitive tourism destination in Southern Africa. Central to this study are the interrelationships between destination fragility and resilience, between local policymakers, practitioners, regional and global forces that influenced tourism development in Zimbabwe and especially at Victoria Falls.

**Figure 1.1: The geographical map of the research location**



**Source: Jan and Fiona Teede (1994) African Thunder: The Victoria Falls**

Victoria Falls itself provided the area's principal attraction. Located between the Zambezi and the Limpopo rivers, see Figure 1.1 above, Zimbabwe is a landlocked country and host to one

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<sup>1</sup> Victoria Falls National Park World Heritage Site, later referred to as Victoria Falls

of the outstanding natural wonders of the world, Victoria Falls, locally known as ‘Mosi ya tunya’ meaning, ‘the smoke that thunders.’ It was made popular by David Livingstone a British explorer (Arrington 2010). Victoria Falls is the research case study that forms a natural border between Zimbabwe and Zambia with both countries promoting the destination and enhancing regional integration. It is perceived that the growth of tourism development in Zimbabwe lies in the cooperation with its neighbours guided by the Regional Tourism Organization of Southern Africa (RETOSA), a body responsible for the development and growth of tourism in the region under the umbrella economic regional grouping- Southern African Development Community (SADC). Ghimire (2001) claims that, regional tourism and South-South economic cooperation can play an important part in general tourism development because of shared traditions, language and food.

## **1.2 Background to the study**

Zimbabwe’s tourism is lopsided because of the regional inequalities whereby tourism is concentrated in the north-western part of the country featuring Victoria Falls, Hwange and Kariba, sometimes referred to as the northern triangle. Zimbabwe has no beaches but few natural and historical urban tourism attractions. Its major tourism attributes are Victoria Falls, the scenic eastern Highlands, the granite rocks of the Manobo Hills, Kariba and the many national parks across the country. Wildlife safari is a key source of the tourism industry involving game viewing and sport hunting. Wildlife tourism is a major contributor of income and offers employment to both urban and the rural population. Zimbabwe has always focused on tourism as a source of economic growth and livelihoods diversification.

The Zimbabwe tourism industry has become a very attractive business to both domestic and international tourists and investors by adopting and focusing more on collaboration with local, regional and international stakeholders to enhance its’ carrying capacity. The government of Zimbabwe sees tourism as a vibrant, real and powerful tourism economy that plays a central role in helping the country’s potential to develop (National Tourism Master Plan 2016). In Zimbabwe the tourism industry spreads its activities across many sectors: infrastructure, investment, labour training and supply, communications, utilities (power, water, sewage) agriculture, primary industry, health and welfare, education, youth development, small business, women’s affairs. Also, mining, Customs & Immigration, government and private sector stakeholders have a long tradition of involvement in tourism. As a result, it appears

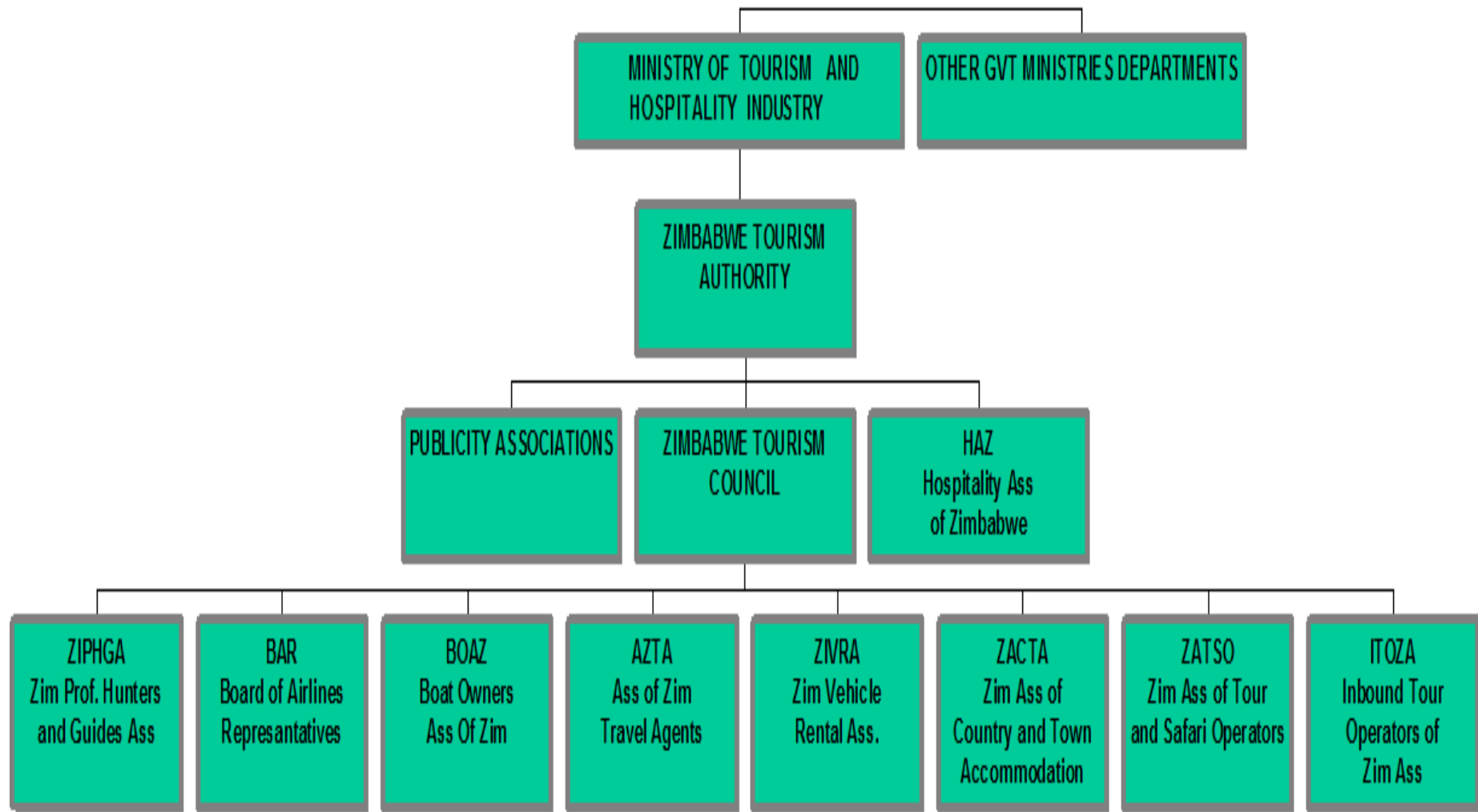
tourism development cuts cross sectors through collaboration with the government which facilitates an enabling environment in which tourism functions.

Furthermore, the government of Zimbabwe sees tourism as a critical hospitality industry that will assist with national economic development under situations of fragility. The hospitality sector in Zimbabwe is made up of various elements, national parks, heritage sites, hotels, lodges, restaurants and clubs forming the largest component of the tourism sector. The country is projected to receive 3.4 million tourists by 2020 increasing to 6 million by 2025 (Hospitality Association of Zimbabwe (HAZ) Report, August 2017). Another important component of the tourism sector in Zimbabwe is community-based tourism (CBT).

This important sector of traditional tourism has been operated and managed by the private sector with limited participation by locals Ministry of Tourism and Hospitality Industry (MOTHl Report, 2017). Community participation by locals in tourism development is key and the MOTHl emphasises the importance of self-sustainability and financial viability in CBT projects (MOTHl, Report 2017). From as far back as the 1990s, the government of Zimbabwe advocated a policy of promoting the development of CBT enterprises to promote an increase in national tourism competitiveness that supports poverty alleviation, increases environmental conservation, and preserves local cultures and heritage.

Overall, the CBT is widely accepted as a form of socially responsible tourism in which the activities of visitors are controlled and organised by the people of local communities. The CBT enables tourists to experience local habitats and wildlife, know about local cultures, rituals and wisdom, and interact with local people. The community is central to delivering successful CBT products (MOTHl, Report 2017). An examination of a CBT at Kompisi village in proximity to Victoria Falls is highlighted in Chapter 6. Whilst tourism development is crucial and identified as a key pillar for Zimbabwe's economy, the country faced economic difficulties marked by extreme hyperinflation and ZIDERA sanctions- from 2000 the most trying time for the tourism sector in living memory. In Zimbabwe the tourism sector falls under the MOTHl. See figures 1.2 below for the structure of the MOTHl.

**Figure 1.2: Structure of the Tourism Industry in Zimbabwe**



**Source: Zimbabwe Tourism Authority Research and Development Report, July 2009.**

From the figure above, operations of the tourism sector are governed by the Tourism Act, Chapter (14:20) of 1996. Under MOTH falls the National Tourism Organisation (NTO) which is the Zimbabwe Tourism Authority (ZTA). The ministry deals with policy issues while ZTA is the implementing arm of MOTH. The ZTA is a statutory body formed in terms of section 3 of the Tourism Act, Chapter (14:20) in 1996. Before independence in 1973, ZTA was known as the Rhodesia National Tourist Board (RNTB) discussed in chapter 4. After independence, it changed its name to the Zimbabwe Tourist Board. In 1984, it became known as Zimbabwe Tourism Development Cooperation (ZTDC) (discussed in chapter 5) possessing some hotels, lodges and restaurants. In 1996 ZTA was formed by an act of the parliament (the Tourism Act). This saw the ZTDC splitting into ZTA and Zimbabwe Tourist Investment Company which was the business arm.

ZTA primarily promotes Zimbabwe as a tourist destination to attract foreign tourists. It comprises of four divisions functional divisions which enable it to achieve its mandate and these are namely:

- Destination Marketing Division
- Market Research and Product Development Division
- Industry Management Division
- Finance and Administration Division

In addition to these divisions the authority has divided the country into regions for the purpose of decentralizing its activities and promoting its activities and promoting the development of tourism at both the domestic and regional level. The regions are Western, Southern, North – Eastern and Harare Regions. The wings of ZTA are spread with local offices in Harare, Victoria Falls, Bulawayo, Chiredzi, Beitbridge and other towns as well as international offices in Germany, South Africa, USA, United Kingdom and China. The international offices managed by tourism attachés responsible for the promotion of Zimbabwean tourism in the source markets.

The Zimbabwe Tourism Authority works hand in glove with local Publicity Associations the Hospitality Association and the Zimbabwe Council for Tourism under which are various industries representing sub-bodies e.g. Association of Zimbabwe Travel Agencies (AZTA), Boat Owners Association of Zimbabwe (BOAZ), Zimbabwe Association of Transport Services Organisation (ZATSO) etc. Other various stakeholders in the tourism sector include the Civil Aviation Authority of Zimbabwe (CAAZ), airlines for example the national airline

Air Zimbabwe, Parks and Wildlife Management Authority (PWMA), Hotel Groups such as the African Sun Limited and various other governmental departments and non- governmental entities.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

The central research questions that this study aims to answer are: To what extent did war, sanctions, violence, Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP) and the fast track land reform impact tourism development in half a century of tourism 1965 to 2015? What contributed to the resilience of the industry specifically at Victoria Falls and Zimbabwe more generally?

These questions decipher the relationship between local policymakers, practitioners, regional and global forces that influenced tourism development in Zimbabwe and especially at Victoria Falls.

This study will also address the following research sub-questions:

- a) What factors influenced Zimbabwe's complex tourism development?
- b) What characterised tourism development during the UDI?
- c) What internal and external factors framed tourism development in Zimbabwe particularly at Victoria Falls?
- d) Why has tourist activity continued at Victoria Falls despite adverse publicity on Zimbabwe?

### **1.4 Aim and objectives of the study**

The overall aim of the study is to critically examine fifty years of fragile politics, policy and problems of tourism development in Zimbabwe under situations of fragility (war, sanctions, violence, Esap and fast track land reform) from 1965 to 2015. Four objectives are derived from the research aim which are to:

- a) Examine the relationship between state fragility and tourism development.
- b) Critically analyse the impact of situations of fragility on tourism development.
- c) Analyse tourism resilience in Zimbabwe under different situations of fragility.
- d) Explore tourism development in Zimbabwe with Victoria Falls as a case study.

### **1.5 Rationale for the study**

The study is the first of its kind in tourism research in Zimbabwe. The research is important in its interpretative approach based on personal knowledge, experience, reflections and understanding of tourism across Zimbabwe. Its significance is underlined by novel knowledge

gathered from a long term and progressive reading of wide-ranging archival documents, reports, minutes, newspapers, books and photographs from the National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ) in Harare and Zimbabwe Embassy Public Library in London. The study is important in applying the resilience theory showing how the tourism industry coped in different situations of fragility. The findings will be of great interest both to academe and practitioners as it unravels and brings to the fore knowledge about the development of tourism in Zimbabwe in ways not done before.

To meet the main objectives of the research, the study employs a qualitative research methodology approach based on archival research and semistructured interviews. Interview materials were analysed through a thematic approach of tourism development at Victoria Falls. A qualitative case study approach is imperative and desired for several reasons (Cresswell, et al, 2007). Firstly, a huge limited knowledge exists on the connections between fragility and tourism development. There is sparse literature on how fragility interacts with tourism across Africa generally and in Zimbabwe in particular (Novelli, et al, 2012). Secondly, the extant literature has also mainly focused on economic benefits and impacts of tourism development in destinations in Africa and not on the survival of the industry in situations of fragility. The study derives relevance in focusing on qualitative findings to gain an in-depth understanding on the resilience of tourism development in Zimbabwe over the fifty-year period from 1965 to 2015. Thirdly, the study of resilience in tourism is an emerging subject worthy of investigation in a fast globalising world. According to Butler (2017: p.9) resilience theory has its roots in engineering and ecology in the 1960s and 1970s. More recently the influence of resilience has spread across many disciplines, including tourism. Thus, this study adopts a resilience approach to understanding how local, regional and international factors like politics and policy shaped the nature of tourism development in Zimbabwe. Fourthly, is informative to a wider readership adopting a thematic analysis particularly focused upon the major developments that took place in half a century of tourism.

The data used to analyse such knowledge comprised taped semi-structured in-depth interviews which were fully transcribed using thematic analysis of three major themes of tourism: infrastructure development, economic development and tourism carrying capacity. From the research, a complex and holistic picture emerged analysing words, themes and reports on detailed views of informants interviewed in formal and informal settings. The qualitative methods provide the opportunity for different voices to be heard and for experiences to be



brought to life again. Fifthly, this research study contributes new knowledge about Victoria Falls and provides information to policy makers at local, regional and international levels to better understand how an industry can survive harsh conditions with specific attention to its resilience strategies. Finally, the findings will provide new knowledge on resilience and tourism development in situations of fragility, possibly replicable in other destinations in Africa and beyond.

### **1.6 Statement of the problem**

Fifty years of fragile politics and policy can lead to a fragile tourism industry sector, a fragile economy, a fragile Victoria Falls and a fragile Zimbabwe. Other fragilities beyond politics and policy which this study seeks to analyse are war, sanctions, violence, Esap and land reform problems. It is essential to explore the history of tourism development, government and private sector involvement under situations of fragility pertaining to the above situations of fragility induced by various stimuli in Zimbabwe. Land policy and politics have been very controversial and divisive in Zimbabwe's modern history. The policy of allocating land for tourism development purposes also meant that it was part and parcel of the political grievances by Africans whose total share of land in the country was historically unjust and needed correction. Under these trying circumstances the normal expectation would be that tourism development would suffer setbacks. In the case of Zimbabwe, a novel understanding is required on how and why tourism development was resilient especially with regards to three themes of: tourism development infrastructure; economic development and tourism carrying capacity.

### **1.7 Structure of the thesis**

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. Chapter one introduces the research topic situating it within the historical period under investigation and reflecting on local, regional and global factors which contributed to Zimbabwe's fragilities. Victoria Fall is briefly introduced as a representative case study for critically assessing tourism development under state fragility. A full account on this is given in chapter 3 – study setting – and chapter 6.

Chapter two establishes and reviews the extant literature on post-decolonialisation, the main concepts of fragility, resilience and tourism development. In this study, the fragility and resilience concepts are central to the understanding of tourism development under the difficult circumstances associated with a fragile state. Those conditions include nations often referred

to as struggling states and as a preamble to the literature review, a working definition of state and state fragility is provided in the literature review. In drawing upon fragility, politics, policy, problems and resilience literature, this study adopts a case study approach hence the focus on Victoria Falls. This allows for the use of archival evidence to understand how and why tourism development has taken place in parts of the world like Zimbabwe that experience political, economic and policy problems in the short and long-term. The chapter is structured thematically, corresponding to and aligned with the aim and four research objectives identified in chapter one. Chapter two defines what a state is; critically reflects on fragility; state fragility and fragile states. It also examines the nexus between fragility, conflict and violence in Zimbabwe. This chapter contextualises resilience; resilience in tourism development in Zimbabwe, and sustainable tourism development strategies applied in Zimbabwe and Victoria Falls. These interconnected themes are the focus of this research study that provide a basis for discussing and analysing tourism development at Victoria Falls and in Zimbabwe.

Chapter Three on methods presents the study setting and offer a brief discussion of methods used in history as an academic discipline and provide the rationale for using social science - qualitative interpretivist research. The chapter provide the underlying philosophical norms adopted by the study regarding validity and research methods ideal for the development of knowledge in a particular study. It is important for the researcher to know what these assumptions are. In addition, the chapter discusses the research methodologies, and the research design used in the study including data collection and analysis of methods, while explaining the stages and processes involved in the study. The chapter explains archival documents and raw data gathered from various informants involved in the semi-structured interviews. It introduces the single case study research design essential for looking at tourism at Victoria Falls. In addition, it describes and justifies the research methods employed including archival document analysis and semi-structured interviews through which the researcher critically analyses the research evidence emerging from archival documents and raw data from semi-structured interviews.

Chapter four examines state fragility during UDI, 1965 to 1980, specifically focusing on the determinants of fragility in these last fifteen years of British settler colonial rule in Zimbabwe. Some of the factors behind state fragility include a legitimacy crisis in the state, the state's failure to provide efficient administration and security in the national interest and the heavy reliance by the state of its control on deploying brute force. A discussion of these issues is informed by concepts of and knowledge about fragility addressed in chapter two. State

fragility and its ramifications are discussed with a view to understanding whether they spread and influenced three themes of tourism development i.e. infrastructure development: economic development and tourism carrying capacity. This is because the tourism industry could not be divorced from the national political context of civil war, sanctions and image problems. For example, in 1978 tourism was threatened by the intensification of the civil war.

Chapter five explores tourism development in post-colonial Zimbabwe. The chapter specifically examines the major influences around tourism development in the first decade of independence, 1980 to 1990. It provides an overview of tourism policy at independence and themes covered above like tourism infrastructure development, economic development and carrying capacity. The chapter traces the new thinking in government on how these areas of tourism development were revived. However, the chapter also examines some of the challenges facing the tourism sector like the dissident problem in Matabeleland and the Midlands provinces from 1982 to 1987. This was accompanied by the army's Fifth Brigade atrocities and the killing of 9 tourists. Economic fragility in this period was the lack of sustained Gross Domestic Product (GDP) economic growth.

Chapter six explores Victoria Falls as the core case study. The chapter begins by analysing the political, economic and social context and conditions prevailing in Zimbabwe in the 1990s. It explores the political and economic fragilities in Zimbabwe and provides an exploration of tourism resilience at Victoria Falls and Zimbabwe more generally. During this decade, the main influences impacting tourism development were the austerity policies of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB). For example, taxes and pricing in the tourism industry became unstable and unpredictable for tourists.

Chapter seven develops the story of tourism development following the three themes outlined in chapter four and further discussed in chapters five and six. Chapter seven deals with tourism development from 2000-2015, a fifteen-year period in which the major challenges facing tourism development were: a chaotic land reform process, political violence, ZIDERA sanctions and financial difficulties. The tourism industry was seriously undermined by a hyper-inflationary environment not witnessed anywhere in the world in recent modern history (Kramarenko, et al, 2010).

In this concluding chapter eight, a summary of the findings is highlighted. The chapter provides conclusions and recommendations of the study by summing up the concepts that emerged from the findings and the timeline of major factors shaping tourism development

from 1965-2015. Fifty years, of protracted economic and political risks, struggles and turmoil at different times, in different spaces, with different actors and different outcomes that impacted tourism opportunities. The study argues that the long run multi-layered multiple situations of fragility in Zimbabwe had much deeper historical roots than previously appreciated in scholarship and a product of various interconnected determinants such as ethnic and racial conflict and discrimination destabilizing the entire social fabric of the nation. Critically examined in the thesis, these wide-ranging delicate situations had a huge bearing on developments in the tourism sector. Key findings show incontrovertible evidence of the historical operations, existence and survival of tourism in Zimbabwe associated with its strong regional and international ties that established important reciprocal relationships. This qualitative tourism study contributions advances novel insights and conclusions specifically concerning tourism development in modern Zimbabwe. The thesis shows that the second half of the twentieth century from 1965 continuing into the early twenty-first century to 2015 have been a telling era characterized by violent decolonization followed by muddled and certainly ambiguous socio-economic and political developments in independent Zimbabwe. The chapter conclude with a reflective epilogue of the thesis.

## **Chapter Two**

### **Literature Review**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

This chapter critically reviews the extant literature on post and decolonisation in Africa, UDI, the Zimbabwe state, resilience and tourism development. This chapter has five literature review sections that include: conceptual framework, defining the state; critical reflections on situations of fragility and the state, fragile states and state fragility; the nexus between fragility, conflict and violence in Zimbabwe; contextualising resilience; and, tourism resilience in modern Zimbabwe. These categorisations of the literature reviewed should not be seen in isolation as they are very much related and interlinked in framing a resilient tourism sector in the developing world.

#### **2.1 Post decolonisation and Zimbabwe**

Hatim & Munday (2005) define post-colonialism as a broad cultural approach to the study of power relations between different groups, cultures or people, in which language, literature and translation play role. Postcolonial literature often addresses the problems of the decolonization of a country, especially questions relating to the political and cultural independence of people, and themes such as racialism and colonialism. In Africa Kwame Nkrumah who became the first black president of Ghana worked tirelessly for the cause of African decolonisation and national independence. The decolonization process across Africa began in the 1950s with its peak in the 1960s when Ghana attained independence under Kwame Nkrumah in 1957 who influenced many African states to fight against colonialism.

In Zimbabwe, the creation of a black middle class by mainly Christian missionary schools produced nationalists that ultimately led to a civil war during UDI. It appears Africans were left with little choice but to resort to the liberation struggle. The civil war began in 1966 with the Chinhoyi battle along the Hunyani River. From there the war spread across the country (mostly rural but also urban in the later stages) and into Zambia and Mozambique where the leaders Kenneth Kaunda and Samora Machel supported the nationalist guerilla Zimbabwean leaders like Chitepo, Nkomo and Mugabe. The movement was embodied in black leaders such as Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Samora Machel of Mozambique among others creating a platform of pan-Africanism that emphasised blackness and the rich cultural heritage of African peoples. This Pan-Africanist movement focused on racial unity as a tool of redemption for Africa.

Decolonisation from British rule that had begun in 1890 was underway during these fifteen years as African nationalist leaders and a large portion of the black population demanded independence not just in Zimbabwe but across Africa and other parts of the colonised world (Gordon, 1981). Several peace talks hosted by global players; the United Nations, Britain, Southern African nations with Zimbabweans failed to resolve the political impasse in the 1950s and 1960s. Africans took up arms to fight the white Rhodesian government led by Prime Minister Ian Smith, leader of the Rhodesian Front Party-, which had consistently rejected the whole notion of majority rule in Zimbabwe (Sklar, 1996).

## **2.2 The Unilateral Declaration of Independence preamble**

In 1965, Smith went a step further and declared what was generally known as UDI from British control leaving Whitehall with no meaningful role to play in its own colony (Sklar, 1996). As alluded to earlier, UDI attracted international sanctions which the white Rhodesians clandestinely circumvented aided by the then apartheid South African government but also with British complicity. Also, Jeffrey Davidow Deputy Chief of Mission of the United States Embassy in Zimbabwe from 1979-1982 highlighted that prior to independence in 1980, a 1971 amendment sponsored by Senator Harry Byrd permitted the importation of Rhodesian chrome into the United States between 1971 and 1977 in open violation of United Nations sanctions. Many in Africa and elsewhere viewed this legislation as a reflection of America's uncaring attitude about the issues of racism and colonialism (Davidow, 1982). As a result, sanctions were written off and dimmed as a dismal failure (Minter and Schmidt 1988).

In this UDI period, Zimbabwe faced numerous problems; political violence, war, sanctions, human rights abuses, racism, international isolation, economic destruction by the war and bad publicity. Such situations of fragility inform this research because the research questions ask how the tourism sector exemplified by the Victoria Falls managed to cope and remain operational under these fragile circumstances. Zimbabwe has probably experienced the most dramatic slide since independence in 1980 with the most systemic and systematic civil, environmental and political rights violations (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). Africans in Zimbabwe during the UDI had many grievances and demands. The Newspapers records at the National Archives of Zimbabwe show that some of the key demands by Africans were:

- i) Political independence and an end to racial discrimination

- ii) Fair land distribution an enduring thorny issue
- iii) Equal social services provision
- iv) Economic empowerment

The Prime Minister of colonial Zimbabwe during the UDI was Ian Smith and leader of the Rhodesia Front Party. Available secondary literature (Ranger, 1968; Palmer, 1990; Moyana, 2002; Phimister, 2004; Mlambo, 2010) showed that the government never wanted to listen to African demands or make concessions regarding their grievances. For example, Ian Smith referred to Africans as baboons who should live in the mountains. He remarked that not in a thousand years would Africans rule Zimbabwe. The uncompromising policy by the white rulers caused much political instability during the UDI. Many of the Africans staged demonstrations and went on strike for several days and sometimes destroyed infrastructure like roads, bridges, dip tanks, administration offices or set on fire farms and stores owned by white people. This added a serious political crisis of fragility in the country. The political atmosphere was not conducive to tourism development. The protracted struggle for independence during UDI exacerbated the political fragile situation in Zimbabwe. The next section analyses the characteristics of politics in general in Zimbabwe as these would have huge influence on the development of Victoria Falls.

### **2.3 Characteristics of politics in Zimbabwe**

Politics is associated with the legal activities of the state and the public realm with decision making powers and control. Max Weber classified legal political domination as power and control legitimated based on general legal rules, rational administration and bureaucratic procedures (Weber, 1947). Weber notes that social order can be viewed as valid through legal frameworks approved by social stakeholders like status groups, the state, classes, ethnic groups, the family, the clan, and political organizations in various economies, cities and religions. These observations by Weber and other scholars frame this study providing insights on the interactions of ruling relationships, legitimacy and interests of citizens. In most nations, Weber observes that status differences and social differentiation become more apparent whenever social interaction is restricted or lacking. This understanding of how societies function bear much relevance to modern Zimbabwe given its persistent social and political upheavals. In Zimbabwe, stratification by status always implies the monopolization of ideal and material goods or opportunities by certain political elite groups as well as social distance and exclusiveness that often lead to resentment and social strife from excluded or marginalised

communities (Anderson, 1983). Other important and relevant observations for Zimbabwe made by Weber state that charismatic rulership is exercised by a person over disciples and followers who believe that he possesses supernatural powers of divine origin (Weber, 1947). Weber's work comes across as a series of sketches that show how institutions change especially where authority comes from how personality of leadership affect change and affect the state (Sack, 2003). As a political leader, Mugabe rose at a time of colonial emergency and oppression of blacks by whites becoming a war and national hero but also complex politician meaning several things to different people. His rule was initially attributed to him deriving power and recognition from supposedly extraordinary qualities, ones not accessible to the ordinary person. Once its genuineness was acknowledged, supporters and party members felt duty-bound to devote themselves completely to the charismatic leader with him demanding a strict obedience. Citizens obeyed his commands as a result of an immense affection and the conviction that a genuinely personal relationship exists. Indeed, Weber sees an emotional conviction as central to the belief of disciples and followers in the charismatic leader's right to rule, one that internally revolutionizes their entire personalities: 'Charisma . . . manifests its revolutionary power from within, from a central metanoia [change] of its followers' attitudes' (Weber, 1947).

The highly personal character of charismatic rule leads to the rejection of an external order. Weber sees charisma as standing in fundamental and revolutionary opposition to all means-end rational action as well as to all existing and stable forces of daily life. He also stresses, however, the fragility of charismatic rule. Because of its location strictly in the supernatural qualities of great leaders and the necessity for the superhuman personality repeatedly to demonstrate unusual political powers and a right to rule, charismatic authority is fundamentally unstable.

It must be noted that Weber made frequent reference to the importance of a further variety of causal forces: historical events, technological innovations, and geographical forces. Conflict and competition and economic interests constituted effective causal forces- as does political power. He defines power in social relationships to mean any chance to carry through one's own will even against resistance (Weber, 1947). Rulers, as in the case of Mugabe, are particularly adept at forming alliances with the sole purpose of maintaining and glorifying political power. They seek to balance classes, status groups, and organizations against one



another. Political power plays a central role in new patterns of social action that give rise to change and historical developments (Ritzer and Stepnisky 2011).

Early scholars such as Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) and J. S. Mill (1806-1873) regarded citizen participation in political life as a noble activity that should be encouraged. Harold Laswell (1936) agrees with Rousseau and Mill suggesting that politics is about who gets what, when and how? Laswell says that economic goods are distributed and are important in determining the nature of society and wellbeing of those who participate and leave within it. Politics is described as an inevitable feature of all societies with political power and authority central to govern those without authority. Garner et al (2009) adds to these understandings of politics defining it as a process by which groups representing divergent interests and values make collective decisions. This means that all societies of any complexities contain diversity that humans will always have different interests and values and therefore will always need a mechanism where these different interests and values are reconciled. In their work, 'Introduction to politics', Garner et al (2009) state that the definition of politics is often regarded and associated with corruption, intrigue and conflict.

In the case of Rhodesia, to maintain power at a time when the clamour for African self-rule was intensifying and the guerrilla attacks escalated, the Ian Smith government during UDI adopted a position of extreme black oppression. Smith used the law to suppress Africans while ignoring their political, social and economic interests and dilemmas- notably abject poverty. Ian Smith's repressive state had the power and control over the life and death of individuals particularly African nationalist political figures including Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe as well as activist ordinary citizens. Further discussions on UDI are highlighted in Chapter four. Both under the wartime UDI and independence circumstances, an understanding of the meaning of state is very important to situate the key research concepts of fragility, politics, policy and resilience within the framework of the entity called state. This is because tourism development in relationship to resilience was influenced by the state decisions and actions.

## **2.4 Definitions of state**

The definition of state attracts acrimonious debates and endless controversies, but the intention here is not to join such debates, but to analyze key concepts of what constitutes a state to develop a working definition of what characterizes- both a colonial and post-colonial state. Max Weber defines the state as a human political community that successfully claims monopoly of legitimacy in using force within a given territory. In Weber's definition of the

state, the administration and security functions stand out as the major benchmarks by which the state is defined. Weber's definition of the state perceive the essential attributes of the state as consisting of: (i) the effectiveness centred on state functions that provide security and the wellbeing of citizens; (ii) authority understood as the enforcement of a monopoly on the use of legitimate force, and (iii) the legitimacy that is derived from public acceptance of the state. These three interconnected benchmarks of state can capture critical aspects of state policy failures and vulnerability. The above characteristics of a state do not place the national interest first. For instance, limited group interests of political parties may represent the growth of the party spirit, that is, when a party is determined to acquire power or stay in power at whatever cost, it is most ready to disregard and even to attack the national interest and abuse of human rights. Gilpin and Gilpin (2001) definition of the state places emphasis on political institutions of the modern nation state, covering geographic region with systems of government that extend over the region with a well-defined territory and population in which a state government is capable of exercising sovereignty. Gilpin (2016) goes further and suggests that the state reflects values by engaging in social values collectively, its policies, laws, actions and rules that affect everyone. Gilpin (2010)'s definition of the state is suitable for this study as it highlights that the state is a realm of collective actions and decisions. As such the state would engage and consult the public in negotiation, distributions, contributions and benefits derived from natural resources such as Victoria Falls tourism development. However, decisions can sometimes be manipulated by small groups of political elites sacrificing public interest and leading to situations of conflict and fragility.

According to Garner, et al, (2009) a nation-state is defined as a fundamental and strongly legitimated unit of action. This is how nation-states routinely present themselves, both internally (for example, in their constitutions) and externally (in seeking admission to the UN and other intergovernmental bodies. They claim to uphold and defend all the features of the rational state actor: territorial boundaries and a demarcated population; sovereign authority, self-determination, and responsibility; standardised purposes like collective development, social justice, and the protection of individual rights; law-based control systems; clear possession of resources such as natural and mineral wealth and a labour force; and policy technologies as rational means to accomplish development goals (Garner, et al, 2009).

Nation-states are remarkably uniform in defining their goals as the enhancement of collective progress (GDP per capita growth) and individual rights and development (citizen enhancement and equality). This occurs in constitutions, which typically emphasise goals of

both national and equitable individual development (Boli, 1997). Such aims are depicted in general statements on national education, in depictions of the nation and the individual citizen in educational curricula and in vast amounts of formal economic policy (McNeely 1995). Goals outside the standard form (the nation in service to God, a dynasty, an ethnic or religious group, or imperial expansion), while still common enough, are usually suspect unless strongly linked to these basic goals of collective and individual progress (Jackson and Rosberg 1982; Meyer 1980). Thus, a purposive nation-state structure has the appropriate goals of economic development, equality, and enhancement of individual opportunity. A purposive nation-state actor would be constructed to take formal responsibility for such matters, even under the most unlikely social and economic fragile circumstances (Meyer 1980).

## **2.5 Critical reflections of fragility and the state**

Literature on fragility and the state suggest that nations heavily burdened by civil war, violence, dysfunctional governmental authority and social disorder are prone to destroying development agendas, programmes and potential aimed at improving peoples' lives. Also, state insecurity may be caused by civil war, terrorism, crime, natural disasters (floods and drought), epidemic outbreaks of cholera that lead to fragility (Brinkerhoff, 2007). Novelli and Scarth (2007) add another dimension to factors behind fragility when they argue that state-citizen relations in which poverty and inequality are rampant can be drivers of situations of fragility and in turn are the consequences of the political and power structures that contribute to patterns of inclusion and exclusion in society. Whether present or not, fragility has become a buzzword providing a distinct narrative on social, economic and political instability at the local, national or regional level (Hannan and Besada, 2007). Governments and multilateral institutions have embraced the notion of fragility to analyse issues of war, human rights, violence and economic stagnation. The UN for example found the term fragility quite handy in characterising conflict-ridden regions like the Middle East, parts of East and West Africa and Latin America. Civil conflicts may vary in degrees of intensity and duration but are largely caused by political and economic difficulties.

## **2.6 Regional Focus**

In Africa, examples of countries experiencing these forms of fragilities include Nigeria, Burundi, Somalia, Uganda, Kenya, Mozambique, Zimbabwe (OECD, 2008). It is perceived that the growth of tourism development in Zimbabwe lies in the cooperation with its regional neighbours shown in Map 2.1 below.

Figure 2.1 Map of Africa and Zimbabwe regional neighbours



Source: Zimbabwe Tourism Authority, Research and Development Report , 2016

The UNWTO (2008) define regional cooperation as a process that involves work between large, and often separated, groups of people, especially those divided internationally and involves working together with others, especially on the grandest scales. Cabrini (2007) emphasizes the opportunities for regional cooperation through cross border projects with policies that address poor infrastructure and low level of foreign direct investment (FDI) flowing into tourism. In southern Africa, tourism development is viewed as a key policy area in the context of regional cooperation. However, situations of fragility crises can have significant adverse spill overs on neighbouring countries. In the early 1990s, much of sub-Saharan Africa including Zimbabwe was regarded by the IMF as fragile.

A lack of institutional and technical capacity led to isomorphic mimicry whereby fragile states set up organizations and institutions that on the surface resembled those of a well-functioning state but in practice in those socio-political environments were dysfunctional and prolonged the country's weaknesses (Pritchett and de Veijer 2010). As a result, fragility weakens a country's resilience to shocks, such as natural disasters, economic downturns, and outbursts of political violence. Economic downturn can be caused by the effect of military spending linked to in-ability of government to maintain security. These shocks produce more lasting impact in fragile countries. Ghimire (2001) claims that, regional tourism and south-south economic cooperation can play an important part in general tourism development because of shared traditions, language and food. Ghimire argues that the available literature has largely neglected regional tourism as a field of study and its potential to create employment. Regional focus on peace, inclusive politics, and effective governance offer a viable route to overcome fragility (Collier, Hoeffler, and Söderbom 2008). For example, coalition of different political parties could enhance stability and resilience.

To achieve resilience regionally reaching a common vision is essential. The SADC region comprising of Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe offer abundant natural resources. The SADC body responsible for the promotion and marketing of tourism in the region and its 14-member states. These regional and international actors such as foreign governments, aid agencies, international financial institutions contribute to the process of building resilience. The introduction of such institutions like the Regional Tourism Organisation of Southern Africa (RETOSA) and the cross border Southern Africa Trans-frontier Parks promote regional resilience. A Trans-frontier Conservation Area (TFCA) is defined in the SADC Protocol on Wildlife Conservation

and Law Enforcement (1999) as a component of a large ecological region that straddles the boundaries of two or more countries encompassing one or more protected areas as well as multiple resource use areas (see map TFCA map in Chapter Three). The TFCAs were founded with the aim of collaborating and managing shared natural and cultural resources across international boundaries for improved biodiversity conservation and socio-economic development. (ICUN Report, 2007; UNEP-WCMC, 2007). The TFCA promote sustainability of ecosystems and provide goods and services required to support the sustainable development of the region through a unique level of regional cooperation amongst participating countries. Furthermore, the regional cooperation brings shared policies, strategies and approaches governing border control and boundary demarcation leading to peace, defence and security in the region. The IMF Report 2015 recommend aid and support that ensure effective and transparent management of the natural resource wealth that enhances sustainable practices and economic development in the region (IMF Report 2007).

Devarajan 2011 suggest that aid to fragile states can enable the countries to overcome the fragility trap and place them on a sustainable growth path. For example organisations or institutions such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), World Bank (WB), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) might engage, promote stability and development through funding of different sustainable community, tourism and conservation projects in fragile countries. The IMF Report, 2007 recommend term reforms that support the development of the private sector and better enforcement of property rights with access to credit vital for tourism development both at local and regional level. The World Bank Report, 2007 highlight that, building resilience involves reinforcing interaction between regional states while promoting growth: income growth, development of markets, improving the legal and fiscal capacity of the states including taxation, delivery of services and investment.

Significant progress has been made to strengthen cooperation in various areas, including the development of legal instruments and institutional arrangements to support the regional integration programmes. For example, the development of the Mozambique Corridor will benefit landlocked countries like Zimbabwe to deliver and access goods through the Beira port with a railway and highway connecting the southern African states. Furthermore, the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), urges governments to advance travel facilitation especially visa formalities in tourism development through regional cooperation. To address the visa challenges and environmental impacts in the SADC region especially on

the Victoria Falls and wildlife parks five countries: Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe came together to form the Kavango Zambezi Trans-Frontier Park highlighted in Chapter Three and discussed in detail in Chapter Seven. In the next section the ambiguity of the term fragility and its use. Nonetheless, the OECD has acknowledged the ambiguity of the term fragility and its use. For instance, the OECD notes that many development agencies in the developing south view fragility in relation to resilience where states can relatively maintain the authority function but keep the wobbly stability and legitimacy functions of the state. State fragility has also been associated with the concept of resilience where states maintain authority, legitimacy and a semblance of stability through coercion (IMF Report, 2012).

The UNDP (2014) further postulates that fragile states are generally led by weak governments lacking the ability to develop mutually constructive relations with citizens and society generally. Brinkerhoff (2014) concludes that conceptualising state fragility and failure is a wicked problem set which reveals the complexities of a jig-saw puzzle of ill-defined and interdependent nature of the reality behind all the fragility labels. The analysing of state fragility and what characterises it and the development of its related indicators reflect efforts to tame the wickedness of the problem set. This has led to efforts in some countries towards peacebuilding and state-building interventions whose plans and actions do not effectively take account of what is necessary to achieve their intended aims (Brinkerhoff, 2014). A better problem-solving match would look beyond naming and taming fragility (Brinkerhoff, 2014).

On his part, Grimm (2014) moves away from the Brinkerhoff debate of labelling states as fragile and reiterates that where development is concerned, state fragility is at the core of many internal and regional development problems, such as failure to reduce poverty thereby adding weight to findings by Novelli and Scarth. These considerations have also contributed to a lack of consensus on the definition of fragility or fragile state. Like the UNDP, Lopez (2015) sees the social aspect of fragility as more important. Lopez notes that fragility refers to a fragile region or state with weak capacity to carry out basic governance functions and lacks the ability to develop mutually constructive relations with society. Clausen (2016), concurs with Brinkerhoff noting that there is no single universally agreed upon definition of fragile state, but definitions of state fragility tend to reflect which areas of the state the policy makers or academic work sees as the most decisive factor to induce reform- such as political change. Critiques of the fragile state concept emphasise its conceptual ambiguity or, in other words, the lack of definitional and analytical precision, as described above. Section 2.3 below further debates concepts of fragile states and state fragility.

## **2.7 Fragile state and state fragility**

In agreement with much of the literature on fragility in section 2.3, the World Bank (WB) defines fragile states as the toughest development challenge ever in modern times. Zoellick further notes that the assertions from western governments and multilateral institutions about state fragility in Africa are half-baked understandings about complex realities existing in countries with various forms of conflict and economic problems. The former prime minister of the United Kingdom, Tony Blair and the Commission for Africa assert that Africa needed ‘workable hybrids’ on development and that, ‘outside prescriptions only cannot succeed (Blair, 2004). Conservative donors have tried to solve these problems by making African governments more like governments in the West, imposing a range of ‘best-practice’ and ‘good governance’ modalities (Africa World Bank Report 2005). The general picture across Africa appears to be one of fragility, with a few exceptions for countries like Botswana, Malawi and Zambia. However, high levels of poverty in these countries still ropes them into socio-economic, political fragility and recurrent land reform problems (Africa World Bank Report, 2005).

The OECD (2008) explains in greater and plausible detail that the chief causes of recurrent conflicts in Africa are mainly political party differences that lead to instability and festering economic difficulties notably high unemployment rates, poverty and economic stagnation or outright decline. However, there are conflicting views regarding features of fragile states or the greatest contributors to fragility. The fragile state concept is an essentially contested concept, where disagreement about its proper use, multiple meanings and strong normative inferences dominate. There is a lack of shared definition in the way the fragile state concept is used. Hence, its widespread use is not a reflection of its descriptive qualities but rather, its normative qualities. The Country Indicators for Foreign Policy Project at Carleton University developed an assessment methodology to rate countries at risk of conflict into indexes (Rice and Patrick 2008). They found out that fragile states are dynamic, move along trajectories from stability toward conflict, crisis or failure and emerge from crisis toward recovery and stability. Thus, application of general lessons for reconstruction and good governance need to be contextualised considering a country’s unique historical trajectory and distinctive circumstances (Brinkerhoff, 2008). Generally, fragile states are usually associated with low income countries characterised by both weak state capacity and weak state legitimacy that leaves citizens vulnerable to a range of social, economic and political problems in the short and long run. Also, when approached from a human rights perspective, fragile states display



wide social inequalities and social exclusion (Carment, et al, 2015). The next section analyses fragility in the context of Zimbabwe's modern political terrain.

## **2.8 The nexus between fragility, political conflict and violence in Zimbabwe**

To date there are no scholarly studies that analyse state fragility in relation to tourism development in Zimbabwe. Writing about colonial Zimbabwe, Ranger (1968) demonstrates that the exclusion of blacks from participating in national politics as well as in social and economic development created a situation of fragility based on racial divisions. State functions of the colonial state failed to provide security and wellbeing to all citizens, while monopolising the use of force and without legitimacy in the eyes of black people. By its nature, white minority rule over the black majority was unsustainable and was inherently a fragile arrangement.

At independence, ideological hesitancy perpetuated state fragility in the new political and independence dispensation. The ideological and material basis of law in private enterprise in Zimbabwe remained a major battleground of working-class struggles for freedom (Sachikonye, 1985). Like Smith's UDI government, ZANU PF displayed overbearing tendencies with the only difference being that it was now the new black political elite that became oppressive, intolerant, rich and privileged. The new post-colonial dispensation was sustained through a patronage system largely benefiting ZANU PF party members and supporters while excluding people in opposition politics (Mandaza, 1986). The new black elite designed labour legislation to enhance the efficacy of law as an instrument of control and regulation, and for capital accumulation.

Provisions of post-colonial labour legislation, particularly those of the 1985 Labour Relations Act (LRA) demonstrated clearly the alliance, material and ideological preoccupations of the independent government and capital including in tourism. The law restricted workers' inalienable freedoms to organise into viable trade unions, to participate in politics and to undertake industrial action to back up their legitimate demands for improvements in working conditions. Harsh state bureaucratic powers of intervention in industrial relations and repressive labour legislation, even in tourism, strangled public and private sector workers alike. For example, workers were not allowed to strike in any industry in the country since the state banned strikes in what it termed essential services- covering all services of the economy.

Kruger (2003) traces continuities between the present and past in which war veterans and ZANU PF manipulate each other to consolidate power and privilege across Zimbabwean society. She identifies violence and participation in the anti-colonial liberation war as tools and justifications for suppressing political opposition parties and monopoly over resources. Moore (2003) and Alexander (2006) attribute the inequality in resource distribution in Zimbabwe on ZANU PF dictatorship and government inefficiency. The dominant characteristic of the Zimbabwean state- colonial and post-colonial without any shadow of doubt, was a monopoly on politics and the use of overt and covert force. In Zimbabwe, the state appears to perform all functions of a normal state of administration and providing security. The welfare of citizens and the legitimacy emanating from a public acceptance of the state have played second fiddle in the modern history of Zimbabwe. The state lacked the ability to develop mutually constructive relations with society.

This aspect of the state is very critical since government-citizen relations are the premises upon which the state can achieve national stability through respect for human rights and provisions for social services and economic opportunities. State-citizen relations in Zimbabwe have been characterised by a nation burdened with extreme poverty and endemic inequality and exclusion, attributes that drive chronic state fragility – a consequence of political and power structures that favour a minority at the expense of the majority. It follows that the political role of the state directly affects national development, including in sectors such as tourism because the administrative functions of the state touch upon policy making and economic planning. Also, state fragility in Zimbabwe has been perceived as emanating from local or global forces or both. Authoritarianism in Zimbabwe displayed signs of kleptocracy. Kleptocracy is defined as a government or state in power who exploit national resources and steal. The IMF defines kleptocracy as institutionalised corruption (IMF, 2004).

Charap and Harm (2004) developed a framework model of how kleptocratic rulers expropriate the wealth and incomes of their citizens to remain in power without a significant base of support in society by using the divide and rule strategy. They note that:

The success of kleptocrats rests on their ability to use members of society to cooperate to maintain a kleptocrat. The kleptocrat may undermine such cooperation by using tax revenues, rents from natural resources and funds from foreign aid to bribe other groups to maintain positions of power. All are exploited, and no one challenges the kleptocrat because of the threat of divide-and-rule (Acemoglu et al 2004).

Such a model provides a good analysis of the behaviour of many kleptocratic regimes, including that of Mobutu Sese Seko in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Zaire), Rafael Trujillo in the Dominican Republic and Mugabe of Zimbabwe. Acemoglu argues that foreign aid and rents from natural resources typically help kleptocratic rulers by providing them with greater resources to buy off opponents. In the case of Zimbabwe, Mugabe pursued a divide and rule strategy among different ethnicities and social groups, through which they blurred the line between friend and foe, making it possible to constantly build different alliances with leaders inside and outside the regime.

The dynamics of resource allocation and political instability in Zimbabwe can be conceptualised as a nexus between fragility and violence on one hand and resilience on the other. This nexus is fuelled by three sets of factors: 1) political dimensions (i.e. the endemic politically motivated violence, bad governance and corruption); 2) crime factors (i.e. exclusion, unemployment); 3) globalised market structures. This nexus between state fragility and political violence is particularly useful to understand how these factors negatively reinforce each other. Raftopoulos and Phimister (2004) point out that the redistribution of land by the Zanu PF political elites excluded large parts of the population. The 2000 fast track land reform programme (FTLRP) in Zimbabwe gave a blank cheque for corruption, environmental degradation for profit and survival by corporations and small-scale artisanal diamond and gold miners, panners or *makorokoza*. High unemployment has catalysed small-scale mining that poses a multiplicity of threats, including deforestation and gully erosion in protected biodiversity areas like national parks, major rivers, mountain slopes and woodland. It appears panning sites are deforested by the artisanal miners who fell trees for firewood, shelter and mine props threatening wildlife parks and aquatic life. Riverbeds, riverbanks, valleys and the countryside are damaged with deep trenches, wide gorges and disused mine shafts and pits, left behind for newer deposits of precious minerals in districts like Shurugwi, Mazowe, Shamva, Somabhula, Shangani and Kadoma including tourism areas like the Eastern Highlands (Muchemwa, 2004). Apart from the mining community, other excluded groups (mainly the working class) use violence against the state to make political demands through stay-away, strikes and regular demonstrations. This protracted 'established economy of violence' in Zimbabwe is perpetuated by a corrupt political elite (Raftopoulos and Phimister, 2004). As a result, it becomes impossible to punish and prosecute criminals who are protected by public officials who are themselves involved (Raftopoulos and Phimister, 2004). With the above context and discussion on inequalities and several fragilities in mind, the UN envoy

Tibaijuka (2005) not only reported on the social losses from ESAP but also concluded that the violent state sponsored operation *Murambatsvina* widened inequalities and state fragility. The ESAP of the 1990s sponsored by the WB and IMF wiped out social gains of the 1980s resulting in high unemployment and economic challenges (Mlambo, 2009).

In addition, the shortcomings of land reform are believed to have been transferred to natural resources and tourism by ignoring environmental ethics that not only impact on humans but the wildlife (Scoones, et al, 2010) all feeding fragility and state fragility. Also, new debates have emerged on the increasingly negative climatic and environmental impacts associated with commercial agrarian, mining and tourism activities (Chitiga, et al, 2010). Zimbabwe's recent past raises serious questions and debates about instability on white farms, tyranny and ecological damage that mirror fragility and state fragility. Ecological degradation has been diverse with rich and poor farmers' alike farming as aspiring capitalists, who destroy their environment through deforestation, soil erosion, poaching, panning for precious minerals and pollution of water sources. The contradictions and ambivalences of local, regional and global capitalism have best been played out in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe has acted as an agricultural and mining raw materials producer for commodity markets in South Africa, China, Europe and the USA. These capitalist trading partners, and credit givers syphon out of the country a vast amount raw material; tobacco, timber, elephant tusks, gold, platinum and diamonds (Kelly, 2010).

In Zimbabwe, the dictatorship approach to governance first by Smith and his successor Mugabe has ingrained long-run narratives of political violence in the country throughout 1965-2015 causing much fragility balanced by resilience capabilities. Works by Sachikonye (2010) have relevance to studying tourism development in Zimbabwe under situations of fragility because he traces the origins of power and control, greed and violence in contemporary Zimbabwe. He apportions blame for these actions on the colonial period, and the inter-party conflicts that occurred during the liberation war. Stauffer (2011) disagrees and departs from the dominant power-politics analysis and examines the 1980-1987 Matabeleland conflict in which close to 10,000 ethnic minority Ndebele were killed by the army's Fifth Brigade. Stauffer deconstructs ZANU PF's populist narrative to show the importance of fragility in relation to ethnicity. Durable peace in Zimbabwe appears only possible to the extent that the silenced voices of minorities and political opposition supporters are afforded recognition as full citizens in society. Studies by Muchemwa, Phimister and Stauffer inform

this research by providing relevant context for the central experienced political fragilities. These scholars found that the post 2000 era witnessed widespread violence that disempowered citizens (Human Rights Watch Report, 2012). They further note that victims of violence suffered trauma and fear while perpetrators enjoyed presidential pardons and impunity after trampling upon personal freedoms.

Despite the turmoil and brain-drain, other narratives depict Zimbabweans as a resilient population. Some people across Africa regarded Mugabe as a hero for standing up to the West that appears to bully everyone else in the world (Rukuni, 2013). According to Mlambo (2014) tyranny has made Zimbabwe a fragile international pariah state. The analysis of fragile politics, war, sanctions, violence, ESAP, land reform, and inequality in Zimbabwe combine to provide an important backdrop to understanding tourism development and resilience in Zimbabwe. Undoubtedly, the narratives thrust forward images of how Zimbabwe is then conceptualised by visitors. In addition to these narratives, social media in the modern globalised world reinforces messages and images in the published literature discussed in this chapter. Birrell (2016) classifies development in Zimbabwe as a chimera and labels the state as a brutal kleptocracy that stole thriving farms and billions from huge diamond deposits, ensuring the frailty of Africa's best-educated nation. The importance of the discussion in section 2.4 is to map out what characterised fragility in Zimbabwe. This study defines fragility in Zimbabwe as an unstable social, economic and political environment due to civil war, racial inequality, land reform and general political violence, poverty and corruption. The development of tourism must be analysed within the context of these fragile social, economic and political problems but fragile politics stands out as the major influence on tourism decisions, policy making and its survival and resilience tactics.

## **2.9 Resilience theory- a historical context**

From the 1960s, the concept of resilience gained critical mass in academia and became a central paradigm in ecology and replacing sustainability as the ultimate objective of development. Resilience is derived from the Latin word *resilio*, meaning to jump back. Most of the literature, however, states that the study of resilience evolved from the disciplines of psychology and psychiatry in the 1940s, and it was mainly accredited to Norman Garmezy. Garmezy was a clinical psychologist who gained international reputation for his work in schizophrenia in adults when he teamed with colleagues and graduate students to launch resilience theory, which focused on cognitive skills, motivation and protective factors that held clues to

preventing mental illness. Also, (Manyane, 2006 and Masten, 2007) Resilience materialised because of efforts to understand the aetiology and development of psychopathology in studies of children at risk of psychopathological disorders due to parental mental illness, prenatal problems, interparental conflict, poverty or a combination of these factors. The pioneers of resilience were interested in analysing risks and the negative effects of adverse life events on children, such as divorce and traumatic stressors (abuse, neglect and war, etc.).

These studies saw the emergence of terms such as resilience, stress resistance and invulnerability. Of the three constructs, resilience has become one of the most disputed but is applied in several fields, especially disaster management. Also, the formation of the Resilience Alliance, and the adoption of the term by the UN International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (UNISDR) in its strategy for 2005 to 2015 underlined the importance of the concept in modern times. Furthermore, the Hyogo Framework for Action 2005 to 2015 also known as the Hyogo Declaration provided an outline of building nations and communities from disasters thereby increasing attention to the capacity of affected communities to bounce back or to recover with little or no external assistance following a disaster.

This framework changed and increased attention on affected communities on what they could and how best they could strengthen themselves the International Federation of Red Cross (IFRC, 2004). Holling's seminal work, entitled Resilience and Stability of Ecological Systems gave resilience approval when it was used to describe the ability of an ecosystem to absorb or withstand stressors such that the system remains within the same regime, essentially maintaining its structure and functions (Stockholm Environmental Institute 2004; [www.resalliance.org/resilience](http://www.resalliance.org/resilience)). When referring to people, the essence of resilience centres on quick recovery from shock, illness or hardship. A person who is resilient may be considered irrepressible, buoyant, enduring, flexible; the person who bounces back—unchanged—from exposure to stresses and shocks (Stockholm Environmental Institute 2004).

Resilience has a futuristic dimension as variation occurs in the post disaster phase and a strategy to mitigate future disasters (Stockholm Environmental Institute 2004). For example, communities in the drought-stricken Zambezi Valley of Zimbabwe, the same terrain as Victoria Falls adapted to unreliable rainfall by growing *nzembwe*, a drought resistant type of millet produced in response to drought spells experienced during the rainy season while maintaining its core values by addressing non-essential elements, such as growing maize,

which require high amounts of rainfall. As a result, the community's capacity to survive is built on the community's ability to alter nonessential attributes for survival in social settings (Manyena, 2006). Understanding change in multilevel stakeholders' arrangements is important and the concept of resilience, with its origins in ecology, has only recently begun to make inroads into the social sciences (Folke, 2006).

Resilience is believed to be a cumbersome concept for social science the reason for this is that even though some similarities can be identified, societies and ecosystems are different in many ways. For example, a government system consists of individuals who can reflect over their situation and actions, who are endowed with fundamental moral rights and hold normative convictions in their daily lives (Folke and Rockstrom, 2009). Another aspect is that human societies can translate such normative convictions into collective action to produce and distribute collective goods as demonstrated by the communities in the Zambezi Valley.

This study relates fragility to resilience in order to have a good understanding of how the two interact to allow and foster tourism development. The historical context of resilience and how it came about and improved are important benchmarks in contextualising resilience theory (Klein, Nicholls and Thomalla, 2003). This section focusses on four aspects of resilience: its historical context; definitions of resilience; resilience and governance and how resilience applies to Victoria Falls and Zimbabwe more generally.

### **2.9.1 Description and definition of resilience**

Butler (2017, p3) suggests that the term resilience has often been used to describe the ability of communities to survive in difficult circumstances. He notes that resilience is found in natural and social sciences and used in tourism. In the tourism context the concept of carrying capacity is promoted as a way of controlling and mitigating problems of overuse of recreation areas. Calgaro (2014) increases understandings of conservation area tourism through a discussion of resilience, with emphasis on the role of tourism as a key driver of socio-economic progress despite facing risks from multiple shocks and hazards that threaten livelihoods. Risks and threats focus on natural disasters rather than human made politically based failures (Calgaro, 2014). Calgaro's destination-sustainability-framework approach assesses destination vulnerability and resilience in the face of floods and droughts. The sustainability framework discusses what Calgaro (2014) calls (1) the shock(s) or stressor(s); (2) the interconnected dimensions of vulnerability – exposure, sensitivity, and system

adaptiveness; (3) the dynamic feedback loops that express the multiple outcomes of actions taken (or not); (4) the contextualised root causes that shape destinations and their characteristics; (5) the various spatial scales; and (6) multiple timeframes within which social-ecological change occurs. This framework is significant because it charts the complex manifestation of changes, vulnerability and resilience in tourism destinations in general and conservation area tourism specifically. Further, it brings tourism sustainability research in line with wider debates on achieving the sustainability approach to within the human environment system and resilience thinking. In Table 2.2 below resilience is defined in terms of coping, bouncing back, withstanding or absorbing negative impacts, returning to normal within the shortest possible time and emphasising more on a volatile stance (Butler, 2017). The latter description might be more appropriate for objects capable of regaining their original shape after bending, stretching, compression or other types of deformation (Butler, 2017).

**Table 2.1: Definitions of resilience**

<b>Types of resilience</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Emphasis</b>	<b>Key references</b>
<b><i>Engineering resilience</i></b>	Ability of a system to return to equilibrium following a shock	Return time to cover, efficiency, equilibrium	Pimm (1991)
<b><i>Ecological resilience</i></b>	Ability of a system to withstand shock and maintain critical relationship	Withstand shock, persistence, robustness	Holling (1996)
<b><i>Social resilience</i></b>	Resilience as metaphor for social systems	Social dimensions heuristic device	Adger (2000)
<b><i>Social-ecological resilience</i></b>	(i) Amount of disturbance that a system can absorb and remain within an attractive attraction; (ii) capacity for learning and adaptation; (iii) the degree to which the system is self-organising	Adaptive capacity, learning, innovation	(Carpenter et al, 2001) Folke (2006) (Walker et al, 2012)
<b><i>Development resilience</i></b>	Capacity over time of a person, household or other aggregate unit to avoid poverty in the face of various stressors and in the wake of myriad shocks over time. The ability of people, households, communities, countries and systems to mitigate, adapt and recover from shocks and stresses in a manner that reduces chronic	Vulnerable robustness  Adaptive capacity social dimensions	Barrett and Costas (2014)  USAID (2012)



	vulnerability and facilitate inclusive growth.		
<b><i>Socio economic resilience</i></b>	Socio economic refers to the policy induced ability of an economy to recover from or adjust to the negative impacts of adverse exogenous and to benefit from positive shocks.	Economic response capacity	(Mancini et al, 2012)
<b><i>Organisational resilience</i></b>	A function of an organisation's overall situations awareness, management of vulnerabilities and adaptive capacity in a complex, dynamic and interconnected environment	Organisation disaster management	(McManus et al, 2008)
<b><i>Community resilience</i></b>	A process linking a set of adaptive capacities to a positive trajectory of functioning and adaptation after a disturbance.	Adaptive capacity, disturbance, social	(Norris et al, 2008) Magis (2010) Berkes and Ross (2013)
<b><i>Disaster resilience</i></b>	The ability of a system, community or society exposed to hazards to resist, absorb, accommodate to recover from the effects of a hazard in a timely and efficient manner, including through the preservation and restoration of its essential basic structures and functions.	Buffer capacity withstand hazard shock, persistence	United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (2016)
<b><i>Climate change and resilience</i></b>	The ability of a system and its component parts to anticipate, absorb, accommodate or recover from the effects of a hazardous event in a timely and efficient manner, including through ensuring and preservation restoration, or improvement of its essential basic structures and functions	Adaptive capacity, learning, to withstand hazard shock	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (2012)
<b><i>Regional-global cooperation</i></b>	The ability of a country to recover from situations of fragility	Capacity to bounce back through local, regional and international cooperation that enhance economic growth	Researcher contributions

**Source: Butler (2017) Tourism and Resilience**

The ideas of resilience as the ability to bounce back, return to equilibrium and to reorganize after a disturbance may have wholly different meanings, depending on how the social system

is configured and from whose viewpoint resilience is assessed (Duit, et al, 2010). For example, in Zimbabwe's long-standing history of authoritarian and social conflicts, the element of resilience has been apparent in that that social, economic and political systems have tended to bounce back time and again regardless of the many fragilities discussed in sections 2.4 and 2.5. Resilience is a normative issue, as it is ultimately linked to questions of what a good society or a good life should be like though this is less of a problem for most societies as famines, drought, floods and war are undeniably bad things (Duit, et al, 2010). These thorny normative and conceptual issues and resilience thinking hold a great deal of potential for renewing the wider research agenda (Duit, et al, 2010). It invites consideration of fundamental issues of change and stability, adaptation and design, hierarchy and self-organization in the study of multilevel stakeholder involvement (Magis, 2010).

One approach to unpacking resilience in social ecological systems involves recognizing that resilience is inherently a matter of social framing by actors with different interests, preferences and resources (Duit, et al, 2010 and Magis, 2010). Assessment of resilience in social ecological systems should therefore not only consider the most general system level, but also consider possible trade-offs and irregularities in resilience between different groups and communities within the system, especially when the framing of organizational boundaries is a matter of conflict. When assessing the resilience of a system, it is therefore crucial to consider the question "resilience of what, and for whom?" (Duit, et al, 2010). Drawing on Oran Young's approach between "ecosystem resilience" and "engineering resilience", Young argues that the former is better suited for the analysis of institutions and social ecological systems by not being based on a notion of equilibrium towards which the system must return (Duit, et al, 2010).

By ridding the resilience concept of the assumption of return-to-equilibrium, Young argues that the term should be understood as the ability to handle stress in an adaptive manner in institutions and regimes. Young also points out that resilience is always a matter of degree, and never a matter of complete immunity towards disturbance and stress (Duit, et al, 2010). Societies and ecosystems can be resilient, but if system stresses become too powerful or merge into a specific kind of stress towards which the system is not adapted, even highly robust systems will eventually crumble (Janssen and Anderies, 2007; Duit, et al, 2010). The wider notion of resilience of social and ecological systems appears to be a more viable alternative, as it focuses on the question on how well a given social ecological system can maintain the

basic ecological properties it is ultimately dependent upon such as Victoria Falls. This is not a normatively uncontroversial route either, but at least it acknowledges that resilience-based policy solutions and institutions will as most other forms of public policy have distributional and thereby moral consequences (Duit, et al, 2010). In fact, Duit et al suggest that policy makers have been unable to envision a stakeholder governance system that is able to handle virtually every task put before it. As there is no ideal form of governance in other areas, it would be something of a surprise if there was a solution for governing complex systems.

Duit et al (2010) argue that at the end of the day, governance solutions for many of the problems are rooted in complex systems dynamics of piecemeal mixes of policy instruments, institutions, networks and organizations. They suggest that a resilience perspective can bring to the debate on issues of governance and stakeholder cooperation and to engage in discussions of fundamental normative issues where resilience implies. In the bigger picture, well-established transition from government to governance taking place in many countries is a prime example of public resilience with institutions constantly being re-defined and re-invented to coevolve with a dynamic environment. Rethinking problems of governance and law in a resilience perspective can often prove very helpful in identifying strengths and weaknesses of contemporary governance systems (Ostrom, et al, 2007).

This study defines resilience precisely as an enduring trait and process characterising tourism development at Victoria Falls despite many changes, disturbances and the prolonged political and economic obstacles examined in sections 2.4 and 2.5. This definition does not take a binary approach in considering whether resilience is present or absent, but rather conceptualises resilience as existing on a continuous basis and present to differing degrees and adapting to various internal and external shocks Zimbabwe has experienced in half a century. Many authorities have written about resilience as shown in Table 2.2, Butler (2017). The definitions of resilience offered in Table 2.2 borrow ideas from the available resilience literature of which the key notions require further analysis and alignment to this study. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) a United Nations body for assessing the science related to climate change defines resilience as the ability of a system and its component parts to anticipate, absorb, accommodate, or recover from the effects of a hazards in a timely and efficient manner. This definition places emphasis on preparing for the unexpected to recover from hazards and highlights ecological, socio-ecological, development, socio-economic and regional-global cooperation resilience as it relates to tourism

development. Other forms of resilience included in the table also inform this study. The concepts of resilience defined in Table 2.2 are most appropriate to the objectives and questions of this study of tourism development under situations of fragility. It is worthwhile having a closer look at the relevance of socio-ecological resilience directly related to tourism development at Victoria Falls.

### **2.9.2 Relevance of socio-ecological resilience directly related to tourism development at Victoria Falls.**

The ecological and social context discussion derives its roots in what many people regard as wilderness. Wilderness invokes different meanings and images referring to wild, remote, and untouched natural areas, which need protection from human presence and utilization. Saarinen (2016) observes that wilderness conservation originated from the establishment of the first national park in North America in the nineteenth century. Wilderness conservation gave rise to national parks or conservation tourism areas (CTA) spread across the world, including in colonial Zimbabwe, from the early twentieth century when British conservationists introduced conservation tourism areas or national parks such as Victoria Falls, Kruger in South Africa, Okavango in Botswana and Masaaai Mara in Kenya, and related legal acts providing a model on how to organise and manage CTAs in east and southern Africa. Notions of CTAs were not without controversy because opponents saw them as creations of a ‘fortress model’ of conservation thinking, separating wilderness and nature from culture and people (Novelli and Scarth, 2007).

Models of a resilient and separate pristine nature have been challenged by alternative views calling for more people-centred or CBT approaches in natural resource management. People-oriented resource use should receive greater attention because the tourism industry has become an increasingly important user and socio-economic element of change in wilderness areas which has created new kinds of utilization needs for the remaining wild environments in Zimbabwe and elsewhere. Thus, there are different ways to understand what a resilient wilderness is, and for and from whom it should be protected. As units of strict conservation, resources for livelihoods and raw materials, and tourist products, wilderness areas in Zimbabwe are a contested terrain in terms of how they should be used and conserved. What is not in doubt, however, is the fact that they have not only responded to change and shocks but also need even greater protection from users like tourists, timber loggers and miners. This is generally the case especially in the developing South where the social and political pressures

of economic utilisation of the remaining wilderness environments are currently the sharpest notably for agricultural and mining livelihoods.

In the history of tourism development in Zimbabwe, the characteristics of resilience discussed in sections 2.6 and 2.6.1 inform and shape this study utilising the five approaches to resilience. In doing so, this study contributes novel knowledge on resilience in tourism at Victoria Falls. That resilience should be defined as the ability of the tourism sector to withstand and respond to 50 years of political storms and upheavals in Zimbabwe. Tourism development at Victoria Falls is conceived as an example of tourism's capability to bend without breaking, its capacity to bounce back and even grow in the face of adverse internal and external influences and experiences.

This definition reflected from the reviewed literature is prioritised because it embraces and reflects the complex relationship between fragility and resilience as well as the nature of resilience since it includes a host of biological, social, cultural, economic and political factors that interact with each other to determine how tourism responded, changed and adapted to stressful conditions and threats in the long-term. This working definition is preferred because it enables analysis of the fragility-resilience interface to highlight key resilience-enhancing factors in tourism. This approach to resilience moves the field ahead towards the inclusion of strengths and weaknesses in tourism that focus on capacity building in the tourism industry as well as the obstacles impacting the sector.

### **2.9.3 Contextualising resilience in tourism development**

There are many examples to learn about tourism resilience from other destinations bouncing back after major setbacks. After the World Trade Centre attack in the USA on September 11, 2001, New York City was in a state of shock, lodging occupancy levels plummeted, and air travel was limited. Domestic and foreign visitors to New York City dropped from hundreds of millions to 35 million in 2001 and remained at a similar level of 35.3 million in 2002. However, 2003 recorded a recovery from the shock with a new record high of 37.8 million arrivals (World Bank, 2004). The state of tourism in Africa also continues to tell the story of how tourism has been resilient to many challenges not only to drive economic growth and economic development, but also contribute to economic recovery. More and more tourism are showing its resilience in ordinary and extraordinary times of conflicts and wars across the continent. In early 2011, for instance, tourism development in the North African region suffered from the shocks of political change, the so-called Arab Spring. Several countries

issued travel warnings for North Africa; tour operators rerouted their customers and cancelled pre-booked trips (World Bank, 2011).

In 2010, Egypt had received 14 million visitors. Tourism was the second largest revenue source for the country, generating US\$12.5 billion in 2010. Yet, in January 2011, occupancy levels in Egyptian hotels in major tourism areas dropped to single digits, leaving small tourism entrepreneurs with little to no income (World Bank, 2011). According to Egypt's statistics bureau a decline of approximately 210,000 tourists had left the country within the last week of January, costing the country US\$178 million. By April 2011, with some travel bans lifted, tourists began to return to Egypt, although, occupancy rates remained low showing the resilience of the sector against political upheavals. Egypt's government was eager to get tourism back on track. Mounir Fakhry Abdel Nour, the country's new Minister of Tourism, launched a variety of innovative marketing strategies. While it would take time for Egypt's tourism sector to reach its former volume, there was belief among many tourism stakeholders that Egypt's past popularity as a historical and cultural destination will continue to be what drives tourists to visit the 'new Egypt' (World Bank, 2011).

There are also examples of resilience in tourism infrastructure and economic development across Africa. For instance, in Senegal urbanisation and economic diversification are transforming the climatic risks the country faces and widening the rural-urban resilience gap (Simonet and Jobbins, 2015). Internal migration from rural inlands to urban coastal areas in combination with strong growth of the tertiary sector, particularly tourism, reduced vulnerability to droughts but increased exposure and sensitivity to floods and coastal erosion. Economic diversification also decreased sensitivity to climate variability and led to broad-based improvements in living standards, tourism infrastructure development and adaptive capacity. However, such benefits have been concentrated among urban centres without spreading to rural areas thereby widening inequalities in resilience across Senegal (Simonet and Jobbins, 2015). Political experiences in North Africa, Kenya and the US maybe different from political problems in Zimbabwe discussed in sections 2.4 but are relevant in demonstrating how and why tourism sectors under stress have capabilities and capacity to be resilient and bounce back.

At several points in its course of development, tourism in Zimbabwe has been exposed to one or more potentially sector-threatening traumatic experiences that influenced development

resilience and result in conditions such as financial and image problems in the industry. For this study, Zimbabwe 's severe adversities include exposure to war, sanctions, droughts and economic depression experienced at different junctures over the fifty years. When stress exposure in tourism is unusually intense, uncontrollable, and overwhelming, it can give rise to or exacerbate burnout, depression and a damaged tourism brand image. The survival and resilience strategies in tourism development in Zimbabwe are discussed in detail in chapter five, six and seven.

Related to global tourism trends, the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) through the programme of sustainable development of tourism assists its members to assess and mitigate risks related to tourism development. Additionally, the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) assists in developing, planning and implementing crisis management systems that reduce impact guided by its Global Code of Ethics for Tourism Development. These include:

- a) **Measures that facilitate international travel:** Ensure safe and efficient movement of travellers locally. This includes further development of standards, procedures and the exchange of information to deter threats, reduce costs and help ensure safe and efficient movement of travellers and issuing of travel advisories through geo-referencing.
- b) **Supports members in identifying and mitigating global and local risks related to tourism:**

Through establishment of effective crisis management systems (CMS) and improvement of existing CMS. Of very high importance is the integration of travel and tourism into the national emergency structures and procedures. The UNWTO provides mitigation strategies, actions and instruments to evaluate risks of global and local importance through capacity building workshops in the following areas:

- Emergency Planning for Tourism
- Tourism Risk Analysis, Early Warning and Mapping
- Crisis Coordination at the National and International Level
- Crisis Centre
- Crisis Communication

- Recovery Techniques

c) **Coordination with the UN system:** Enable and ensure consistent and common approach, reflects the role of tourism, avoid redundancies of activities, confidence building and advocacy for issues of international importance such as coordinating with the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (ISDR), International Federation of Red Cross and Crescent (IFRC), International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and UN Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI) in the field of security and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in the area of natural and man-made disasters complement our regular activities.

d) **Improve capacity of members to develop, plan and implement crisis management systems:**

This is done through hosting workshops and implementing management crisis systems in the tourism sector.

e) **Regional Capacity Building Workshop:** Through these workshops core issues are addressed to manage risk and crises in organizational structures, accountabilities, policies and procedures with the help of international and national experts.

f) **Simulation Exercise:** this is done to coordinate development, planning and implementation efforts at international level to ensure a common approach.

g) **Member State emergency assistance:** Supports tourism crisis management efforts at the national level and takes place through direct assistance during crises or recovery phases upon request from the Member State and lastly,

h) **Tourism Emergency Response Network (TERN):** TERN is a closely-knit grouping of the leading world tourism associations launched in April 2006 in Washington DC to assist in international crises that impact on the travel and tourism sector. The UNWTO coordinates TERN through the Sustainable Development of Tourism Programme (SDTP) efforts, information and messages (UNWTO Report, 2009).



## **2.10 Sustainable tourism development**

There are long running debates on the definitions of not only tourism development, but also on meanings attached to sustainable tourism development (STD) and the role of tourism in economic development. There is also a growing literature on STD and the role of tourism in stakeholder participation in its development and planning. The challenges of STD in less established destinations appear to be the same everywhere. Like in other countries such as Sierra Leone, Gambia, Madagascar, Lesotho, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Malawi, the UNDP believes that, Zimbabwe has a huge untapped potential that would provide the country with a positive, coherent and ambitious STD vision for the future. Of interest to this discussion is STD which must consider having:

Optimal use of environmental resources that constitute a key element in tourism development, maintaining essential ecological processes and helping to conserve natural heritage and biodiversity. It should have respect for the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities, conserve their built and living cultural heritage and traditional values, and contribute to inter-cultural understanding and tolerance. It should be viable, long-term economic operations, providing socio-economic benefits to all stakeholders that are fairly distributed including stable employment and income-earning opportunities and social services to host communities, and much more importantly contributing to poverty alleviation (Dieke, 2000).

STD, therefore, requires the informed participation of all relevant stakeholders, as well as strong political leadership to ensure wide participation and consensus building. However, achieving STD is a continuous process and it requires constant monitoring of impacts, introducing the necessary preventive and corrective measures whenever necessary. This is because STD should maintain a high level of tourist satisfaction and ensure a meaningful experience to the tourists, raising their awareness about sustainability issues and promoting sustainable tourism practices.

Dieke brings us back to the critical issue of poverty reduction and argues that STD should play a leading role in poverty reduction and the improvement of livelihoods. While, Christie also highlights the importance of STD in infrastructure improvements, job creation, increased domestic consumption and diversification of exports. In addition, these developments are thought to have tangible benefits of empowering women, young people and the excluded in society, contributing to better national image building, stimulating cultural traditions and promoting environmental conservation.

Duffy's work has significance in understanding ecological dimensions of STD in Zimbabwe (Duffy, 2003). She explores the relations between ethical, economic and aesthetic values in the tourism development. Her work considers the ethical and political issues arising in many areas of tourism development. Duffy points out pertinent aspects of encounters, interactions and exchanges in tourism that include:

- a) Reciprocity (or lack of) in host-guest relations.
- b) Fair or unfair distribution of revenue benefits.
- c) Moral implications of sex tourism.
- d) Staged authenticity.
- e) Travel to oppressive regimes.
- f) Cultural impacts on tourist destinations.
- g) Environmental and wildlife conservation

In the case of Zimbabwe, STD ought to be about communication on environmental and wildlife conservation, embracing national identity and celebrating heritage in which the government establishes a common understanding and support for sustainable livelihoods. The UNDP postulates that pro-poor tourism in rural and urban areas should contribute to continuing economic growth and fair-trade. These ideas are crucial to draw upon with respect to Zimbabwe's fragile circumstances where the poverty threshold increased by 10 per cent from 62 per cent during the 1990s to 72 per cent after 2003 (UNDP Report, 2004).

Burns and Novelli (2008) concur with the UNDP that development is a process towards self-reliance and STD should be considered not merely as a necessity, but a process which enables local people to use natural resources to their advantage. Despite its perceived benefits, the tourism sector has been known to be susceptible to threats and risks that may exist in fragile states. Slocum and Backman (2011) assert that STD broadens the resource ownership base such that more people benefit from the tourism industry through skills development, job and wealth creation and ensuring the geographic spread of the industry throughout the country. Duffy (2014) is optimistic about growth prospects from STD to energise economies and propel economic transformation in Africa. Duffy maintains that wildlife conservation in Africa has captured the public imagination in the industrialised world, where the prevailing view is that wildlife must be saved and preserved at all costs in the interests of global environmental good. She asks valuable questions like:

- i) Is African's wildlife threatened by the economic practices of Africans?
- ii) Should trade in ivory and rhino horn be banned altogether?
- iii) What are the economic consequences of a strict preservationist policy? (Duffy, 2014).

According to Duffy (2014), when wildlife conservation is cast as a politically neutral issue, such debates mask the complex economic, political, and social realities of African communities. In *Killing for Conservation*, Duffy presents the search for a solution to the human versus wildlife conflict in Zimbabwe. She examines how NGOs have grown in importance to a point where they now act as key negotiators and agents in world environmental politics, governance with an enormous growth in the size and number of environmental NGOs.

## **2.11 Tourism development and governance**

Related to STD are conceptualisations and experiences of governance in all their dimensions closely tied to issues of fragility and the state as discussed in section 2.2. Dredge (2004) defines governance as a system of governing in which societies are managed, ruled or administered. State-citizen relations come into play because governance is a process undertaken mostly by states although governance also exists in family, communities or companies. In tourism development, laws, policies, norms and power structures relate to interactions and decision-making among various stakeholders involved in managing destinations. Indeed, partnerships by state and private sector actors are increasingly important in shaping tourism governance, planning and development.

A shift towards governance, where responsibility for policy-making spans public and private sectors as well as citizens promotes increased interest in collaborative action and innovative community capacity building to enhance STD explored in section 2.7. At Victoria Falls, state institutions like the Zimbabwe Tourism Authority (ZTA) and the Ministry of Tourism are pivotal in promoting state and private sector participation in the creation of socio-economic opportunities for STD. These bodies are critical in shaping rules and regulations regarding tourism promotion and tourism development.

The world over, improved governance is increasingly recognized as a key driver for STD. This is because governance is the basis of collective action by individuals, groups and institutions to promote the objectives of STD (Bramwell, 2011). There are desirable measures

of governance ranging from the observance of the rule of law to transparency, anti-corruption to democratic values and traditions that put human rights at the center of social and economic development. These attributes of governance are relevant for this study especially given the fragile politics in Zimbabwe already explored. With politics in mind, the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) views measurement, monitoring and specified targets in STD as important benchmarks for making a difference beneficial to local communities. Indeed, governance needs to have synergies with other sectors too to produce holistic national significance around equity in natural resource distribution and social service provision, issues also discussed in section 2.4. This includes matters like the transparent allocation of financial resources to sanitation and water services; the effective monitoring of rules and regulations of extractive industries; the formal registration of land tenure/rights; or measuring horizontal inequalities (by political affiliation, gender, ethnicity or region) in achieving health and education outcomes (ODI Report, 2011).

In Zimbabwe's case, these issues have been at the forefront of policy making especially in the tourism sector and at Victoria Falls. Dredge identifies four important advantages of understanding public-private sector relationships with reference to governance on destinations through policy network approaches that include:

- a) An understanding of the distinctions between private and public domains as shaped by strategies of collective action and shared responsibility embedded in the notion of governance.
- b) Having knowledge at the different levels of political support that exist for different policy issues within one policy network. For example, there may be political support for the development of a local tourism association, but the same level of support may not exist for regional cooperation.
- c) Recognising that policy actors may have membership in different policy networks and their powers, roles, functions and level of support and interaction may vary within structures.

These points are strategic for STD and offer insights into state involvement in tourism development anchored on knowledge, thought, power, resources, rules, management and

cooperation. The importance of governance by the state in STD still takes us back to state-citizen relations where authority, legitimacy and social service provision are central pillars for a sustainable democratic dispensation. Indeed, Bramwell rightly points out that:

Governance is important for tourist destinations seeking to promote sustainable development. Broadening sustainability objectives in destinations usually requires some collective action. But such governance faces major obstacles, because its concerns span many policy domains, numerous relevant policies are made in other policy domains. It can be difficult to influence private sector decisions and the relevant actors are diverse and have varied interests and priorities. These difficulties for the governance of sustainable tourism need to be much better understood to establish potential ways to overcome them (Bramwell, 2011).

Also, Bramwell notes that political direction in tourism development has in some countries moved allowing state involvement occurring at arm's length in collaborations with agencies, public-private sector partnerships, the voluntary sector, and markets and quasi-markets. In Zimbabwe, an overbearing and strong state remains the primary influence on governance, including policymaking for tourism development. For example, hunting for tourism purposes in Zimbabwe is very much regulated to achieve sustainability in wildlife consumption and conservation both by locals and outsiders. The government of Zimbabwe appears to have strict anti-poaching laws in place but also struggles to contain poaching by locals and foreigners. Anti-poaching operations are expensive and require carefully considered rules and policy measures in the short and long term that promote tourism development.

## **2.12 Policy making and tourism development**

Also linked to STD, Milward and Walmsley (1984) support relational conceptions of policymaking as an open, flexible and fluid process. In Zimbabwe, networks have emerged as influential and attractive ways of policymaking across public-private sector divides where power and responsibilities are shared in tourism development. Works by Burstein (1991), clearly demonstrate the benefits derived from a collaborative approach in tourism policy making and governance. According to Atkinson & Coleman (1992), tourism networks are sets of formal and informal social relationships that shape collaborative action between government, industry and civil society in tourism policy formulation and tourism development.

Fragility stands out as one of the major influences affecting tourism policy making. Conditions obtaining in fragile states such as in Zimbabwe do constrain the

development of tourism policy. This is because tourism policies are strongly influenced by governing bodies and hence policy cannot be divorced from politics, economic performance and ecological considerations (Hall and Jenkins (1995). As briefly outlined in section 2.8 above, governance and policy arena are a critical sphere of challenges faced in STD in Zimbabwe and elsewhere in the developing world. Tourism policy is worthwhile debating because it gives purpose and direction in tourism development. Dredge maintains that tourism policy has been subjected to competitive and parochial politics in countries lacking the right tourism expertise and vision.

Tourism policy emerges from a complex web of interactions among diverse public and private sector individuals, groups, institutions and agencies (Dredge, 2004). An understanding of the structures and dynamics of local tourism organisations, local government relationships and the strength of their relational ties provides pathways for networks, capacity, opportunities and constraints for building progressive and productive tourism policy (Dredge, 2004). In the case of Zimbabwe, the Ministry of Tourism, the ZTA, tour operators, transport providers, hoteliers, restaurant owners, tour guides have a legitimate claim to participating in an all-inclusive and democratic tourism policy making.

In Zimbabwe, the ZANU PF ruling elite tend to blame the western world for some of the problems faced in tourism policy formulation when most probably they should examine the fragile situation at home first. While the role of government in tourism policy making has been looked at from economic, social and cultural, political and technological perspectives the underlying rationale for tourism as a development strategy derives from its potential to generate income jobs and foreign exchange earnings. Tourism policy making in Zimbabwe lacks an authoritative and established scholarship. Political disagreements and social strife as well as a lack of coordination between the public and private sectors are factors that hinder a smooth process of making a viable tourism policy. The development of viable tourism policy frameworks in Zimbabwe lags behind due to several constraints such as financial difficulties, capital and manpower flight. Policy making in Zimbabwe should clarify who makes policy, what policy instruments, and in whose interests, these serve and under what sort of social, economic, political and ecological climate.

### 2.13 Summary

This chapter reviewed some, not all, available literature on the state, fragility, resilience, STD, governance and tourism policy making among others. The chapter concludes that the state has three basic functions of providing administration, security and wellbeing for citizens; the enforcement of the rule of law; and its acceptance by the public for legitimacy purposes. State functions of the Rhodesian state failed to provide security and wellbeing to all citizens and relied on brute force for its survival. This was a tenuous arrangement which could not last. At independence in 1980, ZANU PF, in its first 35 years in power also relied heavily on repression and authoritarianism continuing colonial legacies of human rights violations that accounted for many fragilities and state fragility juxtaposed with resilience across social, economic and political actors and activities. The political dispensation in colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe has been responsible for state fragility because state-citizen relations have largely been very poor because of the long running dictatorships by Smith and Mugabe. It appears that state fragility has constrained the potential of STD at Victoria Falls CTA.

Five types of fragilities existing in Zimbabwe have been examined: state fragility; political fragility; economic fragility; tourism industry fragility and Victoria Falls fragility. The literature reviewed shows that no consensus exists on the definition of fragility and that it comes in various forms in different countries. The major cause of state fragility in Zimbabwe is political instability as shown in the reviewed historical literature which helps to frame this study. The wide-ranging state fragilities in Zimbabwe require the resilience explanation on how not only tourism has continued to function against all political and economic odds that have been examined in the literature but also why the whole economy and political system have not imploded. Resilience theory offers the best explanation for how Zimbabwe can carry on under various political and economic trials and tribulations. The available resilience literature offers many important insights in examining Zimbabwe's case of fragility and resilience. Conditions of fragility and resilience in Zimbabwe have certainly given rise to characteristics of more resilience notably in the tourism sector and in Zimbabwe more generally. The existing resilience literature informs this research endeavouring to examine how political turbulence and economic problems in Zimbabwe impact tourism development at Victoria Falls and in Zimbabwe.

## **Chapter Three**

### **Research Methodology**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

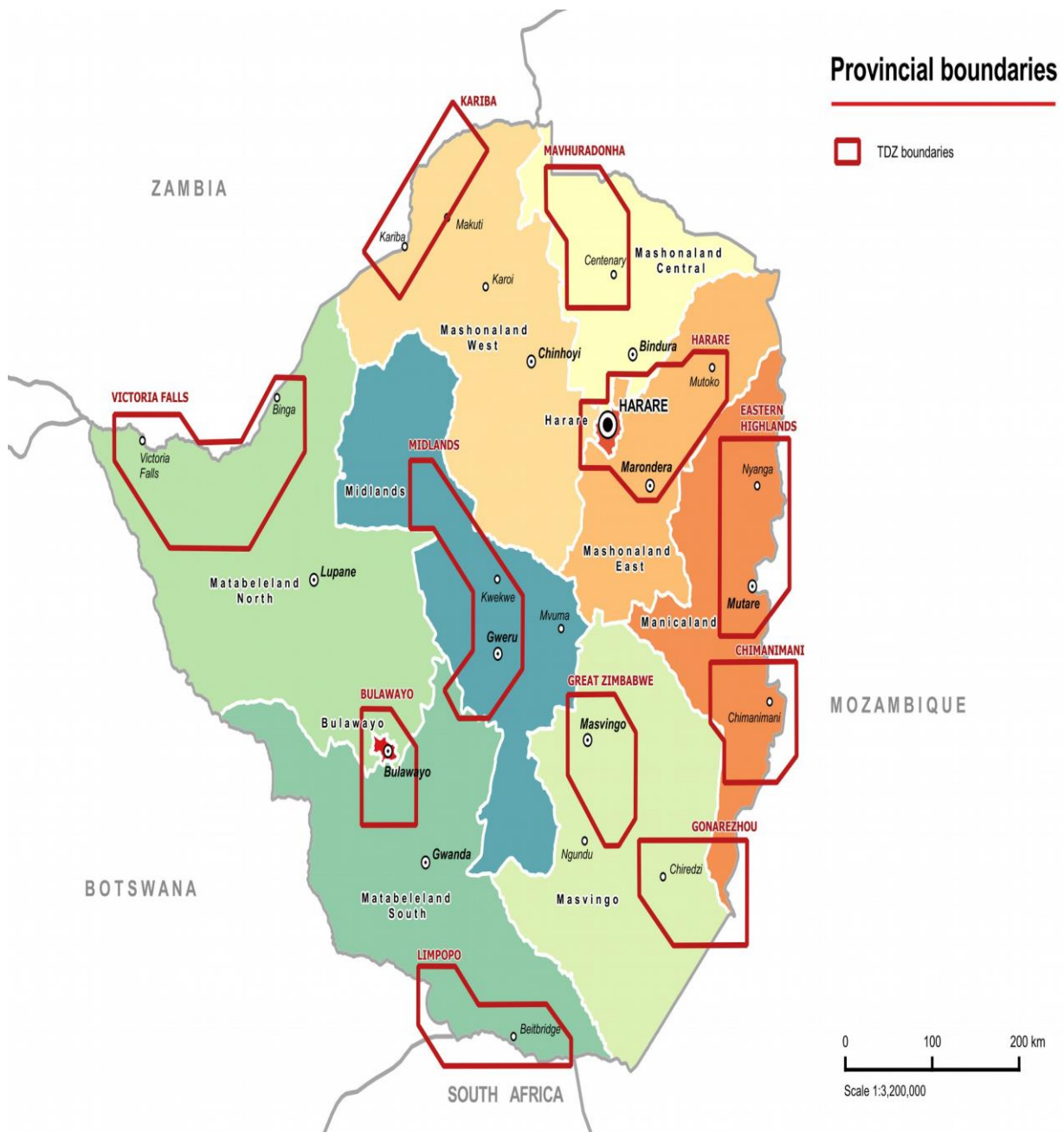
This chapter on methods presents the study setting and offer a brief discussion of methods used in history as an academic discipline and provide the rationale for using social science - qualitative interpretivist research. Any type of research is built from some underlying philosophical norms regarding validity and research methods ideal for the development of knowledge in a particular study. It is important for the researcher to know what these assumptions are. This chapter provides the study setting and discusses the philosophical assumptions and the design strategies underpinning this research study. The historical, qualitative interpretive paradigm was identified for the framework of the study. In addition, the chapter discusses the research methodologies, and the research design used in the study including strategies, instruments, data collection and analysis methods, while explaining the stages and processes involved in the study. The research strategy for this study is a descriptive and interpretive case study of Victoria Falls analysed through qualitative methods. The researcher positionality with reflection on gender is highlighted and the Tier 2 Ethics processes at the University of Brighton emphasised. This study examines tourism development at Victoria Falls an area (Figure 3.1) situated in the north west provincial boundary of Zimbabwe.

#### **3.1 Victoria Falls case study setting**

Victoria Falls resort is situated in the north west corner on the border with Zambia. Victoria Falls stands out as a unique and ideal case study for reasons explained in this section. The local Tonga people called Victoria Falls Mosi ya tunya-literally- smoke that thunders reflecting their cosmological and religious beliefs and interpretations of this natural phenomenon (McGregor, 2003). Visitors pay to view Victoria Falls: US\$30 international tourists, regional tourist US\$20 while locals used to pay US\$7 which was reduced to US\$2. Victoria Falls is essentially a very safe destination with a small population and has experienced no serious security incidents for many years. The Victoria Falls tourism police operate seven days a week from 0900 to 1900hrs and are a comforting and friendly presence in town mostly patrolling the small road network.



**Figure 3.1 Study setting and location boundary map of Victoria Falls in Zimbabwe**



**Source: Ministry of Tourism and Hospitality Industry Report 2006**

The Map 1 in Figure 3.2 and Figure 3.3 below offer a comparison of Victoria Falls National Park Conservation Tourism Area before and after independence, indicating key sites of Victoria Falls shared with Zambia Mosi ya tunya -National Park, Botswana on the Kaprivi strip and Zimbabwe - Zambezi National Park. Victoria Falls tourism development is best studied in its geo-political and regional partners' settings.

**Figure 3.2 The study setting map of Victoria Falls under the UDI period 1965-1980**

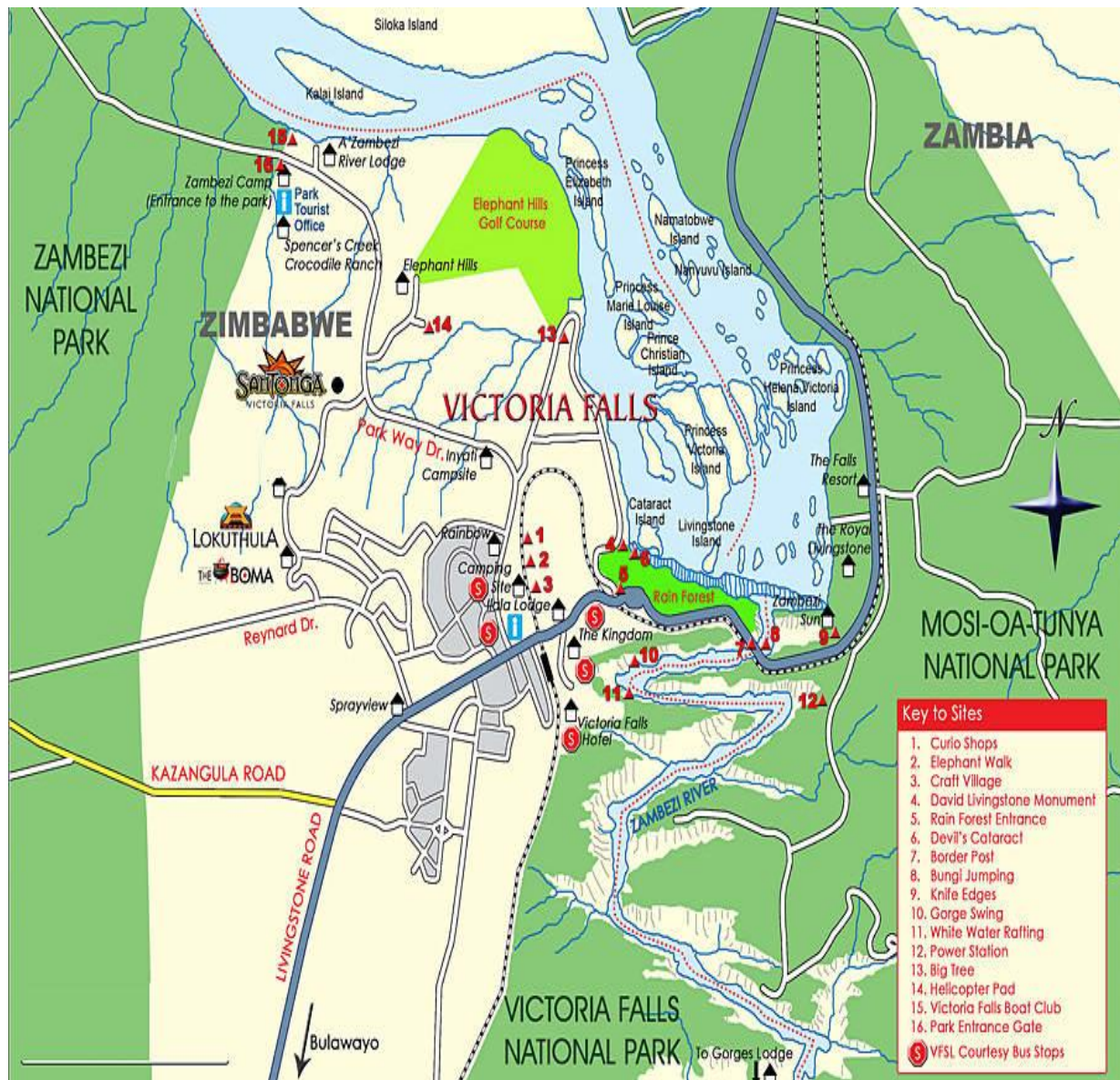


**Source: The Falls Illustrated by Desmond Clark, Zimbabwe Embassy Library, London**

Apart from name changes and new infrastructure development, the physical structure of the study remains almost identical to the study setting today.



**Figure 3.3 The study setting map of Victoria Falls 1980-2015**



**Source: Zimbabwe Tourism Authority Photo Library**

Victoria Falls is a significant national, regional and international visitor attraction comparable to the Niagara Falls in Canada and Iguassu Falls in Brazil. It is undoubtedly one of the world's renowned heritage sites of huge importance to the national economy of Zimbabwe with wider significance for international tourist traffic. Figure 3.2 below captures Victoria Falls' owe of 1.25 kilometres width and 100 metres depth.

**Figure 3.4      Victoria Falls Waterfall, Rainbow and Bridge**



**Source: Zimbabwe Tourism Authority Library Archive, Folder MPD 205, Harare, 2003**

It is worthwhile noting here that the Falls vary considerably depending on the levels of the rains that pour into the Zambezi River. In mid-December the river starts to rise with the onset of the rainy season and this high water continues right through until June. During this time the volume of water plummeting over the Falls is enormous, with spray that promotes conditions of the rain forest along its pathways. The town of Victoria Falls in Zimbabwe is situated less than a kilometre away from the Falls where most of the employees stay as many of the hotels and lodges are within close striking distance of Victoria Falls.

Development on the banks of the Zambezi River upstream of Victoria Falls in Zimbabwe is carefully controlled and monitored by the UNESCO World Heritage. Almost the entire stretch of river from Victoria Falls to Kazungula about 80 km is a pristine National Park filled with wildlife. This is what makes it such a unique and wonderful place as man and animals do co-exist within it. Many visitors will see warthogs, monkeys and baboons that generally would not harm unless provoked. The main shopping areas are Elephants Walk, Trading Post Centre and the Pumula Centre. Each one of these centres is relatively small but has a selection of curio shops, boutiques, cafés and restaurants.

Victoria Falls offer a variety of accommodation and activities in and outside the national park aimed at the millions of tourists who visit Victoria Falls (See Appendices 1 on the Victoria Falls Guide). Victoria Falls is the major driver of the tourism industry in Zimbabwe and southern Africa. For instance, Victoria Falls arguably occupies the most important niche in the geopolitical setting of Southern Africa capturing the tourism business from South Africa, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique. Nationally, Victoria Falls is the anchor and hub of tourism development in Zimbabwe to which the international tourists are again and again attracted in hundreds of thousands year in year out. Besides, Victoria Falls offers a long history of tourism development in Zimbabwe. The resort allows for a critical analysis over time, of the problems, policies and politics surrounding tourism in Zimbabwe. For example, the ecological and social context discussion of Victoria Falls have deeper roots in the notion of wilderness which refers to pristine nature in need of protection from human interference and natural impacts.

According to Saarinen (2016), conserving wild nature dates to the establishment of the first national parks (Yellowstone) in North America in the nineteenth century. However, in pre-colonial Zimbabwe, sacred nature or *rambotemwa* forests and shrines had long been part and parcel of indigenous ways of conserving natural resources in holy sites where people were barred from entering and spoiling wilderness under systematic and ritualistic politico-religious sanction (Kwashirai, 2007). Under the UDI wilderness conservation gave rise to national parks or CTA such as Victoria Falls which spread across Zimbabwe and its neighbours and indeed across the world under the Trans-Frontier Parks of which Zimbabwe is co-host to six area locations shown in map Figure 3.4 below. Victoria Falls fall under the Kazungula Zambezi or KAZA region. Located in the map the six area are:

1. Kavango Zambezi or KAZA TFCA
2. Greater Mapungubwe TFCA
3. Great Limpopo TFCA
4. Chimanimani TFCA
5. Zimbabwe Mozambique TFCA
6. Lower Mana Zambezi TFCA



Figure 3.5: The Trans-frontier Parks that share borders with Zimbabwe



Source: Zimbabwe Tourism Authority Research and Development Report 2007

The regional tourism cooperation through trans-frontier parks is discussed in detail in chapter 7, section 7.5 respectively. The next section discusses the philosophical grounding of the study in social science.

### 3.2 Social science research

There are a variety of considerations that enter the social research process. In recent times the term social research has come to mean academic research on wide topics relating to questions relevant to the broad social science field including among others, tourism, sociology, human geography, politics, criminology. This kind of research draws on intellectual debates in the social sciences for conceptual and theoretical inspiration and can be motivated by various influences including social change and developments across diverse societies in the modern

globalising world. For tourism, such factors might include concerns about safety and security issues critical for travellers. But other themes important for social scientists are alcoholism, employment, housing, democracy etc. Social science research harnesses scientific ideas to illuminate these issues. However, social science research does not conform to neat research categories or linear academic processes (Bryman, 2008). Nonetheless it follows guidelines on research processes including literature review, the formulation and use of theories and concepts, the devising of relevant questions, sampling methods, data collection, data analysis and the writing up of findings. Social science, researchers are expected to be aware of these considerations and how they are distinct elements of the research process.

The research process is often begun with a literature review and the formulation and devising of appropriate research questions. For example, this study examines why tourism development existed in Zimbabwe over time especially Victoria Falls and asks the resilience tactics used. The literature review in social science research brings to the researcher the extant knowledge about a field, topic or discipline, what theories or concepts have been previously applied, some of the applicable and current research methods, controversies and debates that exist, clashes of evidence and key contributors- protagonists and antagonists on certain issues or topics. Hence, to achieve the stated research aims and objectives as well as answer the research questions, the researcher ought to have a clear methodological pathway. It is important to point out that concepts used in research methods like methodology, strategy, design and case study have by themselves become a focus of huge intellectual debate and controversy. For example, Cresswell (2014) identifies three methodologies as qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods but Bryman (2008) refers to the same terms qualitative and quantitative as research strategies. Regardless of such differences, process, literature, methods etc., remain invaluable to social science research.

Social science research is also premised on research designs or plan outlines of the process on how the researcher will be conducting the study which includes the method to be used, data to be gathered, where, how, and from whom. Research designs vary by field and by the question being investigated. Bryman (2008) suggests that assumptions about research conducted invariably influence the research process and that is why the scientific approach follows the formulation of a hypothesis to be tested. Hypothesis testing is often referred to as epistemological which means that a phenomenon influences the research process in which

society is viewed as being composed of social factors stimulated by behaviour, beliefs, history, traditions, values.

The interpretivist epistemology captures views of scholars who have been critical of the application of the natural science model to the study of the social world. They have been influenced by different intellectual traditions. They also share a view that the subject of the social scientist, that is people and their institutions are quite different from that of the natural sciences. They suggest that the study of the social world requires a different logic of research procedure and process that shows or reflects the uniqueness of humans as opposed to objects or the natural order (Bryman, 2016; Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). Tourism at the Victoria Falls can be perceived as an object or objects that emphasises natural features of this tourist resort- the waterfall, devil's cataract, gorges, fauna, flora and infrastructure. Furthermore, epistemology assumes that we cannot separate ourselves from what we know. The researcher and the object of investigation are linked such that who we are and how we understand the world is a central part of how we understand ourselves, others and the world.

The critical question would be whether these objects have a life of their own bracketing out social actors or an independent existence outside of social actors or that they can only assume and start to have meaning and significance with the inclusion of social actors. For example, over the past 50 years many assumptions on tourism development in Zimbabwe are generated from media reports and built around political controversies mainly between the Zanu PF, Zimbabwe government and that of the Conservatives or Labour in the United Kingdom. Furthermore, the British Foreign office has from time to time legitimately issued security alerts about safety concerns on travel to Zimbabwe providing a subtle narrative on perceptions of the country and its tourist sector as being prone to political instability and violence.

Many tourists, tour operators and airlines often base their decisions to include Zimbabwe influenced by powerful media houses and advisories from their governments. The international mainstream media houses, both electronic and print, for example the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)- television and radio, and print media- The Times among others. Under these circumstances, this research asks why- 50 years on Zimbabwe especially Victoria Falls still has a functioning tourism sector despite perceptions of protracted fragility? In addition to epistemological considerations, ontological issues concerning objectivism, constructionism to do with organisations and cultures are also important to social science



research because they deal with the values of research, ethical considerations and how research can be conducted. The ontological focus and implementation involved representatives from stakeholders in the tourism sector with different worldviews about Victoria Falls. Ontology - assumes that reality as we know it is constructed intersubjectively through the meanings and understandings developed socially and experientially.

In the social sciences, social reality has a meaning for people and hence human actions become meaningful for people when they act based on meanings that they attribute to their acts and to those of others. For example, across the world, tourism can be understood to be a leisure activity not only by individuals but by a whole community. Therefore, social scientists have a task to gain access to people's common sense of thinking or collective thinking about social phenomenon and hence to interpret their action and their social world. For instance, tourists can share their experiences with each other and influence each other about tourist resorts like the Niagara or Victoria Falls thereby gaining a common thinking about different and specific social phenomenon and once the researcher obtains this thinking he or she can interpret that thinking from their point of view using concepts of his or her discipline. Concepts of relevance in this study include tourism development, the politics and fragility around it, tourism policy, problems associated with the sector and resilience.

Based on society's common knowledge about social phenomenon, social scientists claim legitimacy to phenomenology regarding objectivity and neutrality as researchers. Resonating with Bryman's empathetic understanding of the social phenomenon. In providing reflexivity, the researcher must be aware of biases that may impact the study. The researcher recruits' participants narration that are knowledgeable of the culture for data collection by conducting audio and video interviews, field notes, and surveys; then transcribing and interpreting the data into contextual data. From Bryman (2005) point of view suggest that narrative critical analysis entails varied connectivity in people's accounts of the past, present, future events, and state affairs in a very holistic sense.

Bryman's definition of this approach captures many facets of the research problem and research question of this study. It brings together an understanding of the research topic in its totality from the perspectives of several stakeholders affording many voices to contribute to understanding of a given social phenomenon. In a similar vein, Roberts and Wilson (2002) adds that narrative analysis is an examination of stories of lived experiences and events or

stories that recount peoples' lives (Bryman 2016). Indeed, narrative inquiry is utilized to acquire a deeper understanding in which individuals organize and derive meaning from events (Polkinghorne, 1995) by studying the impact of social structures on an individual and how that relates to identity, intimate relationships, and family (Frost, 2011). In this context, the researcher plays a central role as the leading tool for extracting the meaning and telling of the historical experience(s) of the event as observed by the researcher in the subjects of natural environment.

### **3.2.1 History as an academic discipline**

History as an academic discipline is about knowledge that deals with the interpretation of the past in historical research. Historical research is defined as the process of investigating past events systematically to provide an account of happenings in the past. Galgano et al (2008) define historical research as an interpretation of the past based on the weight of the available evidence. While Berg (2000) define historical research as flowing and dynamic explanation or description of past events which include an interpretation of events to recapture implications, personalities and ideas that have influenced these events. According to Berg (2000) the important aims for conducting historical research are: reveal or uncover the unknown; to answer questions which have yet been answered; to search and identify the relationship of past happenings and their links with the present; to record and assess past activities and achievements of individuals, agencies and institutions; and to assist in the understanding of human culture. Furthermore, the historical research help researchers to learn from the past (Moore, Monaghan and Hartman, 1997). There are several steps expected of a researcher in carrying out historical research.

To undertake a historical research firstly, the researcher identification of a researchable phenomenon that involves reading relevant literature, listening to current views about the phenomenon and reflecting on the researcher's interest before choosing a specific time period, person, phenomena or era related to the focus of the study. Secondly, the development of hypotheses or research questions and identification of a theoretical perspective that will guide the process of data collection and results interpretation of the historical occurrences. Thirdly, the most time-consuming and labour-intensive part data exploration and collection stage. Fourthly, evaluation of the validity and reliability of data, and the analysis of evidence gathered from each source and lastly the writing of the report in which findings are described along with interpretations and detailed supportive evidence (Jovita, 2015). The task of the

historical research is to locate and interrogate appropriate sources for the reconstruction of an era. Therefore, it is important to recognize the different sources used by historians and the value which can be placed upon them. The major types of sources recognized by historians can be classified as primary sources which included original handwritten documents, early copies of original documents, letters, diaries, and book manuscripts; printed documents, published books, personal documents, private documents, government documents, public documents; pictures, photographs and film; archaeological evidence; statistical data derived from documents and oral history evidence. An oral history consists of gathering personal reflections of events and their causes and effects from one individual or several individuals (Plummer, 1983). Oral history defined as a method of conducting historical research through recorded interviews between a narrator with personal experience of historically significant events and an interviewer with the goal of adding to the historical record. As a primary source, oral history is not intended to present a final, verified, or objective narrative of events, or a comprehensive history of a place, such as Victoria Falls. It is a spoken account that reflects opinion offered by the narrator, and as such it is subjective. Oral histories may be used together with other primary sources like archival data used in this study as well as secondary sources to gain understanding and insight into history.

McMahan (1994) specifically notes that the intersubjective of person-to-person nature of oral history is contained in both verbal and nonverbal communication channels. The interviewee and interviewer use both types of behaviour improvisationally and in nonpredictable ways to coordinate and negotiate two separate worldviews about historical events in the past (McMahan, 1994). Oral history is part of the tradition of hermeneutics. Hermeneutics is a subdiscipline within philosophy that addresses how one both understands and interprets one's lifeworld, that is, one's subjective and dynamically changing understanding of the objects and conditions of the world. The other area of data comes from secondary sources that provide interpretations and make judgements about primary sources. The use of newspapers from are classified in this study as primary research while some disciplines might label them as secondary source.

Monaghan & Hartman (2000) provide four approaches to historical research including: qualitative approach is exploration for a story construed from a range of printed or written evidence and the resultant history is arranged chronologically and presented as a factual tale and the sources; quantitative approach where the text itself is the object of scrutiny that uses

published works as its data and subjects them to careful analyses that ordinarily include both the qualitative and quantitative aspects; content analysis and oral history which focuses on living memory of personal recollections of events from individuals via audio and video recording that gives respondents a natural and effective environment to provide a reciprocal interchange between interviewee and the researcher.

The researcher analyses the participants' stories and then 'restory' them into a framework that makes sense. Restorying is the process of reorganizing the stories into some general type of framework. This framework may consist of gathering stories, analysing them for key themes of the story as well as time, place, plot and rewriting the stories to place them within a chronological sequence (Creswell, 2000). During the process of restorying, the researcher provides a causal link among ideas. Cortazzi (1993) suggests that the chronology of narrative research, with an emphasis on sequence, sets narrative apart from other fields of research. One aspect of the chronology is that the stories have a beginning, a middle, and an end, may consist of past, present, and future ideas, involve conflict, struggle and the predicament resolved in some fashion (Carter, 1993; Clandinin and Connelly, 2000). For example, the first encounter of Victoria Falls (*mosi a tunya*) by European missionaries, traders, hunters and traders provides us with a concrete example of how the narrative approach works.

The natural environment around the Victoria Falls was already inhabited by the Tonga ethnic group of Zimbabwe despite claims by whites of the place having been 'empty' due to depopulating ethnic violence. Extant narratives inform us that it was once full of all kinds of friendly people and dangerous flora and fauna. Inquisitive early whites asked: who lives here, do they eat people, will they kill me, who made this might wonder, what are the local beliefs, cultures, chiefs, myths, fears, religion, and the sacrifices. Fast forwarding this to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century making money out of a natural wonder through tourism became the dominant story or narrative over shadowing everything else, pretty much. In fact, the narrative turn in social science emerged in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. This development constituted a critical reaction to the privileging objective accounts of society by qualitative researchers who considered themselves separate from those societies and cultures. The narrative turn signalled in contrast the increasing celebration of reflexive, subjective, first person, culturally engaged real-life stories which aim for connection with readers rather than pedagogy (Grant, 2015). This is based on the idea that storytelling creates, rather than reflects reality and that subjectivity is a resource rather than an irritant. Social theory through semi-structured

interviews guides individuals to provide narrative templates for living and promoting the values of social activism, social justice and economic development (Grant, 2015). As a qualitative researcher engaged in narrative critical inquiry and with twenty one year's work and lived experience in the tourism sector in a prime London location, the researcher was a foremost instrument for researching tourism development in Zimbabwe not only because of easy access to various forms of documents for analysis such as yearly reports for example, but also personal work diaries that were a minefield of tourism information. To facilitate such an interpretation, the researcher employs ethics and deploys field notes, interviews, autobiographies, and photos of the human experience and provide context to develop a far much deeper, richer understanding for the audience or readership. With regards to ethical consideration, a research involving people should demonstrate awareness of the implications of research to people's lives- privacy and human rights among others. Ethical considerations remain important in all kinds of research including empirical research which focuses on the use of empirical evidence gaining knowledge by means of direct and indirect observation or experience.

### **3.2.2 Why qualitative research**

Overall, qualitative data best suited this study of Victoria Falls because it appears in words more than numbers collected in a variety of ways including interviews, documents, tape recordings and processed before use by transcribing, typing and editing (Miles and Huberman, 1984). Miles and Huberman (1984) define qualitative research as research that uses participant observation or case study which results in a narrative descriptive analysis of a phenomenon such as Victoria Falls. Approaches to data collection analysis are numerous representing a large diverse range of theoretical and disciplinary perspectives (Guest, et al, 2012). A theoretical or philosophical foundation provides a framework for enquiring about Victoria Falls tourism. Denzin and Lincoln (2004) comment that qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the real world. It contains sets of interpretative material practices that makes the world visible. These practices transform the world turning it into series of representations including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs and recordings and memos to the researcher. Therefore, the qualitative research study situates study material in their natural environment and interprets the phenomena in terms of its meaning people bring to them (Guest, et al, 2012). Qualitative research is oriented towards analysing concrete case studies in their specific, temporal and local context particularity starting from peoples' expressions and activities (Flick, 2006). Together with context, locality

is a key concept in researching Victoria Falls tourism. This is because it enhances the adoption of the case study strategy by providing for both spatial and theoretical perspectives bringing the different aspects of the model of investigation together. There is much relevance in locality-oriented research because the examination of national and international tourism development alone often results in superficial findings. Focusing on small-scale sub-national localities allows more for an evaluation of specific changes and continuities on the ground over time and space. The concept of the locality has as a result emerged as one of the most popular ideas in social science research (Agarwal, 2002). In this regard, localities like Victoria Falls are defined as places, communities of diverse individuals and livelihoods, groups and social interest in both time and space. These are unique and distinctive because of various local and specific factors. However, not everyone agrees on the merits of locality.

The French philosopher Foucault opposed the idea of emphasising locality arguing that phenomenon, processes, and structures of history are always fragmented by geography, that is, things turn out differently in different places. However, observations discussed above support the significance of examining tourism development under situations of fragility and resilience down to the local level with Victoria Falls as a case study. This is despite concerns raised by some scholars suggesting that the study of locality is in practice merely case study research. As demonstrated by Flick's (2006) work, it makes more sense to choose inductive research strategies over deductive methodologies because theoretically they offer sound ground on which the theoretical choices applied in this local research are underpinned. A qualitative approach allows detailed contextual analysis of key national tourism development policies applied from 1965 to 2015. Four broad political eras identified in chapter one: (i) 1965-1980: UDI era; (ii) 1980-1990: 'socialist' period; (iii) 1990-2000: Esap and political instability; and (iv) 2000-2015: era of economic hardships and continued political violence.

The Victoria Falls tourism analysis highlights how the distinct historical contexts of state involvement shape the present and future characteristics of tourism development. Qualitative research literature recommends researchers to align the model of inquiry to research aims, objectives and questions (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Crotty, 2003) in a methodical way. Methodology entails developing or constructing of an investigation using different instruments. These methods ensured adequate dialogue between the researcher and those with whom they interacted in order to collaboratively construct a meaningful reality with meanings emerging from the research process.

### **3.2.3 The research strategy**

According to Oates (2006) it is possible to use different research strategies linked to a philosophical paradigm. For example, case study research is mostly linked to interpretive. Qualitative research and case studies complement each other. Drawing much on the case study literature, Yin (2009) defines case study as an empirical enquiry that investigates a modern-day phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context to provide understandings through analysis. In this study, Victoria Falls is the primary focus of attention for tourism development and is crucial for the achievement of this goal. Yin (2003) identifies five types of case studies: critical, extreme and unique, representative or typical, revelatory and longitudinal cases. All five can be used in combination. This study privileges the representative or typical and longitudinal cases centred on fifty years of tourism development in Zimbabwe. Yin refers to the representative as exemplifying and it captures existing conditions of an everyday situation and is normally chosen for exemplifying a broader category of a case such as Victoria Falls from a global perspective. Also, the representative case is chosen for its suitable context for asking research questions to be answered influenced by various theories such as the relationship between fragility and resilience, politics and tourism, and, policy and tourism. The longitudinal case study affords the opportunity for tourism development to be studied at intervals or different junctures or situations- peacetime, wartime or sanction times, colonial, post-colonial or during economic and political crises.

In a case study the researcher explores a social phenomenon identified as the case restricted by time and activity, for example a programmed event, institution, or social group and collects detailed information through a multitude of data collection procedures over a constant period (Creswell, 2007). The case study provides an analytical or descriptive account of the entities' experiences and behavior kept by the researcher through field notes, or semi-structured interviews (Patton, 2002). Also, case study research is used when the research topic has a broad definition that cover several variables. As such the case study relies on multiple sources of evidence (Bryman, 2016). In the context of Victoria Falls, specific issues or themes to investigate include infrastructure, tourist arrivals, national development, dimensions of government policies and national politics.

Studying a case also poses challenges since it involves more changeable variables. Furthermore, some approaches are more suitable than others. The choice of an approach will

depend not only on the context but also on the research objective. According to Bryman, when a predominant research strategy is a qualitative case study, the relationship between theory and research is inductive – a qualitative method of content analysis that researchers use to develop and identify themes by studying and analysing documents, recordings and other printed and verbal material. However, in the social sciences, the case study research methodology approach has often been viewed as a weak and lacking rigour because of purposeful sampling procedure. Furthermore, lack of flexibility in data collection, data analysis, and reliability, and validity, credibility of findings and generalisations of case study research remain controversial (Simons, 1996). Supporters of the single case study fight back and say that it is not the purpose of the single case study to generalise in the first place.

For this study, the representation, longitudinal and single cases are good to combine as the researcher is in touch with the field of tourism over many years. Continuous and real data collection can be enriched by retrospective interviewing and archival document analysis. Of central concern is the quality of theoretical reasoning behind the single case study the researcher engages with to interpret the collected data. This generalisation places case study research in the inductive tradition of theory and research. For example, evidence for this study is derived from archival research to generate new knowledge. However, one major problem arising out of the case study research is that of drawing analytic generalisations from the findings. Yin (2003) and Bryman (2004) point out such limitations notably from single case studies that aim to generalise research outcomes beyond the immediate case study. The single case study is limited by the lack of a direct replication of findings on the one hand and weakening of external validity on the other (Yin, 2003).

Single case studies have also attracted criticism regarding scepticism that might arise concerning the quality of empirical research carried out. Those in favour of multi-case strategies suggest they are stronger designs (Yin, 2003). This is because two or more case studies are thought to produce more compelling, valid and robust results. Nonetheless, the single case study approach has been evaluated as being effective on central research issues of context and locality in comparison to other case study designs. Single case studies provide a narrative and context with unique features, events, relationships and situations (Stake, 2000). The study of Victoria Falls has no identical social, economic and political settings. This uniqueness gives rise to the problem of comparative generalisations or representativeness in resort-based tourism. The situational nature of social phenomenon lends much credence to the



context specific case study strategy with the veracity of findings unverifiable from different findings in comparative cases carried out in resorts like Iwagasu and Niagara Falls.

The major aim of the single case study strategy is to provide precise description of a specific case with no obstructions. Yin (2003) suggests that the single case strategy tackles research agendas that cannot be met by multiple case studies. Drawing generalisations and comparison at any rate are not always the goal of every qualitative case study research. (Flick, 2006). The single case study literature reiterates that the specific case should be the focus since comparative case studies also draw from the single case (Stake, 2000). Multiple case studies draw attention away from the specific case and context emphasising comparison while uniqueness and complexities are compromised (Flick, 2006). The role of the case study method in research becomes more prominent when issues regarding development, Gulsecen and Kubat (2006); society, Grassel and Schirmer (2006) and community-based problems (Johnson, 2006), such as environmental impacts, poverty and unemployment are under study. The single case study strategy literature also acknowledges the practicalities of carrying out case study research. For example, limited time and limited resources constrain the selection of a research strategy (Yin, 2003). A case study can accomplish many of the same goals as other methods as it can be exploratory (create new knowledge), constructive (solve some problems), or confirmatory (test a hypothesis with empirical evidence) (Yin, 2013). The case study can also use either a primary (the researcher collects the data) or secondary (the researcher uses someone else's data) approach (Yin, 2013). The advantages of using a case study will allow the researcher to collect detailed richer data in great depth than can be found through other experimental designs. According to Bell (1987) the great strength of a case study method is that it allows the researcher to concentrate on a specific situation, identify and focus on an inquiry around an instance. The case study uses mainly qualitative data and is responsible for intense study. Also, the case study is valuable in analysing the life of a social unit, formulation of a hypothesis for further studies, increase knowledge and is a comprehensive method of data collection. The next section explores the research data collection methods deployed to gather the essential tourism information for this single case local study.

### **3.3 Data collection**

Maxwell (2005) suggest that data collection is an integral part of any research. This section discusses how data was gathered for the case study, especially documented information collected from the NAZ, Bulawayo Archive and Zimbabwe Parliament Library. Data collection for this study was gathered from archival and semi structured interviews. Evidence collected from interviews is supplemented by data gathered from archives. The National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ) was established in 1935 by an Act of Parliament and located in Harare Zimbabwe's capital city. It is a repository of a wide range of research materials in the social sciences including tourism. It also stores the nation's documented history. The NAZ has an open access system for researchers from all over the world. However, international scholars must first apply and receive accreditation to use the NAZ.

In semi structured interview sessions, the interviewer generally has a framework of themes to be explored (Holland, 2013; Farstad, 2012). This technique is used to collect qualitative data by setting up a situation (the interview) that permits a respondent the time and scope to talk about their knowledge on social phenomenon, a process linked to the interpretive approach. To the researcher the main advantage of the semi structured interviews was that they were relatively few, cheaper to manage and led to other data sources and other key informants. To allow immediate link to the subject matter without having to flip through the pages to the reference at the end of the thesis the researcher used footnotes in the findings. Also, some of the archival documents included multiple newspaper columns, charts and tables and using footnotes in pages offered continuity and avoided interruption of text thereby containing the quoted or paraphrased material. In the next section the types of data collected and the way it was collected is outlined in detail.

#### **3.3.1 Archival data**

Much of the archival data collected consisted largely of documented information. We learn from Scott (1990) that a document is a written text or writing, or the making of symbols representing words- photographs, maps and drawings. May (1993) comments that the nature of the past, social, political and economic relations are exposed in documents and symbols to enable us to reflect on contemporary issues. Atkinson and Coffey (1997) refer to documents and symbols as social facts which are produced, shared, and used in socially organised ways. Gibson (2016) states that documentary research is a process of using documents and symbols as a means of social investigation which involves exploring records produced by individuals

and organisations. Gibson (2016) further suggest that documents make a clear global feature of social life used by researchers as an important empirical research. Such documents include letters, diaries, maps, minutes from meetings, social registers, government reports, emails and posters. Documents help researchers to gain detailed insights into people's lives and workings of organisations and tourist resorts. Gibson (2016) expands on documentary method research demonstrating that they can be either analytically focused or analytically filtered. Analytically focused documentary research involves creating strategies for generating data that is relevant to the research questions being asked. The interview method research is an analytically focused method because it entails the creation of a discourse designed through engagement of two or more parties with specific questions being asked and the responses given to answer the research questions and data is structured explicitly to answer the research questions (Gibson 2016). Achieving an appropriate selection of data involves a large amount of analytic skills and focus. Analysis is a lived part of working through the documents making sense of it as a key part of lived analysis (Gibson, 2016).

Gibson (2016) offers another distinction in documentary research relevant to analysis of primary or secondary documents. The term primary refers to data generated by the researcher or participant or another person relevant to the research question such as a historical figure. Primary data is first-hand as it reflects the researcher's practices. Secondary data refers to commentaries or claims made by other researchers. However, in document research it is common to distinguish primary documents from secondary documents with the latter taking the form of newspaper articles, academic work or reports or commentary on events on which they report. This might be a disadvantage to researchers as they may ignore potential sources of information that maybe central to the research. Primary data such as newspaper reports can be fundamental in informing researchers of events or lead researchers to think in new ways. Gibson (2016) states that secondary data can become primary data. For example, the researcher may discover news coverage of local international newspapers as means of understanding sanctions imposed onto a country by another. Those articles will be treated as data, as a form of politicised discourse that is a resource. What are secondary data to one study maybe primary to another. In this study newspaper articles are used as primary data.

On visiting the archives, it became evident that it was the best and easier method to access tourism data by titles of different articles. For example, tourism data was searched and identified in various documents using relevant guiding topics like: Tourism Recovery from

Sanctions, : Big Growth Plans; Travel Costs, Assessing Future Traffic; Spectacular Rise; New Target for Tourist Industry. The first step and precursor to finding documents from an insider perspective was to look through annual reports produced by the local tourism board in the UDI and independence period on the above themes. Such annual reports included data on government support, board meeting minutes, annual statistics, financial contributions, plans, marketing events and financial budgets. The selection of documentary data was done according to how well the data related to the research themes of infrastructure, tourist traffic and development.

The themes were divided chronologically to examine state fragility and resilience at Victoria Falls 1965-1980; Tourism development in Zimbabwe 1980-1990; Developments at Victoria Falls 1990-2010 and Tourism Development at Victoria Falls 2010 -2015. There were 91 articles selected by the most appropriate headline title that matched themes. These headline titles were located on the contents page of reports with inside pages providing details tourism information. To gain an understanding of the fragility-resilience nexus of the tourism sector and tourism development other sources of data included parliamentary reports and the tourism letters by the various Ministers of Tourism like Van der Byl and Victoria Chitepo. It took a significant amount of time and work to find appropriate materials for the research. For example, reading the minutes of the Ministries or Tourism Board meetings, the researcher discovered policy information documents outlining the mission statement of the organisations, objectives or government proposals, joint ventures with the private sector for tourism development especially at Victoria Falls.

The second step was to look through magazines and newspapers supplementary insets on travel and tourism which produced literature on tourism around the country and included regional and international tourism data. Also, the Tourism Bureau reports, and Rhodesia Calls papers provided statistical and financial tourism information. These gave insights into the way local stakeholders worked in collaboration with regional and international tour operators and airlines. Closer analysis showed how airlines would accept Zimbabwe tourists without visas or passports to counter sanctions imposed on Rhodesia. They also showed how the United States of America, United Kingdom and Portugal helped the Smith regime to flourish under UN sanctions.

Archival documents from the NAZ helped the researcher to understand UDI tourism and to find out whether past tourism proceeded in a random way or was guided by some policies. Much of the archival data which was utilised for this study comprised of documents of a diverse nature. Examples of documents gathered from the NAZ included: newspapers (*The Herald* and *The Chronicle*), annual tourism reports from the Rhodesia and Zimbabwe Tourism Boards; letters, government correspondences; tourism conference materials and tourism annual statistics from the Central Statistical Office (CSO). The NAZ has an open access system for all researchers local and foreign from all over the world. However, international scholars must first apply and receive accreditation to use the NAZ public library. The situation is different for Zimbabwean scholars who do not require a research permit to use the archive. Both Zimbabwean and international scholars are required to register and pay a daily nominal fee of US\$1 to enter and use the well secured archive. A team of archivists assist scholars or visitors in ordering the research material they need as well as bringing them onto a designated numbered desk allocated per researcher or visitor.

Other services available to readers include scanning and photocopying of materials done on their behalf by archive staff at an exorbitant cost of a (US\$1 per copy) to the reader and stamped for authentication. Archival policy discourages duplication of stored materials fearing damage or wear and tear, encouraging notetaking in pencil instead. Archival services take two to three hours before the reader can receive requested archival materials- four pieces at a time per researcher that can be kept overnight in secured lockers in the archive reading room. Researchers are not allowed to use personal gadgets like smart phones to copy materials to safeguard the integrity of reading material. Only pencils and notebooks are allowed into the reading library monitored by cameras and staff. The researcher chose the archival documents centres in Harare and Bulawayo as a strategy to locate relevant archival data for tourism using themes to search relevant materials. Some of the themes asked to the archivists in the search for archival data include, hotel construction, tourist arrivals, publicity on tourism, tourist transport, airport construction, tourism policy, Victoria Falls etc. Such information guided the archivists and researcher and was used to gather information in a chronological way starting with the UDI sources that carried stories on the tourism themes of interest. They also had tourism related information in agricultural, trade and tourism reports, government and private memoranda, public and private newspapers. The researcher's staggered visits to the archives and interview work as follows: April, June and December 2015, June and October 2016, August 2017 and April to June 2018. The visits were used to search and gather different

information in different periods. The data provided important knowledge on issues like construction work at Victoria Falls, conservation efforts at Victoria Falls, hotels' development and international tourist arrivals.

Materials like The Herald, Moto magazine, the Rhodesia Agricultural Journal, books, photographs, letters and private company records such as those of the London Rhodesia Company had rich tourism documents. For example, the researcher would order a box containing newspapers covering a year of The Herald, The Chronicle or Financial Gazette. The researcher went through the newspapers month by month searching and collecting relevant tourism articles related to the tourism themes, photocopying and studying them thereafter. The same procedure was applied in finding research materials from other sources, tourism ministry, tourism boards, government papers and publications. Other types of information gathered related to tourism resorts, their management, funding, the work of tourist boards and the role of the public and private sectors.

Other empirical data was found using themes like sanctions and tourists, tourism during the war and tourism at independence. This was done to find the relevant data for this study and was achieved mostly with the guidance of archive staff with responsibilities to assist researchers to locate the desired data and collecting it from the repository rooms. At times one batch of information led to further important findings identified by the archive staff. Such materials situated this study in a historiographical as well as thematic context.

Much of the tourism data was collected and preserved by the Southern Rhodesia Publicity Bureau and its successor the ZTA. Archival research has several distinct advantages over other research methods as the data is already collected which saves the researcher time and resources. Of importance were the local newspapers like Africa Calls, The Herald, the Independent, Financial Gazette, Standard, The Guardian and the Times. Zimbabwe's private periodicals; Parade, Horizon and Moto provided insights on the politics and problems around tourism in Zimbabwe and the world. Such sources provided data on tourism development, sanctions basting opportunities and resilience under UDI, funding and tourist arrivals.

In Table 3.1 categories of themes were collected by photocopying all the relevant pages containing a certain theme and placing them in their own file. The pages in each file were then analysed in greater detail and sub themes were apparent and eventually listed in a table for easy access and referencing. The Harare and Bulawayo archives also provided a collection of

various magazines like Africa Calls from Zimbabwe- an official magazine of the Zimbabwe Tourist Board (ZTB) edited by tourism writers such as Clive Wilson. Africa Calls provided some of the best tourism information regarding the study's research themes related to ZTB, ministry and government meetings and policies. The researcher was able to select the appropriate themes by going through each of the several yearly magazines, first looking at titles and source and creating categories from the titles- see Table 3.2 below.

**Table 3.1 Themes and sample data/sources collected from the NAZ 1965-1980**

Themes	Data collected	Source /Files /Year
Statistics	Visitors to Victoria Fall  Tourism arrivals at Victoria Falls	NAZ, Folder M/D01: National Parks and Wildlife Management Brach, Bulawayo Report, 1965. The Chronicle February 1965
Policy Casino development	Zambia to run Falls Trust' Casino opening	NAZ: The Rhodesia Herald 18 January 1966. The Rhodesia Herald 30 May 1966.
Leisure Activities	Casino gambling	NAZ: The Rhodesia Herald 17 January 1967
Sanctions/resilience  Tourism development  Holidays  Development/ facelift  War	Tourism recovers from sanctions. Tourism development  Easter holidays Victoria Falls Hotel facelift Capture during war  Development – Falls Boom Victoria Falls water flow  'Falls observation tower idea attacked' More Falls flight as demand  Falls caravan park Critics on Falls Caravan Park	NAZ: Rhodesia Herald 12 Jan 1968; Rhodesia National Tourist Board Report, December 1968  The Rhodesia Herald 12 January 1968. The Rhodesia Herald 9 March 1967;  Memo dated 8 May 1968, Bulawayo City Council Minutes. Folder MMO7, Government memoranda dated 10 June 1968 Rhodesia Herald 20 June 1968  The Rhodesia Herald September 3, 1968 The Rhodesia Herald 24 <sup>th</sup> October 1968

Victoria Falls Bridge	Partnership agreement between Zambia and Zimbabwe and sharing of cost	The Rhodesia Herald, 12 January 1968; Bulawayo City Council Memo, 23 May 1968.
Infrastructure Development	Falls Garage to cost £80,000' '£155,900 Falls Airport'	Rhodesia Herald 28 September 1968 Hansard parliamentary debates, 1969
Attacks, Air transport increase	Attack on Air Rhodesia	
Tourism development	Rhodesian hotels are expanding'	Rhodesia Herald 27 February 1969 Rhodesia Herald 9 March 1969 NAZ, Rhodesia National Tourist Board Report,
Government involvement	Government encourages building of hotels	December 1970 Rhodesia Herald holiday and travel, June 24, 1970 NAZ: Rhodesia National Tourist Board Report, December 1971.
Hotel expansion Environmental protection	Protecting the environment Environmental protection	NAZ, Government report, third Rhodesia Tourist Conference, 1972; NAZ, Rhodesia National Tourist Board Report, December 1973. NAZ, P. J. Evans, Deputy Director of the DNPWM, Rhodesia, the Victoria Falls, 1972 Conference and Victoria Falls Report submitted to the DNPWM in 1972, Commission of inquiry to assess and report on the environmental situation at the Falls; NAZ, Rhodesia National Tourist Board Report, December 1975. NAZ, Rhodesia National Tourist Board Report, December 1979

**Source: Researcher's own generated from archival data sources**



**Table 3.2 Themes and sources extracted from Africa Calls Magazine**

<b>Africa Calls</b>	<b>Article</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Theme</b>
July-August 1980, Vol. 123	Air flights to Hwange and Victoria Falls	Infrastructure	Air transport
March-April 1981, Vol 127	Hub of unique tourist area  Economy expands after independence	Economic	Tourism contributions
March-April 1982, Vol 132	Rainbow Hotel  Victoria Falls	Infrastructure	hotel
May-June 1982, Vol. 133	An outstanding year for tourism	Carrying capacity	Statistics
July-August 1982, Vol 134	WTO conference at Vic Falls	Conference	Internal and External stakeholders
March-April 1983, Vol 138	Victoria Falls Craft Village	Local participation	Culture

**Source: Researcher's own generated from the Africa Calls Magazines**

The researcher had access to data from other areas apart from the Harare and Bulawayo NAZ, utilising the Zimbabwe Parliament Library, Zimbabwe Embassy Public Library, London; Ministry of Tourism and Hospitality records, the ZTA archives and personal diaries. The interrogation of archival data occurred in conjunction with semi-structured in-depth interviews with 10 professionals from Zimbabwe. The interviews were used to validate or to triangulate the archival data (Jones, 2010). By combining archival data with semi-structured in-depth interviews, the researcher was able to explore tourism development at Victoria Falls and in Zimbabwe more generally from different perspectives (Jones, 2010).

### **3.3.2 Semi-structured interviews**

In this session the rationale and explanation for the use of semi-structured interviews is outlined as well as a critique of its use. The challenges with analysing each research instrument is that it inevitably makes it sound like a modest entity designed to solicit data which in turn will help to answer the research questions of the study. The overall purpose and rationale for using semi-structured interviews are threefold. The interviews were designed firstly to produce information about tourism development in Zimbabwe and especially at Victoria Falls.

The interviews contributed to exploring and reviewing of tourist areas under UDI and independence up to 2015. Secondly the interviews provided an opportunity for the informants to discuss and reflect on their own experiences working in the tourism industry in Zimbabwe and especially at Victoria Falls. Individuals had the chance to share what they liked most about the tourism industry, their views on how the industry had survived challenges- fragilities and the resilience of the sector.

Analysis of the collected data provided the means of evaluating and understanding the individual's role and feelings about working in the tourism industry. Also, individuals had the opportunity of sharing and reflecting on their personal history careers, with a view to that experience and time in the industry valued and acknowledged before going on to reflect on their feelings about the sector. Hence the semi-structured interviews were judged as appropriate for this study on the basis that they elicited wider knowledge, perceptions and beliefs of selected respondents substantially informing this qualitative case study research. The semi-structured interviews for this study were staggered into three phases for better time management divided between study, family, work and travels.

The first stage involved collection of strategic and knowledgeable informants at tourism events, conferences, seminars, meetings and workshops regularly attended by the researcher on an annual basis. The second segment included seeking authority and permission for face to face semi-structured interviews by formalising consent letter Appendix 1 while respecting laid down research ethics. The involvement and willingness of informants to participate in interviews was construed as important and showed interest on the research study. The third and last phase included the actual interviews conducted in public places selected by the individual participants themselves for their convenience. The researcher formulated the semi-structured interview questions (see Appendix 2) with a view to solicit research data along thematic lines to enable thematic analysis. Tourism development themes were also deciphered in archival sources, for example: from newspapers articles, past records, (conference, annual reports) letters and audio visual for example photographs, video tapes and audio tapes).

A total of ten interview questions were deemed as adequate to collect the research data. In formulating the questions, it was important to ask why they were appropriate by writing up clear descriptions of why the questions were being asked. They had to connect to the core theories of fragility and resilience, and conceptualising some of the expected responses and data to be collected and its relevance to this study. A good set of questions would help keep

the interviews and interviewees on track. The questions were also fashioned with the input of research colleagues at workshops and presentations.

All the research questions in Appendix 2 were designed to help the researcher understand the development trajectory of Victoria Falls tourism through situations of fragility and resilience. The questions helped the researcher to extract information from both public and private sector individuals on strategies adopted to promote tourism development in Zimbabwe. The private sector is defined as the part of a country's economic system that is owned, controlled and run by private entities or individuals (IMF Working Paper 2009). Some of the private tourism operators have been in the tourism business for over 50 years, hence, were important in providing long-run information on tourism development in Zimbabwe under the study period. Such questions were useful for investigating changes and continuities over time due to political, economic and social fragilities and resilience capabilities. Also, exploring participants' perceptions, feelings and opinions about tourism development was important in the data gathering phase.

The interviews provided insights not available to researchers seeking rich data illuminating individuals' experiences and attitudes. However, one central drawback is that semi-structured interviews are time-consuming to conduct and analyse the data. Data was collected using semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted with ten tourism practitioners selected please see Table: 3.3 below. The interviews focused upon three themes on situations of fragility, resilience and tourism development. In-depth interviews with 10 professionals explored respondents' accounts of their life experiences during UDI and independent Zimbabwe. The interviews were carried out at various intervals during many fieldwork researches trips to Zimbabwe since 2015.

**Table 3.3: Diverse interview participants and coding**

Target Audience	Sector/Role	Code
Government	Ministry	A10
Zimbabwe Tourism Authority	Manager	A9
National Parks and Wildlife Management	Manager	A8
Academic	University of Zimbabwe	A7

International Organisations	Africa Representative	A6
Non-Governmental Organisation	Tourism Consultant	A5
Restaurants	Manager	A4
Hotels	Senior Management	A3
Harare	Chief Executive	A2
Victoria Falls	Senior Management	A1

**Source: Researcher's own**

### **3.3.2.1 Selection of participants**

The number of participants were determined based on the key people in power and those involved in selected tourism sectors built on their involvement in networks related to tourism, their role and positions. A general criterion was used to select the informants purposefully targeting tourism professionals and stakeholders with both Zimbabwe tourism knowledge and experience. The participants close involvement in the tourism industry, their demographic characteristics such as position and work experience were important. They included representatives from government, tourism authority, national parks wildlife management, academic, hotel manager, head of a tourism organisation, restaurant manager, a chief executive officer and senior Victoria Falls.

The selected participants were those who could best inform the research objectives and questions as well as enhance understanding of the tourism development at Victoria Falls and Zimbabwe more generally. The diverse types of participants helped address key questions of the study from a national, regional, African and international perspective on tourism development. An open mind was kept on reducing the large number of diverse participants due to limitations that might arise from the timescale and resources at the disposal of the researcher. However, the researcher utilised an existing professional network in the tourism industry, the private sector, the country, government and private sector to inform the research on a range of issues. The researcher identified and accessed most of the participants at meetings, workshops and exhibitions both in Zimbabwe and outside the country. From the participants, the researcher captured broader and diverse knowledge on tourism development in Zimbabwe.

The different levels of power, position and influence meant to solicit and provide diverse new data sets on tourism development. Brintnall-Karabelas et al., (2011) suggest that in the field

potential participants who meet initial inclusion criteria can decline research participation. The researcher found significance in interviewing local government officials to access data on the role of domestic, regional and international tourism enabling analysis of issues regarding tourist arrivals, revenues and how Zimbabwe perceived tourism as a tool for development. The importance of such participants was also reflected on issues of environmental management and sustainable tourism development. The Zimbabwe government participated at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in 1992 and became a signatory to the Rio Declaration which committed nations to take collective and individual actions to promote environmentally sustainable development outlined in Agenda 21.

It was acknowledged that there were potential risks to participants contributing to the study because of the political instability in Zimbabwe. There was a chance that some participants might be indirectly identifiable by security agencies monitoring political opponents in Zimbabwe. However, political polarisation had more to do with economic difficulties and unemployment for example than it had with the so called 'tribal' differences or ethnic conflicts. To mitigate these risks the researcher ensured that the research complied with the terms and conditions specified in Zimbabwe and the University of Brighton research requirements. The research adhered to the ethics that aimed to protect participants in research, addressing physical, mental, and integrity related concerns; by fully excluding individuals who expressed fears of being victimised in the event they participated in the study. Full consideration was given to ethical matters with regards to Zimbabwe culture and law. Safety and human rights concern for librarians and other providers of information were fully respected and their identities protected. All sensitive research materials (letters, photos, audio tapes and videos) were treated with full confidentiality. Effort was made to find, locate and select tourism officials who lived in Zimbabwe during the colonial period for interviewing to gain oral insights into the tourism sector during UDI. All the senior professionals selected currently live in Zimbabwe and abroad and were easily accessible through social media and online organisations. Zimbabwe has several academic institutions situated in many cities and towns. Appendix 3 highlight and illustrate the responses provided by the participants at interviews.

Many of the institutions recognise the role of tourism development in the country and established different courses for research in tourism. Though faced with many challenges the institutions were crucial in relation to references of published information during the colonial

and post-colonial times. Finally, internal and external hotel, restaurant managers and tourism organisations play a central role in the tourism industry as they are major contributors to Gross Domestic Product (GDP). They were selected and interviewed to assess their roles in tourism development and to analyse public, private partner relationship with local government, regional and international stakeholders. Most of the stakeholder participants were approached and invited at meetings, exhibitions and conferences to participate in the study. The selection was not based on personal connections or friendships because such criteria would most likely distort research findings through bias.

### **3.3.2.2 Interview procedure**

Participants were first invited by telephone, email letter, followed with a word of mouth, at exhibitions and by telephone, followed by written emails inviting them to agree or disagree to participate in semi-structured interviews (see Appendices 1 and 2). This was followed by telephone calls to confirm, date, place and time for the interviews. On the day of interview, the respondent, on arrival was greeted, acknowledged, and was given a brief of the research background, advised that participation was voluntary and that they could withdraw participation at any time and were finally asked to complete the consent form, signed it to give permission to use the data anonymously for research reports and presentations. Most interviews lasted one hour on average and in a few cases up to two hours. Participants spoke freely on the topic and provided and raised topics of their own, thus opening for adjustments in the interview process (Patton, 2002). The interviewer allowed minimal interjections and was conscious not to interrupt the flow of the interview. The interviews were recorded and played back to ensure accuracy of statements. The tape-recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim. The transcripts were systematically analysed on a thematic basis.

### **3.4 Data analysis**

The data was interpreted to understand the research context, detect themes of interest or find categories. Using inductive analysis in the research, ‘codes’ or ‘themes’ or ‘categories’ Rogers and McClelland (2011) define categorisation as dividing data into ‘elements’ and then categorising each ‘element’. Data analysis is the most difficult and most crucial aspect of qualitative research (Basit, 2003). This study followed Spata’s (2003) and Trochim’s (2006) method of data analysis that involve two major steps – cleaning and organising the data for analysis (data preparation) and evaluating the data (descriptive statistics). Most importantly, the thematic approach was chosen as most appropriate for this study to shape its analytic

framework (Charmaz, 2006). Data collected from archives and semi-structured interviews was processed by checking and logging the data to check for accuracy; entering the data into the computer; transforming the data; and developing and documenting a database structure that integrated the various tourism development themes. The descriptive statistics gathered, especially from the Ministry of Tourism annual reports that covered most aspects of tourism development and provided significant research findings were presented as tables affording the researcher with material for qualitative and graphic analysis. Analysing data meant examining information closely to understand it better or discover its meaning and that of the social world. Section 3.4.1 below expands on an understanding of what thematic analysis is all about and how it is linked to coding data explored in sections 3.4.2, 3.4.3 and 3.4.4.

### **3.4.1 Thematic analysis**

The methodological basis of this study was the thematic analysis judged as most appropriate to analysing the qualitative data collected – see section 3.1 above. The thematic analysis is a type of qualitative analysis Boyatzis, (1998). In this study thematic analysis was used to analyse classifications and to present themes, or patterns related to the tourism data gathered. Thematic analysis illustrates the data in detail and deals with diverse topics and subjects through interpretations. It was considered the most appropriate for this study because it suits the use of interpretations on data gathered. It provides a desirable systematic way for data analysis. Thematic analysis allowed the researcher to relate an analysis of the occurrence and frequency of a theme or themes as part of the whole research material. This gave more accuracy and enhanced the research's overall meaning of the research evidence. It also gave an opportunity to understand the potential of any issues more widely (Marks and Yardley, 2004). Namey et al (2008) sum up thematic analysis as moving:

Beyond counting explicit words or phrases and focuses in identifying and describing both implicit and explicit ideas. Codes developed for ideas and themes are then applied or linked to raw data as summary markers for later analysis which may include comparing the relative frequencies of themes or topics within a data set, looking for code concurrence or graphically displaying code relationships (Namey et al, 2008).

Thematic analysis allowed the researcher to determine precisely the relationships between concepts and compare them with the replicated data. By using the thematic analysis there was a strong possibility to link the various concepts and opinions of the interviews and compare these with the data that had been gathered in different situations at different times and from different sources during the research. All possibilities of interpretations were possible.

Thematic analysis is particularly applicable to this qualitative case study research to produce rich explanations of tourism development at Victoria Falls. The table 3.4 below based on Braun and Clarke work provide an outline guide through the six phases of thematic analysis. It is important for the researcher to recognise that qualitative analysis guidelines are not rules, and, following the basic principles, will need to be applied flexibly to fit the research questions and data.

**Table 3.4. Phases of Thematic Analysis**

<b>Phase</b>	<b>Description of the process</b>
1.Familiarising with data	Transcribing data through reading and re-reading the data and noting down initial ideas.
2.Generating initial codes:	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3.Searching for themes:	Collating codes into potential themes and gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4.Reviewing themes:	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts and generate into a thematic map of the analysis.
5.Defining and naming themes:	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report:	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

**Source: Generated from Braun and Clarke (2006).**

### **3.4.2 Coding**

Using thematic analysis, the researcher subdivided the data as well as assigning themes and categories. Devising a category, helps to organise the data in ways which are useful for the



analysis, and how this category will fit into the wider analytic context (Dey, 2003). Codes link locations in the data and sets of concepts or ideas, and they are in that sense empirical devices, which enable the researcher to go beyond the data (Atkinson and Coffey, 1996). Coding is one of the most significant steps taken during data analysis to organise and make sense of textual data (Basit, 2003). Charmaz sees coding as an important link between collecting data and developing theory but also as a connection between empirical reality and the researcher's view of it. In this study data is coded and categorized to highlight themes, problems, issues, concerns and matters of importance relating to fragility and resilience. As Basit points out, coding or categorising the data has an important role in its analysis. The researcher categories are an organising tool and an important part of the research study outcome. A category, however, cannot be created in isolation from the other categories the researcher uses in the analysis.

Basit identifies two analytical procedures to the coding process, though their nature changes with each type of coding. The first focus on making of comparisons, the other to the asking of questions. Codes are very much related to thematic analysis which starts with the researcher noticing and looking for patterns of meaning and issues of potential interest in the data. One of the benefits of thematic analysis is its flexibility. According to Tuckett (2005) writing should begin in phase one, with the jotting down of ideas and potential coding, and continue right through the entire coding/analysis process and applying literature relevant and sensitising subtle features of the data (Tuckett, 2005).

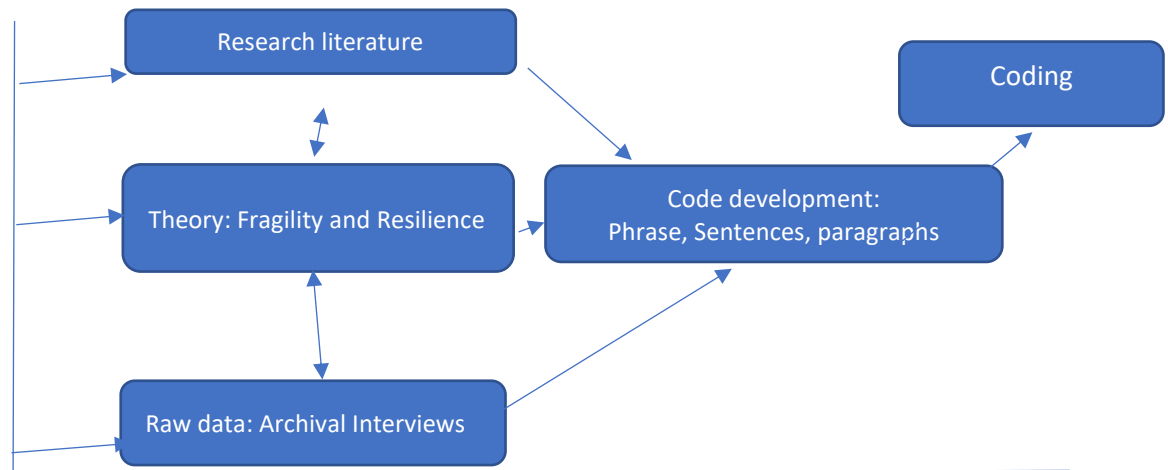
### **3.4.3 Coding data**

This section discusses steps on how a codebook was created for coding interview data from the ten interviews. The analyses of interview data were a multistep to make sense of the interviews through coding data. The common step interview analysis process was used, but there is no established and universally agreed set of coding procedures that can easily be replicated (Saldana, 2009).

Gunby et al, (2011), Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, (2006; Atkinson and Coffey, 1999) are helpful in showing how to create and use a codebook as a means of analysing data. Their work begins with the basic discussion of codes, codebook and coding. They demonstrate how to create a codebook by discussing the development of both theory and data driven codes, relevant for a study like tourism development. In this study, codes are defined as 'tags' or 'labels' for assigning units of sense or meaning to the analytical information compiled during

this study. This initial step in analysing interview data ensured that meaningful labels and codes were assigned to chunks of data in the form of phrases, sentences or paragraphs connected to a specific context or setting. Figure 3.6 below outlines the process used for coding interviews data.

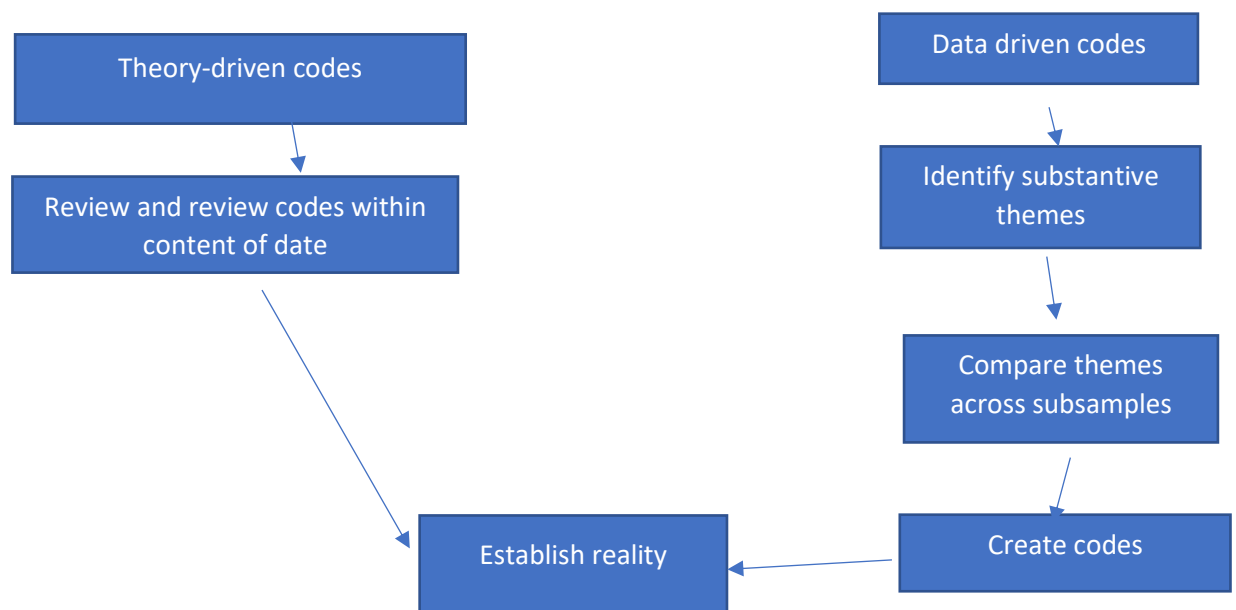
**Figure 3.6 Process of coding data**



**Source: Researcher generated and extracted from DeCuir-Gunby et al, 2011: Coding Data**

Indeed, the code book developed during the research process was the initial and arguably the most important step in the interview analysis see Figure 3.7 below (Gunby et al, 2011, Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006).

**Figure 3.7 Steps for developing a codebook**



**Source: Researcher generated and extracted from DeCuir-Gunby, 2011 Coding Data**

#### **3.4.4 Theory driven codes**

A codebook was created using two areas including theory and data driven codes (DeCuir-Gunby, 2011). In the first place developing theory-driven codes involved three steps: generating the code; reviewing and reviving the code in the context of the data; and determining the reliability of coders and the codes see Figure 3.1 above. Codes were developed from the fragility and resilience theories but also emerged from raw archival and interview data. In most researches' codes are theory or data driven or both (Miles and Huberman, 1984). The development of theory driven codes constantly required the revisiting of theory whereas data driven codes necessitated repeated examination of raw archival and interview data. As a result, code development was a repetitive process.

The codebook developed was a set of codes, definitions and examples used as a guide to help analysing archival and interview data. The codebook definitions and examples were repeatedly revised to gain clearer insights about the archival and interview data. The codebook had details for consistency. It consisted of three components including the code name/label, definition and example, see Table 3.5 and Table 3.6. Coding became an integral part of the archival and interview data analysis process. It was used to assign codes to raw data enabling an engagement with data reduction and simplification. This enabled the expansion of the data to make connections between concepts and converting data into meaningful units through coding connections between ideas and concepts (Miles and Huberman, 1984). Applying codes to raw data enabled the examination of how data supported or contradicted the theories of fragility and resilience guiding this research. The coding process adopted two major levels of coding, i.e. open coding and axial coding. Open coding was the first step necessary to analyse codes through the process of axial coding – which is a higher level of coding that enables the identification of connections existing between codes Miles and Huberman, 1984).

As far as developing theory-driven codes the first step taken in this study was to create codes. In developing these codes, the researcher explored the relationship between fragility and resilience and how these relationships could be captured through codes. At times it was problematic to reduce intricate theories to a few words because in many cases the researcher had to think how best to operationalise abstract concepts. The second step of developing theory-driven codes was reviewing and revising the codes in context. This was followed by evaluating the appropriateness of the code labels and how they were to be applied to the data making the codes meaningful, clear and concise and close to the data. Code label definitions

were made specific and encompassing of the tourism ideas/constructs the researcher was trying to capture. The researcher selected examples of quotes within the data that best illustrated each code. The last step used in this study was to determine reliability by constantly revising and reviewing coding several times to correct inconsistencies.

**Table 3.5 Sample of fragility theory driven codes, definition and examples**

<b>Theory</b>	<b>Codes</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Examples</b>
Fragility -Archival	War	Liberation struggle	1966 the first battle in Chinhoyi.
	Sanctions	United Nations Security Council Resolution 253	Economic sanctions on Rhodesia restricting imports to and exports from the country.
Fragility- Interviews	Politics	Racism and ethnic problems	Social and economic segregation and conflict between the Shona and the Ndebele.
	Unemployment	Lack of jobs among blacks	Unemployment in the tourism Sector. High expatriates

**Source: Researcher generated and adapted from archival and interview data**

**Table 3.6 Sample of resilience theory driven codes, definition and examples**

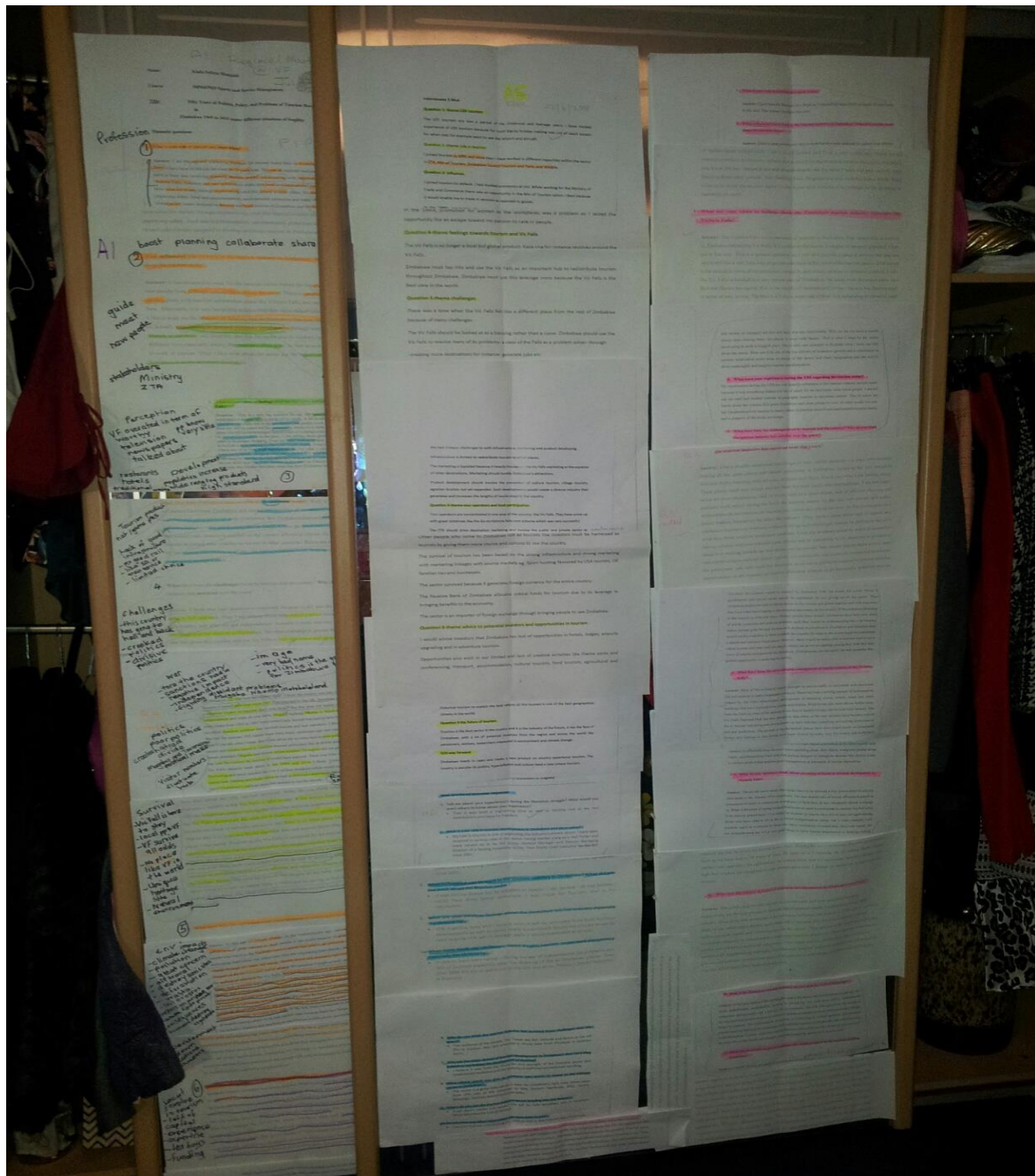
<b>Theory</b>	<b>Codes</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Examples</b>
Resilience Archival	Infrastructure	Construction	Building of airports, hotels, casino, car park and golf course.
	Tourist arrivals	Coming of visitors to Zimbabwe from all the world	Tourists arrivals from the USA, UK, Canada, Australia and Europe.
Resilience Interviews	Victoria Falls	One of the great wonder of the world	Its popularity was demonstrated by international conferences to resolve the problems in Rhodesia. Business conferences.
	Revenue	Tourism receipts	The sector survived because it generates foreign currency for the entire country.

**Source: Researcher generated and adapted from archival and interview data**

### 3.4.5 Data driven codes

In this section, a step by step discussion is given on how data driven codes were developed. Data driven codes had five steps: inductively creating codes for a code book; reducing role information; identifying subsample themes; comparing themes across subsamples; and, creating codes subsamples and determining the reliability of codes See Figure 3.8 below.

**Figure 3.8 Sample of coding interview data**



Source: Researcher generated inspired by Braun and Clarke Coding Data

The first step was to determine how to reduce raw information into small units such as categories and themes. Four possibilities of coding data driven codes were considered: i.e. coding line by line, on the sentence level; on the paragraph level and level of meaning. The paragraph level featured a variety of themes making it impossible to label with only one code. Based on these weaknesses of the first three methods of developing codes, the researcher considered coding using the level of meaning as more appropriate.

The level of meaning enabled lumping and splitting of text at different junctures allowing a code to be made up of line or sentence (Guest and MacQueen, 2008). In other cases, separate codes could be made when a unit of analysis could stand on its own and convey meaning outside of the larger context of the interview. The process of developing data driven codes involved identifying themes within subsamples. This meant identifying themes from various interviews whereby participants were asked to provide information of their role and gave reasons on why they joined the tourism industry. The information helped the researcher to extract information to determine codes.

**Table 3.7 Identifying descriptive codes and themes from interview data**

Questions	Participants Views	Descriptive Code	Theme
<b>1.What is your role in tourism, and since when?</b>	I co-founded and manage an Independent Luxury Destination Management Company based in Zimbabwe. We are a trusted and authoritative source for luxury travel in our region. We provide tailormade B2B services to Outbound Safari Tour Operators in the source markets. Our business is now 6 years old. Prior to that I had been working in the luxury tourism sector since 2004.	Independent Luxury Destination Management Company	Profession
	I am the regional marketing manager for tourism based here in Victoria Falls since 2005. I have been in this job for close to 13 years now.	11 years in the sector.	Role in tourism
	My role as regional tourism manager is quite a busy one involving planning tourism events, collaborating with stakeholders here in Victoria Falls- hoteliers and tour operators to make sure local and international tourist visitors have	Regional tourism Manager -13 years	Length of time
			Stakeholder collaboration
			Ministry of Tourism and Hospitality Industry

	<p>value for money through experiencing what this natural wonder offers.</p> <p>We share notes on improving safety, food and accommodation, environmental protection and many other tourism related policy issues designed to develop and boost tourism in Zimbabwe and the region.</p> <p>Twenty years ago, I set up a luxury travel company specialising in high-end safaris to east and southern Africa with a focus on Zimbabwe.</p> <p>My role in tourism is that of a hotel restaurant manager since 1996. I am passionate about my job and I am good at timekeeping. I give support to diverse visitors who visit this country such as tourists and investors whom I provide with information about Zimbabwe tourism.</p> <p>I joined tourism soon after independence in 1981 and since then I have worked in different capacities within the sector in ZTA, Min of Tourism, Zimbabwe Council Tourism and Parks and Wildlife.</p> <p>I have been the Manager of a Hotel at Victoria Falls since 2009, so nearly 10 years now in this role. That means I do enjoy this job.</p>	<p>Hotel Restaurant Manager -since 1996</p> <p>Planning tourism events,</p> <p>collaborating with stakeholders</p> <p>Tailormade Safari Tour Operators -20 years Local Operator</p> <p>Manager of a Hotel at Victoria Falls since 2009, so nearly 10 years</p>	<p>Zimbabwe, Tourism Authority,</p> <p>Local Safari Tour Operators and Hoteliers</p> <p>Source markets</p> <p>Variety of visitors</p> <p>Customer care</p> <p>Overall satisfaction</p>
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**Source: Researcher generated from in-depth interviews**

From the several interview responses as shown above in Table 3.7 it was important to look at the major themes that emerged per interview that had not been captured by the theory driven codes such as long stay and passion to work in tourism industry. The codes would then be completed per each tourism practitioner interview. The researcher looked at themes across the tourism practitioner interviews to identify similarities and differences. For example, informants gave different views on what constituted as an image or brand damage for the tourism industry in Zimbabwe. Data driven codes were compared with theory driven codes to avoid duplication or to expand on some of them or create new ones. Codes were created from the actual words of a participant. The final step used in developing archival and interview data driven codes was to determine the utility and reliability of the codes and using them to begin the analysis process.

The data driven codes were validated in the same way as the theory driven codes of reviewing and revising to avoid inconsistencies. See Table 3.8 below, for an example of an analysis of an archival data set into codes. According to Braun and Clarke (2006) thematic analysis minimally organises and describes data sets in rich detail. Furthermore, thematic analysis allows for flexibility in the researcher's choice of theoretical framework. Some other methods of analysis are closely tied to specific theories, but thematic analysis can be used with any theory the researcher chooses. Through this flexibility, thematic analysis allows for rich, detailed and complex description of data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). While thematic analysis is widely used, there is no clear agreement about what thematic analysis is and how you go about doing it (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Boyatzis, 1998). Rubin and Rubin (1995) claim that thematic analysis is exciting because the researcher discovers themes and concepts embedded throughout the archival or interview data.

The first step in thematic analysis is for the researcher to familiarise themselves with the data by rereading the entire data and coding it to detect features of tourism development. Coding was employed in the analysis of materials created from archival and semi-structured interviews. Answers from semi-structured interviews were categorised by patterns of words and themes to extract parts that support the tourism development concept and information. Table 3.8 illustrates the main ideas generated from the archival and semi-structured interview data that was coded and used along thematic lines.

**Table 3.8 Sample data driven codes, definition and examples**

<b>Data</b>	<b>Codes</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Examples</b>
Data/Archive	Tourists	Visitors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Magicians, royalty, celebrities,</li> </ul>
	Investors	Business	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mr and Mrs Goldin built a casino at Victoria Falls worth £350,000.00.</li> <li>• Building of 80 additional rooms worth \$80,000.00</li> </ul>
Data/Interview	Visa	Permit to visit a country	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Victoria Falls is no longer a local but global product and KAZA visa for instance revolves around Victoria Falls.</li> </ul>
	Image	Perception of Zimbabwe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There were some people with an agenda to tarnish the reputation of</li> <li>• Zimbabwe but they failed.</li> </ul>

**Source: Researcher generated from archival data**



### **3.5 Confidentiality and anonymity**

Participants were informed about the study in detail before asking for their consent to take part through face to face conversations at different events. This was followed by telephone conversations and an email explaining the aims and objectives of the study together with details about the data collection process including request for recording or photography. The participants were informed that they could withdraw from the study at any time without questions being asked. All data collected was anonymised by replacing the participants' names with codes A1 to A10 referring to Participant categories from number one up to 10. During the semi-structured interviews, it was important not to restrain the participants but to give them time to talk about how they understood and described their experience of UDI and independence tourism, the failure and success tourism stories, and lessons learnt from different tourism experiences by different people and organisations. Conversations at events and seminars proved useful to familiarise the researcher and the participants with concepts of tourism development. Information regarding consent forms fulfilling all ethical guidelines and procedures on carrying out social science research as provided on the Brighton University website were followed, explained and provided to all research participants including archival staff for their own integrity and protection. Data protection measures and its security was adhered to. Proper procedure was followed in seeking consent from participants who gave their permission first before data was collected using any recording device. All recordings were stored safely both in Zimbabwe and in the United Kingdom.

All information was stored in a personal safe that only the researcher had access. No interviewees were addressed by name nor any identifiable characteristics (such as government position and job title). Participation was voluntary, and participants received all due acknowledgement and information about the project. All due effort was made to protect participants from potential repercussions emerging from their participation in the research. The confidentiality of participants' information was anonymised in field notes, drafts and potential publications in which the researcher would be the first person to know the relations between pseudonym and personal name.

Constant contact with supervisors was maintained. It was impossible to envisage all eventualities, but reasonable precaution was taken through the protections of data and individual informant throughout the research process. After the three-year mandatory period of keeping data, it would be destroyed in a secure manner using the confidential waste service

or shredders, once the University of Brighton retention period passed. Extra care was taken when storing data and to secure participant privacy by using appropriate back-up in case of loss or theft of laptop or portable equipment. The researcher used Microsoft Office iCloud computing and software to store research records which carried significant data protection.

### **3.6 Ethical considerations**

The researcher was aware of and took seriously the general agreements shared by the scientific community on what constitutes acceptable and non-acceptable behaviours in the professional conduct of science. For instance, that researchers should not manipulate their data collection, analysis, and interpretation procedures in a way that contradicts the principles of science or the scientific method or advances their personal agenda. The researcher complied with all ethical matters for social scientists including the Tier 2 requirements for the University of Brighton. The University of Brighton's Research Ethics Tier 2 Policy covers the participation of humans, including observations, photography, audio or video recording, questionnaires, interviews, focus groups, physical activity or invasive or intrusive procedures. The University has a three-tier ethics and governance review system in place, with the type of review required being dependent on the level of ethical risk presented by proposals and the type of applicant. For research projects being undertaken by taught course students, lower risk proposals receive review at Tier 1 by School Research Ethics Panels (SREPs), whilst those presenting a higher level of ethical risk are considered by a Cross-School Research Ethics Committee (CREC) at Tier 2. For all projects being undertaken by staff or Post Graduate Research students, applications must be sent to a Tier 2 CREC for review. The Tier 3 University Research Ethics and Integrity Committee (UREIC) were available and acted as a top-level policy and strategy body and only reviews proposals in cases where appeals are received against Tier 2 decisions.

This research study had to go through the Tier 2 procedure as it was recognised that the research may present wider ethical or moral issues as the researcher would be involved in interviews with elite politicians that could have significant impact on the welfare and interests of the wider community or society. Also, it was realised and appreciated that the research would potentially be critical of some government policies. Safety concerns for informants were acknowledged because of the fragility of the political settlement and arrangements which may result in risks or consequences for the informants. Individuals were asked for the option to be fully acknowledged or be anonymous. This is because research interviews on this subject involve working with various people who may be vulnerable to unscrupulous politicians.

Personal consent and rights were respected and protected when taking photographs and recording testimonies of interviewees. Several years of work at local, national, regional and international levels coupled with research methods training offered the researcher confidence and experience of conducting sensitive and delicate interviews. The researcher did not collect any local knowledge that would infringe on intellectual property rights, was familiar and abided with the guidelines on research ethics at the University of Brighton and the Tier 2 Ethical review was a success.

### **3.7 Delimitation and limitations of the study**

According to Ren (2009) the crucial challenge in tourism research has been to develop concepts of tourisms that encompass many worldviews and cultural differences. Ateljevic, Prutchard and Morgan (2007) place emphasis on the interpretative and critical modes of tourism inquiry by locating the phenomenon in its wider political, economic, cultural and social contexts. Burns and Novelli (2006) have demonstrated that tourism and politics aim to disseminate ideas on the critical discourse of tourism and tourists as they relate to politics through a series of case studies from around the world. However, wider questions of politics, power and identity need to be articulated, investigated and answered. Burns and Novelli (2006) also argue that tourism takes place within a complex social mix involving competing actors drawing into the 'product', peoples' history, culture and lifestyles. The impact on culture is debatable regarding whether tourism or culture copes with globalisation and modernity. While economic globalisation has had an influence on the labour market, particularly through economic reforms such as the Esap in Zimbabwe, colonial legacies continue to influence education and training. This study is limited to Victoria Falls CTA but also explores tourism in Zimbabwe more generally. The timeframe of fifty years covers 1965-2015. The sources of information are also limited to archival and semi structured interview materials.

### **3.8 Positionality**

The researcher considered herself as wearing both hats of an insider and outsider concerning this research on tourism development in Zimbabwe. Firstly, the researcher was born, raised and educated in Zimbabwe from primary school to tertiary education where she trained and qualified as a schoolteacher after which she taught for several years in Zimbabwe. It was acknowledged that the insider positionality of the researcher had both advantages and disadvantages. The researcher was knowledgeable and familiar with the culture, language, people and modern history of Zimbabwe. Knowledge of the other cultures in Zimbabwe

boosted an appreciation of the aspirations of black people with regards to their interest to participate in the tourism sector before and after the indigenization policies of the government.

As with culture, literacy, familiarity and understanding of Zimbabwe's indigenous languages, history and archives enhanced the researcher's work in more ways than one to provide adequate social and economic contexts for the study. This contrasted with an outsider who would need to study first these social aspects of the area under study. Through wide ranging life and work experiences, the researcher had first-hand information of the case study area Victoria Falls and Zimbabwe. She was therefore well placed to connect with local people, work colleagues, private and public stakeholders in the tourism sector negotiating around official and political risks through guarded but full engagement with tourism practitioners to gather critical data.

Throughout the research, as an insider, gender did not pose any problems with either participants or among work colleagues. Furthermore, during the interview sessions the researcher's gender did not affect the questions asked or the degree of probing done because the researcher knew the participants at professional level over a period of several years as the tourism officer for the country in the United Kingdom. A position the researcher still holds. However, with time and towards the end of the research, male colleagues while appreciative of the amount of work required for a PhD study would comment that it was a preserve of man and that women had to look after their partners, family and work. Even then, other factors were present especially having an academic woman amongst most male team members. The researcher was generally perceived as an educated, smart and above board as the only one acquiring a PhD in the whole organisation. To put things in perspective several issues would arise as an insider researcher. Firstly, colleagues and friends often asked if the researcher would stay in their current job or take the senior position because of the new qualifications. Secondly, others felt that the researcher had become too westernised and an academic elite, way above the team and could no longer coexist within the team. Thirdly, acquiring education from a British institution was perceived as superior and would separate the researcher from colleagues creating fear in-between and possibly taking over their senior positions. Fourthly, ordinary first name address from humble first names changed to *doc* with some sarcasm in some voices. However, the researcher presented the personal gain and experience obtained from a PhD qualification and encouraged colleagues to pursue the same path. The academic experience prepared the researcher, to be able to reflect on these implicit assumptions about

the academic qualification and instead assisted other colleagues to take the academic path and succeeded in doing so as two members of staff took the call seriously and now pursuing a PhD research study course.

My positionality involved having a critical self-reflexive spot towards tourism knowledge production on Zimbabwe. It should be noted that debates and discussions of insider/outsider status acknowledge that the boundaries between the two positions are ambiguous and therefore not clearly delineated (Merriam et al., 2001). This point is worth elaborating upon. One typical example of the insider/outsider positionality would be that of a researcher versus a friend (Merriam, et al., 2001). In the event of conducting ethnographic research for example, the researcher occupies and becomes part and parcel of the lives of their interviewees or participants and spends a lot of time with informants thereby by default becoming 'a friend but not a friend', (Merriam et al., 2001).

This positionality can be viewed as quite advantageous as interviewees start to gain confidence and confide in the researcher, but simultaneously the researcher might be compelled to withhold data entrusted to them as a 'friend'. Undoubtedly, in this respect, positionality can impact the construction of objective and unbiased knowledge (Merriam et al., 2001). In addition, the researcher's positionality can boost or limit certain observations. Where a researcher carries a hybrid insider and outsider perspective due to an insider rooted in cultural background and outsider appearance, as was the case with this researcher, this binary or double positionality can also influence the ways in which the researcher is viewed by participants. This perceived positionality can in turn also influence the quantity and quality of tourism knowledge that participants share with the researcher.

The outsider positionality of the researcher emanated from having lived, studied and worked continuously in the United Kingdom for more than 30 years, with close to 21 years of work experience as a tourism marketing and information officer at the Zimbabwe Embassy in London, a circumstance that provided further impetus and motivation to undertake this study. In fact, it has invariably been the researcher's lifetime dream to pursue further education up to doctoral level examining tourism development. Tourism work responsibilities in London and in Zimbabwe included promoting the country to the United Kingdom, Ireland, Nordics, Baltic States and Russia enabling constant and close communication and interaction with trade partners throughout the years. The position generated rich but also often challenging

experiences given Zimbabwe's political situations of fragility. The position covered a wide range of activities involving local and international travel, exposure through participating and networking at seminars, conferences, exhibitions, roadshows, planning, coordinating and hosting of events as well as interaction with tourists of diverse backgrounds.

Borrowing from Feighery (2006) the researcher had the capacity for reflexivity, i.e. to reflect upon her own values and actions during the research process, both in producing veracious empirical material and in writing tourism accounts. The researcher was able to tell another story. This effort in engaging with positionality recognises that researchers carry a baggage embodied in their lives, experiences and worldviews impact on their studies. However, detached and disembodied 'objective tourism accounts' have become relatively common in leisure and tourism social research, with qualitative approaches. Indeed, most tourism scholars who work on qualitative research continue to do so 'couched in the objective language and style of traditional empiricism', or positivism Feighery (2006) . This is not to suggest that there no longer exists a lack of reflexivity in some qualitative work. Nonetheless, reflexivity has established itself as an essential feature of qualitative inquiry, pushing researchers to be introspective, collaborative and political.

The researcher benefited from an increasing number of published examples in tourism research that engage with issues of reflexivity and researcher positionality to demonstrate how the researcher self plays an important role in the quantity and quality of the knowledge produced (Glancy 1993 and Dupuis 1999). The researcher used critical self-examination in analysing meanings of tourism development at Victoria Falls and applied the reflexivity approach in this research through active semi-structured interviews that emphasized the collaborative and interactional process between the researcher and the participants fully recognizing that all tourism knowledge is socially co-constructed (Glancy 1993 and Dupuis 1999). There are different degrees to which the researcher self was written into the study, including self-examination integrated with theoretical discussion, and overlapping the authors' emotions and thoughts into the study juxtaposed with the experiences of research participants (Glancy 1993 and Dupuis 1999).

Reflexivity is also seen as a methodological approach embraced (ideally) throughout the entire research process in which the researcher demonstrated critical awareness of her own role as tourism officer in co-constructing knowledge at different times during the research, and at

other times overlooking to monitor the influences of her own subjectivity. The researcher's journey has been a transformational process characterised by time and exposure to other ways of knowing quite important to her own positionality in constructing knowledge. But the knowledge which is socially co-produced cannot be considered separately from our daily embodied experience. The feelings and thoughts the researcher experienced in the field certainly influenced how she perceived, interpreted and attributed meanings to others' experiences. It surely coloured her attitudes towards meanings of words, place, participants and practices. Therefore, the production of apparently objective or disembodied accounts must really contribute to abbreviating knowledge, wherein the textures of how particular accounts are contextually co-created are written out (Dupuis, 1999)..

Nonetheless, the reflexive approaches helped the researcher generate a study closer to the truth and richer text. Rather than being conserved problematic, the ways in which the researcher embodied herself and her feelings intersected with the research process, perhaps these aspects ought to be considered as central to producing rigorous qualitative research and good science (Dupuis, 1999). A rigorous reflexive approach in qualitative tourism research should, however, be characterised by continuous, intentional and systematic self-introspection beginning before and during the writing process. Operationalising reflexivity was an important and integral part of the researcher approach in the tourism study giving balance and careful interweaving of ideas to give voice to others without losing sight of herself. Notwithstanding being an insider/outsider, the researcher critically analysed the research evidence on the tourism situation in Zimbabwe wary of biases by informants and participants.

### **3.9 Summary**

The chapter presented the research setting, social science stance to interpretive approach and examined why qualitative research methodology was applied in this study. The single case study approach was judged as particularly useful to understanding tourism at Victoria Falls. The chapter explored the two research methods adopted for this study, namely, archival research and semi-structured interviews used to gather detailed information on tourism development for the single case study of Victoria Falls. The questions for the semi-structured interviews were purposefully constructed to maximise on information gathering. The archival work was also explored to show the method used to collect primary sources. The chapter debated the merits and demerits of case study to demonstrate the significance of such a strategy for this study. The data collected was suited to content analysis shaping the analytic

frame and connecting empirical reality and the researcher's view of it. Thematic analysis used in this study helped to organize information into categories related to the ten central research questions. The chapter explored the use of the thematic and coding procedures of data analysis. The chapter also examined how the collected data would be kept strictly confidential, securely and responsibly, and in accordance with data protection, freedom of information and privacy legislation following the University of Brighton ethics requirements (Mason, 2003).



## **Chapter Four**

### **State fragility and tourism resilience at Victoria Falls 1965-1980**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

This chapter explores tourism development during the last 14 years of settler colonial rule in Rhodesia. The period was generally characterised by serious racial conflict and civil war shaped by the broad decolonisation process of the British Empire. In Rhodesia, the UDI was a statement adopted by the Cabinet of Rhodesia on 11 November 1965, announcing that Rhodesia now regarded itself as an independent sovereign state. The UK, the Commonwealth and UN all regarded Rhodesia's UDI illegal, and economic sanctions, the first in the UN's history, were imposed on the breakaway colony (Ranger, 1968). Amid near-complete international isolation, Rhodesia pursued development efforts arguably in the tourist sector as an unrecognised state with the assistance of South Africa and Portugal that helped it to bust UN sanctions. This chapter analyses UDI tourism development using archival and interview data. It adopts the thematic approach discussed in chapter 3 guided by specific and carefully selected relevant codes from the researcher's codebook. The researcher made a choice to concentrate on those codes considered critical and these were generated based on meaning as explained in section 3.4.5 in the methodology chapter. Examples of such key codes used in this chapter include inequality, resistance, fragility, resilience, violence, sanctions, economy, war and independence. This chapter establishes the connections and relationships among these codes to argue that Rhodesian tourism defied both UN sanctions and civil war. The chapter also analyses the findings using theory driven and data driven codes. Theory driven codes were derived from fragility and resilience. The next section 4.1 analyses and contextualises economic and political circumstances in Rhodesia since 1965 weighing how these influenced tourism developments under the fragilities of UN sanctions and war.

#### **4.1 Contextualising Rhodesia from 1965-1979**

Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe was one of many British African colonies since the late nineteenth century. It was colonized in 1890 by Cecil John Rhodes and named after him as discussed in chapter one. Many scholars like Ranger, (1968), Palmer (1977), Phimister (1978) and Moyana (1984), among others have written extensively and informatively on many aspects of Zimbabwe in colonial times. Noteworthy is the fact that in the 1960s and 1970s, Britain had serious running political differences and controversies with Rhodesia over independence with black inclusion. This was at a time when Rhodesia's neighbors – Malawi and Zambia – had

become independent in 1964 from Britain compelled by widespread black protests but without liberation wars. In Rhodesia, decolonization played out differently. A protracted political friction between London and Salisbury forced the last Prime Minister of Rhodesia, Ian Smith and leader of the Rhodesia Front Party, to declare UDI that excluded blacks from meaningful participation in national development. Smith's resistance against Britain and independence for blacks was a monumental disaster because civil war cost thousands of lives and destroyed the economy. Smith's revolt was acrimonious and destabilized the Rhodesian state in many ways. Rhodesian state fragility in the 1960s and 1970s shaped the form and direction of the UDI era in a low-income colonial country characterised by contested state legitimacy that left the majority black citizens vulnerable to a range of social and economic problems and without being equal citizens and denied fundamental rights such as the ability to vote. The Rhodesian government scored badly on the three benchmarks of authority, social services provision and legitimacy (Mata and Ziaja, 2001; Newman, 2007; Barkin and Cronin, 2009; Stewart and Brown, 2010). Relevant and important for this study were the glaring inequalities in Rhodesia under UDI between whites and blacks, with the latter as horses and the former riders. Inequality in Rhodesia was based on the belief that whites were superior and blacks were inferior, and that whites had a God given duty to 'civilize' or 'educate' Africans. Inequality was manifested by the provision of better social services and more economic opportunities for whites than for the blacks. The unequal race relations and skewed social structure certainly generated fragilities particularly fragilities emanating black resistance against oppression and exploitation by a privileged white minority.

Racial inequality was not unique to Rhodesia since it tended to be worse in other settler colonies such as Kenya, South Africa and the USA. There were many examples of racial inequality and segregation in Rhodesia. In the eyes of the majority blacks, the most pressing inequality was on the unequal land distribution system because whites had the best prime land in the country in agro-ecological zones 1 to 3 considered most productive on the Rhodesian plateau. Blacks were forced to live in infertile areas called reserves in regions 4 and 5. Other examples of inequality included the lack of human and political rights and social exclusion. The disparity gave rise to state fragility owing to protracted racial conflicts epitomized by strikes and protests. This was because the Rhodesian state catered for sectional white interests rather than national or public interests as observed by (Carment, et al, 2015). As pointed out by the (OECD, 2008), a fragile state has a weak government that lacks the ability to develop

mutually constructive relations with the rest of society, a distinctive characteristic of the UDI state. Black poverty and limited white poverty as well as racial discriminations were key drivers of fragility in Rhodesia. Poverty and racial segregation were the consequences of a political and power structure that contributed to what Novelli and Scarth (2007) perceive as patterns of exclusion and domination. The Rhodesian state lost authority (authority failure), lacked legitimacy (legitimacy failure) and failed to provide services to all its citizens (service entitlement failure) (Stewart and Brown, 2009). This important context frames and shapes the nature of Rhodesian tourism.

As illustrated in Chapter two of this study, the white racial domination in Rhodesia depicted above, it was arguably predictable that black resistance would be a central factor in responding to inequality. Black nationalist leaders in Rhodesia received logistical and practical support from the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, Yugoslavia (Slovenia, Macedonia, Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro, and Bosnia) as well as Israel, Libya and Iran among others. Black nationalists from all walks of life had large followings and challenged the untenable and tenuous UDI status quo. The winds of change were blowing across Africa as the decolonization process proceeded from the second half of the 1950s and was at its peak during the 1960s. Ghana, under Kwame Nkrumah, was the first country to attain independence from Britain in 1947.

The wave of nationalism and decolonization influenced many African states to fight against colonialism. Like their counterparts across colonial Africa, Rhodesian blacks had many grievances and demands. Key demands were on political independence and an end to racial discrimination, fair land distribution, equal social service provision and economic empowerment. The available nationalism literature maintains that Smith's government was extremely stubborn, rejecting the idea of majority rule on many political settlement talks held at Victoria Falls and other places. Smith refused to make concessions regarding genuine African grievances especially their desire for independence.

In response to the hardline Rhodesian government, many blacks began by staging regular demonstrations and strikes some of them lasting several days or weeks during which vital economic infrastructure was destroyed: roads, bridges, dip tanks and administration offices. In other instances of resistance, settler farms, stores, factories, and tourist facilities like hotels and other properties were targeted and destroyed through arson and vandalism aggravating

state fragilities.<sup>2</sup> The civil unrest increased fragility in the country. Indeed, Pizam (1996) notes that dictatorships court resistance and violence from civic society.

Apart from the domestic challenges in Rhodesia, the country also faced international isolation. In addition to trying to solve the racial problem in the country generally through repression, the Rhodesia regime also attracted and experienced UN Security Council sanctions for 13 years from 1966. According to interviewee A1: ‘The imposition of international sanctions by the UN against Rhodesia had a negative impact on tourism.’<sup>3</sup> In general terms, the international sanctions put trade and travel barriers on Rhodesia more or less similar to those imposed on the then apartheid South Africa before its independence in 1994. Rhodesia was banned from exporting its agricultural, mineral and other products and with further restrictions and its imports were limited to humanitarian goods and services regarding the education and health sectors. Smith was believed to have countered much of the economic sanctions through the import substitution industrialization (ISI) economic policy.

The ISI is a trade and economic policy which advocates replacing imports with domestic products. Street and James (1982) as well as Konadu-Agyemang (2000) point out that ISI is based on the premise that a country should attempt to reduce its dependence on foreign products and services through local production of industrial products. ISI was a well-planned economic policy of the Rhodesian government that encouraged and sponsored private companies to produce local goods for the country that replaced imports. Examples of such companies included the Rhodesia Iron and Steel Company, Bata Shoe Company and Rhodesia Corn Textiles. As will be discussed later in the next section, this policy was extended to the construction of tourism infrastructure.

The growth of these private companies was also aided with the support derived from South Africa, Portugal, and Greece and unsurprisingly in some instances the USA and the UK in need of certain key minerals like chrome.<sup>4</sup> The USA and UK prioritized their state needs for cheap raw commodities than zealously applying sanctions over the domination of Africans on what the latter viewed as a delinquent child.<sup>5</sup> British technical expertise was displayed in the treasury and central bank on manipulating Rhodesian sanctions. Also, businesses in the UK

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<sup>2</sup> NAZ, *The Rhodesia Herald*, 20 April 1967; *The Chronicle*, 23 April 1967.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> NAZ, *Rhodesia News Journal*, Week of March 31-April 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

set up economic committees and economic advisory committees of the civil service with experience in commerce, mining and agriculture that gave strength to British governmental bodies to act almost independently undermining UN sanctions.<sup>6</sup> Sanctions busting also played out in the tourism sector since British, USA and other western tourists continued to visit Rhodesia during UDI. As a result, state and tourism sector fragility and resilience co-existed in Rhodesia.

Seeing that Rhodesia was resilient despite the sanctions, double faced, the UK lobbied for stricter sanctions. On April 19, 1966 the UN Security Council introduced Resolution (S/RES/221) declaring the situation in Rhodesia as threat to peace. The UK and UN stopped the pumping of oil from Beira to Rhodesia and allowed Britain to use force though several countries abstained including: Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Mali, Uruguay and France. These countries felt that the Resolution was inadequate, and France claimed Rhodesia was not a threat to international peace, and that the problem was between the UK and Rhodesia and not the UN<sup>7</sup>. In April 1966 British Naval Units were stationed in Mozambique for surveillance of all sea approaches to Beira and to stop any tankers heading to Rhodesia. In 1966 at the London Commonwealth Conference Harold Wilson delivered an ultimatum to Rhodesia to withdraw all settlement procedures, deny independence and end UDI<sup>8</sup>. The British Prime Minister met with Smith aboard the Cruiser HMS Tiger in December 1966 to discuss an Anglo/Rhodesia settlement and end UDI. Smith accepted the UK proposal but refused to abide by it.

The UK submitted another Resolution (S/RES/253) passed on 29 May 1968 banning all imports originating from Rhodesia, provision of all funds for development and investment was halted, entry into any country of any Rhodesia passport holder or anyone likely to enhance the regime were denied except for medicine and educational.<sup>9</sup> Activities to encourage emigration to Rhodesia was stopped, airline companies were banned from operating to from Rhodesia, or linking with any airline company.<sup>10</sup> Ian Smith derived much of his economic strength from his neighbors. For example, apartheid South Africa together with Mozambique before its independence in 1975 and still under Portuguese rule continued to supply Rhodesia with critical imports like fuel. Also, ordinary Rhodesian businessmen became innovative and

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<sup>6</sup> NAZ, Report in the Johannesburg Star, April 1, 1966.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Commonwealth of Nations Committee

<sup>9</sup> United Nations 16 December 1966 Resolution (S/RES/232) Report

<sup>10</sup> Africa Confidential

embarked on a successful lobby to beat the sanctions campaign. They did not stand by and blame their government over the sanctions but instead reacted to defend the government from sanctions.<sup>11</sup> Under the ISI policy Rhodesian whites developed an industrial sector with more than 2,000 manufacturing units.<sup>12</sup>

Despite government ISI efforts, racial discord continued in Rhodesia as blacks shifted from the violent protests of the 1960s to a phase of armed liberation struggle. Civil war began with the Chinhoyi battle along the Hunyani River in 1966.<sup>13</sup> This was an intensified and changed form of protest and resistance after earlier and milder forms of resistance like boycotts and strikes had proved futile. The war soon spread across the country (mostly rural but also urban in the later stages). Neighboring countries provided logistical support to the war but in the process also experienced reprisals from the Rhodesian air force which bombed their territories.

Zambia and Mozambique became known as the frontline states taking the bulk of the air raids on areas the Rhodesians perceived as training camps for black guerrilla fighters. Peace talks could have avoided war given several negotiations that took place in the 1960s and 1970s between several political stakeholders; the British government, Ian Smith, and the leading nationalist parties; the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) led by Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, respectively. Unlike black protests and sanctions, fragility emanating from the armed struggle was a serious threat to peace and stability in the country for all economic sectors but mostly the sensitive tourism industry.

In response to the armed struggle the Rhodesian government became more oppressive. State fragility was worsened by state sponsored violence through legal and law enforcement actions by the state. State brutality attracted more resistance and intensified fighting that increased fragility across the country culminating with independence in 1980. For example, Smith substituted the absence of public acceptance of the Rhodesian state decisively with strict law enforcement through purported legitimate force and extreme coercion. State sponsored violence is elaborated in the following discussion in which the Rhodesian state became vicious in its actions against blacks.

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<sup>11</sup> NAZ, Africa Activist Archive, New York, New York March 31-April 6, 1966.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> NAZ, *The Rhodesia Herald*, 28 April, 1966.

In the second half of UDI- 1973-1980, Rhodesia became a theatre of vicious guerrilla warfare causing serious ramifications on African livelihoods in the countryside. With greater intensity, Africans were denied basic human rights; the freedom of association, movement, speech and assembly.<sup>14</sup> The Rhodesian government consolidated and implemented a raft of oppressive legislation purportedly to crush African nationalism with finality. Hundreds of thousands of blacks failing to show passes, proof of gainful employment or adequate means of support got arrested and imprisoned without warrant under the *Vagrancy Act, (VAA) Chapter 92*.<sup>15</sup>

The *Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, (LOMA) Chapter 65*, complemented the VAA as the most draconian piece of legislation empowering police with sweeping powers to enter and search private homes without warrant, forbid any person from addressing any meeting, disperse any public gathering, stop and/or impose any conditions on the holding of public processions or demonstrations.<sup>16</sup> The emerging pattern of state sponsored violence was also underpinned by the *Emergency Powers Act (EPA) Chapter 83*, bestowing draconian powers for the government to make regulations to deal with any perceived crisis. One particularly notorious rule under the EPA authorized the government to detain indefinitely any person without trial accompanied by torture and secret executions.<sup>17</sup>

In addition, the *Unlawful Organizations Act, (UOA) Chapter 91* declared all nationalist parties as unlawful and empowered authorities to impose curfew across Rhodesia.<sup>18</sup> Combined, the VAA, LOMA, EPA and the UOA and the *Preservation of Constitutional Government Act, (PCGA) Chapter 69*, severely curtailed African human rights due to state security concerns and threats posed by the ongoing war. The LOMA was the most brutal, compelling the then Federal Chief Justice, Robert Tredgold to resign in protest characterizing the Act as a ‘savage, evil, mean and dirty’ law.<sup>19</sup> Thousands of Africans died under torture which included beatings, electric shocks and immersion in water until the victim lost consciousness at the hands of the 142,200 strong security agencies: the Police Special Branch, the CIO and army who used the

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<sup>14</sup> Interview with A2, Hotel Manager at a hotel in Victoria Falls, on 12 June 2018.

<sup>15</sup> NAZ, *Law and Order (Maintenance) Acts* 53 24/1962 [Chapter 11:07]. 2; The Law and Order Maintenance Act of 1960.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid

<sup>17</sup> NAZ, Amended, The Law and Order Maintenance Act of 1974

<sup>18</sup> NAZ, As amended, The 1959 Unlawful Organizations Act 91/1971.

<sup>19</sup> NAZ, 78 S. African L.J. 13 (1961) Resignation of the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Clarkson Tredgold, Chief Justice of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, p.13.

<http://heinonline.org/hein.journals/soaf78>.

legal framework in a display of ‘savage resourcefulness and initiative by setting up murder and sabotage squads’ to suppress nationalist agitation, boycotts, strikes and protests.<sup>20</sup> As the war of liberation escalated, the Rhodesian Air Force (RAF) resorted to indiscriminate measures and extra judicial killings countrywide. The RAF used rockets and napalm bombs against the civilian population.<sup>21</sup>

In the 1970s the government took one more step in its unchecked brutality against civilians forcibly moving peasants in many parts of the country into concentrated keeps or *makipi*. As Mazambani and Weinrich point out, *makipi* were to deny guerrillas critical civilian support. Curfew law in these protected villages often lasted from dusk to dawn or till noon the next day leaving little time to tend livestock and crop fields.<sup>22</sup> African agriculture was undermined by endless restrictions in *makipi*. Security forces also bombed villages, torched crops and confiscated cattle as fines for supporting guerrillas. Tending crops and cattle became difficult due to curfew laws and widespread insecurity. The government forced some cattle owners to sell at nominal prices- Rh\$5 or Rh\$6 – a quarter of the prevailing 1970s prices.<sup>23</sup> Other more vulnerable African households sold cattle to purchase maize meal notably during the 1975 drought.<sup>24</sup>

The Rhodesian state was negating one of the most important roles of the state, that of providing all citizens with security. The state became a source of severe insecurity for the bulk of the population. This anomaly cannot be underestimated for generating extreme state fragility in the country and particularly for the tourism and other economic sectors. While the international community refused to recognise the Rhodesian government, Britain engaged in a series of negotiations with Smith. The 1971 the Smith-Home Agreement which gave implicit recognition and legitimacy to the settler government. Double standards of the British government could be interpreted as having given Smith its tacit approval of the status quo in Rhodesia paying lip service to black interests.

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<sup>20</sup> NAZ, *Moto*, 17. 1. January 1980; *Moto*, 17. 5. February 1980.

<sup>21</sup> Interview with A1, Senior Manager at Victoria Falls, on 12 July 2017.

<sup>22</sup> NAZ, B. Campbell, Canadian International Council Report on the Zimbabwe Elections February 1980, *International Journal*, Vol. 35, No. 4, pp. 703 -704.

<sup>23</sup> Interview with A5, Tourism Consultant, at a Harare hotel, on 22 June 2018.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*



From a modernisation point of view (Thomas,2000) capitalist economic growth involves three aspects: national economic growth, national productive capacity increases, and output growth. Rhodesian capitalism could not fully realise all three due to state fragility, sanctions, civil strife and war. As was the case in other colonies the Rhodesian state neglected the alleviation and eradication of poverty. The UDI government failed all three tests on reducing poverty, unemployment and inequality. All three had increased to high levels and beyond doubt this was a period of development for the few 200,000 whites. To these failures should be added the violation of human rights for the 2,5 million blacks. The UNDP/UDR, (2014) considers the respect for human rights as integral to meaningful development because upholding human rights increases choice and liberty from servitude as well as political oppression in society.

Black citizens under UDI could not exercise basic freedoms of speech, assembly, movement or participate in national politics, the economy and leisure in the tourism sector. The UDI type of development did not enlarge peoples' choices to lead a long healthy life, acquire knowledge and have access to resources that would lead to a decent standard of living. Blacks could not realise self-actualisation in a society excluding them from participation in socio-economic, political, cultural activities as advocated by the UNDP/UDR. The next section 4.2 examines how state and tourism fragility related to tourism resilience in Rhodesia under the fragilities explored in section 4.1. Despite the social, economic and political challenges experienced in Rhodesia the theme of tourism development at Victoria Falls remained an important one.

#### **4.2 Tourist traffic at Victoria Falls**

Section 4.1 provides a critical setting or backdrop to examining and understanding UDI tourism under many socio-economic and political fragilities and state fragility. Tourist traffic to Victoria Falls should be considered as one essential element and yardstick of measuring the resilience of UDI tourism development because tourism deals with visitors for without them there can be no tourism. Despite the turmoil in Rhodesia, the mid-1960s witnessed a general trend of increased tourist traffic at Victoria Falls under UDI (Appendices 5 and 6). For example, visitor numbers at Victoria Falls increased from 4,812 in January to 5,045 in February 1966 interestingly when Rhodesia was at war and under UN sanctions.<sup>25</sup> Surprisingly, tourists arriving at Victoria Falls came from all over the world and in a

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<sup>25</sup> Rhodesia National Tourist Board Report, December 1968.

decreasing order of the numbers, they originated from the USA followed by the UK, South Africa (SA), Switzerland, Germany and Holland undermining the UN travel ban to Rhodesia.<sup>26</sup> Tourist itineraries included visits to other tourist resorts notably Hwange National Park. The regional offices of the National Parks and Wildlife Management (NPWM) based in Bulawayo meticulously compiled tourist arrivals at the Falls. The NPWM reports indicate that most visitors stayed in rest camps at Victoria Falls, Hwange and Matopo National Parks. The camps became fully booked especially over the Easter and Rhodes and Founders, and Christmas holidays boosted by visitor numbers from local whites. Major tourist itineraries at Victoria Falls involved big game viewing, fishing or angling, game viewing of eland, sable and wilder beast as well as bird watching.<sup>27</sup> Under the sanctions-war fragile situation, it appeared business as usual with Victoria Falls tourism.

In contrast to the active participation of international and local white settlers in tourism at Victoria Falls and other resorts, 80 per cent of the respondents interviewed argued that blacks were excluded from participating in tourism. Blacks could not only afford holidays but were also discriminated and barred from Victoria Falls and other tourist resorts. This demonstrates one example of the social inequality in Rhodesian society in recreational activities. Informant A5 states that: ‘the UDI tourism era was a period of my childhood and teenage years. I have limited experience of UDI tourism because for most blacks holiday making was out of reach except for when kids went to see the airport and aircraft.’<sup>28</sup> Interviewee A2 concurred with A5 on black exclusion in recreational activities. Interviewee A2 stated that:

My experiences during the UDI era with specific reference to the tourism industry are not much because it was something distant and out of reach for me and many other black people. I should say we read and studied tourism in geography lessons in secondary school. That is where we learnt about Victoria Falls, Great Zimbabwe and other places to visit. In other words, you can say I experienced UDI tourism in theory rather than in practice since it was unaffordable to most blacks and a preserve of white privilege.<sup>29</sup>

Respondent A3, a chief executive officer, explained fragility factors influencing UDI tourism and said that: ‘it was both a frightening time as well as exciting one as we had expectations and hopes for freedom.’<sup>30</sup> The word frightening refers to the war situation in Rhodesia and the inequalities experienced by black people throughout Rhodesia. At the same time, black hopes

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*; Rhodesia National Tourist Board Report, December 1968.

<sup>28</sup> Interview with A5, Tourism Consultant, at a Harare hotel, on 22 June 2018.

<sup>29</sup> Interview with A2, Hotel Manager at a hotel in Victoria Falls, on 12 June 2018.

<sup>30</sup> Interview with A3, Chief Executive Officer at an office in Harare, on 12 June 2018.

were pinned on achieving independence. Interviewee A1, a senior manager in the tourism industry at Victoria Falls summarised UDI and post-colonial tourism experiences as follows:

...to tell you the truth, this country has gone to hell and back. Here I am talking about its crooked politics since white people came to this country and after we got independence. Actually, I think that bad politics is the greatest challenge ever for tourism in Zimbabwe. No other challenge is greater than the divisive politics that has given this country and the Vic Falls a very bad name and image. Look for example at the liberation war that tore the country apart.<sup>31</sup>

Apart from racial segregation in tourism, the appeal and popularity of Victoria Falls attracted tourist magicians from as far as Australia who in turn entertained other tourists. For instance, in 1965 a certain Dr Morton Carson an Australian hypnotist visited Victoria Falls with the intention of descending down the waterfall in a barrel of a drum. His stunt created much attention to the Victoria Falls throughout the world. Morton would have needed permission to perform such antics from both Zambian and Rhodesian national parks authorities but the flow of water at the Falls was low posing danger to the magician. Nonetheless, Morton claimed that the riding of waterfalls in a barrel had become a common thing at Niagara Falls.<sup>32</sup> This example illustrates the limited and undeveloped nature of entertainment for tourists at the time.

As the political situation in Rhodesia deteriorated, widespread bad publicity on the country performances such as those of Morton did little to spruce up attacks by the western media that took effect in the minds of potential travellers interested to see Victoria Falls. By January 1967 visitor numbers plummeted to 2,000.<sup>33</sup> The drop was caused by fragilities explored in section 4.1. Nonetheless, the resilience of the tourist sector was demonstrated by tourism infrastructure developments. For example, in the period during which Victoria Falls suffered most from impacts of state fragility and sanctions from 1966 to 1967, the government completed the Bulawayo to Victoria Falls highway that had been started ten years earlier in 1956.

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<sup>31</sup> Interview with A1, Senior Manager at Victoria Falls, on 12 July 2017.

<sup>32</sup> NAZ, 'I will show them- barrel man', *The Chronicle*, 27 July 1965.

<sup>33</sup> NAZ, Folder M/D01, National Parks and Wildlife Management Branch, Bulawayo Report, 1965; 'Visitors flock to the Victoria Falls', *The Chronicle* February 1965; 'Tourism recovers from sanctions to set records', *The Rhodesia Herald*, 12 Jan 1968; Rhodesia National Tourist Board Report, December 1968.

The last 26 miles between Hwange and Matetsi River got finished using 1,000 ultra-cheap African labourers exploited by the Roads Department.<sup>34</sup> This was undoubtedly a milestone in the history of tourism development in Rhodesia at a cost of £4.5million pound sterling.<sup>35</sup> The road provided the RNPWD better infrastructure and leverage in overseeing the Victoria Falls Trust (VFT). The VFT was set up to manage Victoria Falls National Park (VFNP) CTA lands, wildlife and employees who were civil servants. In 1966 the Zambian side of Victoria Falls adopted a similar Falls Trust management structure.<sup>36</sup> Apart from roads, other infrastructure built during the less difficult first half of UDI- 1965-1973 included casinos and hotels. This was at a time when few investors took risks in starting businesses at Victoria Falls. For instance, the VFT awarded a tender to Mr and Mrs D. Goldin to build the first Victoria Falls casino worth over £350,000 and opened in June 1966.<sup>37</sup> The Chairman of the casino, S. Arch bought equipment from London and brought technical staff from abroad as well. However, the rest of the casino employees were recruited from within Rhodesia.<sup>38</sup> Many doubters believed the white walled £350,000 casino and hotel one mile from Victoria Falls waterfall would turn out to be a costly white elephant.

Arch took a gamble by going ahead with the venture disregarding the political risks and uncertainties. He retorted that: ‘We budgeted for a loss initially, but we have come out making a profit so far. All we need is for every tourist who visits the area to spend a couple of pounds with us.’ Arch and Goldin were bigtime gamblers themselves. On a characteristic Sunday night, an estimated £75,000 would change hands many times over in nine hours of gambling.<sup>39</sup>

Interviewee A1 echoes the media reports and recalling the hive of gambling activities at Victoria Falls in the 1960s and early 1970s and how gambling spread to African pubs and beerhalls across Zimbabwe- a punishable offence for blacks by the authorities.<sup>40</sup> *The Rhodesia Herald* vividly describes the typical atmosphere inside the casino: ‘

No more bets please,’ the croupier’s voice calls out. The little white ball bounces and rattles to a stop in one of the slotted numbers of the slowly spinning roulette wheel. The distant

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<sup>34</sup> NAZ, ‘Falls road near completion’, *The Rhodesia Herald* 18 January 1966.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> NAZ, ‘Zambia to run Falls Trust’, *The Rhodesia Herald* 18 January 1966.

<sup>37</sup> NAZ, ‘Casino opening announcement is expected soon’, *The Rhodesian Herald* 30 May 1966.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> Interviewee, A1.

thunder of the Falls has given way to the low hum of the air conditioning, the clinking of plastic chips and the subdued murmur of voices. The game of chance, the gamble against the odds is on again within the cool plush surrounds of the Victoria Falls Casino.<sup>41</sup>

Emboldened by the clientele, Arch and Goldin built 80 additional rooms costing £200,000 in late 1966 and cleared more land in front of the casino's kidney shaped swimming pool for a golf course.<sup>42</sup> The casino's style was opulent-modern, with emphasis on greased service, with air-conditioning and an international ala carte menu.<sup>43</sup>

The development of the casino at Victoria Falls had certain social impacts on local communities. On display at Victoria Falls casinos was western decadence and immorality manifested by alcoholism, gambling and prostitution. The indigenous people particularly the Leya employed in menial tasks as cleaners and garden hands found such behaviours deplorable because as pointed out by informant A1, it corrupted their culture.<sup>44</sup> Mkono (2013), Kabote (2015) and Tichaawa (2015) highlight the reservations of indigenous people concerning some western moral values. To westerners and some white settlers, however, roads, casinos and hotels symbolised civilisation, modernity and tourism development. For instance, Arch and Goldin encouraged gambling at the casino for tourism marketing purposes. The Minister of Tourism, Heeden, also commented on the increase in gambling activities at Victoria Falls. Heeden noted that more and more tourists came to Victoria Falls attracted by the development of casino facilities as well as the waterfalls.<sup>45</sup>

Away from the casinos and their influence, at the annual Rand Easter Shows the VFT encouraged the Rhodesian Pavilion to showcase Victoria Falls image with balloons and tens of thousands of gallons of water misted with spray. The Victoria Falls concept became the best tourism promotion instrument of tourism at all major annual fairs and trade shows across Rhodesian towns and cities. Such events put across the ISI message that: 'Rhodesia can make everything for the home and its people. The annual exhibitions in the 1960s and 1970s were

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<sup>41</sup> NAZ, 'Casino proprietors are gambling on a tourist jackpot', *The Rhodesia Herald*, 17 January 1967.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> Interview with A1, Senior Manager at Victoria Falls, on 14 July 2017.

<sup>45</sup> NAZ, Government Printers, Salisbury, Memo from Ministry of Tourism to National Parks and Wildlife Management, dated, 3 January 1968. NAZ, 'It is not all tourism', *The Rhodesia Herald*, 12 January 1968.

attended by businesses and members of the public from across Rhodesia, southern Africa and the world.<sup>46</sup> The VFT had powerful allies in parliament. In parliamentary debates of September 1968 W.M. Irvine (MP) and P. Plamer Owen (MP) dismissed a vote of a mere £6,000 allocated for the development of a new caravan park at Victoria Falls as too little too late.<sup>47</sup> However, Mr Phillip van Heeden, the Minister of Tourism said that the money was enough to clear the caravan site, build new ablution blocks, reticulate water and provide electricity. He disagreed that the private sector should do such a job arguing that such work should be done by the Victoria Falls local authority.<sup>48</sup>

While tourists and infrastructural developments took place in the country, war related fragility played out at Victoria Falls itself. As the civil war intensified and spread fast across the country many military incidences occurred near Victoria Falls. This was because liberation fighters had training camps in Zambia organised and directed by PF ZAPU and ZANU PF nationalist leaders; Edison Sithole, Joshua Nkomo, Josiah Chinamano and Robert Mugabe. In one such battle in September 1968 a group of liberation fighters, so called terrorists crossed over into Rhodesia with the assistance of two Zambians. One of the Zambian men was captured by Rhodesian security forces while the other escaped back into Zambia. The captured Zambian was returned by Rhodesian immigration officials across Victoria Falls Bridge and handed over to the Zambian immigration officials.<sup>49</sup>

Despite the military encounters, it is important to note that the civil war was mostly fought in communal areas rather than tourist areas. This does not suggest that the effects of war were not felt at sprawling urban places like Victoria Falls but that such impact was relatively limited, distant and remote. This partly explains why so soon from 1968 tourism at Victoria Falls was believed to have recovered, at least in the narrative provided by the Rhodesian state media, government reports and official correspondences.

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<sup>46</sup> NAZ, 'Falls at Easter show', *The Rhodesian Herald*, 9 March 1967; Memo dated 8 May 1968, Bulawayo city council minutes.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> NAZ, 'Falls caravan park vote is criticised', *Herald* 28 September 1968; Hansard Parliamentary Debates, 1969.

<sup>49</sup> NAZ, 'Captured Zambian escorted back over the bridge', *The Rhodesian Herald* September 3, 1968.

### 4.3 Further tourism development at Victoria Falls

Government reports in the form of annual reports of the Rhodesia National Tourist Board (RNTB) indicate a recovery in tourism fortunes at Victoria Falls with regards to tourist arrivals that had declined rapidly between 1966 and 1967. In late 1967 visitor numbers in the tourist industry began to recover from the initial shocks of war and UN sanctions. The 1968 RNTB report shows that Rhodesia's tourist traffic had begun to recover from the loss inflicted on it by the economic sanctions, bans and embargoes imposed by the UN. By the end of 1968, the RNTB claimed that the recovery was complete.

New record tourist arrivals were established, with an intake of 266,421 tourists (3.2 per cent higher than the previous record of 1965), staying 3.369m. nights (16 per cent more than in 1965) and spending nearly £7m. (31 per cent more than in 1965).<sup>50</sup> In 1968, 81 per cent of visitors came to Rhodesia on holiday, eight per cent for educational purposes and seven per cent were in transit. Rhodesia was in the same league as South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Argentina as one of the foremost tourist countries of the southern hemisphere. Nearly 80 per cent of all tourist traffic to Rhodesia came from 12 countries of North America and Western Europe. Although southern hemisphere countries offered 'summer sunshine during the northern winter,' they were still heavily dependent on neighbouring southern hemisphere countries for most of their traffic due to the high cost of long distant travel.<sup>51</sup>

The media augmented government information about developments in tourism. In particular, *The Rhodesian Herald* and the *Chronicle* were the leading and popular daily newspapers and the most read across Rhodesia and believed to practice standard journalism. They were also read regionally in southern Africa and internationally and must have acted as powerful advertising tools in attracting tourists to Rhodesia.<sup>52</sup> The newspapers espoused the perception that in the first 7 years of UDI, tourism at Victoria Falls not only quickly recovered from many fragilities but also experienced a boom in tourist development projects. Available tourism statistics, collaborated by RNTB reports, support the tourism resilience claims by *The Rhodesian Herald* and *Chronicle*. Tourism resurgence and resilience at Victoria Falls was a consequence of the expanding colonial capitalist interests that popularised Rhodesian CTAs as paradise on earth. The RNTB reinforced the paradise image with marketing campaigns

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<sup>50</sup> NAZ, Rhodesia National Tourist Board Report, December 1968.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> Interviewee A1.

targeting western markets discussed in section 4.2. UDI atrocities and UN sanctions took a back seat as both investors and tourists sold their consciences about human rights abuses swapping morality for pleasure at Victoria Falls.

Apart from the increase in tourist numbers, investment at Victoria Falls also made a turnaround from the late 1960s especially concerning construction. Infrastructure development at Victoria Falls was another tourism factor resilient to the raging civil war, external stresses of sanctions and bad publicity. From the late 60s the Rhodesia government indicated that a building boom was taking place at Victoria Falls.<sup>53</sup> (Appendices 7 and 8) For example, several tourism related buildings worth over £320,000 had been constructed by 1970 with the value of constructions rising to more than £375,000, an increase of £55,000.<sup>54</sup> The spokesman for Gardini and Company private limited of Salisbury said that hotel construction had peaked at remarkable speed. The Ministry of Local Government in Bulawayo approved several tourism buildings especially deluxe chalets, camps and hotels at Victoria Falls.<sup>55</sup> The paradox of UDI tourism was that while the expectation was war and UN sanctions would reduce tourist traffic and tourism constructions, they did not in this resilient sector with airlines maintaining relationships and carrying passengers to Rhodesia despite. (Appendix 9)

In addition, the construction of banks was also developing at a stable rate. The private sector was in the forefront of this development organising tours to support domestic tourism as well as in the region. (Appendix 10) Standard Bank expanded its banking hall facilities and no longer operated as an agent from the Gardini and Company Casino. The General Manager of Standard Bank A. G. Calder confirmed that the bank had decided to build a new office at Victoria Falls to provide a full range of banking services to the growing number of tourists as well as to local residents and businessmen.<sup>56</sup> Barclays Bank also opened a Victoria Falls branch worth £35,000 whose architect was Harvey and Bufe of Bulawayo. The banks enabled tourists and businesses to access banking facilities at international banks. The development of the banking industry at Victoria Falls and in Rhodesia more generally, had wider benefits to

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<sup>53</sup> NAZ, Rhodesia National Tourist Board Report, December 1968.

<sup>54</sup> NAZ, Rhodesia National Tourist Board Report, December 1968; NAZ, 'Falls has a building boom: plan worth £375,000 issued since January 1968', *The Rhodesian Herald*, 24<sup>th</sup> October 1968.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid*; Minutes of Bulawayo city council dated 4 June, 1968.

<sup>56</sup> NAZ, 'Standard Bank is to build air-conditioned office at the Falls', *The Rhodesia Herald*, 12 January 1968.



the economy in terms of earning foreign exchange in tourist revenues – yet another resilience to the prevailing fragile situation in the country.

Other diverse developments taking place at Victoria Falls during the late 1960s and early 1970s included the expansion of the now increasingly popular Casino Hotel from having 21 bedrooms to 40 bedrooms, doubling its carrying capacity. The Victoria Falls Management Board was chaired by Gardini who stated that economic development aimed at promoting tourism at Victoria Falls included an 18-hole golf course on the Zambezi river banks, housing flats and park development. The business district area at Victoria Falls was redesigned by the government's Town Planning Department in Bulawayo for the provision of modern infrastructure. There was a close link between the Victoria Falls Management Board and the government's Town Planning Department in Bulawayo.

Land for development purposes was made available on a lease and freehold basis by the government. For tourist purposes, three new hotels were built as well as a caravan park, camping and hunting sites and a riverside restaurant. The Victoria Falls Hotel received a facelift increasing its capacity and standard such as having air conditioning and increased rooms.<sup>57</sup> Also, Total Rhodesia Pvt Ltd opened an £80,000 service station at Victoria Falls. The 1.2-acre site opposite the Casino Hotel was bought from the Rhodesia Railways Company. The service station was operated by the United Touring Company. Total Sales Manager R. C. F. Stakenborg, noted that facilities at the garage included a 24-hour service and repairs, a shop, a car washing unit and an unofficial tourist information service. Stakenborg noted that the project fulfilled the need for comprehensive repairs and maintenance facilities in Rhodesia's fastest growing and most important tourist centre.<sup>58</sup>

The wide-ranging economic development in tourist numbers, the construction of various buildings for hotels, banks, garages, roads and camps were testimony to the resilience of tourism development in war time Rhodesia. Business confidence appears to have derived from Victoria Falls itself. It was the sight which attracted visitors to Victoria Falls from all over the world and almost guaranteed that Rhodesia would always have a thriving tourism industry due to the spectacle of the Zambezi River plunging 350ft over the main falls into the gorge

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<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*; Folder MMO7, Government Memoranda dated 10 June 1968.

<sup>58</sup> NAZ, 'Falls Garage to cost £80,000', *The Rhodesia Herald*, 27 February 1969.

below.<sup>59</sup> Victoria Falls was perceived as impressive- statistically and visually. About a mile wide, their average height is over 300ft and at the main falls about 350ft. In the peak month of April, an average of 75 million gallons of water a minute, pours over the brink. In November, this drops to an average of 3.8 million gallons per minute. These figures made the Niagara Falls, Victoria Falls best known tourist competitor, seem pale in comparison. November to February used to be the tourism off season at Victoria Falls, because of the drop in the flow of water and the heat from tropical summers.

When air conditioning and ice cubes became readily available, this limitation was alleviated. Americans who had always been anxious to travel to the southern hemisphere during the USA winter welcomed the fact that the viewing season at Victoria Falls rapidly expanded to embrace the whole year.<sup>60</sup> The inspiration for tourism development at Victoria Falls and economic development in the area certainly came from Victoria Falls. Tourism related infrastructure projects went beyond casinos, hotels, banks and roads to incorporate bridges, airports and garages. For example, Victoria Falls Bridge was renovated and modernised to facilitate tourist satisfaction at Victoria Falls.

The bridge enabled passenger trains operating from South Africa, Zambia and within Rhodesia to reach Victoria Falls for the pleasure of local and international tourists. For sixty years the bridge facilitated tourist locomotive coaches' access to Victoria Falls from around the region and abroad. Border posts at both ends of the bridge were refurbished but Zambia's insistence on visas complicated the crossing of the bridge by tourists from Rhodesia into Zambia. Livingstone, across the river in Zambia suffered from the loss of tourist business, but Victoria Falls on the Rhodesian side was believed to have generally enjoyed a tourist boom during the first 7 years of UDI. The steelwork of the bridge was designed by two engineers named Hodgson and Freeman, of Sir Douglas Fox and Partners and opened in 1905.<sup>61</sup>

The Cleveland Bridge Company of Darlington constructed and erected Victoria Falls Bridge steel work, and their chief man on the spot was an exceptionally able young French man

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<sup>59</sup> Interviewee A3

<sup>60</sup> NAZ, 'Victoria Falls water flow', *The Rhodesian Herald*, 12 January 1968; Bulawayo city council memo, 23 May 1968.

<sup>61</sup> NAZ, 'Falls Bridge receives face lift', *The Rhodesia Herald*, 12 January 1968.

named Imbault.<sup>62</sup> Sentiment rather than practical considerations determined the location of the bridge. Cecil John Rhodes virtually selected the site for Victoria Falls Bridge. It was Rhodes' special wish that the bridge was marked on his dream Cape to Cairo rail route so that passengers would be close enough to feel the spray from the waterfall. H. F. Varian, resident engineer for Rhodesia Railways at the time the bridge was built advocated for a simpler crossing of the Zambezi six miles upstream above Kandahar Island. Freeman also designed several world-famous bridges including the one across Sydney Harbour in Australia and the Birchenough Bridge in Rhodesia.<sup>63</sup> Like banks, bridge refurbishments and regeneration at Victoria Falls and in Rhodesia more generally were important development steps for promoting tourism transportation and growth.

In addition to the banks and bridges and other infrastructure being developed at Victoria Falls, airport construction complemented significant developments in the tourism industry. For instance, airport improvements worth £155,900 at Victoria Falls Airport enhanced other communication infrastructures.<sup>64</sup> The government also financed the building of a control tower, a fire station and a casualty department at a total cost of £50,900. The control tower replaced a ground level installation. The fire station also replaced a smaller building. Improvements costing £48,000 to the terminal building consisted of new customs and immigration halls, a light refreshment bar and other passenger facilities.

The other improvements involved an extension to the apron and an extra runway (£45,000) and new housing for European and African civil aviation staff (£12,000).<sup>65</sup> The casualty department comprised a doctor's surgery and a sick bay to accommodate up to six patients. Linked to patients who included tourists the Minister of Health, Ian McLean announced the joint appointment of a doctor at Victoria Falls by the government and Rhodesia Railways. The doctor also carried out private practice but specialised in treating tourists. There were not enough doctors in Rhodesia to allow the government to appoint a full-time doctor at Victoria Falls.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> RNTB, 1969.

<sup>63</sup> 'It was sentiment that put Falls bridge where it is', *The Rhodesia Herald*, 20 June 1968.

<sup>64</sup> NAZ, '£155,900 Falls Airport', *The Rhodesia Herald*, 9 March 1969; Report of the Roads Dept., 20 July 1969.

<sup>65</sup> NAZ, '£155,900 Falls Airport', *The Rhodesia Herald*, 9 March 1969.

<sup>66</sup> 'Falls may get doctor- McLean', *The Rhodesia Herald*, 12 January 1968.

The government rejected other tourism related projects. For example, the erection of a 300 ft. observation tower at Victoria Falls was strongly opposed by D. Fawcett Phillips (Member of Parliament (MP), Hillside) and A. Moseley (Rhodesia Front (RF), Bulawayo District). Phillips argued that such a tower would desecrate one of the world's great natural wonders and destroy the natural beauty of Victoria Falls. The Deputy Minister of Information, P. Van del Byl said that the tower would stick out at about 260ft above the trees in the vicinity. The Public and Publicity Associations at Victoria Falls and Hwange also strongly opposed it. They doubted whether the erection of such a tower would bring any additional tourists to Rhodesia.<sup>67</sup>

Instead, the General Manager Mervyn Eyett of Air Rhodesia argued that the airport project was singled out as the most important development at Victoria Falls. This was because more flights frequented Victoria Falls. With the aircraft technology of the 70s, it took less than four hours to fly from Harare to Lusaka. The demand for flight frequency in Air Rhodesia services from Victoria Falls to Livingstone, Zambia also increased. Mervyn Eyett stated that air traffic for Zambia travelling from Salisbury had increased from 80 passengers a week to 150, and traffic originating in Johannesburg and destined for Zambia from 150 a week to 210 a week.<sup>68</sup> Four flights had been operating from Salisbury to Victoria Falls but these increased to seven and six flights were scheduled on the Bulawayo to Victoria Falls or Livingstone route, an increase of two. Flights from Bulawayo to Victoria Falls were increased to one return flight every weekend and this was the pattern with other cities requesting connections to Victoria Falls.<sup>69</sup> Also, a return service every weekend between Johannesburg and Victoria Falls was introduced for the benefit and convenience of tourists.

The flight services reflected the resilience and success achieved in establishing a regionally and internationally based tourist traffic to Victoria Falls as businessmen and tourists boarded Dakota, Viscounts, Central African Airways or Zambia Airways to reach Victoria Falls within a few hours. Although road and rail travel were still the most affordable option more and more tourists preferred flying to save time. Immigration and customs on both sides of the bridge cooperated to smoothen tourist travel.<sup>70</sup> Thorne, civil aviation authority manager for both

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<sup>67</sup> NZA, 'Falls observation tower idea attacked', *The Rhodesia Herald*, 7 June 1968.

<sup>68</sup> NAZ, 'More Falls flight as demand grows', *The Rhodesia Herald*, 27 January 1968.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

Victoria Falls and Livingstone Airports believed that the new airport boosted tourism at Victoria Falls.<sup>71</sup>

As more tourism developments took place around Victoria Falls the government designed a tourism catchment area called Victoria Falls – Kariba which constituted the biggest CTA in Rhodesia at the time. A tourist development planning committee of the government studied this wilderness/wildlife CTA. The Minister of Tourism Jack Howman, 1969 to 1972, told the Bulawayo Publicity Association that Victoria Falls-Kariba complex located in northern Matabeleland would be expanded and linked with northern Mashonaland to put a ring around Rhodesia with enormous touristic benefits to the whole country. Howman's first and major task was to plan the future development of Victoria Falls. His tourism development plan and policy was quite ambitious and significant as it linked the western and eastern ends of Kariba Dam by means of boats with adequate facilities on the lake shore, and by means of a road with a game reserve of unrivalled attractions at Chizarira National Park.

The development of the Victoria Falls-Kariba complex was of utmost value to the tourist industry generally and that again pointed to the resilience of the industry. The passing of the Hotels Act in 1970 brightened prospects for the industry accompanied by the release of finance voted by parliament for a hotel fund. Howman stated that 'Handling, as we shall do, taxpayers' money, I have no doubt of the necessity for caution in its expenditure.'<sup>72</sup>

It appears the hotel fund was easily exhausted as more investors applied for hotel finances. Besides challenges with funding, Howman was faced with the continuing threat of sanctions especially from the USA. In the 1970s, the USA closed the Rhodesian Civil Aviation Authority (CAA) tourist office in New York. Howman protested that the USA State Department aided and abated the British Government in its antagonistic approach to solving the civil war in Rhodesia. Lillynrop who worked at the New York Civil Aviation Authority (CAA) tourist office had his passport ceased and expelled from the USA. He held a British passport and had been returning to the USA from attending a Tokyo conference of the International Union of Official Travel Organisations (IUOTO). Howman commented that: 'It

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<sup>71</sup> NAZ, 'New Victoria Falls Airport controlled from small hut', *The Rhodesia Herald*, 17 April, 1967.

<sup>72</sup> NAZ, 'Falls-Kariba Tourist Plans Studied', *The Rhodesia Herald*, 15 November 1969; NAZ, Rhodesia National Tourist Board Report, December 1970.

is a manifestation of the petty, vindictive attitude that has been taken towards us by the British Government and of the extent to which the State Department is led by the nose.’<sup>73</sup> Despite sanctions and closure of tourist offices abroad, there was an increase of tourist arrivals in Rhodesia. In fact, the Rhodesian government was repeatedly warned of the problems associated with the shortage of hotel accommodation failing to keep pace with the increasing number of tourists to the country.

However, the local authorities, tourist officials and hotel proprietors pointed to the tremendous amount of tourism development that had already taken place in the hotel industry. From the 1970s, one company the Tourist Hotel Company, a wholly owned subsidiary of Rhodesian Breweries established plans for an \$8m chain of tourist hotels at Victoria Falls and throughout the country.<sup>74</sup> Other companies, local and foreign, also established themselves in key tourist areas particularly Victoria Falls. In the second half of UDI, individual hotels all over Rhodesia announced expansion or improvement plans.<sup>75</sup> It was as if the country was neither at war nor under sanctions. The most ambitious plans and developments arguably took place at Victoria Falls. Here, the Tourist Hotels Corporation signed a ten-year lease on the Victoria Falls Hotel and spent \$300,000 on internal improvements and additions.<sup>76</sup> Forty-six new double bedrooms got completed for the Casino Hotel. The Tourist Hotels Corporation built a new hotel at Victoria Falls on a site near the Big Tree at a cost of over \$1m.<sup>77</sup> The project included plans for a championship standard golf course. Another firm, the Industrial Marketing Pvt Ltd which already owned hotels in Rhodesia and Malawi, developed several lodges at Victoria Falls. Many other companies also made investments in Victoria Falls during the 1970s.<sup>78</sup>

Outstanding tourism investments worth noting were those of the Tourist Hotels Corporation (THC) which expanded its hotel construction business in the 1970s to the Hwange Game Reserve where it built a 100-room safari lodge completed at a cost of \$900,000.<sup>79</sup> The lodge was built near a new airport built for the reserve. In Bulawayo, the THC spent \$600,000

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<sup>73</sup> *Ibid*; NAZ, Rhodesia National Tourist Board Report, December 1970.

<sup>74</sup> NAZ, ‘Rhodesian hotels are expanding’, *The Rhodesia Herald: Holiday and Travel*, June 24 1970.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid*.

renovating Hotel Victoria which increased the number of rooms from 110 to 190. Also, a luxury hotel which cost \$300,000 was built four miles from the Bulawayo city on the Beitbridge road and another motel was opened in 1970 on Victoria Falls road.<sup>80</sup> The Hotel Rio was expanded and during the mid-1970s a \$3m centre was constructed on the old Grand Hotel area.<sup>81</sup> Further along the main tourist route, the Cecil Hotel in Gweru was modernised, and a new motel was completed on the outskirts of KweKwe and Kadoma. A new motel for the Moores Organisation was built and Specs Hotel was modernised on Lomagundi Road. The construction of many hotels and other tourism infrastructure in Rhodesia created strong foundations of tourism development during UDI and beyond.

As summarised in table 4.1 below, the first half of the 1970s was a spectacular hotel boom period which had begun in the late 1960s.<sup>82</sup> Hotel construction in particular created many jobs and expanded tourist facilities that generated foreign currency for fragile Rhodesia. Hotel construction decidedly benefited from the government's tourism policy that allocated land title and hotel funds to entrepreneurs. This tourism policy was aligned to Rhodesia's general economic policy of food self-sufficiency and ISI tourism to cater for the leisure needs of not only local whites but also other foreign visitors.

Like Victoria Falls, the capital city Salisbury benefited from ISI tourism infrastructural development. Salisbury gave RNTB officials the biggest challenge in terms of shortage in hotel accommodation. In addition to tourists en-route to and from Victoria Falls, Salisbury had to cope with businessmen and officials who still came to the capital. The city had less than 1,000 rooms in licenced hotels which fell far short of the high demands from leisure and business tourists. The THC, which had a near monopoly in hotel accommodation eased the accommodation crisis in Salisbury with a new \$2,6m hotel overlooking the city gardens. It had 350 double rooms and opened in the mid-1970s at the peak of the civil war defying the logic that tourism development would be difficult to implement in war time. The hotel industry benefited from other companies which built hotels in North Avenue and Fourth Street and on the Borrowdale road in Salisbury. For instance, the Jameson Hotel was expanded at a cost of \$100,000. The \$164,000 Beverly Rocks Motel had been opened in 1969 and greatly extended during the 1970s. The ambitious \$10m Meikles tourism development plan was also

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<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

implemented in the 1970s. Even with these developments, Salisbury and Rhodesia continued to experience serious hotel accommodation shortages.<sup>83</sup>

**Table 4.1 UDI Tourism Construction drive 1968-1979**

Year	Name	Town/City	Amount Invested
1968	Casino Hotel	Victoria Falls	£55,000
1969	Total Rhodesia Pvt Ltd Garage	Victoria Falls	£80,000
1970	Victoria Falls Airport	Victoria Falls	£155,000
1970	Airport Infrastructure	Victoria Falls	£51,000
1970	Hwange Safari Lodge	Hwange	\$900,000
1970	Luxury Hotel	Beit Bridge	\$300,000
1971	Victoria Falls Hotel	Victoria Falls	\$300,000
1971	Hotel Victoria	Bulawayo	\$600,000
1972	Big Tree	Victoria Falls	\$1 million
1974	Hotel Rio	Victoria Falls	\$3 million
1974	Salisbury Hotel	Salisbury	\$2.6 million
1974	Marina and Hotel	Kariba	\$1.1 million
1975	Cecil Hotel	Gweru	\$55,000
1975	Jameson Hotel	Salisbury	\$100,000
1976	Specs Hotel	Kadoma	\$30,000
1977	Meikles Hotel	Salisbury	\$10 million
1979	Beverly Rock Hotel	Salisbury	\$164,000

**Source: Compiled by researcher from archival material**

Victoria Falls remained the matchless tourism epicentre in the country. Thousands of visitors continued to arrive each year by road, rail and air to see Victoria Falls, in unspoilt but commercialised surroundings, preserved as near as possible for what conservationists referred to as wilderness or pristine nature. Tourists stayed at the famous colonial-style hotels where evenings could be spent in the luxury gaming rooms, or in national park lodges – all within sound of the roaring waterfall. Here, unchanged, was the great Zambezi River, the hippo and the crocodile; the flashing birds and the fighting tiger fish. In the game rich countryside nearby, elephant, zebra, eland, sable, wildebeest, buffalo and many other animals filled the bush and could be viewed from the safety of a car or a low flying, game viewing aircraft.<sup>84</sup> At

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid*; NAZ, Rhodesia National Tourist Board Report, December 1971.

<sup>84</sup> Interviewee A2.



Victoria Falls along miles of scenic drives and splendid views, dominated by the white and towering cloud of spray, the visitor may have shared David Livingstone's thought that: 'scenes so lovely must have been gazed upon by angels in their flight.'<sup>85</sup> Such an idyllic nature of Victoria Falls tourism experienced at the fragility-resilience interface was short of a tourism miracle in twentieth century Rhodesia.

Tailoring his speech on Livingstone's depiction of Victoria Falls, Minister of Information, Immigration and Tourism, P. K. van der Byl remarked to delegates attending the 1972 third Rhodesia Tourist Conference at Troutbeck Hotel, that Victoria Falls had been experiencing an influx of tourists since the late 1960s. The conference was sponsored by the RNTB. Van der Byl opened the three-day conference attended by hundreds of international delegates. The Minister set a new target for the country's tourist industry. He told the conference the government's target was half a million tourists by 1975. He announced a two-pronged policy drive to increase tourism- by promoting Rhodesia more and by developing the country's tourism facilities. Government policy of promotion and development were complimentary. The Minister acknowledged the looming shortage of accommodation unless the private sector stepped in to provide diverse forms of tourist accommodation countrywide since the government had already set aside a fair number of hotel sites in the tourist areas in need of speedy development. The hotel fund had been in operation for some time but demand for state funds had slackened.

The Minister noted that: 'the government would give every encouragement to the building of new hotels, and my Ministry will always be available to act as liaison to clear difficulties which may appear.'<sup>86</sup> The government tourism development committee spearheaded tourism policy in allocating funds for hotel and sites for hotel building. The committee was composed of representatives from other ministries which had achieved a great deal at Victoria Falls. Van der Byl emphasised that tourism policy was also made up of promotional schemes and advertising campaigns stepped up in the second half of UDI. However, Van der Byl argued that it was not in the best national interest to swamp the country with visitors. At peak periods hotel accommodation throughout the country was already saturated and caravan parks,

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<sup>85</sup> NAZ, Rhodesia National Tourist Board Report, December 1971.

<sup>86</sup> NAZ, Government report, third Rhodesia Tourist Conference, 1972; NAZ, Rhodesia National Tourist Board Report, December 1973.

national parks and camping grounds over flowed. The expanded industry required an equivalent build-up of accommodation and facilities and public relations were of the utmost importance in promoting tourism and immigration officials were conscious of their responsibilities. Delays at control posts and airports had been eliminated. Most probably, some of these claims might have been for marketing and propaganda purposes to play down impacts of protracted war and sanctions.

Nonetheless, on jumbo jets operating in Rhodesia the government provided customs and immigration officials travelling on aircrafts and clearing documentation so that when passengers landed all they needed was to collect their luggage and enjoy Rhodesia. Large groups of tourists in hotels and national parks, and agents liaised very closely to avoid congestion through overlapping itineraries. Road development, notably the Harare-Bulawayo road, was a priority to attract even more tourist to Victoria Falls. The Beira-Lourenco Marques road brought tourists into the eastern districts (experiencing intense guerrilla fighting) and development of hotels in that area was stepped up in combination with developments at Victoria Falls. Also, ongoing airport improvements took place countrywide. The Department of Tourism was reorganised into two branches to deal with promotional and development aspects, and staff would be increased to maintain liaison with all organisations in tourism. Rhodesia's aim was to build a solid reputation as a country where tourists were safe and not fleeced and where they received the best value for money and a competitive experience of a lifetime.

#### **4.4 UDI Tourism policy**

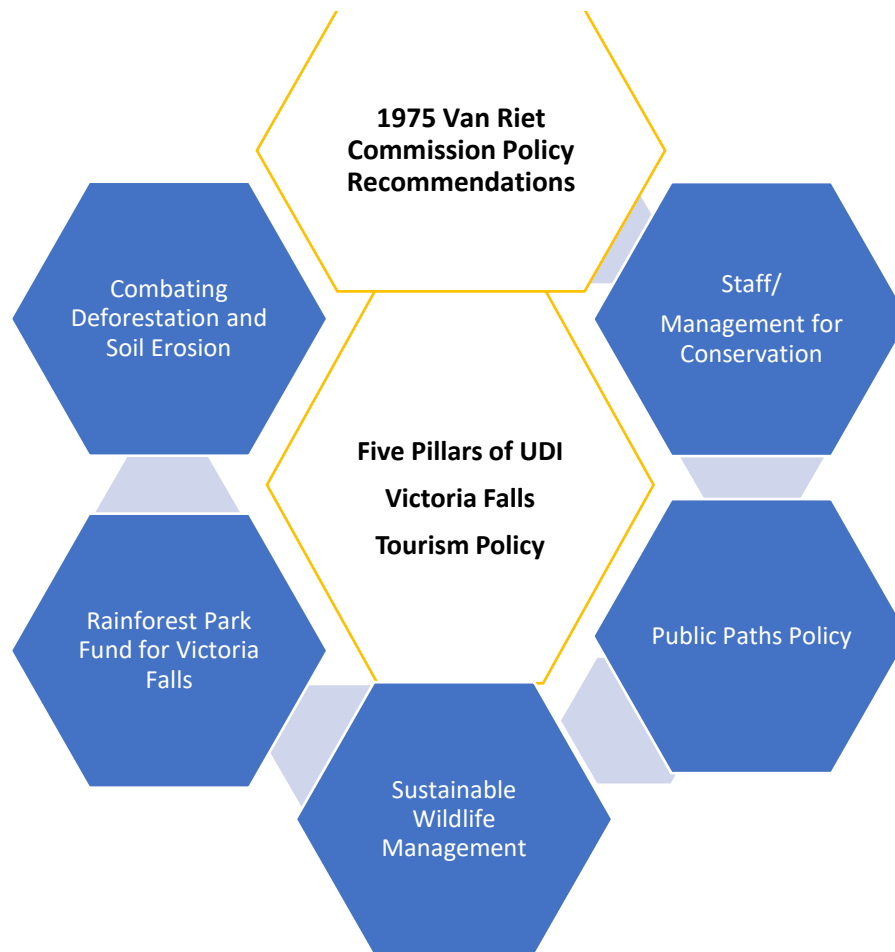
The Rhodesian government enacted a tourism policy that protected specific areas of Victoria Falls against environmental degradation consequent of tourists and the economic development taking place as outlined in section 4.3. Figure 4.1 below sums up the Victoria Falls tourism policy used to demarcate, protect and conserve gazetted CTAs; the water falls and the gorge; the rain forest and the botanical attraction on the land opposite the gorge; the river bank upstream from Victoria Falls; and the Zambezi River and island opposite Victoria Falls.<sup>87</sup> In 1974, Van der Byl and the Ministry of Tourism were deeply concerned about the

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<sup>87</sup> NAZ, File No: MM 273, Minutes of a meeting held on 4 November 1975 between Van der Byl and Van Riet. Willem van Riet was a conservationist and architect, Harry Davies an ex-curator of Ewanrigg National Park and Barnes the regional road engineer for Matabeleland helped Van Riet in the work of Victoria Falls Commission.

environmental degradation taking place around the economically significant Victoria Falls. Van der Byl hired Willem van Riet to head a commission of inquiry to assess and report on the environmental situation at Victoria Falls.<sup>88</sup> The setting up of a commission by the government showed the importance it attached to protecting Victoria Falls CTA.

**Figure 4.1 The five pillars of UDI Victoria Falls Tourism Policy for development**



**Source: researcher's own**

Van Riet's commission of inquiry reported its findings in October 1975. Its findings became government policy on specific areas of Victoria Falls. Tourism policy considered the waterfalls and gorge as a natural heritage to be protected by the state. This part of Victoria Falls was the most protected area by the Rhodesian government.<sup>89</sup> Secondly, the rainforest from which visitors viewed the waterfall and the surrounding Livingstone's statue had

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

suffered the most from human utilisation and deterioration of the vegetation adjacent to the paths and the statue was at a deteriorating stage. This problem was attributed to three factors; human movement, animal movement and possible natural ecological change.

Far too many access points existed creating many pressure areas especially surrounding the statue. These, apart from destroying the vegetation, also created points of soil erosion where they cut across the contours. These tracks were also used by indigenous Africans entering the forest to collect firewood. Government policy stipulated that the ecological impacts had to be contained using contour ridges and drainage systems that would also be used to combat tropical diseases like malaria. <sup>90</sup> Contour ridges were particularly useful in controlling soil erosion created by the increased run-off from the town, the road and railway lines into the small and mostly dry streams which eventually found their way to the riverbank and the waterfall area.

With regards to the rainforest, tourism policy discouraged the cutting down of or burning vegetation at Victoria Falls CTAs; riverbanks, islands and waterfalls.<sup>91</sup> The government created a tourism civil service implement tourism policy at Victoria Falls; a warden- the first was John Hatton in 1975, a full-time ranger and other support staff. One example of their duties was the fencing policy. The four important sections of the waterfall were fenced, and entry was controlled. The riverbank (riverine forested area) was also fenced to protect it from possible pressure from recreational facilities. There rules and regulations governed access and use of the area. Warning signs were put in place for visitors. The identification of species was done for tourists as tourism information in booklet or pamphlet.<sup>92</sup>

Further protection of Victoria Falls waterfall was insured by a one-way path policy. Existing paths of the mid 1970s were found to be insufficient in width to accommodate increased tourist movement in both directions. Tourists destroyed vegetation and the new policy discouraged the enlargement of paths because it would mean further cutting down of trees and vegetation. Four new one-way circular routes were created away from the rain forest. The route following

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<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> NAZ, P. J. Evans, Deputy Director of the DNPWM, Rhodesia, the Victoria Falls, 1972 Conference and Victoria Falls Report submitted to the DNPWM in 1972, Commission of inquiry to assess and report on the environmental situation at the Falls; NAZ, Rhodesia National Tourist Board Report, December 1975.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

Victoria Falls edge was made one way, but access roads remained two way. Tourists faced problems of mud, leaves and rain on the paths that had to be well maintained by creating concrete paths and stone paving. The work was done by more than 50 labourers involving the carrying 8,000 tons of soil, gravel and stone prompting one local tour operator to complain of the untidiness of construction work.<sup>93</sup>

In addition, there was a fee policy levied to enter the Rainforest National Park. The revenue collected went into a fund for the management of Victoria Falls. Policy also dictated that all human-made elements had to be removed. For example, seats for tourists were made of wood, steel rails and chains at the West Cataract Steps were replaced with wooden ones. Bins and signs were also redesigned to be more environmentally friendly. With regards to disease, anti-malaria control drains were filled in after consultation with the Ministry of Health regarding disease control. Deforestation was blamed on the lowering of the natural water table thought to have originally created the rainforests. An accurate survey of the vegetation at the protected area was implemented by the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management together with the Department of Forestry. All foreign species from the area were removed. The Big Tree, Baobab- was not included in the rainforest for the pleasure of tourist viewing and years later was fenced. Some indigenous species were planted.<sup>94</sup>

Tourism policy also stipulated how wildlife at Victoria Falls had to be managed. The DNPWM undertook a survey of the animal population in the protected area to allow sustainable numbers in the area considered as important for botanical and tourist reasons. The area had been fenced to reduce and control wild animals to prevent the destruction of vegetation by fauna like warthogs, bush and water bucks. These species were viewed to have overpopulated the protected area with undesirable environmental consequences to the existing ecology. The interests of tourism development relating to hotels, bridges, roads, car parks and railways were considered as posing risks of the deforestation of the tourist resort area. Car parks were redesigned and placed a distance away from the protected areas. The first phase of implementing these policies cost the government £64,000 and the amount increased over

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

time.<sup>95</sup> Figure 4.1 shows five pillars of tourism policy while figure 4.2 states that tourists visited Rhodesia despite sanctions and civil war.

**Figure: 4.2 Tourist pour in despite sanctions.**



**Source: NAZ: Rhodesia Herald 12 Jan 1968**

#### **4.4.1 Resilient UDI tourism development**

Despite the major tourism developments during UDI, the sector still struggled to cope with many challenges apart from the war and sanctions. In 1973, the war had escalated through Rhodesia bringing safety concerns for tourists in the country. German tourists had been kidnapped at Victoria Falls Bridge and two Canadian tourists killed deterring tourist visits. Zambia closed its border with Rhodesia in the same year as hostilities reached high levels.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid*; NAZ, Rhodesia National Tourist Board Report, December 1975.

Also, the 1973 oil crisis was a blow to the tourism industry because without fuel tourist activities became limited. Irrespective of these challenges, Table: 4.2 below demonstrates that, to a large extent, the tourism sector was resilient as tourist arrivals decreased but did not dry up completely. From 1970 to 1972 tourist arrivals were at their peak understandably tailing off from 1976 to 1979 as the liberation struggle ended characterised by ambushes against tourist convoys and attacks at some resorts. Also interesting are the increases of tourist visits from 1966 onwards.

In general tourism development to Rhodesia was economically, politically and psychologically important. Tourism was Rhodesia's 4<sup>th</sup> largest source of foreign currency after tobacco, asbestos and copper. In 1965 annual foreign earnings from the tourism industry was R\$10.3million and 10 years later the country earned R\$10.3million and 10 years later the country earned R\$27 million. Tourism was a source of jobs for Rhodesia. Travel in and out of Rhodesia decreased the sense of isolation and boosted public moral.<sup>96</sup>

**Table 4.2: Historical annual arrivals from 1965 to 2015 under UDI**

Timeframes and themes associated with historical periods		
Total arrivals 1965 -1979	Tourist Arrivals	Themes
1965	239,562	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Colonial Zimbabwe under Prime Minister Ian Smith.</li> <li>Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) 1965.</li> <li>United Nations imposed sanctions and survival</li> <li>Skewed resource distribution and racial inequalities</li> <li>Resistance against colonialism – national liberation war</li> </ul>
1966	198,189	
1967	226,822	
1968	246,823	
1969	286,582	
1970	304,734	
1971	346,702	
1972	368,131	
1973	272,548	
1974	260,206	
1975	270,029	
1976	162,239	
1977	120,231	
1978	101,764	
1979	79,302	

**Source: Zimbabwe Statistical Office, Harare**

In southern Africa, Rhodesia was important to its neighbours as most of the tourists travelled to Malawi, Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana and South Africa. Malawi announced that

<sup>96</sup> Monthly Digest Rhodesia Statistics Office January 1976

prohibiting Rhodesia passport holders had a huge impact on their economy, as most of their private industry was dependent on expatriates from Rhodesia (Malawi Tourist Report 1970 and 1971). Air Malawi continued to operate in Rhodesia citing that withdrawal of service would cost Air Malawi an arm and a leg since the Salisbury route provided the country with substantial income and its fleet was dependent on Rhodesia servicing facilities.

For this reason, Malawi encouraged more Rhodesians to visit. Malawi accepted representatives at ministerial level from Rhodesia to promote tourism and trade. By 1976 about 9,000 Rhodesians continued to visit Malawi. Air Malawi also helped Rhodesia access other countries they served and introduced holiday packages to and from Mauritius and Seychelles. Air Malawi package holidays allowed passage for Rhodesians to Nairobi and then to Athens or Bombay without passports because Air Malawi had right of aboard into these countries (Rhodesia Financial Gazette, 12 May 1976).

#### **4.5 Summary**

This chapter examined tourism development within the context of two diametrical opposites-fragilities and resilience. The chapter discussed the social, economic and political fragilities existing in Rhodesia in the period 1965-1979. This important context situated tourism development at Victoria Falls in both micro and macro factors frameworks of events affecting Rhodesia during UDI. The context showed how racial conflict and black grievances attracted UN sanctions and a 14-year civil war that destabilized the country and tourism. The embattled Rhodesian government adopted ISI to try and bust UN sanctions. The chapter contrasted the fragile situation in the country by specifically exploring concrete examples of tourism development following specific research themes of infrastructure, tourist arrivals and development. The chapter demonstrated the resilience of the tourism industry not only in exploring construction of tourist facilities but also a general trend in increasing visitor numbers from 1966. Hotel construction stood out as the leading sector to cater for tourists that came to the country in large numbers. The country's tourism policy went beyond building hotels to protecting Victoria Falls and other resorts from being overexploited. The Rhodesia government was concerned about issues like deforestation and soil erosion at Victoria Falls. The chapter is about the paradox that existed between a fragile situation and resilient developments in tourism.



## **Chapter Five**

### **Tourism development in Zimbabwe 1980-1990**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

This chapter contrasts with chapter four which explored fragility-resilience interactions during UDI tourism. It examines the interface of fragility and resilience in tourism development in independent Zimbabwe. The chapter specifically examines fragilities framing tourism development and tourism resilience in the first decade of independence, the 1980s- referred to as a 'socialist' era in literature on Zimbabwe. The chapter briefly provides an overview of tourism policy at independence and its major challenges in section 5.1. Section 5.2 analyses many of the political fragilities modern Zimbabwe faced. Section 5.3 examines the economic framework in which tourism development took place. Sections 5.2 and 5.3 are two sides of the same coin that explore the broader frameworks for tourism development at Victoria Falls. Other sections discuss the role and activities of the Zimbabwe Tourism Development Corporation (ZTDC), a quasi-state-owned company, in its attempt to develop domestic tourism aligned to regional and international tourism examined in sections 5.6 and 5.7.

#### **5.1 Major tourism challenges**

During the 1980s, the Zimbabwe government faced several social, economic and political challenges. The government desired to turn a new page and rectify most of the colonial injustices already examined in chapter four. The government desired to develop a multiracial and non-discriminatory tourism industry that would cater for the local, regional and international tourists. The major difference with UDI tourism was that there were now new and different players in different places and in a different time frame particularly without war and sanctions- the key drivers of situations of fragility in Rhodesia. Also, the state attempted to correct misconceptions about Zimbabwe's historical past and heritage. For example, the Rhodesia government had stopped publications from stating categorically that Victoria Falls had relevance in local people's lives. Rhodesian rulers had claimed that Great Zimbabwe was not a product of an indigenous civilisation hoping to prevent black Zimbabweans from regarding both Victoria Falls and the ruins as symbols of a cultural pride embedded in the African past. In 1982, Minister of Home Affairs Dr. Herbert Ushewokunze, in whose jurisdiction the museums and monuments lay, wrote an introduction to Archaeologist, Dr. Peter Garlake's work on Great Zimbabwe correcting past misunderstandings on Zimbabwean history Ushewokunze remarked that:

This precious cornerstone of our culture was taken away from us with our country by the colonialists. Drained of life, it became an object for foreign tourists, and the subject of absurd theories of every sort, with a single aim in common, to rob us of our past and our pride . . . Despite what hired cynics would like the world to believe, Great Zimbabwe was built by the Great People of Zimbabwe.<sup>97</sup>

However, Ushewokunze's comment should also be understood in the context of the euphoria of independence in which politicians took every opportunity to castigate all colonial experiences. Nonetheless, Zimbabwe derives its name from these fifteenth century Great Zimbabwe Ruins (Shona for *dzimba dza mabwe*, literally- houses of stone), Under Prime Minister Mugabe, the Zimbabwe government sought to build a new tourism industry rectifying the colonial denial of African history and heritage. Victoria Chitepo, first black Minister of Natural Resources and Tourism spearheaded the new tourism policy in Zimbabwe leading an industry structured along colonial lines- of a minister, ministry officials and a tourism board working in partnership with the private sector. The new tourism policy endeavoured to cater for a variety of tourists. The policy sought to avoid the inconsistencies associated with large-scale tourism structured around the tastes of an affluent minority of the world's population. The government's approach to tourism was that the country's scenic and cultural attractions such as Victoria Falls, and Great Zimbabwe be made available to the local and foreign populations alike at a reasonable cost and that mass tourism, like in colonial times, be discouraged so as not to upset the delicate balance of nature upon which tourism in Zimbabwe rested. Ideal as such a policy was, a new dawn of tourism in independent Zimbabwe was not without teething problems.

Informant A1 outlined some of the key problems but insisted on the advantages as well stating that:

Our main challenge is with the international perception of Zimbabwe. Foreigners have been exposed to many negative reports about our country, but the reality on the ground is that we are a safe destination for tourists. We have our problems like any other country, but these problems very rarely, if ever, spill over onto the tourist. We have struggled to overcome this perception. In Victoria Falls the main challenge is to ensure we keep it the special natural wilderness that it is. Being a world heritage site and located in a National Park it is still pristine and we still have all the wild animals like elephants, lions and buffalos wondering through town. There are not many places left like that in the world, so we must preserve it at all costs.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ), A. Novicki, 'Tourism with a socialist slant,' in Anthony J. Hughes, (ed.), *Africa Report*, A Publication of the African American Institute, January-February 1983, p.49.

<sup>98</sup> Interviewee A1

It appears that most informants agreed on the problem of a poor image for the country before and after independence. As noted by A1, A2 also picked fragilities emanating from political divisions based on ethnicity and political rivalry as a major worry. The politics of division across Africa has generally given the continent a bad image for tourism with most states characterised as fragile or failure states. Interviewee A2 is worthwhile quoting at length in summing up some of the political problems Zimbabwe experienced soon after independence. A2 explained that:

I think that your question is important because to tell you the truth, this country has gone to hell and back. Here I am talking about its crooked politics since white people came to this country and after we got independence. Actually, I think that bad politics is the greatest challenge ever for tourism in Zimbabwe. No other challenge is greater than the divisive politics that has given this country and the Vic Falls a very bad name and image. Look for example at the liberation war that tore the country apart. I think the country was also under United Nations Security Council sanctions since 1967 first imposed by the UK. Sanctions must surely have had a negative impact on tourism don't you think. But that does not matter. Then came our independence and what do you have, Mugabe fighting Nkomo in Matabeleland for I think so many years from 1982 to 1987 when some Unity Accord was said to have been signed to end the so-called dissident problem that worried tourists and tour operators. I think the dissident issue was bad for tourism. Off course there were many challenges and one cannot talk about all of them if you see what I mean. But if you allow me to come back to poor politics that polarises the people and creates hatred in families because politicians like to divide and rule the people.<sup>99</sup>

Interviewee A4 concurs with A2 and noted that during the 1980s Zimbabwe received bad publicity from people with a wrong agenda staked against the country specifically using the media to do so in the form of propaganda. A4 adds that the negatives were often countered by the positives like the people of Zimbabwe being humane and peace lovers – a major factor that accounted for the resilience of the sector. According to Interviewee A4, Zimbabweans were ‘good and welcoming to visitors of any kind. We use our language to tell about the reality of tourism in Zimbabwe. Bad publicity was a dangerous challenge motivated by politics. Tourism in Zimbabwe survived because its citizens love their country. They are so passionate about promoting tourism. The people are the best asset for the country and tourism because they are resilient and enthusiastic about keeping and promoting tourism forever.’<sup>100</sup> Interviewee A4 alludes to the fact that Victoria Falls should be looked at as a blessing rather than a curse and should be used to resolve many of the country's problems. This was a view of Victoria Falls as a problem solver through attracting visitors and generating jobs.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Interviewee A2.

<sup>100</sup> Interviewee A4.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid

With regards to tourism climatic impacts during the 1980s interviewee A2 had much to say as well and argued that:

In this age of climate change, or the Anthropocene age, carbon emissions or CO<sub>2</sub> pollution is of great concern to most people in the world because of global warming. I guess people who travel to Vic Falls leave a carbon footprint in air pollution not necessarily at the destination itself alone but wherever they are originating from thereby contributing to climate change through air, road, rail travel. Human social and economic activity leaves anthropogenic impacts on the environment...some of the ecological effects at the Vic Falls; humans have encroached on pristine nature and destroyed scenic sites; wild life and wilderness have been replaced by modern buildings for the pleasure of tourists and perhaps less for locals; waste spoils the place and its management is not efficient; deforestation and soil erosion have crept onto the Vic Falls for so many years with little effort to combat its increasing nature; investors like to test the limits of enjoying nature by applying to invest on the pristine islands; the sunset cruises or early morning game views leave the human footprint of waste – no matter how little. In the end, these consequences defeat the whole purpose of tourists seeing nature in its true natural state because these two things do not go hand in hand but actually compete and reaching an equilibrium is difficult for governments.... humans destroy vegetation and displace animals to accommodate modern facilities for the enjoyment of tourists.<sup>102</sup>

However, A2 was aware of some government efforts in the 1980s to address some of the environmental challenges faced at Victoria Falls. A2 notes that: ‘there are a few sustainable practices that mitigate the environmental consequences such as the turning down of some applications intending to develop in sensitive places of the Falls. Also, the government has been cautious on the speed with which the place is readily polluted or ‘destroyed’ to accommodate capitalist developments.’<sup>103</sup> Asked why tourism at Victoria Falls appeared to survive regardless of these political and environmental fragilities A2 and other informants suggested that tourism in Zimbabwe notably at Victoria Falls was resilient and will always be there in perpetuity arguing that it had always been there even before whites with the indigenous people viewing the place but not in a commercialised manner as now.<sup>104</sup> Interview A2 expanded in the resilience aspect of Victoria Falls tourism stating that:

Tourism at the Vic Falls survives all the odds be it financial, economic, political or lack of development because the place is naturally attractive and there is no other place like it in the whole world. That is why it is a unique World Heritage Site and tourists know that it compares to no other place in the world. Tourism at the Vic Falls is sustained by the natural beauty of the place, the natural environment that the tourism policy has emphasised over many years. This is what people come to see and this in my view will never come to end as long as people inhabit the earth. How can you even think such visits would come to an end? If anything, tourist arrivals are bound to increase as travelling becomes more efficient and relatively cheaper for most people including the middle classes. The past has proved that despite all the odds, tourism at the Vic Falls will never come to a stop no matter what. I would end by saying

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid

in fact the problems do not even matter, if anything, they help with making a resilient tourism brand unknown elsewhere in the entire world.<sup>105</sup>

In Interviewee A4's view in the 1980s, Zimbabwe had four major challenges of governance, poor infrastructure, weak marketing and lack of product developing. In particular, Interviewee A4 maintains that tourism marketing was lopsided because it heavily focused on Victoria Falls marketing at the expense of other destinations. Interviewee A4 proposed that marketing should have bundled Zimbabwe's attractions with product development involving the promotion of culture tourism, village tourism and agrarian tourism. Such developments, in Interviewee A4's thinking would create a diverse industry that generated and increased the lengths of tourist stays in the country.<sup>106</sup> Interviewee A4's views are very interesting in the sense they touch upon both the fragilities and resilient aspects of the tourism sector in the 1980s. The next section 5.2 examines whether or not the major tourism challenges dampened tourist arrivals, or were, like during UDI ignored by tourists visiting Victoria Falls and the country more generally.

## **5.2 Tourist arrivals**

Regardless of the tourism challenges and destruction caused by the civil war, the government started to resuscitate the tourism industry in 1980. The industry was quick to respond to government efforts such that already from very low annual tourist arrivals of below 100,000 in 1979 of 75,000 tourists, visitor numbers more than trebled to 240,000 in 1980. In 1981 tourist arrivals increased to 375,000; and 400,000 in 1982.<sup>107</sup> In (Appendix 11) Michael Gardner, director of tourism at independence gave an overview of the tourism sector and its potential to develop. The successor to the RNTB, the Zimbabwe Tourist Board (ZTB) targeted an annual tourist arrival growth rate of 10 to 15 per cent targeting to reach one million tourists a year by 1986. That target was the optimal figure given the existing infrastructure and the government's policy of 'quality high end tourism' that limited the numbers of visitors so as not to degrade the natural environment. This policy was a continuation of UDI tourism policy highlighted in section 4.4. According to Chitepo, 'Tourism in Zimbabwe is based upon our fauna and flora, Victoria Falls, for instance, the jewel of our tourism, cannot take more than

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> NAZ, Report of the Zimbabwe Tourist Board (ZTB), 1981, p.2.

1,500 tourists per day. If we had mass tourism, we would find ourselves having to regiment people and it would lose its effect.'<sup>108</sup>

Throughout the 1980s, Zimbabwe worked hard to attract visitors from other African nations to diversify the visitor mix. Under UDI, the Rhodesian government depended on South African tourists for two reasons: to generate foreign exchange, and to use as a political tool to argue that people were still visiting the country despite perceptions of international isolation. The new tourism policy of the 1980s considered the fact that the commerce and economies of southern Africa had historically been closely connected to South Africa through labour and business migration and that there were many Zimbabwean citizens of South African origin with families in the country. The percentage of South Africans visiting Zimbabwe remained stable for much of the eighties. The low cost of travel from South Africa to Zimbabwe was an additional factor since one only needed to drive across the border.<sup>109</sup> However, the ZTB still expected the numbers of tourists from other African countries to increase in the future because of regional cooperation and improving standards of living, at some point exceeding the South African trade. Already in the early 1980s, there had been a noticeable increase in the number of tourists from Zambia, Botswana, and Malawi.<sup>110</sup> (Appendix 12) This increase led to a historic meeting of tourist officers with the mandate to avail new policy statement for tourism development (see Appendix 13).

In terms of the composition of visitors the British comprised the largest percentage of non-African visitors to Zimbabwe, followed by Americans, Canadians, and West Germans, then Swiss, Dutch, French, and Australians.<sup>111</sup> In order to tap the overseas market, the ZTB continued with the colonial tourism policy of maintaining offices in Chicago, Frankfurt, and London with plans to open bureaus in Scandinavia, Australia, and Los Angeles. Tourism information attachés in the overseas ZTB offices, maintained contact with local tour operators and agents interested in sending individuals and groups to Zimbabwe and provided vital information on what Zimbabwe offered the traveller. More importantly attaches managed the negative perceptions about Zimbabwe as a fragile and unstable country. The tourism officers also attended tourism and travel conferences and conventions all over the world, sometimes

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<sup>108</sup> NAZ, File MM23, Memo dated 10 October from Minister of Tourism to the ZTB.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> NAZ, Report of ZTB, 1983, p.3.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

joined by representatives of the Harare ZTB main office. For example, in October 1982, Etherton Mpisaunga, a ZTB marketing manager attended the American Society of Travel Agents convention in Miami, where some 5,000 delegates in the travel business, from airline employees to travel agents, had the opportunity to ‘discover Zimbabwe,’ as the ZTB promotional brochures exhorted at the tourist board’s stand and booth. Mpisaunga characterised the response in Miami as ‘absolutely fabulous.’ He also took the opportunity afforded by his USA visit to meet with leading American travel magazines and participated in a hot-line radio programme in Chicago. Mpisaunga’s message to potential American travellers was; ‘Zimbabwe is an absolutely unique destination, a very peaceful country. We’ve had our fair share of problems during our war of liberation, but this is history. The policy of reconciliation is working, and we have a multiracial government to prove the point.’<sup>112</sup>

Despite efforts by tourism representatives to limit the damage inflicted on Zimbabwe by its political fragilities, arguably, there was no way of escaping the impact political instability in the country had on tourism development. A major factor for potential tourists in deciding to visit a foreign country has always been an assessment of the political climate, stability and the internal security situation. Hints of domestic troubles would usually be enough to discourage all but the intrepid tourist. As a result, discussions and debates on tourism development in the 1980s were not only concerned with visitor numbers and their countries of origin but also the many questions raised about the effect of a culture of political violence upon Zimbabwe’s nascent tourism industry. In July 1982 the violence in Zimbabwe spread to the tourism sector with the kidnappings of six tourists – two Americans, two British, and two Australians on the Bulawayo-Victoria Falls road by dissident elements of the former Zimbabwe People’s Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA), and the murders of three British tourists in the Eastern Highlands during the same month.<sup>113</sup> The Matabeleland hostages were kidnapped by up to 12 armed assailants as they were riding on a truck from Victoria Falls to Bulawayo during a safari tour. Two of them were Americans, Kevin Ellis, 24 and Brett Baldwin, 23; two were Australians, Tony Bajzelz, 25, and William Butler, 31; and two were British, James Greenwell, 18, and Martyn Hodgson, 35. The murders marked a bad chapter in the tourism sector because it touched upon one of the cornerstones of tourist traffic – whether or not a country was safe to visit. The killings shocked the world and became headline news vividly

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<sup>112</sup> *Ibid*; *The Herald*, 19 June, 1983, ‘Tourism in Zimbabwe comes of age.’

<sup>113</sup> NAZ, A. Novicki, ‘Tourism with a...’p.51.

painting Zimbabwe as a politically fragile and unsafe destination. Such a fragility was going to be hard work to repair over a long time.

Mpisaunga admitted that ‘those unfortunate events’ resulted in an instant decrease in tourist arrival figures for July and August 1982. However, using characteristically marketing language for damage limitation, he claimed that tourist numbers were ‘beginning to come back right on target again.’ He went on the defensive and added that tourists had nothing to fear since their safety in Zimbabwe was guaranteed because the government had been ‘forewarned’ and, therefore, had ‘intensified and redoubled visitor security.’<sup>114</sup> It would appear Mpisaunga, the spokesman for Zimbabwe’s tourism was in denial of the huge depth of his country’s political problems. Together with other government tourism officials, Mpisaunga took a self-justifying rather than a diplomatic approach to sprucing up Zimbabwe’s torn image. He castigated the international mainstream media (British Broadcasting Corporation; (BBC), Cable News Network (CNN) commenting that:

The incidents happened in two small areas of the country, but the world press gives the impression that this is a common phenomenon throughout Zimbabwe. This is very disappointing, because if they would only bother to come and see for themselves, they would find it is not the case. Our problem is one of image – the image we would like to see portrayed and the image the popular press is portraying for us.<sup>115</sup>

In September 1982, Chitepo, Minister of Tourism weighed in supporting Mpisaunga’s position characterising the dissident activities in Matabeleland as a temporary and unfortunate setback. She went further and asserted that the political situation was back to normal and the tourist industry was already picking up fast promising that the holiday season would be prosperous.<sup>116</sup>

Chitepo’s statement that dissident threats to tourism were temporary contradicted the ongoing political instability in Matabeleland and the Midlands region. Such a denial could be seen through by the modern perceptive tourists. Also, news from Mashonaland Central and Manicaland regions bordering with Mozambique, indicated further political fragilities consequent of the Mozambique Resistance Movement (RENAMO) which caused much violence and turmoil to Zimbabwean villagers in its fight against President Samora Machel’s Frelimo government supported by the Zimbabwe army. These regions were not small areas of

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<sup>114</sup> NAZ, Report of ZTB, 1983, p.5.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*



the country but huge swathe of territory under threat from dissidents. Wartime residual violence and ethnic differences between the Ndebele and Shona were key influences driving political fragilities in the entire 1980s and beyond. Such violence incorporated subdued Ndebele Shona ethnic animosities and tensions that came to the fore before, during and after the 1980 and 1985 general elections. From the mid-1980s the thrust in violence shifted from the residual war to ethnic based violence. Political violence in Zimbabwe and Africa is understood from different perspectives: colonial, resource conflicts, political, social, military, economic and ethnic. Section 5.2 points to the major problems and fragilities besetting Zimbabwe during the 1980s particularly to do with violence related political fragility and how this factor impacted on tourism development.

### **5.3 Social and economic context of the 1980s**

A better appreciation and understanding of post-colonial tourism development in Zimbabwe must be underpinned by a perspective which takes into consideration the structure of the whole economy. Zimbabwe's economy was like a three-legged pot hinged on agriculture, mining and manufacturing seen by others as expanding in the early 1980s. Tourism was undoubtedly the fourth most important sector in the economy. Zimbabwe's economic and political structural development trajectories had deeper roots in UDI Rhodesia. The budgets of the Zimbabwe government prioritised funding social services; education, health and housing at the expense of the productive sectors. Gordon, (1984); Frank, (1988) and Herbst, (1990), all argue that Zimbabwe's consumptive policies squandered the development potential in its productive sectors that could uplift the living standards of citizens in the long term. Ethnic differences and continuing rural-urban disparities and inequalities among and between workers, farmers and elites distorted the productive sectors largely due to the prevailing social strife and disharmony. The social and economic problems were evidenced by persistent industrial strikes during the 1980s. Government revenues continued to decline because of government profligacy and overspending, pushing the state to be highly reliant on domestic and international borrowing throughout the 1980s. Heavy borrowing by the government created a serious debt burden and trap (Bond, 1998).

Within this structure of a struggling economy, the Zimbabwe government spent vast sums of money on building tourism infrastructure required for the industry hoping for foreign currency returns. In the 1980s, basic tourist amenities were already in place. The government had a policy of renovating, improving and expanding tourism infrastructure inherited from the UDI

era. At each of Zimbabwe's tourist areas the government continued with the colonial tourism development policy of constructing hotels and airports as well as other tourist facilities. At Victoria Falls, there were changes and continuities from UDI tourism. For example, the government expanded on the roads, bridges rail lines, hotels, camps and airports servicing Victoria Falls and the rest of the country.<sup>117</sup> There was more continuity than change in the way the government approached tourism development. The government used UDI methods of providing land and funds to private investors keen to be players in tourism, particularly infrastructure development – again dominated by hotel construction. However, the government blurred public and private roles in tourism development.

Like her predecessors, Minister Chitepo faced the challenge of financial hardship for her ministry of tourism. To solve this problem the government created what were known as parastatals. A parastatal is an organisation which is part government and part private sector in its manpower and operations such as the ZTDC created by the government in 1982. Chitepo pointed out that:

To rectify this difficult financial situation, there is need for government participation in all aspects of the industry, a parastatal body that will promote, invest, and participate in the industry. In 1982 alone, some \$53 million in foreign currency was generated by tourism. The ZTDC parastatal would be able to tap a higher percentage of that amount if it ran its own amenities in competition with those in existence or bought into existing facilities.<sup>118</sup>

Mpisaunga agreed with Chitepo and added that: 'It's not something we are going to do in a haphazard fashion. We need trained personnel. We need to study areas that would be the most economical to run. There is no point in trying to run a huge hotel if the existing ones are making a loss, so all these factors must be considered.'<sup>119</sup> However, government participation in tourism development would have its own benefits and challenges.

Since tourism catered for a small group of economically privileged pleasure seekers, developing the industry was seen by the public as not being in tune with a government purportedly pursuing socialist goals of improving the lives of poor peasant farmers and

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<sup>117</sup> NAZ, Report of ZTB, 1984, p.11.

<sup>118</sup> NAZ, Report of ZTB, 1983, p.3.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*

workers.<sup>120</sup> In this debate about the direction and benefits of tourism development guided by the state, Chitepo was optimistic and countered:

We believe that tourism promotes our socialist economic thrust. Besides the much-needed foreign currency generated by international tourism, the industry provides jobs and economic growth points in areas that under normal circumstances would remain undeveloped, because such regions are not fit for either agriculture or resettlement purposes. The gains from tourism are ploughed back to the development of areas in which they are generated.<sup>121</sup>

In addition, the ZTB along with other stakeholders, (Ministry, Private operators, National Parks) launched a programme to promote domestic tourism, which according to Chitepo, not only educated Zimbabweans further and made them aware of their national heritage, but also helped build a sense of national identity and pride. She argues that as a ‘socialist’ country, Zimbabwe could not abide by the principle of the few exploiting the majority. Indeed, central to the facilitation of domestic travel by lower-income groups was the construction of low-cost accommodation in the major tourist sites or the availability of group hotel discounts, as well as reductions in transport costs.<sup>122</sup> The main thrust of this mass tourism policy was directed at students, women’s clubs, and sporting bodies, to be followed by efforts to interest commerce and industry in sending employees on domestic holidays.<sup>123</sup>

Another interesting facet in the Zimbabwe government’s tourism policy was its desire to have the sector play an educational role in society. Visitors from abroad generally were isolated from the people of the country they were visiting by circumstance, but not necessarily by desire, coming in contact only with tour guides, waiters, and hotel employees.<sup>124</sup> Rarely did they leave with an appreciation of the country’s history or culture, particularly in a country such as Zimbabwe where the main CTA attractions are fauna and flora- away from communities. As a result, tourism policy and practice created a series of cultural centres in close proximity to the tourist areas, where visitors could meet with local people and learn the history and culture of the area.<sup>125</sup> The need for such centres was perceived as particularly acute at Victoria Falls, Great Zimbabwe and Lake Kariba. And as to whether the tastes of the economically well-off travellers might corrupt attitudes and tastes among the local people, Chitepo did not foresee any potential adverse social impacts from tourism on the people of

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<sup>120</sup> Interview, A4.

<sup>121</sup> NAZ, Report of ZTDC, 1985/1986, p.6.

<sup>122</sup> Interview, A3.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Interview, A4.

Zimbabwe as long as they were vigilant.<sup>126</sup> She believed that the government had the capacity to counter the influence of affluent lifestyles and western decadence. Tourists were welcome and not necessarily considered as a threat to local culture, traditions and values – factors that are not static in any country.

Furthermore, the government did not believe that the country would suffer culturally in comparison with other African countries such as Kenya and Tanzania. Zimbabwe also hoped to adopt a regional approach to tourism, with the countries complementing rather than competing. As early as 1981, Zimbabwe was one of the founding members of the Eastern and Southern Africa Travel Organisation (ESATO), grouping 15 countries of the Southern African Development Community (SADC): Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, etc with Kenya and Uganda. ESATO was conceived as a means of promoting tourism and facilitating travel among citizens of member states.<sup>127</sup> The government had an ambitious tourism vision hoping to pool resources and promote tourism in east and southern Africa, standardise customs and border formalities, and synchronise airline arrivals and departures. The aim was to facilitate tourist visits to several countries in the regions instead of South Africa having a dominance as was the case during UDI. Another possibility that appeared logical was to incorporate the regional tourism concept within the framework of SADC, because its machinery and secretariat were already in place.<sup>128</sup> However, ESATO was not a regional economic integration entity and the lack of such structures hindered ESATO from getting off the ground.

All the same, the regional tourism theme was given impetus by a May 1982 meeting at Victoria Falls of the World Tourism Organisation (WTO), a UN body of which Zimbabwe had become a member in 1981. Zimbabwe highly valued its membership in the WTO, as well as its election to its executive committee because the organisation provided expertise to any member nation requiring advice or assistance on aspects related to tourism development. The WTO also sponsored international meetings where members could learn from the tourism experiences of other nations and develop new strategies for tourism promotion and development. Given its incorporation into the world tourism organisations, the future of Zimbabwe's tourist industry seemed a bright one. With a big share of natural scenic beauty in

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<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> Ministry of Tourism and Hospitality Management, 1996; Tourism Act (1420).

<sup>128</sup> World Tourism Organization Report 1982; Regional Tourism for Southern Africa Report, 1985, p. 7.

southern Africa, a largely excellent and efficient infrastructure already in place, and a ministry and tourist board anxious to correct the injustices of the past and avoid the social disharmony created by tourism in other countries, it was believed tourism would play a positive role in the economy.

#### **5.4 Tourism resilience in the 1980s**

Confronted by the mounting challenges in the tourism sector explored in sections 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3, the Zimbabwe government had little room to manoeuvre except to take legal and practical measures to try and strengthen a weakening tourism industry. The *Development of Tourism Amendment Act 1984* established the legal framework for the operations of the ZTDC. This was a continuity from UDI tourism in the form of the RNTB and the ZTB. The benefits of the government driven approach as opposed to private sector initiatives to tourism development appeared ambiguous during the 1980s. From 1984 the ZTDC crowded out the private sector with a very broad mandate to:

- 1) Promote, foster and develop tourism in Zimbabwe
- 2) Encourage the provision and improvement of tourist facilities in Zimbabwe and ensure that tourist development takes place within the ecological and physical capacity of the country
- 3) Ensure publicity within and outside the country for the tourist attractions of Zimbabwe
- 4) Co-ordinate the activities of persons engaged in the provision of tourist services
- 5) Advise the Minister on all matters connected with the tourist industry and make recommendations for the proper co-ordination of all activities connected to the tourist industry
- 6) Carry out any other functions which may be conferred or imposed upon the Corporation by or under this Act or any other enactment.<sup>129</sup>

The litmus test for the ZTDC was in its ability and the extent to which it met the set objectives. These tasks and duties, though important in tourism development were too wide and unmanageable for an ill-stuffed and underfunded organisation of little experience in coordinating, collaborating with and bringing together different tourism practitioners,

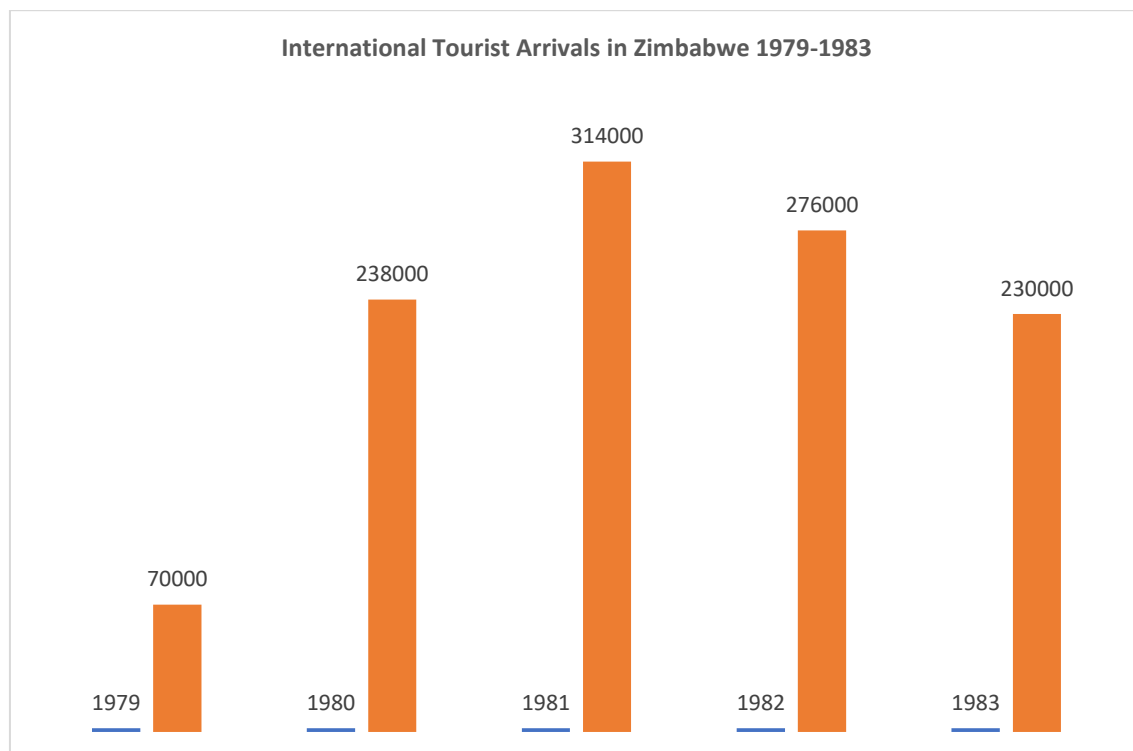
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<sup>129</sup> NAZ, Report of ZTDC, 1985/1986, p.4.

different tourism activities and different promotional tourism programmes to enhance tourism development in Zimbabwe.<sup>130</sup>

However, the ZTDC took advantage of the international recovery of travel and tourism starting in 1984/85 and confirmed in most regions of the world in 1986. Notwithstanding a background of phenomenal economic and political problems at home, this was certainly true in the case of Zimbabwe. Total tourist arrivals in 1985/86 (Figure 5.2 below) reached 380,756, an increase of 13.5% over the 335,553 arrivals recorded in 1984/85 and lower numbers in previous years (Figure 5.1 below) at the peak of threats from dissidents in some parts of the country including Matabeleland North where the ‘jewel’ of tourism, Victoria Falls is located.<sup>131</sup> Nonetheless, fragilities still framed the tourist sector in as much as its resilience was also apparent in tourist statistics. The fragilities at home in the mid-1980s were around election and political conflicts and endemic violence throughout the country and responsible for a decrease in arrivals of tourists in Zimbabwe.

**Figure 5.1 International Tourist Arrivals in Zimbabwe 1979-1983**



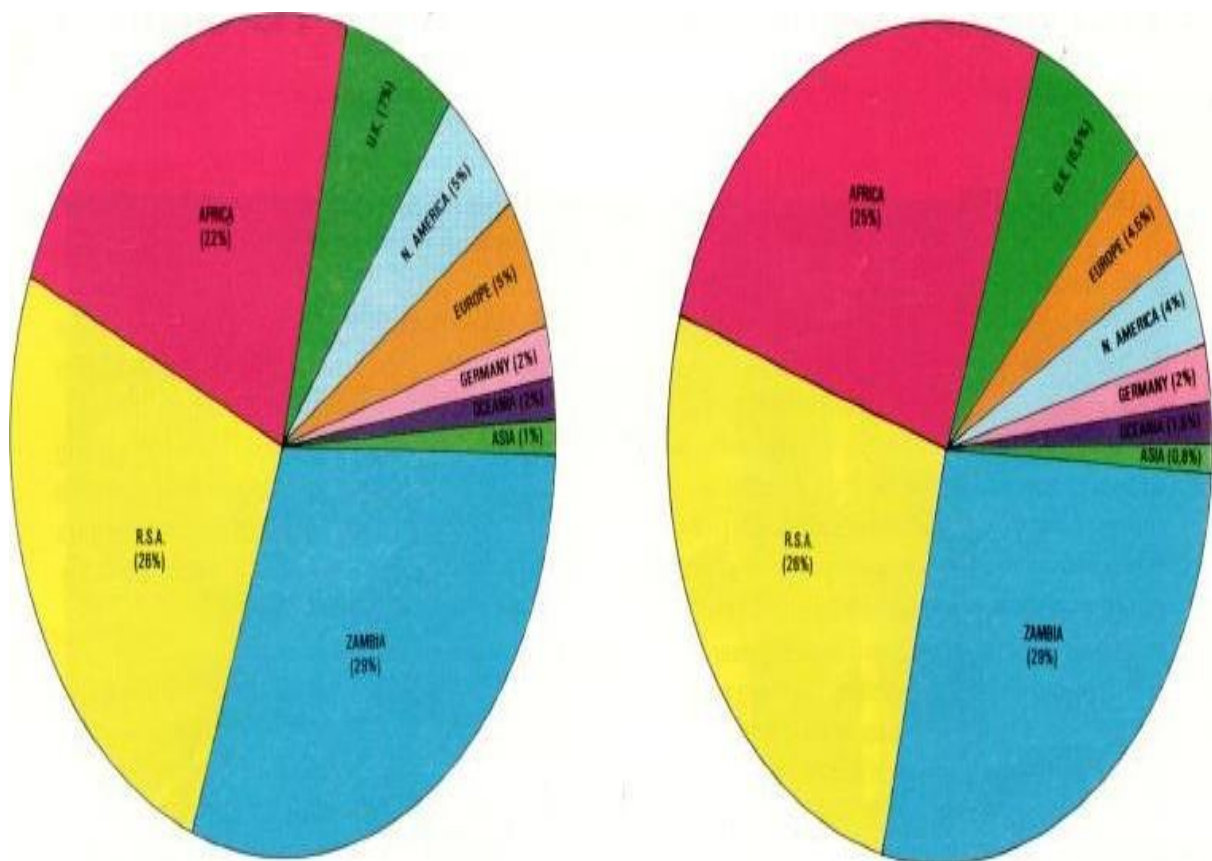
**Source: Compiled by research from archival data**

<sup>130</sup> Interview, A6.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid*, p.6.

Always in denial, the Zimbabwe government conveniently attributed the drop not only to political instability in South Africa, but also the soured relations between Zimbabwe and South Africa. During the 1980s apartheid South Africa carried out several military attacks and sabotage on Zimbabwe in the pretext of fighting ANC liberation fighters.<sup>132</sup> Perhaps in many respects, poor relations with South Africa robbed Zimbabwe chances of developing its tourism sector in terms of optimum numbers of visitors, potential revenues and learning the trade from its southern giant and semi-developed neighbour.<sup>133</sup> Many Americans had in the 1980s cut down on their travelling patterns due to the prevalent anti-American sentiments in many parts of the world.<sup>134</sup> On its part, Zimbabwe needed to acknowledge and accept its own share of responsibility in the persistently low arrivals especially given the country's damaged image consequent of the fragile political situation in the country examined in section 5.3.

**Figure 5.2 Tourist arrivals Jun 1984 - Jun 1985; Tourist arrivals Jul 1985 - Jun 1986**



**Source: NAZ, Report of ZTDC, 1985/1986, p.7.**

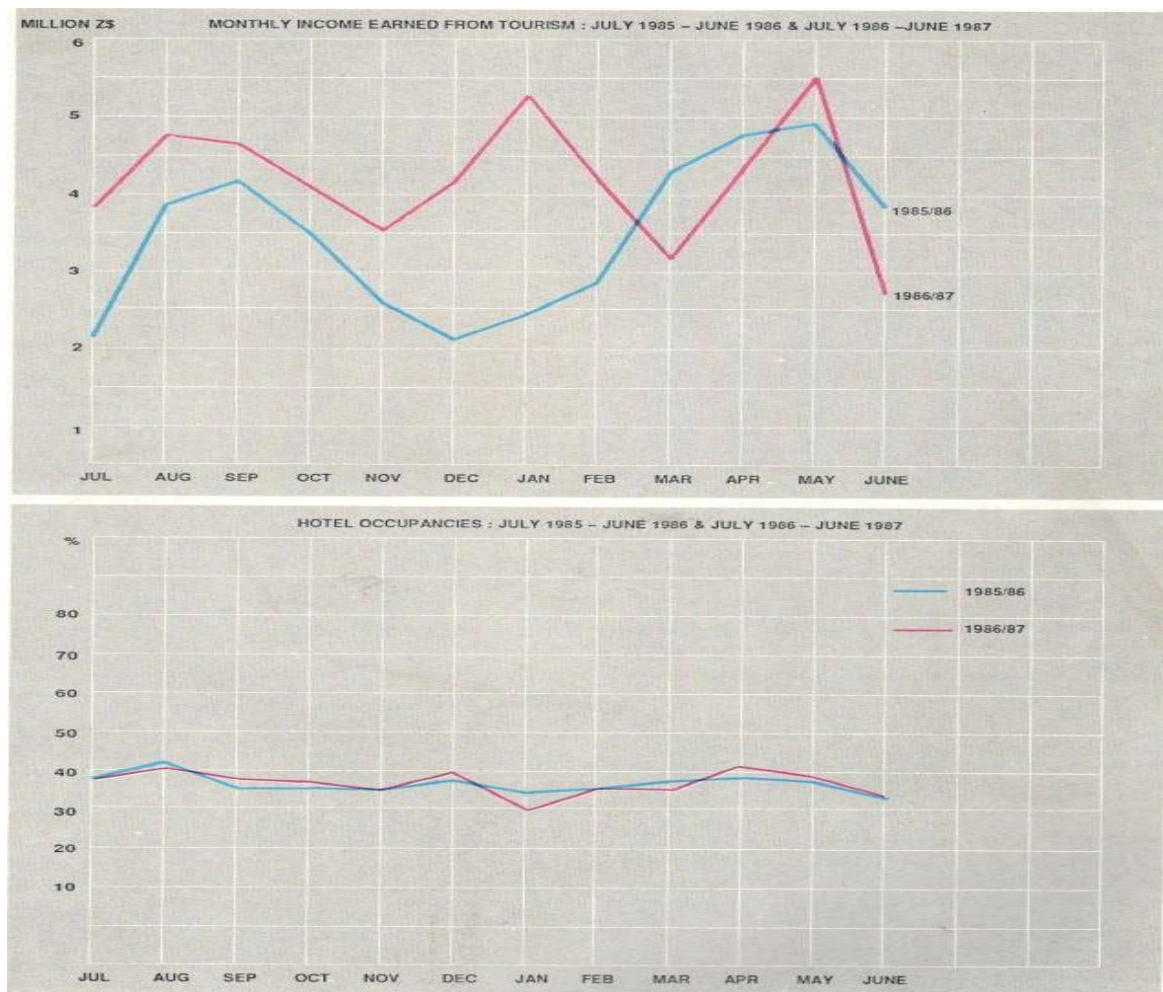
<sup>132</sup> ZTDC Report, 1985.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

Figure 5.1 and 5.2 above show that nearly 77 per cent of tourist arrivals in Zimbabwe in 1984-85 as well as 1985-86 originated from Africa. The rest of the African continent accounted for 12 per cent while Zambia and South Africa contributed 29 per cent and 28 per cent, respectively, a total of more than half of 57 per cent. Other supply markets like Asia, the UK, Germany and North America, the key sources of high spenders and foreign exchange earnings contributed only 20 per cent of the tourist arrivals. It would appear the ZTDC was not doing enough or unable to do enough in those strategic tourism zones for the country.<sup>135</sup>

**Figure 5.3 Upward developments in tourist arrivals**



**Source: NAZ, Report of ZTDC, 1986/1987**

Although visitors from Africa made up 80% of the country's total tourist arrivals in the 1980s, such low budget tourists were low spenders probably with little effect on influencing further

<sup>135</sup> Interviewee A7.



infrastructural development and foreign currency earnings in Zimbabwe.<sup>136</sup> In 1985/86 there was no significant change to the situation which had prevailed in 1984/85 when visitors from the continent accounted for 77% of the total arrivals. From within Africa the main markets for Zimbabwe were Zambia and South Africa contributing 26 per cent of visitors. During 1985/86 the total amount spent by visitors to Zimbabwe was \$42,339,600. This was 1.8 per cent more than the \$41,592,400 spent in 1984/85.<sup>137</sup> The high spending visitors were those from USA, Germany, UK and Australia.<sup>138</sup> The figures suggest that Zimbabwe's tourism development pathways and mechanisms set in colonial and post-colonial times had major weaknesses in terms of both numbers and revenues.

There was an obsession with visitor numbers instead of confronting the economic and political hindrances and fragilities besetting tourism development. The other misguided focus was on the utilisation of revenues generated by tourism receipts channelled into bureaucratic use for the ZTDC when real and diverse improvements in roads, bridges, railways lines, airports, hotels and other forms of accommodation left a lot to be desired. Tourism development in Zimbabwe was severely deficient of genuine entrepreneurship not so much from the private sector actors but government institutions notably the government controlled ZTDC.<sup>139</sup> Like in previous years, tourism development thrusts in 1986/87 was trapped in obsession with visitor numbers and revenue generation.

During this time, tourism was increasingly promoted by the government and ZTDC as a very important economic sector in Zimbabwe. Although the world economy, in general, had experienced sluggish growth since 1980 due to wide ranging factors, including high rates of inflation, rises in the price of oil and transport costs, crises in exchange rates and high budget deficits, international tourist arrivals managed to sustain a healthy annual growth rate. The tourist industry in Zimbabwe maintained a sluggish upward trend which had commenced in 1984. For example, the 1985/86 financial year witnessed a growth rate of 13% while the 1986/87 tourist season recorded an increase of 10% in tourist arrivals.<sup>140</sup> In 1987, the Ministry of Tourism welcomed with a huge sigh of relief the signing of a long-awaited Unity Accord

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<sup>136</sup> ZTDC Report, 1986.

<sup>137</sup> Central Statistical Office Report, (CSOR), December 1986.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>139</sup> Interviewee A7.

<sup>140</sup> NAZ, Report of ZTDC, 1986/1987, p.7.

for peace to prevail in Matabeleland and the country. Like most SADC countries, Zimbabwe continued to draw most of its tourists from low spending Africans. During the 1986/87 period, most tourists continued to originate from Africa, the major generating countries being the same- Zambia and South Africa at 32 per cent of the total. Of the overseas countries the most important markets during this period were the UK 7 per cent and USA, 4 per cent, Continental Europe and Oceania, 2%.<sup>141</sup> Although international tourist arrivals recorded a 10% increase during this period (see Figure 5.3: Annexure 1 below), hotel occupancy ratios remained unacceptably low as indicated by Figure 5.3 below. This phenomenon was the result of the historically limited development of the accommodation sector in the country.

The development of the hotel capacity and pricing mechanism were geared to the demands of a domestic market especially given UDI experiences. The international market was more of a supplement rather than the core of the sector in terms of utilisation of capacity. The domestic market had predominantly been white during UDI. The accelerated emigration of the whites at independence left a market vacuum that was yet to be filled. To alleviate the problem, the ZTDC began to develop a strong domestic market centred on a generally impoverished black community in the country. The ZTDC introduced a variety of special discounts in hotels in a bid to build up a substantial domestic market but with little success.<sup>142</sup>

Zimbabwean hotels suffered from severe seasonality. This pattern was related to tourist arrivals with greater numbers in peak holiday seasons. The low utilisation of accommodation facilities throughout the year accounted for small numbers of poorly paid hotel employees despite them being employed throughout the year.<sup>143</sup> The accurate determination of the amount of foreign currency earned by the tourism sector had been a chronic problem since the late 1950s due to a lack of sophisticated accounting systems. To accurately determine the infrastructural needs in the tourism sector in various parts of the country several feasibility studies were carried out by the Research and Planning Division. A solid data base for planning and investment purposes became available to the ZTDC.<sup>144</sup> The Research and Planning Division also carried out a survey on direct employment in the tourism industry. For example,

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<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

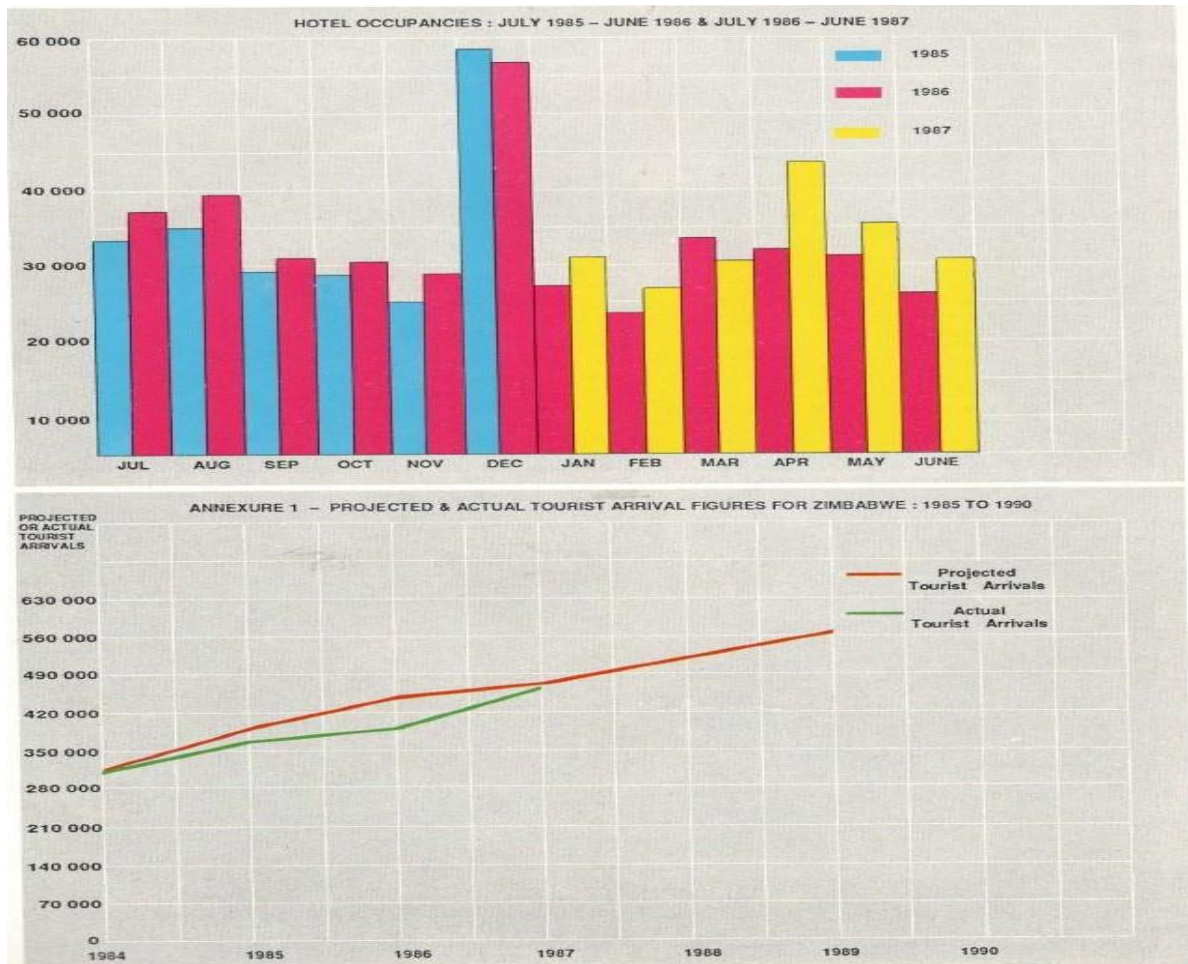
<sup>142</sup> Interviewee A7.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> ZTDC Research and Planning Division Report for 1988.

it was established that during the 1986/87 financial year, the industry employed only a total of 16,000 people.<sup>145</sup>

**Figure: 5.4 Hotel occupancy and tourist arrivals in Zimbabwe 1986-1987**



Source: NAZ, Report of ZTDC, 1986/1987, p.10.

Global tourist arrivals in 1987 recorded a 6.5% increase over the 1986 figures. The improvement in the industry worldwide was also reflected by the state of the industry in Zimbabwe. Total arrivals reached 427,110, an increase of 12% on the 421,039 recorded in the previous year.<sup>146</sup> As in previous years visitors from Africa made up most tourists visiting the country accounting for 78% of the total arrivals. Within Africa, Zambia continued to be the dominant generating country followed by South Africa. No significant changes occurred within the country's main overseas markets. The market areas with the highest growth rates during the period were Oceania (Australia and New Zealand) and Britain and Ireland. There

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

was a noticeable improvement on hotel utilisation within the whole country as indicated in the graph below. However, occupancy rates remained still far lower than those of competing destinations in the region. The promotional activities that were undertaken by the ZTDC on the domestic market were beginning to bear fruit. The increase in tourist arrivals was reflected in an increase in foreign currency earnings from tourism. The tourist expenditure survey commenced during the previous financial year was completed and the results of the study confirmed the underestimation of revenues from tourism estimated at an annual average of over \$80m.

### **5.5 Tourism Development at Victoria Falls, the 1980s**

This section examines tourism development at Victoria Falls during the 1980s, the first decade of independence. Peace and normality were restored at Victoria Falls when Rhodesia became independent Zimbabwe on 18<sup>th</sup> April 1980. On 21<sup>st</sup> December 1979 the Lancaster House Agreement was negotiated and signed between the British government, independence leaders and the Rhodesian government to establish peace in Zimbabwe.<sup>147</sup> Peace was a vital ingredient for tourism development at Victoria Falls. Peace brought back public confidence and interest at Victoria Falls from all over the world. Peace and security had been absent at Victoria Falls since 1966 but the end of racial hostilities brought with it much international goodwill and independence euphoria at Victoria Falls and Zimbabwe more generally. Interviewed informants offered diverse views on the major drivers of tourism at Victoria Falls including peace.

A1 pointed out the importance of peace and partnerships between the government institutions and the private sector as critical likening such partnerships to a permanent marriage that made tourism tick.<sup>148</sup> A2 looked at private sector dominance in the sector from a historical angle and was of the view that:

... it must be those who entered the scene first in colonial times and have the means to provide the required quality of service to tourists be it in hotels, food and touring sites who should be the major drivers of the sector because of their experience. In this sense, it would be mainly white businesspeople and a few emergent black entrepreneurs. The reason for this skewed participation and ownership in the industry are the colonial historical roots and imbalances of the past. They will of course take time to correct.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> NAZ, Lancaster House Agreement, Government of Zimbabwe Printers, 1980.

<sup>148</sup> Interviewee A1.

<sup>149</sup> Interviewee A2.

However, A3 differed markedly from A1 and A2 suggesting that right from the start at independence, tour operators should have known that it was fundamental to engage and involve indigenous people at Victoria Falls and include them as much as possible, as this would result in the long-term sustainability of the area and tourism. Like A2, A3 added that the main drivers of tourism development appeared to be the private sector practitioners who travel far and wide, to engage with external operators and clients with people like Ross Kennedy who made enormous contributions to keep Zimbabwe on the map as a travel destination.<sup>150</sup> Like A3, A4 reiterated the importance of an indigenisation thrust for the sector stating that: ‘...the major driver of tourism are the people of Zimbabwe. They treat visitors as queens and kings due to their passion, commitment and professionalism. The people and country are going back to basics in how they manage the sector, the hotels and cuisines and marketing the uniqueness of the country to drive tourism growth with the important help from foreign tourists.’<sup>151</sup>

The general agreement among the informants appeared to be that the public and private sectors or government and tour operators/hoteliers, respectively remained the key players in tourism development simply because, like in any other country, these dominant actors have the means to influence the direction of the sector. A5 states that:

I cannot think of any other major drivers apart from these (public/private) because they have the stamina to shape tourism policy and practice, provide capital and infrastructure for the sector. They also have the important links and synergetic relations or connectedness with other tourism players in other countries to promote, market and enhance tourism development. They share tourism information and sometimes tourists with neighbouring countries, international tourism bodies or associations and trends in government policies, competition and collaborations at workshops, seminars and exhibitions. They can afford these other than anybody else.<sup>152</sup>

A1 had mixed feelings and concerns about the way tourism was being handled notably at Victoria Falls noting that:

There is a lot of goodwill for Zimbabwean people from around the world. We are also great ambassadors for our country. Through this, people like to visit our country. Having said that, we do get a lot of bad press, and some of that is sadly of our own creation. This hampers tourism efforts and creates a negative perception that we are a violent nation that is unsafe to

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<sup>150</sup> Interviewee A3.

<sup>151</sup> Interviewee A4.

<sup>152</sup> Interviewee A5.

travel to. And so, we have a challenge to ensure that we don't send out a conflicting message to the world. We must shout from the roof tops about how special we are.<sup>153</sup>

Indeed, during the 1980s tourism at Victoria Falls was viewed with mixed optimism and pessimism due to the largely political problems the country faced; the dictatorships of Smith followed by Mugabe's tyranny. These two rulers, one white and the other black wasted the potential for tourism development at Victoria Falls.<sup>154</sup> A7 saw a huge amount of goodwill for Zimbabwe in the 1980s with many people wanting to visit Victoria Falls for the first time.<sup>155</sup> According to A7:

Although it seems a shadow was cast by the former leaders, I believe in time and with good governance we will quickly return. I find that the tourism industry attracts positive, enthusiastic and engaging individuals, which I find particularly stimulating. I feel that the industry has tremendous potential and that it needs a huge amount of focus and will greatly benefit from seeking external intellectual capital to help create a strategic road map for the future. Zimbabwe is blessed with warm and welcoming people, outstanding wildlife and spectacular scenery that should easily be one of the most important travel destinations in Africa. It is a remarkable blessing that we have Victoria Falls and this extraordinary resource should be very carefully managed and marketed and not exploited.<sup>156</sup>

A3 was critical of the way tourism was managed under both Smith and Mugabe. A3 summarised the general state of tourism during the 1980s and retorted that:

In the past, during UDI and Mugabe years, the sector was perceived as struggling, very much underfunded, understaffed, lacking in initiatives, run with poor policy, undertrained manpower and generally not a priority for government. The UK also perceived the sector as having enormous potential given a conducive climate to operate in terms of domestic and foreign direct investment. The politicisation of tourism is a very big or wicked problem. Government should wake up and appoint competent well-qualified tourism professionals who merit the jobs in the Zimbabwe Tourism Authority and the Ministry of Tourism not the retinue of ignorant civil servants who under Smith and Mugabe underdeveloped the sector to its current state.<sup>157</sup>

Perhaps A3 ignores the burning question hanging in the minds of government officials seeking to restore confidence in tourism under situations of fragility. The Ministry of Tourism encouraged innovative tourist ideas and programmes at Victoria Falls. For example, in the 1980s Rhodesia United Air Carriers evolved into United Air Carriers Ltd, later United Air Ltd. At Victoria Falls the company, among others offered a 15-minute 'Flight of Angels' in one of their twin-engine Piper Aztecs. Flight of the Angels became one of the most sort after

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<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

<sup>154</sup> Interviewee A6.

<sup>155</sup> Interviewee A7.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid

<sup>157</sup> Interviewee A3.

tourist activities at Victoria Falls. In its marketing initiatives of Victoria Falls, United Air Ltd wrote:

Winging low over the Falls and gorges, one thrills at the grandeur of this magnificent sight that can only be truly absorbed from the air. No traveller can claim to have viewed this natural wonder of the world in its entirety without seeing it from the air. This aptly named flight in a twin-engine Piper Aztec is designed for the keen photographer and adventurous traveller, giving a bird's eye view of Africa's greatest geological feature - Victoria Falls.<sup>158</sup>

The improved viewing of Victoria Falls from the Zimbabwe side was supplemented by other tour operators. Operating from the Sprayview Aerodrome, the Sprayview Air Safari offered visitors half an hour worth of viewing Victoria Falls and its surroundings. Zambesi Sky Safari went a step ahead and offered one hour and fifteen minutes of extended game viewing opportunities around Victoria Falls. Departures from Sprayview were arranged in the early morning or late afternoon, the ideal time to view Victoria Falls wildlife.

The journey took tourists along the Chamabonda Vlei, across thickly forested areas to Chundu Loop on the mighty Zambezi, then down the south bank to Victoria Falls. Holiday makers circled the mist of Victoria Falls and captured the brilliance of one of nature's miracles.<sup>159</sup>

These new developments at Victoria Falls received a big boost in October 1982 when Her Royal Highness Princess Anne visited Zimbabwe as part of a tour of six African countries in her capacity as President of the Save the Children Fund.<sup>160</sup> Princess Anne stayed in the Queen's Suite of Victoria Falls Hotel, now renamed the Livingstone Suite, for two nights. The Princess undertook a tour of Victoria Falls and a Zambezi boat cruise during brief breaks in what must have been a busy official schedule which included visiting the local Jairos Jiri centre for severely handicapped children.<sup>161</sup>

Throughout the 1980s the government launched vigorous marketing ventures in collaboration with the private sector to put Victoria Falls on the world map of must visit tourist attractions. The tourism sector showed resilience because it regained from its losses despite the ongoing dissident and political violence in the country. The total number of recorded tourism arrivals

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<sup>158</sup> NAZ, Zimbabwe Tourist Board Report, 1983; NAZ, United Air Ltd Tourism minutes, 1984.

<sup>159</sup> NAZ, Zimbabwe Tourist Board Report, 1983; Sprayview Air Safari Report.

<sup>160</sup> NAZ, Zimbabwe Tourist Board Report, 1983.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid; *The Chronicle*, 29 October 1982.

at Victoria Falls in 1984 rose to 255,000. Figures steadily increased to 303,000 in 1985, 319,000 in 1986 and 339,000 in 1987.<sup>162</sup>

In 1986 the ZTDC reopened the two-star Rainbow Hotel (closed during the late seventies) and later in the same year took over the three-star A'Zambezi River Lodge. The ZTDC later became the government owned Rainbow Tourism Group (RTG). The site of the old Sprayview Restaurant (demolished in 1970) was redeveloped as the family-run 16-room Ilala Lodge Hotel, opened in 1988. By 1988 the total number of international visitors to Victoria Falls had jumped to record levels of 412,000, followed by 436,000 in 1989- see figure 5.5 below.<sup>163</sup>

**Figure: 5.5 International Tourist Arrivals 1984-1989**



**Source: compiled by researcher**

From the late 1980s, Victoria Falls saw the development of thrill-seeking adventure activities, earning the town a new reputation as the ‘adrenalin capital of Africa.’ In addition to the traditional tourism activities of game drives and river safaris, new ‘high-intensity’ activities, such as white-water rafting and bungee jumping attracted a younger generation of travellers to Victoria Falls.<sup>164</sup> The section of the Zambezi River running through the narrow zigzagging Batoka Gorge offered some of the most extreme commercially operated white-water rafting in the world, with nearly half of the rapids classified as Grade 5 – the highest commercially runnable grading (Grade 6 is ‘unrunnable’). White-water rafting on the Zambezi was pioneered by American company Sobek with the first expedition to traverse the rapids of the

<sup>162</sup> NAZ, Zimbabwe Tourist Board Reports, 1984, 1985, 1986 and 1987.

<sup>163</sup> NAZ, Zimbabwe Tourist Board Reports, 1988 and 1989.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid.



river below Victoria Falls to Lake Kariba undertaken in October 1981 using specialist inflatable rafts.<sup>165</sup> Eight of Sobek's most experienced guides, accompanied by an ABC 'The American Sportsman' film crew with actor LeVar Burton as presenter, took up the challenge. The first raft capsized in the first rapid. The Zambian President, Kenneth Kaunda, watching from the Bridge high above, turned to a reporter and asked, 'Is that how they do it?'<sup>166</sup> As they progressed the expedition planned to number the rapids running downstream from Victoria Falls, but lost count after 11. The group had to do precautionary sweeps for mines left during the war before camping on sandbanks, and half-way down one of the rafts was attacked by a crocodile. After many incidents and several close shaves enough was enough for Burton and a helicopter air-evacuation soon followed.<sup>167</sup>

Many films were shot on location at Victoria Falls from 1985. The empty ruins of the burnt-out Elephant Hills Country Club were used as a focal filming location for the second film - transformed into an 'opulent location set.' Stone received a nomination for a Golden Raspberry Worst Actress Award for her performance. Chamberlain was remembered by location crew for thoroughly hating his time in Africa and spending most of his spare time back at Victoria Falls Hotel.<sup>168</sup> In the 1980s, Sobek started commercial white-water rafting with day trips covering the first 10 rapids and week-long expeditions downstream, operating from the northern bank and breathing life into Livingstone's struggling tourism sector. The fact that they had no specialist inflatable rafts did not stop the first Zimbabwean group to raft the rapids. They completed the trip in home-made rafts comprised of the tractor wheel inner tubes and bamboo frames.<sup>169</sup>

Home-grown Zimbabwe based companies followed, pioneered in similar infallible spirit, with the formation of the Zambezi Wildwater Rafting Company, founded in 1982 by Paul Connolly, a lawyer with a passion for canoeing and kayaking the river, the first to start commercial operations. The company quickly evolved into the Shearwater Adventures Group, specialising in canoeing safaris on the upper and middle Zambezi and rafting the rapids below Victoria Falls. Other companies, such as Adrift, Frontiers and Hi-Siders soon followed. Over these first few years of rafting it was estimated that some 50,000 tourists had experienced the

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<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

<sup>169</sup> Pitman, (1984).

thrill of the rapids, the majority with either Sobek or Shearwater. With the changing demographics of tourists to Victoria Falls, and increase in young independent travellers attracted by adrenalin activities, sedate Zambezi river cruises with a complimentary sundowner evolved into party boats with free drinks - the 'booze cruise.' Late afternoon, the most popular tourist activity at Victoria Falls in the late 1980s was a sunset riverboat cruise quaintly called the Champagne Cruise, possibly so named because the amount of wildlife was less than what was expected. But there was champagne, wine, and beer; and numerous hippos playing in the water. Also, local African traditional culture was showcased with the development of the African Spectacular music and dance show, performed each night at Victoria Falls Hotel.<sup>170</sup> Tourists were treated to one or more hours of authentic traditional dancing in a small amphitheatre holding over two hundred visitors.<sup>171</sup> The drummers in particular were believed to be outstanding, and the costumes were said to be surprising and remarkable by the visitors.<sup>172</sup>

In December 1989 the core area of Victoria Falls, covering some 6,860 hectares and including the river corridor upstream and downstream of the waterfall on both sides of the river, was designated by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) as a World Heritage Site.<sup>173</sup> It was recognised for both its outstanding geological and ecological value under the World Heritage Convention (1972), of which both Zambia and Zimbabwe were signatories. The listing described Victoria Falls as "the world's greatest sheet of falling water and significant worldwide for its exceptional geological and geomorphological features and active land formation processes with outstanding beauty attributed to the falls."<sup>174</sup> Victoria Falls/Mosiyatunya World Heritage Site was described as lying entirely within the protected areas of Victoria Falls (741 ha) and Zambezi (2,340 ha) National Parks in Zimbabwe and the Mosiyatunya (3,779 ha) National Park on the Zambian side of the river. The site was protected under the Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Act (1975, amended in 2008) on the southern bank, and the National Heritage Conservation Act (1998) and Zambia Wildlife Act (1998, revised 2015) on the northern bank.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> NAZ, Zimbabwe Tourist Board Reports, 1988 and 1989.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> (Boer, 2011).

<sup>173</sup> NAZ, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), 1989 Report.

<sup>174</sup> UNESCO, 1989.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

## **5.6 Summary**

This chapter examined tourism policy and practices and the key drivers of tourism development during the 1980s weighing them against the persistent political and economic fragilities in independent Zimbabwe. The fragilities concerned ethnically based political differences, divisions and violence in which the murders of tourists damaged the tourist industry. The chapter examined the shaky partnerships between the public and private sectors seen as the key stakeholders in driving the sector forward. The lack of clear policies and practices among these stakeholders was in itself a fragility for the sector. To demonstrate the resilience of the sector during the 1980s, the chapter also explored increasing tourist arrivals in Zimbabwe generally and at Victoria Falls more specifically. This development contrasted sharply with the poor hotel carrying capacity and low occupancy rates- explained by a deficit in the development of more tourism infrastructure. This was further explained by a social and economic context of the 1980s characterised by budgetary constraints. Tourism resilience in the 1980s was very much influenced by government support of the tourism industry notably when it created the ZTDC whose role was to market and develop tourism in the country.

## **Chapter Six**

### **Tourism Development at Victoria Falls 1990-1999**

#### **6.0 Introduction**

In contrast to the 1980s tourism development examined in the preceding chapter, the 1990s have largely been characterised as the boom years for tourism in Zimbabwe. This chapter seeks to explore this assertion with Victoria Falls as a case study during the 1990s. Prior to doing so, the chapter begins by analysing the challenges, political, economic and social context and conditions prevailing in Zimbabwe in the 1990s. The first section explores the political and economic fragilities in Zimbabwe in this decade. The succeeding section provides an exploration of tourism resilience at Victoria Falls and Zimbabwe more generally. The last section of the chapter examines the concept and practice of the community-based tourism (CBT) given the government's stated goal of indigenising important sectors of the economy like tourism to empower indigenous peoples.

#### **6.1 Challenges faced by the tourism sector at Victoria Falls**

The Zimbabwe tourism industry and Victoria Falls tourism in particular faced several fragilities mainly to do with internal and external relations and domestic problems highlighted by informants. To begin with, the whole of Zimbabwe's tourist supporting infrastructures such as road, rail and air facilities/services, boats, vehicles, accommodation, restaurants had by the 1990s lagged far behind the requirements of a modern industry because they were generally inadequate and not modernised. There was need for new investments, refurbishments and expansion of the country's tourism infrastructure to attract more tourist Interviewee A6 explained the nature of the infrastructure problem in great detail stating that:

There is poor infrastructure linking all the great places and natural attractions in Zimbabwe including the very exquisite National Parks beaming with all sorts of fauna and flora. These places need easy access and fair fares for both locals and internationals. I am not happy about the poor imagination, lack of vision, lack of a good dream, lack of efficient planning and patriotic work ethics among the lot in the tourism sector- by the way both private and public stakeholders do not impress me because they could do a whole lot more. So the practitioners and policy makers themselves let down the industry. They always moan about lack of capital and conducive business environment without tackling such challenges head on by putting on the table what they think could be permanent solutions. Even the problems posed by political instability in post-colonial times should not be something to cry about but to be pro-active about it in making inroads on how these problems can be solved.

A6 also commented on the resilient nature of the tourism industry under the difficult conditions the informant had enumerated on. A6 noted that:

Despite the underdeveloped nature of the sector- its survival is a totally different matter. If fact, it's like a miracle that the industry has stood on its two feet for much of the recent past and now. I believe that along the way, it often stood on one leg like a cockerel- due to insuperable problems of the 1967 United Nations Security Council sanctions, a 15-year civil war, endless political squabbles and the ZIDERA sanctions etc. Zimbabwe is generally a very attractive country and people are fascinated by it and come to see it despite the odds- your Vic Falls for instance cannot be resisted by thousands from across the world. Those in government and private sector should be applauded for not giving up on the sector. They continued despite the odds to sell the sector to the African regional and global markets and with responses that were either encouraging or discouraging dependent on the severity of the problems obtaining in the country in time and space. Perhaps people from outside Zimbabwe have their own share of social, economic and political problems such they would be understanding that a developing nation normally goes through traumas such as those experienced in Zimbabwe and therefore, they would not be vindictive or want to punish the country for what in the world might be considered a shared and common experiences. However, there would be others who would not want to oil a rotten system and wait until the mess is sorted out...

A1 agrees with A6 on the resilient nature of tourism in Zimbabwe. A1 provides some plausible reasons for why Zimbabwean tourism has stood the test of time and trials arguing that:

We have such a diverse country that you can spend weeks here and never get bored. In fact, you may struggle to go home. Our people are peace loving, well-educated and friendly and this makes Zimbabwe a natural source of African hospitality. We have vast wildlife areas that are in many cases untouched tracts of wilderness. The pinnacle of these is Victoria Falls, an iconic natural world wonder that has been beautifully preserved in its natural surroundings, which creates huge appeal to the discerning tourist

However, like A6, A2 believes that the resilient tourism sector still faced many challenges during the 1990s and beyond. A2 elaborates on the difficulties experienced in tourism stating that:

Victoria Falls does not deliver much but has potential to attract even more and more tourists annually than it does. It is still underdeveloped despite years of its being in existence. There is much development or population increase in the place. I am talking about good shopping places for tourists who want to do proper shopping. Even the traditional crafts have not really developed or diversified to include a wide-ranging product for tourist choice. Some of the products are sub-standard but others are of a very high standard. This place should have more restaurants, hotels, camps to offer more choice. The wildlife and wilderness aspects of the Vic Falls must be kept but in a balanced fashion so as not to limit new infrastructural development. I do not think that Vic Falls tourism is the same as Zimbabwe tourism although some people conclude that besides this place what else does Zimbabwe have to offer to international people. Well, it has quite a lot of places of interest like Great Zimbabwe and the natural beauties of forests and wild animals you find in national and game parks all over Zimbabwe. But Zimbabwe tourism suffers from a lack of good infrastructure, no very good roads like in South Africa, no good railway lines or train services that would truly transform tourism in the country affording tourists the opportunity to tour the country in luxury train coaches as we see in other countries. Buses are okay or private car hires etc but tourists like choice in all they do during a holiday away from home. Limiting that choice is not good enough, I think.

A3 was not as critical as A6 and A2 likening Victoria Falls to the world maintaining that:

...Vic Falls is the world. There may be other international places of repute and interest, but Vic Falls are an attraction par excellence. The world knows it and there are excellent guides

who inform the world about Vic Falls. Zimbabwe is known through Vic Falls because the guides there speak several languages to explain this natural phenomenon and what it means. Vic Falls carries knowledge which it communicates to the world through its waters and other fauna and flora.

A5 concurs with A3. According to A5 Victoria Falls is a cornerstone of tourism in Zimbabwe. One cannot talk of tourism in Zimbabwe without Victoria Falls. A3 sees it as a pillar of the sector, a magnet or revenue spinner marketed to the outside world in many ways. However, A3 also thinks that the tourism sector still had a very long way to go and even at Victoria Falls- the jewel of the tourism sector. Like A6, A3 noted that a lot left to be desired in terms of infrastructure, standards and variety on what is offered to tourists. A3 bemoans the location of Victoria Falls in a very remote part of Zimbabwe- far away from the major cities like Bulawayo and Harare the capital making its marketing and financing difficult for interested stakeholders. A3 says that:

It is in the middle of nowhere and for me, that is a big disadvantage in terms of easy access. The Byo-Vic Falls is some odd 450km- it is exhausting to travel by road and modes of transport are few and dear and not comfortable. Why do we not have a tourist luxury train linking these two places or even with Harare. That is what I mean by the sector developing at such a sluggish pace. This is only one example to illustrate what I think and feel about the sector. How can it be one of the key drivers of economic growth and a contributor to poverty eradication when those in charge of the sector lack basic imagination and the will to drive meaningful and tangible tourism transformation.

A7 adds that:

The lack of government support by way of infrastructure investment and proactive marketing severely impacted the development and growth of the tourism sector. Many of the challenges faced by the tourism industry in Victoria Falls and the rest of the country are symptomatic of having poor governance, no viable planning process, political uncertainty, and a lack of government investment to support the private sector.

On the poor image of the country, most informants concurred that Zimbabwe needed to work hard to repair its appeal to international tourists. A10 states that one of the biggest challenges facing tourism in Zimbabwe in the 1990s was how the overseas media covers Zimbabwe. A10 believes that the media tended to pick up and run with newsworthy incidents such as poaching, corruption and illegal hunting. Whilst highlighting the incidents is positive in that action can be taken, it also means that the negative aspects of Zimbabwe are picked upon eroding the country's reputation Interviewee A10 quite rightly pointed out that:

I have not physically been to the UK, but I know what some UK citizens thought about Zimbabwe tourism after interacting with them. They believed Zimbabwe was a country at war and a wrong place to be or even to bring their investment. However, they got the shock of their lives when they found it was the best place to be and there was general peace and with stunning

attractions like Nyanga, Kariba, Hwange and Vic Falls. Zimbabwe is a world class place. The old UK mindset and old attitudes belong to the past.

## **6.2 Economic and political context**

The fragilities raised by informants in section 6.2 were validated by information from other sources. For instance, the Zimbabwe Election Supervisory Commission report described the 1990 parliamentary and presidential elections as free and impartial despite incidents of violence and intimidation. The then President Mugabe judged the election process as acceptable adding that he was aware of the incidents of conflicts and violence in the election campaign. His party secured 1,690,071 or 80.55 per cent of the votes – a dividend of widespread violence. In parliament ZANU PF achieved an overwhelming majority of 117 of the 120 elected seats. Also, the elections were held against the backdrop of a sluggish economic recovery from the very severe 1991-1992 drought and recession. Throughout the 1990s, inflation continued to rise, and average standards of living were increasingly plummeting. Unemployment had risen to over 40 per cent of the able-bodied working age groups. Generally, the first half of the 1990s proved to be trying times for workers. For example, since the launch of Esap in 1991, 23,000 private sector workers and 8,000 civil servants had been retrenched and were without alternative means of earning a decent livelihood.<sup>176</sup> Persistent drought during 1991-1995 exacerbated the plight of workers and peasants alike. To cap it all approximately 300,000 school leavers each year also hoped to secure employment in the hostile Esap environment.<sup>177</sup>

In spite of the farcical nature of the election polls, there were real underlying fragile situations and burning issues deeply hurting the electorate and economy. At above 40 per cent, unemployment had reached unacceptable levels. Mugabe acknowledged and admitted the seriousness of having workers without work. Threats on workers' livelihoods got exacerbated by continuing widespread public and private sector retrenchments under Esap austerity. It was estimated that more than 31,000 workers had been made redundant since the advent of Esap in 1991 in contrast to a negligible number of jobs created in both the public and private sectors during the same period.<sup>178</sup> The government itself had, under pressure from the IMF and the WB, thrown onto the streets its own share of unknown retrenched thousands, with the

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<sup>176</sup> NAZ, *Horizon*, February 1995, p. 15.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, *Moto and Parade*; *The Herald*, 3 April, 1995.

<sup>178</sup> NAZ, *The Herald*, 3 April, 1995.

exception of nurses and teachers. Despite massive investment in the mining sector, the economy had continued to gasp for breath and slide, especially the manufacturing sector.

Companies which had hitherto thrived under protectionist government policies in the 1980s were being liquidated by the day as they failed to compete with regional partners in the era of trade liberalisation, high interest rates and galloping inflation beyond 50 per cent. However, an agricultural boom seemed likely in 1996 owing to good rains. Nonetheless the perennially controversial and difficult land issue, which Mugabe and ZANU PF seemed to have seized upon as their weapon of first choice and only credible campaign issue (with cautious threats to grab land from the elite large-scale white commercial farmers) was dramatized barely a month from the poll date.

A black commercial farmer evicted from his farm some 200 illegal ‘squatters’, who promptly moved to the capital Harare and camped outside the Dairy Board Company premises. The images on television, with the backdrop of the year’s otherwise pleasantly torrential rains, were quite ironic and shocking to viewers at home and abroad. The nation’s social and economic controversies and problems were also played out in public with the wrangle between the government and its 161,000 odd employees over the unresolved payment of the traditional bonus or thirteenth cheque for the late 1990s. Shrewdly the matter had been shelved to gather dust in the courts of appeal. And as everyone knew, the wheels of justice turned painfully slow. The strikes and work boycotts over pay increases and bonuses would not be an election issue but should have been. Riot police suppressed demonstrations in a violent and heavy-handed manner intimidating, harassing and assaulting civil service trade union leaders and their rank and file. With Mugabe standing unopposed ZANU PF could not care less over votes from a mainly urban striking civil service and shrinking industrial work force. Rural voters were paramount in determining election outcomes.

Regardless, the general population in urban and rural areas were groaning under extreme human-made economic and social hardships. Persistent droughts from 1991-1995 had not only scorched cash and food crops, but also killed much livestock – the traditional means of safeguarding against famine and hunger or *shangwa*. Most farmers and urban dwellers had not fully recovered from the particularly severe drought of 1991 when, most people survived on the detested yellow maize meal known as ‘Kenya’ in Zimbabwe- generally imported from east Africa. A combination of drought and Esap sent the prices of virtually all basic food stuffs



and farm inputs soaring. The government worsened the situation by removing subsidies on some essential commodities under Esap policies. In fact, it went a step further by increasing the sales tax and removing tax credits on children and dependants amongst an already overtaxed and struggling population. The acute food shortages in February 1996, four months away from the expected bumper harvests in May-June should have been the 'last straw' in the process of dethroning Mugabe, but alas, it was not.<sup>179</sup>

The price of mealie-meal went up in early 1996 and beef was beyond the reach of many consumers – most of whom complained that they were tired of the cheap mackerel and green vegetables served as relish. Beer prices were increased. The price of a basket of basic commodities had gone up by 47 per cent in 1995 from \$75.29 to \$111 Zimbabwean dollars. The basket included; bread, cooking oil, sugar, margarine, milk, salt, tea, roller meal, ration meat, tomatoes, onions, cabbage, bath and wash soap, tooth paste and petroleum jelly (a lotion).<sup>180</sup> It was not accidental that the government was increasing prices of basic commodities towards the presidential elections and simultaneously increasing handouts to the rural population. It was a clear message for urban dwellers to brace up for harder times after the presidential elections.<sup>181</sup> ZANU PF was developing a mistrust of urban voters especially given their sizeable support for the Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM) in 1990 and the perennial protests and strikes against government.

In 1995 the average wage increase across the board was 20 per cent, less than half the increase in the price of a basket of basic commodities. The struggle for survival led many people to forgo politics and forget that all their problems were due to bad governance. They were so busy making ends meet that they did not have the time to think about the causes of their woes – or if they did, the fear of politically-motivated violence from ZANU PF reprisals deterred them from actively participating in politics.<sup>182</sup> Since 1980, voters had come to know, understand and to be wary of ZANU PF election violence. Poverty fragilities in Zimbabwe was part of a cocktail derived from drought, Esap and ZANU PF violence.

Generally, post-colonial Zimbabwe lacked reliable data on the scale and nature of poverty in the urban and rural areas. The Central Statistical Office (CSO) estimated Zimbabwe's population in 1996 at 12.5 million people, an increase of 2.1 million from 10.4 million in the

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<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>180</sup> NAZ, *The Herald*, 16 February 1996.

<sup>181</sup> NAZ, *Moto*, March 1996, p. 11.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*

1992 census. The population growth rate from 1992-1996 was approximately 3.4 per cent a year.<sup>183</sup> The existence of essential information on poverty and its prevalence was vital if poverty alleviation programmes were to effectively target the poor. Apparently concerned with the general impacts of Esap, the government took measures to establish the geographical in addition to its gender, class and racial distribution and causes of poverty. However, the opposition failed to make poverty an election issue (Makoni, 2000).

The timing of Esap, drought and increased poverty could not have been worse for an incumbent president and his party, and inversely, it could not have been better for the opposition. Even for the dumbest politician, the writing was on the wall for the government at the end of 1995, with the widespread riots that paralysed the capital, Harare and other urban centres (Makoni, 2000). But once again, the opposition were set to miss their golden opportunity to win power. Muzorewa appeared on television boasting about retirement with his wife in the 'land of milk and honey' the U.S. He and other opposition leaders still lamented about the 'uneven political terrain' and flaws in the electoral law which gave the ruling party a clear advantage as well as of biased media coverage.

The opposition criticised the government's sly gimmick of maintaining its popularity in the crucial rural areas by distributing free farming inputs and giving starving villagers grain loans – all bought with tax-payers' money. But the same complaints had been going on for far too long without action, such that no one took them seriously anymore. No wonder Mugabe could say with confidence that he believed his party to be the only organisation able to lead the nation to the turn of the twenty-first century 'with any degree of certainty.' Whether Zimbabweans would be led to prosperity or to the abyss was something they would find out for themselves after the election.<sup>184</sup> Also, a tourism policy that sought to promote domestic participation was doomed to fail because only few elite Zimbabweans could afford the luxury of tourism activity since the majority lived in abject poverty, were being retrenched under Esap or disempowered by rising unemployment and political violence (Makoni, 2000).

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<sup>183</sup> Central Statistical Office (CSO), Government Printers, 1996.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*

### 6.3 Victoria Falls tourism development

In spite of the continued daunting economic and political instabilities and risks explored in sections 6.1 and 6.2 above influenced by ZANU PF dictatorship, Esap and poverty, the period 1988 to 1999 have been characterised as the boom years for Zimbabwean tourism. During the early 1990s for instance at the inception of Esap, tourism arrivals and hotel occupancy on the Zimbabwe side of Victoria Falls was booming, driving a noticeable increase in tourism infrastructural development. Tourism operators and products diversified, and accommodation providers appeared to flourish. Creewel summed up the mood of tourism development during the 1990s noting its resilience and retorting that:

The years 1990 to 1999 were to become known as the boom years for Zimbabwean tourism. Large numbers of visitors arrived and demand for accommodation reached unprecedented levels, especially in Victoria Falls. New hotels and lodges were built, including Ilala Lodge, and air services to the local airport expanded to include up to three flights from Johannesburg each day, two flights from Harare, one from Bulawayo and various others from Botswana and Namibia. At one point a Harare-London service from Air Zimbabwe included a stop at Victoria Falls, making it a direct destination for international travellers from abroad for the first time.<sup>185</sup>

The re-invention of Victoria Falls as an adventure and adrenalin activity hub resulted in a boom in the town's night-life social entertainment menu. For example, the famous Explorer Bar developed into a centre of the late-night scene and earned Victoria Falls town a 24-hour, seven days a week, non-stop party reputation. New technology played a big part in marketing social activities at Victoria Falls. Wide ranging video presentations of the days' rafting, with all the thrills and spills, flips, and perhaps a few flops, drew people from all walks of life to the bars and hotels followed by late-night DJ parties at downtime focussed at an underground bar within the Ilala Lodge development.

Long-distance trans-Africa overland truck routes all led to Victoria Falls, delivering thirsty thrill-seeking backpackers on 'round the world' gap-year adventures.<sup>186</sup> Apart from these African tourists, annual international arrivals to Zimbabwe, the majority of whom would never miss Victoria Falls, rose steadily to successive records of 583,000 in 1990, 607,000 in 1991 and 675,000 in 1992. In 1993 arrivals increased significantly to 879,500, followed by new record highs of 1,039,000 in 1994 and 1,415,500 in 1995.<sup>187</sup> Figure 6.1 below illustrates these tourist arrivals.

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<sup>185</sup> Creewel, 2004.

<sup>186</sup> NAZ, ZTDC Annual Report, 1993, p.5.

<sup>187</sup> NAZ, ZTDC Annual Reports, for 1990; 1991; 1992; 1993; 1993 and 1995.

**Figure 6.1: Tourist Arrivals in Zimbabwe 1990-1999**



**Source: compiled by author from primary sources**

The 1992 national population census showed that Victoria Falls Town had grown to 16,826 inhabitants and by 1995 the town had expanded to cover an estimated 758 hectares of land.<sup>188</sup> By comparison Livingstone's population was recorded at over 82,500 in the 1990 national census.<sup>189</sup> Old debates dating back to colonial times resurfaced as the high numbers of visitors to Victoria Falls raised concerns over the integrity and environmental sustainability of Victoria Falls CTA. Way back in 1986 for example, the author Heath had concluded that the Rainforest of Victoria Falls National Park had already reached its peak-season carrying capacity.<sup>190</sup> Ten years later a World Conservation Union report raised similar concerns over the impacts of high visitor numbers, calculated to be close to the carrying capacity for the infrastructure facilities available.<sup>191</sup> From colonial times to the 1990s tourism policy in Zimbabwe was purportedly guided by a standing principle which endeavoured to achieve a

<sup>188</sup> NAZ, CSO, 1994; (PlanAfric, 2001).

<sup>189</sup> Moonga, 1999.

<sup>190</sup> NAZ, Heath, 1986.

<sup>191</sup> NAZ, World Conservation Union, 1996.

balance of sorts between tourist traffic and environmental protection. The goal was to tap into and maximise from tourist opportunities offered by Victoria Falls but at the same time preserve the integrity of the site. The nature of tourism development at Victoria Falls perceived as threatening the heritage site did not only revolve around increased visitor numbers but also expansions in the tourism infrastructural sector. A few examples discussed below capture the development trends at Victoria Falls.

The Elephant Hills Intercontinental Resort and Conference Centre rose from the ashes of the old Country Club in 1991. The new 276-room hotel was developed by the Zimbabwe Sun Hotels at a cost of \$150 million.<sup>192</sup> The resort served as the exclusive retreat for the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM), hosted in Harare in October 1991, before being officially opened by Mugabe in February in 1993. The completed building, looking more like a fortress than a tourism resort, dominated the local landscape and has been described as a ‘grey monolith’ and in one famous travel guide series as a ‘hideously obtrusive white elephant.’<sup>193</sup> Teede and Teede add that:

For years the crumbling ruin sat atop Dale’s Kopje, a forlorn, unwanted war victim. Then came the tourist boom of the late 1980s, and a new hotel rose like a hideous phoenix from the ashes of the old. It towered above the treeline; its dull granite walls capped with a ridiculous thatch bonnet. Visible for many kilometres upstream on the Zimbabwean side, it is virtually impossible to view the Eastern Cataract from Zambia without the new Elephant Hills decorating the skyline. A great swathe of trees was cleared for the new road, rubble was strewn throughout the surrounding bush, building sand was scoured out of the National Park; nothing was allowed to stand in the way of its completion in time for the Commonwealth Conference of 1991, in mockery of the very concept of world heritage.<sup>194</sup>

The golf-course was restored to international standards, keeping close to Gary Player’s original design, with a neatly kept nine-hole course ready in time for the Commonwealth meeting, later expanded to an elegant full 18-hole course. The developed resort also included tennis courts, casino and helipad – from which Southern Cross Aviation operated a Bell Long Range Helicopter for tourist flights from the mid- 1990s, the first commercial helicopter flights over Victoria Falls. Apart from the Elephant Hills and the gold course, the 72-room Victoria Falls Safari Lodge complex, including the Lokuthula Lodges and The Boma – The Place of Eating, opened on the western edge of the growing town in December 1994.<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>192</sup> NAZ, ZTDC Annual Report, 1991

<sup>193</sup> Pinchuck, 2000.

<sup>194</sup> Teede and Teede, 1991.

<sup>195</sup> NAZ, ZTDC Annual Report, 1994

Developed by Africa Albida Tourism, the Lodge and surrounding estate complex became one of the largest developments on the south bank since the construction of the original Elephant Hills complex in the mid-1970s. During construction an environmental architect was employed to ensure minimal impact on the lodge's surroundings. No mature trees were felled during building work and 6,000 young trees were planted on and around the estate. These efforts were recognised when the Lodge was awarded the prestigious international Green Globe Distinction Award in 2000 for outstanding environmental practices in its construction. The development was, however, still criticised by conservationists for building on a natural site previously identified as an important wildlife corridor.<sup>196</sup> Wynn states that:

In addition, the... Victoria Falls Safari Lodge... is built on land originally set aside as a wildlife corridor from the Zambezi National Park to the river. This has created a whole new problem - keeping potentially dangerous large animals at a safe distance from tourists. Electric fences have been erected to 'protect' the new Safari Lodge and the Elephant Hills Golf Course.<sup>197</sup>

The main lodge buildings were built on a natural ridge overlooking an artificial waterhole, pumped all year to maintain water levels and floodlit at night for nocturnal wildlife viewing. In 1995, its first full year of operation, the Lodge achieved an average occupancy of 72 per cent. News reports record that in September 1995 warning shots were fired over a Zimbabwean operated cruise boat from the Zambian side of the river. Business rivalries between cruise boat operators on either side of the river, and an ongoing dispute over the official line of the international border between the two countries, resulting in some over-zealous policing of territorial waters. According to one unknown news report; 'Rivalry over tourist dollars last September led to shots being fired from the Zambian bank at a Zimbabwean launch plying the island-strewn reaches of the Zambezi River above Victoria Falls.'<sup>198</sup> However, the territorial tensions did not develop into serious political confrontation between Zambia and Zimbabwe.

In addition to the Lodge, during 1996 Victoria Falls Hotel underwent a re-birth of substantial redevelopment and full refurbishment, estimated at costing \$6.5 million, upgrading and modernising the rooms and facilities to luxurious five-star standards, whilst recapturing the historical period feel of the original Hotel buildings.<sup>199</sup> In 1997 the Hotel opened the 42-room

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<sup>196</sup> Ibid.

<sup>197</sup> Wynn, 1995.

<sup>198</sup> NAZ, Folder 57, General Papers on tourism in Zimbabwe, (unknown news report, 27/3/96 [PR]).

<sup>199</sup> NAZ, ZTDC Annual Report, 1996.

Stables Wing, bringing the Hotel total occupancy to 161 rooms. On the north bank of Victoria Falls the site of the old InterContinental Hotel – derelict and decaying after many years in the tourist doldrums – was offered for redevelopment in 1997. The lease of the site, including the neighbouring Rainbow Lodge and additional connecting National Parks land, was bought by Sun International of South Africa. The agreement included a capital investment commitment of over \$50 million for the redevelopment of the site and the building of a 250-room family hotel, 120 room luxury 5-star hotel and a 50-room bush lodge.<sup>200</sup>

Towards the end of the nineties, Zimbabwe's tourism sector was riding high, with record arrivals and receipts. National annual international arrivals reached 1,596,500 in 1996, dropping slightly to 1,335,500 in 1997 before rising to 2,090,500 in 1998 and a new landmark of 2,249,500 in 1999.<sup>201</sup> During the period 1989-99, the tourist arrivals increased at an average growth rate of 17.5 per cent, whilst tourism receipts grew at an average annual growth rate of 18 percent in US dollar terms.<sup>202</sup> Average room occupancy in the Falls rose from 59 per cent in 1997 to 76 per cent in 1998, dropping to 62 per cent in 1999- see figure 6. The Falls Rainforest recorded 313,043 visitors in 1998, comprising 97,144 Zimbabwean and 215,899 international tourists.<sup>203</sup> In the same year 23,535 tourists visited the Zambezi National Park. Visitors to the Rainforest dropped to 190,000 in 1999. The Elephant's Walk Shopping and Artists Village opened in 1997 on a site adjoining Soper's Curio's shop (relocated to within the complex in 2016). Responding to changing tourist demographics, the town's first backpackers, Shoestrings Backpackers Lodge, opened in 1997.<sup>204</sup>

During the late 1990s, significant redevelopments and new ventures refreshed the image of the evolving tourist town. The Makasa Sun Hotel site adjacent to Victoria Falls Hotel was closed in 1998 with the Zimbabwe Sun Group investing \$24 million in the complete redevelopment of the site. The 294-room The Kingdom at Victoria Falls was officially opened by Mugabe in July 1999. The architectural design of the hotel buildings was closely inspired and influenced by the ancient ruins of Great Zimbabwe. The complex includes 'The Great Enclosure,' an entertainment complex including the Makasa Casino, Quartermain (a stylish Edwardian themed bar), the Wild Thing 'action bar,' Panarotti's Italian pizza restaurant and

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<sup>200</sup> NAZ, ZTDC Annual Report, 1997

<sup>201</sup> NAZ, ZTDC Annual Reports, 1996; 1997; 1998; and 1999.

<sup>202</sup> Mugwati, Nkala and Mashiri, 2016.

<sup>203</sup> NAZ, ZTDC Annual Reports, 1996; 1997; 1998; and 1999; Nelson, 2000.

<sup>204</sup> NAZ, ZTDC Annual Report, 1997.

the Thundercloud Spur steakhouse. The Stanley and Livingstone Safari Lodge was developed in 1999 by Rani Resorts, set amongst verdant grounds and adjoining a 6,000-acre private wildlife reserve on an out-of-town location. The five-star luxury lodge accommodates up to 32 in 16 suites. A separate private retreat, Old Ursula Camp, located on the Stanley and Livingstone Private Game Reserve, accommodates eight.<sup>205</sup> These wide-ranging developments at Victoria Falls were testimony to the resilience of tourism under Esap and political fragility.

At the end of the 1990s, Zimbabwe based operator Safari Par Excellence expanded operations into Zambia, developing the Zambezi Waterfront on the banks of the Zambezi River, four kilometres above the Falls. The development was opened in December 1999 and included a riverside restaurant and bar with pool deck, 23 on-suite chalets, 24 permanent tents, camping for up to 100 clients and jetty sites for two cruise boats, the MV Makumbi and MV Mambushi. However, it was not all success with infrastructural development at Victoria Falls. In mid-1999 Cresta Hospitality announced plans to construct a five-star riverside 80-room hotel, Cresta River Lodge, on the site of the old Zambezi Caravan and Campsite, in a proposed joint venture with the town council. The \$30 million development at Victoria Falls failed to materialise.<sup>206</sup>

Ongoing concerns and debates about threats to the Rainforest and wildlife compelled Charles Brightman, a local safari operator and conservationist, together with support from Victoria Falls Safari Lodge, to establish Victoria Falls Anti-Poaching Unit (VFAPU) in January 1999. VFAPU worked in close association with the National Park authorities to educate local communities, maintain anti-poaching patrols and support the arrest and prosecution of poachers. The beginning of the new millennium was not an easy period for Zimbabwe or its tourism sector. Violent state-sponsored land requisitions saw white-owned commercial farms invaded and farmers intimidated, beaten and even murdered by militia comprising ZANU PF youths and some liberation war veterans in efforts to forcefully evict them from their land. Generating widespread international criticism and negative media headlines, tourism struggled as international travellers turned instead to neighbouring countries. International visitors to Zimbabwe dropped from 2,249,500 in 1999 to 1,966,500 in 2000.<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>205</sup> NAZ, ZTDC Annual Report, 1999.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>207</sup> NAZ, Zimbabwe Tourism Authority Annual Report, 2000.



#### **6.4 Community-based tourism in Zimbabwe**

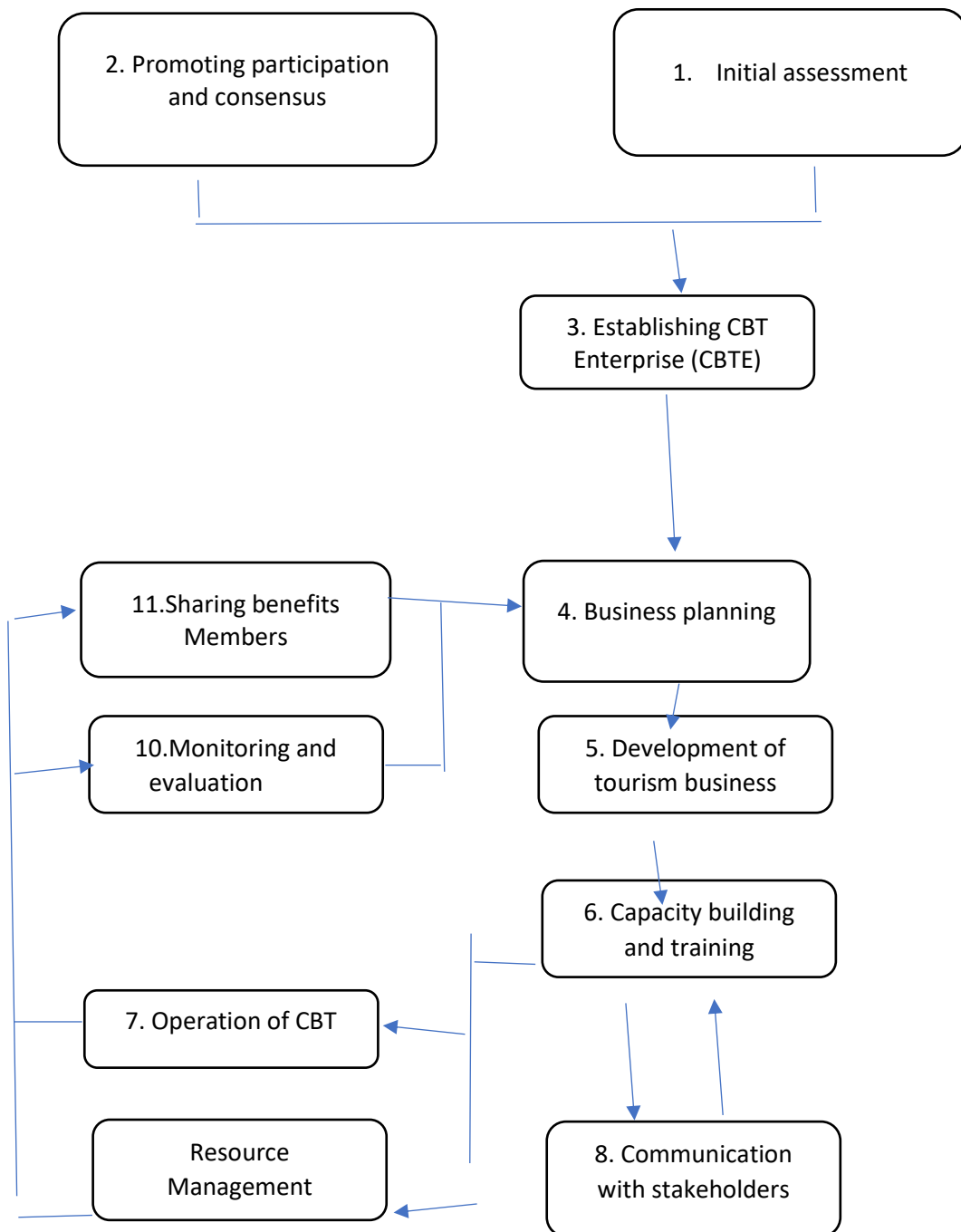
In the 1990s CBT in Zimbabwe had the potential to contribute to the economy and fill the gap of low seasonal tourism. For Victoria Falls visitors, many of whom would have travelled long distances, the community projects such as in Komupisi village offered opportunities to experience local culture and livelihood streams. Komupisi and other CBT projects around Victoria Falls helped to diversify Victoria Falls tourism activities offering tourists reasons to stay longer. Figure 6.2 outline the development process of community-based tourism in Zimbabwe and its management process. The first initial step for developing CBT by the Ministry of Tourism was to assess the community, people and necessary activities that could be developed.

The second stage encouraged participation and consensus from community leaders and individuals to come to a common understanding on projects they would want to develop and possible economic contributions to livelihoods. The business planning, capacity building and training, and operations of CBT were mostly by private tour operators who operated many of the projects under lease agreements with Rural District Councils. They did so on behalf of communities under the Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE). Zimbabwe adopted the concept of CAMPFIRE in the late 1980s as part of efforts to encourage rural communities, particularly those adjacent to national parks, to sustainably manage their natural resources through conservation by utilization following an increase in cases of poaching and human animal conflict. Communication with stakeholders was vital for the success of CBT projects.

Most stakeholders believed that if properly packaged, CBT provides the basis for the sustainable development of tourism in Zimbabwe. Because CBT provides tourists with the opportunity to experience the country's environment at rural level, it has a greater appeal, as they know that the management of resources bring economic benefits that communities will share. It is estimated that CBT contributing between 10 million and 15 million U.S. dollars to the Zimbabwean economy in the 1990s while communities involved in the projects enhanced their interests in managing and maintaining the natural environment. The facilities provided a diverse product offering tourists wilderness experience, and specialist cultural activities and craft sales. Through the program, local inhabitants were assisted to manage their natural and

cultural resources in a sustainable manner, derive income from these resources, and determine how this income was utilized.

**Figure: 6.2. Development process of community-based tourism in Zimbabwe**



**Source: CBT Handbook, Ministry of Tourism and Hospitality**

Besides eco-tourism, communities also engaged in such activities as trophy hunting, fisheries, harvesting of wild fruit, bee keeping, among others, and revenue from these was used to develop infrastructure such as roads, schools, clinics, dams and bridges. The Zimbabwe design of its

CBT projects was meant to provide an alternative product whose uniqueness derived from the natural endowments of the country, be they physical or cultural. At the same time, it provided a direct linkage between the livelihoods of rural people and natural conservation. CBT under CAMPFIRE at Komupisi village benefited from high-cost and low-volume game lodges located in the communal lands, and mostly adjacent to National Parks in the Zambezi Valley and Southeast Lowveld. At least 12 such lodges were in operation by 1999. The CAMPFIRE association also implemented the eco-tourism initiative, which consisted of low-cost, high volume basic overnight accommodation, rudimentary camping, day visitor cultural centres and craft shops in communal lands, which were funded through infrastructure development grants, with communities providing locally available materials and labour. At least 14 out of the 18 large and small tourism enterprises were completed in the 1990s.

#### **6.4.1 CBT an indigenisation resilience strategy**

Community resilience is often defined in terms of the physical infrastructure, economic resources, and community capacities and capabilities necessary to respond to adversity (Patton and Johnson, 2001). The Centre for Community Enterprise (2000), describes resilient communities as having taken intentional action to enhance the personal collective capacity of its citizens and institutions to respond to, and influence the course of social and economic change. The Centre for Community Enterprise contends that communities must develop their capacity to respond to adversity in ways that draw upon those internal resources and competencies needed to manage changes (Sheppard et al 2016). As discussed in the literature review in chapter 3, resilience is a concept of growing interest amongst those seeking to understand how communities may better adapt to change (Sheppard et al 2016). Recent research has focused on understanding those factors that enable or enhance the resilience of tourism-focused communities, particularly in response to shocks and stressors. Such research suggests a variety of systems-based factors that, when present, appear to strengthen proactive responses (Sheppard et al 2016). Tobin (1999) suggests practical steps that communities need to pursue to secure greater resilience capacity which include high-level support, political buy-in, put cooperative arrangements in place with agencies and political leaders, embracing partnerships and cooperation across the various levels of government and organisations (Sheppard et al 2016). The growing emphasis on the effects of human induced pressures on natural ecosystems has spawned the emergence of a stream of social ecological systems (SES) resilience research that explores relationships between people and nature ( Berkes & Folke, 1998; Blaikie & Brookfield, 1987; Folke, 2006). These studies now extend to research on

community resilience, particularly as it relates to understanding those factors that enable proactive community responses to change (Sheppard, et al, 2016).

The development of CBT encountered numerous challenges in post-colonial Zimbabwe. Most CBT projects including Community Areas Management for Indigenous Resources (Campfire) activities had been donor-funded and when donor fatigue set in from the 1990s indigenisation of the tourism sector was in serious jeopardy. However, success stories of CBT models such as Komupisi in Victoria Falls based on community entrepreneurship illustrate the potential of the indigenisation policy. The importance of marketing linkages by community-based entrepreneurs with tour operators was critical to ensure guaranteed business to the CBT project. However, a compelling weakness was that tour operators were not keen to reduce this relationship into a binding contractual agreement, which could lead to more transparency in the business relationship. Such a relationship could help widen the revenue base for the community-based entrepreneur. Also wanting was the level of business management practices by community entrepreneurs requiring capacity building by authorities and mind-set shift on the part of the entrepreneur. The critical role of the government in enacting appropriate policy frameworks for CBT projects to thrive added to the woes of indigenous tourist businesses.<sup>208</sup> In the Zimbabwean context, indigenisation is a deliberate involvement of indigenous Zimbabweans in the economic activities of the country to which prior to 18 April 1980, they had no access, so as to ensure equitable ownership of the nation's natural resource (Ministry of Youth Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Report, 2011).

The Komupisi Cultural Village stands out as an example of CBT during the 1990s. It was in Monde Village, about 15 km from Victoria Falls Resort, the hub of tourism in Zimbabwe. Its location within a community homestead gave it an authentic feel that resonated well notably with foreign tourists seeking to experience Zimbabwean culture. Monde Village falls under the Hwange Rural District, where tourism's potential to offer significant livelihood options to the communities was huge. The high volume of tourism traffic was attracted by the abundance of wildlife resources in Hwange National Park and the international appeal of Victoria Falls. Nhemachena *et al.*, (2014), argue that since Hwange is a semi-arid region and the livelihoods of most people in this district are dependent on agriculture and tourism.

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<sup>208</sup> Douglas Runyowa, *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure*, Volume 6 (2), 2017, p.1.

The rationale behind the Zimbabwean Government indigenisation policy to develop CBT projects rested on the belief that the sector could be a useful tool in alleviating poverty of the rural and marginalised communities.<sup>209</sup> Whilst government helped a number of CBT to be established, there was little effort to ensure that such projects evolved to become sustainable enterprises that could be weaned easily from over-reliance on donor and government funding (Runyowa, 2017). The authorities had also not taken a keen interest to determine what could be critical success factors for CBT's to thrive, so that these could be promoted as models to be successfully replicated elsewhere. Whilst Komupisi Cultural Village thrived in Victoria Falls, the same cannot be said of other CBTs like Kune Ngoma Cultural Village, located within the same village. Despite the 1990s growth in arrivals and revenue, tourism did not appear to have transformed African farming-livestock village economies. CBT was increasingly promoted as a means of reducing poverty and fostering local community development (Means *et al.*, 2014). The central role of tourism in poverty alleviation grew over the years attracting many scholars to extensively write on the issues of CBT.

Most definitions of CBT achieve convergence in that they all identify community benefits as a central factor. One definition by Dixey (2005), regards a CBT as tourist assets that are owned and or managed by communities, with the expectation of generating wider benefits to the community. In defining a CBT, Hauster and Strasdas (2003) emphasise the participation of locals in tourism and in the distribution of benefits to the local community. Brohman (1996) defines a CBT as one that seeks to strengthen institutions designed to enhance the local participation of the popular majority in tourism. Sheyvens (2002) adds that a CBT ultimately aims to empower a community socially, economically, psychologically and politically – a definition that closely matches Zimbabwe's indigenisation policy. On the other hand, Denman (2001), believes that a CBT should not only foster sustainable use and collective responsibility, but also embrace individual initiatives within a community.

Denman view on individual initiatives seems to characterise the development of Komupisi Cultural Village. In as much as it was regarded as a CBT, especially by virtue of operating within a community, it by and large represented the aspirations of a community entrepreneur who managed to earn livelihood from tourism. The operations of such a community entrepreneur are premised on the Community Enterprise Model, which Chiutsi and Mudzengi (2012), assert as an integrated approach to tourism resource ownership and accrual of benefits

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<sup>209</sup> National Tourism Policy, (2014).

to the community. On the other hand, Nyaruwata (2011), believes that CBT models in Zimbabwe have not been uniform and represent a continuum ranging from one where communities were involved in the day-to-day running of the CBT, to a passive model, where communities were not decision-makers, but only receive set dividends. In the case of Mr Ndlovu, the owner of Komupisi Cultural Village since 1996, he was the central figure in the venture and community benefits took a unique form with villagers being afforded an opportunity to participate in business activities as partners and other infrastructural benefits accruing to them.

Holden (2011), argues that CBT have generally been a failure in the developing world because of marginalisation in decision-making and lack of education and financing, all militating against the involvement of the poor in tourism. Lopez-Guzman *et al* (2011), suggest that for community-based projects to thrive, there must be contractual arrangements between the local community and tourism companies. This is consistent with the view of Chiutsi and Mudzengi (2012), who highlight the need to build linkages between the local community and the tourism market as critical to the success of CBT. However, Echtener (1995), bemoans the lack of entrepreneurship emphasis in Africa's education system, arguing that the current education system in most African countries focus to teach skills for employment in given positions instead of preparing them to be entrepreneurs. A study by Sebelo (2010) in Botswana, also cites poor marketing, lack of entrepreneurship skills and dependency on donor funding as key challenges for CBT. Simpson (2008), argues that historically most governments have taken a back seat in development of tourism and if CBT are to develop and grow to maturity, governments must provide a collaborative role in tourism planning.

In Zambia, Dixey (2005) castigates the fact that the licensing structure excludes CBT projects as tourism facilities because of potential threat to the safety of tourists. In a study of CBT in Swaziland, Mearns, et al, (2014), highlight the importance of the private sector, particularly tour operators, who must include CBT in their packages if they are to succeed. In doing so, Font (2008), believes that this can guarantee market access and generate visits to community enterprises. In expanding this role, Dixey (2005), argues that tourists are normally on tight travelling schedules, which are pre-planned, hence the involvement of tour operators in planning community tours in the whole itinerary becomes essential. In Zimbabwe, this becomes more important given the fact that over 50 per cent of holiday or leisure visitors arrive on packaged tours. It would, therefore, be difficult for CBT projects to survive in resorts such as Victoria Falls without the collaborative support from tour operators. Ashley, et

al, (2000), identify community benefits from tourism as drawn from wages in formal employment, sale of goods to tourism businesses and dividends or profits from locally owned enterprises. CBT where communities have a greater say represent more benefits to the local communities. In Zimbabwe, there is no licensing framework for CBT. Any licensing regime in the tourism sector would help prescribe minimum operating standards for tourism facilities. The absence of such a framework, makes it difficult to guarantee high operating standards by CBT. Nonetheless, the Komupisi Cultural Village offered tourists rich experience product where tourists benefited immensely in the day to day lives of a villager in rural Zimbabwe. Apart from traditional diets, dancing and culinary experiences, tourists took part in curio making and interacted with resident artisans like painters some of whom live with disabilities but showcase skills in the village. Tour operators can create a community trail with varied cultural experiences. In Victoria Falls, close to Komupisi was another CBT project, Kune Ngoma Cultural village, which adopted an almost similar business model as Komupisi, but has not, been very successful. It has failed to excite the market and issues of differentiation of CBT experiences within the same destination will be key to CBT development in tourism resorts. Entrepreneurs should not replicate cultural villages without offering unique experiences that appeal differently to tourists.

Ndlovu had a future vision of the Komupisi CBT but there was no written documentation to that effect. In the absence of such a plan, it became difficult to measure performance. Also, it appears there is no record available on the performance of the CBT since 1996. It was also not easy for the entrepreneur to disclose the CBT's earnings from tourism only highlighting that it had substantially improved their lives as a family and impacted on the larger community. The start-up financing for the CBT was raised from the personal savings of Ndlovu. However, the CBT also received support from government in several ways. It appears, the Ministry of Tourism and its parastatal ZTA, unofficially chose the Komupisi Cultural Village as their model CBT and this helped generate demand as groups were taken to the Village whenever there were major conferences held in Victoria Falls.

The success of Komupisi Cultural Village can also be attributed to the cordial working relations they have with tour operators who bring in clients to the Cultural Village. There was no contractual arrangement between Komupisi and the tour operators. Formal contractual arrangements could help increase transparent and ensure that the Komupisi benefits for every visitor received are clearly pre-defined and are negotiated for. Much of the financial benefits come from off the pocket expenditure by tourists. A few tour operators marketed Komupisi

Cultural Village on their brochures. Hitchins and Highstead (2005), identify marketing linkages as a critical success factor for CBT, arguing very few can survive in the long-term as independent businesses, if they are isolated from the private sector. Given the Komupisi CBT model, its establishment and growth brought tangible benefits to the community. Borehole drilling at Komupisi Homestead provided access to fresh and clean water to the surrounding community of more than 10 families. Prior to this, they travelled more than 3km to fetch water.

The benefit was extended to domesticated animals such as goats and cattle. Manyara and Jones (2007), show that CBT initiatives can stimulate further development in a community. In incidences where the Cultural Village hosts many tourists, neighbouring families supply food items and benefit by providing entertainment groups where remuneration was normally pooled together by cheerful tourists as tokens of appreciation. Villagers displayed and sold cultural wares at Komupisi Cultural Village. They earned extra income at less cost than they would when renting council-operated stalls in Victoria Falls resort town. Komupisi Cultural Village has made efforts to keep the experiential visit to the cultural tourism product as authentic as possible. However, the quality of buildings built with pole and dagga has been considered as not up to standard but consistent with tradition. Most respondents in the mainstream accommodation sector indicated that it may be difficult for the cultural village to attract home-stay clients to the facilities especially conventional tourists. However, this rustic nature may appeal to a niche market of the adventurous and not very quality conscious.

The government needs to include CBT in the licensing framework and ensure licensing officers also monitor the observance of minimum operating standards by CBT. Zimbabwe uses the western grading style system, based on star ratings with no room for licensing CBT. Licensing gives CBT legitimacy in line with the registration requirements of the Tourism Act, Chapter 14:20 of 1996, which requires every facility used by tourists to be registered (Runyowa, 2017).

In the absence of such a framework, an operational guideline or manual will be useful. The government should also make concerted effort to set up a CBT Start-up Fund. However, where possible, communities setting up CBT will need to be encouraged to raise funds and additionally invest their own resources, as this raises involvement and commitment in the sustainability of the project. Private operators also have a critical role to play by helping CBT to thrive and where village or community tours are undertaken to CBT, a defined commission scheme to reward CBT based on signed contracts is essential. Training and capacity building



in modern management practices also remains critical for CBT to thrive. The government should assist CBT in product development so that they are sustainable, unique and appealing to tourists. A cluster of unique CBTs with different concepts can help create village trails within a destination (Runyowa, 2017).

## **6.5 Summary**

The social, economic and political trials and tribulations of the 1990s showed more of continuities than change in Zimbabwe impacting the tourism sector. Tourism resilience during the 1990s was evidenced by boom years of the sector despite the myriad problems- see figure 6. Counterfactually, it can be reasonably argued that, without the fragilities obtaining in the country, the sector would have achieved short of miracle growth levels. The sector appealed to the entire population, domestic and international. Wide ranging improvements to operations and infrastructure were implemented specifically at Victoria Falls and the country more generally. The bulk of the tourist infrastructure was consolidated to meet international standards, a feat attributed to the ingenuity and enterprise of many stakeholders. The tourist industry endeavoured to be based on an excellence and a quality unsurpassed in Africa.

Tourism policy in the 1990s recognised that pressures from agriculture, mining and urban development made deeper and deeper inroads into the wild places, and these wild places became increasingly ‘discovered’ and over-exploited for tourist purposes. Policy articulated that these natural resources are fragile, and tourism will only enjoy a long-term viability if they are carefully protected and allowed to appreciate in value. They must not be damaged for the sake of short-term gain. This policy objective was also enunciated by the Zimbabwe tourist industry, whereby relatively few visitors each year pay a high price for the ‘privilege’ of visiting to enjoy the natural attractions. Tourism was seen as having too important a role to play in the overall economic, educational and social development of the nation to allow it to be developed purely as an exclusive form of amusement for affluent visitors

During the 1990s tourism, therefore, sought to optimise the natural resources upon which it is based both from a pleasure and from an economic point of view. It was made available in some form or another to all people as an instrument of recreational, educational or social benefits. The sector rejected offering superficial experiences but endeavoured to be based on the belief that the visitor to Zimbabwe, or the resident visiting his own tourist areas, will return home a better person than when he set out. Zimbabwe’s tourism policy strived to be profitable

to the operator ensuring direct and immediate economic benefits to the local communities involved in tourism and to the national exchequer. To achieve some of these objectives a system of registration for all sectors of the tourist industry was started. Wide consultations were made with stakeholders on minimum standards to be adhered to alongside regulations controlling hostels and hoteliers, tour operators and safari operators, couriers and guides, caravan parks, camping grounds, resorts and designated tourist amenities – which include such ventures as CBT, craft villages and animal parks. Every amenity available to holidaymakers was expected to meet certain mandatory minimum standards to protect the interests not merely of the genuine operators against the so-called ‘fly-by-night’ operators, but also guarantee and protect the interests of the visitor.

## **Chapter Seven**

### **Tourism Development at Victoria Falls 2010-2015**

#### **7.0 Introduction**

This chapter consolidates the analyses of tourism development at Victoria Falls so far examined since 1965 in which tourism fragility and resilience have been explored as two sides of the same coin with the former reinforcing the latter. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 discussed tourism fragility and resilience at Victoria Falls analysing key themes such as political and economic instability and the resilient mechanisms/features adopted by the tourism industry. Chapter 7 adopts a similar thematic approach in which the new millennium brought about new socio-economic and political fragilities that framed tourism development and resilience at Victoria Falls. Chief among these fragilities were a violent and chaotic land reform, hyperinflation, political polarisation and prolonged economic recession. The four fragility themes of land, inflation, political instability and economic collapse, provide a rich context within which to analyse the extent of tourism development and resilience at Victoria Falls in the period 2000-2015.

#### **7.1 Problems associated with the FTLRP in Zimbabwe**

For the first 20 years of independence 1980 to 2000, the historically prominent land question and land reform remained unresolved regarding its redistribution and ownership- issues discussed in chapter 4. Land reform was stalled by powerful interest groups. Between 2000 and 2002, after a long hiatus, Zimbabwe's land reform or *govavhu* was finally carried out with considerable vigour. By the time the FTLRP tailed off in 2005, approximately half a million-black small-holder farmers had been endowed with land holdings ranging between 5- and 10-hectares dependent upon the agro-ecological zones of the country. In addition, land was redistributed to over 100, 000 black commercial farmers with land holdings ranging from 50-2,000 hectares. Of the original 5,000 large-scale commercial white farmers in 2000, nearly 600 were estimated to have remained in full production on their farms.<sup>210</sup> The chaotic nature of land reform had serious ramifications notably on CTAs and the tourism industry in general.

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<sup>210</sup> Government of Zimbabwe, *The Transitional National Development Plan*, Volume 1, 1983, pp. 66-69; See for example, G. Kanyenze, "The Performance of the Zimbabwean Economy, 1980-2000", in *Twenty Years of Independence in Zimbabwe From Liberation to Authoritarianism*, S. Darnolf and L. Laasko (eds), Palgrave, Hampshire 2003, pp. 42-45.

Nearly over 300,000 poor black commercial farm workers lost their jobs and livelihoods. With drastically reduced commercial agricultural output and exports that had traditionally earned the country huge foreign currency reserves alongside mineral sales, the economy plunged and registered negative growth from 2000 as people turned to woodland, mining and hunting for their subsistence and livelihoods. Widespread informal economic activities developed as an important and dominant part of the economy some of it generally posing threats to the fragile ecosystem especially wildlife reserves turned into agricultural land.

The socio-economic and political framework within which a major land reform programme took place was unique to Zimbabwe. The root causes of the FTLRP were the underlying and unresolved issues of access to land and its ownership spilling onto governance problems. In the 1980s and 1990s ZANU PF tried but unsuccessfully attempted to introduce a one-party political system. Nonetheless, it maintained a highly centralised style of governance in which dissent and political opposition were hardly tolerated- in essence, a *de facto* one-party system. While the government achieved relative success in providing some social services such as education, health care, higher wages and better working conditions to the black majority during the early years of independence, it left unresolved political and economic problems that would eventually produce national crises. Of these, the land question was the most deeply felt. Most African communal areas were congested and no longer able to sustain the increasing population because of a demographic overload in people and livestock.

In 2000, a national referendum had rejected a draft constitution proposing compulsory acquisition of land from white farmers without compensation. There had been spontaneous invasions of white commercial farms by peasants dating back to February 1998, followed by quite violent war veteran commercial farm invasions in some parts of the country from 2000. The unpopularity of ZANU PF and mounting pressure pushed the government to accept and implement the FTLRP initiated by villagers and war veterans. The institutional framework of governance in post-colonial Zimbabwe had very much retained the structures, laws and elitist attitude and culture of colonial times. For example, during the colonial era, government had introduced Municipal Regulations, Advisory Boards in African townships and African Councils under the direct tight rule of the District Commissioner's Office- continued from 1980. These structures laid the foundation of a highly centralised local governance system based on draconian policies and characterised by the imposition of substandard and centrally defined programmes on African and Native Councils and denial of African self-government.

(Zhou and Madhekeni 2012). The political elite perpetuated the colonial mentality of high living standards for a few at the expense of the majority. In the end, while the liberation struggle had been against the privileged white settlers and the economic and political power they monopolised, the ZANU PF government was not able to reverse the unequal and exploitative nature of colonial oppression itself that saw the exclusion from freedoms and equality for blacks only accorded to white citizens.

To appease the restive war veterans, the government awarded unbudgeted cash bonuses to nearly 50,000 ex-combatants (some of them too young to have fought in the 1970s war) who had threatened to destabilise the government with a public display of discontent. Combined with the unbudgeted military intervention in the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo, government deficit budget financing sparked an inflationary spiral from which the economy failed to recover for a very long time. More importantly, the FTLRP disrupted and negatively affected agricultural production, the mainstay of the Zimbabwean economy.

## **7.2 Sanctions and political fragility**

The world could not stand idly by as Zimbabwe descended into serious political instability. Sanctions were the response to Zimbabwe's problems from the US and EU but not the UN. ZIDERA sanctions were different from the UDI UN sanctions because they were not only targeted but also imposed by some and not all UN member states. According to the United Nations Security Council, targeted sanctions are political tools employed to address challenges to international peace and security (United Nations Report, 2013). Violent land reform prompted the imposition of targeted sanctions by the EU, the US and some Commonwealth countries. While these sanctions were not directed against the economy *per se*, they certainly contributed to further economic destabilisation, political polarisation as well as national and international media hype and differences about Zimbabwe's situation. The unstable domestic political environment combined with sanctions to create a negative image of Zimbabwe as a pariah state leading to travel advisories that impacted the tourism industry.<sup>211</sup> Also, one problem led to another, an agricultural collapse caused acute foreign currency shortages that in turn curtailed and restricted essential imports needed for industrial and agricultural production, medicines, fuel, energy and basic commodities, all contributing

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<sup>211</sup> *The Financial Gazette*, 25 November 2006; *The Independent*, 30 November 2006; *The Standard*, 5 December 2006. (The 3 major independent weekly newspapers in Zimbabwe).

to the decline of the formal economy and the government's revenue base. Food shortages were exacerbated by the 2002-2004 severe and prolonged droughts affecting southern Africa became a daunting challenge in Zimbabwe, particularly in rural areas. The food deficit was estimated at 1.2 million tonnes of maize for the 2005-6 season.

In 2005, the budget deficit exceeded 15 per cent of the GDP and domestic debt exceeded US\$ 10 billion. Unemployment stood at over 75 per cent with over 70 per cent of the population living under the poverty line. With economic stagnation and decline, the informal sector's share of employment had risen from 20 per cent in 1986/87 to 27 per cent in 1991 and more than 40 per cent in 2004. The informal economy eventually became the mainstay for most of the Zimbabweans. The International Labour Organisation reported in June 2005 that 3 to 4 million Zimbabweans earned their living through informal sector employment, supporting another 5 million people, while the formal sector employed about 1.3 million people. Faced with a myriad of socio-economic and political dilemmas, civil society organisations, especially the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), emerged as pressure groups to oppose ZANU PF's stranglehold on power, charging the party with corruption, human rights violations and poor governance in general.<sup>212</sup>

This political space for civil society set the stage for the emergence of a strong leadership, which eventually managed to form a powerful alliance of forces that mobilised Zimbabwe's public opinion. By the time of the referendum in February 2000, 55 per cent of the voting population had successfully mobilised to vote against the constitutional draft. The referendum marked the first political defeat for ZANU PF in what became a watershed year in Zimbabwe's political history. The outcome of the referendum prompted a fiercely violent campaign for the legislative elections held in June that same year. As ZANU PF was fighting for its political survival, the campaign period provided the perfect opportunity for the war veterans to consolidate their interests in order to augment their political power. It was in this charged political context that land reform became a tool for economic redistribution and political mobilisation. The FTLRP became an integral part of the violent election campaign process. Many Zimbabweans, including the members of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), were supportive of the land acquisition and redistribution exercise. It was, however, expected that the government would ensure an orderly and fair process, free of corruption. As

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<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*

a pay-off for their violent electioneering role, the war veterans were promised ownership of 20 per cent of the land taken over by the state. Although ZANU PF eventually won the 2000 parliamentary elections by a narrow and contested margin of 62 against 58, the process was criticised by international observers and many regarded the elections as having been neither free nor fair.

In May 2005 the also government launched a violent and destructive controversial clean-up operation (*murambatsvina*) that displaced 700,000 urban people across the country, who lost their homes, their sources of livelihood, or both. A further 2.4 million people were indirectly affected to varying degrees. Hundreds of thousands of women, men and children were made homeless, without access to food, water and sanitation, or health care <sup>213</sup> while others left the country for neighbouring countries and far beyond. The socio-economic and political context obtaining in Zimbabwe illustrate the large extent to which the new millennium was a difficult and controversial period for the country and the tourism sector. The mainstream international media supplemented by social media captured in real time the violent state-sponsored land seizures from large-scale commercial white farmers. White landowners were harassed, beaten and murdered during the land reform process. These developments generated much global criticism.

The negative media coverage directly affected the tourism sector as international travellers chose to visit peaceful neighbouring countries, particularly Botswana and South Africa. International tourists interested to visit Zimbabwe significantly decreased from a peak of 2,249,500 in 1999 to 1,966,500 in 2000.<sup>214</sup> In a bid to win back the international tourist market share in southern Africa, the ZTA adopted a strategy of offering free ‘educational’ to international tour operators sponsoring their flights and stay in Zimbabwe. On the other hand, over 100 local tour operators in Zimbabwe had been bankrupted by the crises and closed shop. Some tour operators catering for visitors at Victoria Falls transferred their businesses across the Zambezi river to Livingstone, Zambia.<sup>215</sup> However, in 2000, the Rainbow Tourism Group (RTG) doubled the capacity of their two-star Rainbow Hotel at Victoria Falls to 88 rooms as

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<sup>213</sup> *Ibid*; *The Financial Gazette*, 25 November 2004; *The Independent*, 30 November 2004; *The Standard*, 5 December 2004; *The Financial Gazette*, 3 August 2005; *The Independent*, 23 August 2005; *The Standard*, 25 August 2005. Masipula Sithole, *Zimbabwe's Public Eye, Political Essays*, Zimbabwe Publishing House, Harare 1998, p. 7.

<sup>214</sup> ZTA Annual Tourism Report, December 2000.

<sup>215</sup> Interview with NM1 (A1), Harare, 15 August, 2017).

their plans to establish a five-star hotel at Victoria Falls was jeopardised by the worsening crises in Zimbabwe. Generally, average room occupancy at Victoria Falls dropped sharply from 62 per cent in 1999 to 37 per cent in 2000, slightly recovering to 43 per cent in 2001.<sup>216</sup>

In the early 2000s the eight main Victoria Falls hotels, several lodges and numerous guest houses were estimated to be able to accommodate a capacity of over 3,000 visitor bed-nights, with the growing town calculated to cover an area of 2,212 hectares.<sup>217</sup> Victoria Falls Town had applied to the Ministry of Local Government for and achieved municipality status in 2002. The 2002 national population census enumerated at 31,375 residents for the entire municipality.<sup>218</sup> Back in 2001, the government believed that tourism would be an engine for national economic development and invested \$81 million for the redevelopment of Harare International Airport terminal and buildings. The upgraded modest airport had a passenger capacity of 2.5 million per year.<sup>219</sup> However, the much-anticipated increases in international tourism arrivals and the foreign exchange they would bring into the country failed to materialise on the backdrop of the political upheavals in the country. Also, the number of airlines that linked Zimbabwe to 100 international source markets in 1996 dropped from 45 to fewer than 10.<sup>220</sup>

Political and economic difficulties continued to escalate in the build up to the Parliamentary and Presidential elections of 2002, directly causing the depreciation of the Zimbabwe dollar, acute and chronic shortages of fuel, transport and basic food commodities- a combination of which did not augur well for visitors.<sup>221</sup> After the violent 2002 elections the EU and US imposed 'targeted' ZIDERA sanctions on Zimbabwe for serious human rights violations and election irregularities. The Zimbabwe government described the sanctions as 'illegal' because they had not been approved by the United Nations Security Council which normally votes, implements and monitors economic and political sanctions imposed on member countries violating international norms. Adding to the increasing US and EU pressure and its isolation, Zimbabwe was also suspended from the Commonwealth of Nations.

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<sup>216</sup> (Mugwati, Nkala and Mashiri, 2016).

<sup>217</sup> Interview with (A2).

<sup>218</sup> NAZ, (CSO, 2002).

<sup>219</sup> Interview with A3.

<sup>220</sup> (Mugwati, Nkala and Mashiri, 2016)

<sup>221</sup> Interview with A4.



As a way of retaliating against the perceived UK hostility towards Zimbabwe, the government introduced entry visa fees for British visitors at the end of 2002 and the UK government responded in kind.<sup>222</sup> International tourist arrivals to Zimbabwe, which had shown great resilience by recovering to 2,217,500 in 2001, dropped once more to 2,041,000 in 2002. Average room occupancy at Victoria Falls decreased from 43 per cent in 2001 to 41 per cent in 2002.<sup>223</sup> The volatility in tourist arrivals rhymed with political fragilities in Zimbabwe. However, in the early 2000s, tourist arrivals had largely changed little still hovering around the 2million mark per year.

Given the relentless bad publicity Zimbabwe was facing, the ZTA and Ministry of Tourism established a short-lived attraction at Victoria Falls in the form of a specialist tethered helium balloon, opened in early 2000. The balloon innovation, rising to 120 metres, supported a circular gondola carrying up to 30 people and offering a 360-degree panoramic view of the town, Falls and Zambezi River. Soon afterwards, the cost of the imported helium gas required to keep the balloon afloat inflated by over 600 per cent (literally ballooning in cost), making the operation financially unviable. The attraction was suspended in June 2002.<sup>224</sup>

### **7.3 Tourism infrastructure and regional competition**

The development of tourism infrastructure at Victoria Falls suffered several setbacks given the country's unstable macro-economic and political environment. For example, no reasonable explanation was given when, for the second time in its life, a significant part of the Elephant Hills Intercontinental Hotel complex was gutted by fire on 24 July 2001. Investigators did not rule out possible arson and electric fault caused by incessant power outages and incompetence of the monopoly power supplier, the Zimbabwe Electricity Power Supply Authority (ZESA).<sup>225</sup> ZESA's inefficiency became of legendary proportions- an add on- on the several inconveniences experienced by visitors. Following an insurance claim and major renovation the Elephant Hills Hotel was officially reopened in June 2003. It now had improved and updated services and facilities, including a modern room-by-room fire alarm and modern emergency sprinkler system.<sup>226</sup> The fire threat was a wake-up call to all other

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<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>223</sup> (Mugwati, Nkala and Mashiri, 2016).

<sup>224</sup> Interview with A1.

<sup>225</sup> Interview A5, 17 August, 2017.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*

hoteliers at Victoria Falls and the country more generally. Many hotel businesses across Zimbabwe developed similar precautions against the fire risk.<sup>227</sup>

The fragility in the tourism industry was compounded by the threat of regional competition from neighbouring southern African nations such as Botswana, South Africa and Zambia. The redevelopment of the old Intercontinental Hotel site established Livingstone as a serious competitor to Zimbabwe's traditional dominance in the tourism market. Livingstone overlooks the Victoria Falls from, for tourist viewing purposes of the Falls, the less strategic north bank. Nonetheless, the opening of the Royal Livingstone Hotel in July 2001 posed a serious challenge to Victoria Falls tourism on the Zimbabwe side. Hotel expansion on the Zambian side included the development of the opulent five-star 173-room Royal Livingstone Hotel and three-star sibling, the 212-room Zambezi Sun. However, the new developments were not without controversy since they involved the excavation and removal of archaeologically and historically valuable stone and iron-age artefacts from prehistoric sites dating back to more than 60,000 years.

Zambia also built several riverside lodges to accommodate the majority of Livingstone's tourists hosted outside of the town itself, in developments much closer to the Falls.<sup>228</sup> In 2003, Zambia established the Mukuni Environmental, Cultural and Economic Development Trust to assist in further spearheading tourism development within Livingstone town and beyond. The Trust was supported by contributions from local CBT tourism activities and operations, with funds generated supporting community education and health projects. Community tourism of this nature was important for community development in creating jobs that provided much needed income and to reduce poverty,<sup>229</sup> (Novelli, 2012).

In the meantime, severe political instability in Zimbabwe undermined tourism development at home and within the region. For instance, from 2001 onwards- at the peak of the FTLRP, ZANU PF held several political party conferences hosted at Victoria Falls. On these and many other occasions, war veterans invaded Victoria Falls rainforest and attacked the David Livingstone statue, an important historical infrastructure that attracted tourists. The war veterans attempted to tear the statue from its plinth in order to throw it into the gorge of the Falls. Their efforts were frustrated and unsuccessful. They damaged the metal plaques at the

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<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>228</sup> Interview, A4.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*

base of the statue, taking offence on the claim that the Scottish missionary had ‘discovered’ the Falls. According to Robert, “In December 2001, at a congress of the ruling party, a hundred veterans of the Zimbabwe liberation war began stoning the Livingstone Statue. Terrified tourists ran for cover, as the veterans smashed the historic markers describing Livingstone’s ‘discovery.’ Riot police were forced to guard the statue for the remainder of the party congress.”<sup>230</sup> Zambia took advantage of the chaos and confusion regarding the statue attempting to capitalise and maximise out of the situation. In 2004, Zambia requested that the statue be relocated to its side of the river, claiming the statue had, after all, been originally located on the northern bank before being established on the Zimbabwe side of the Falls. Zimbabwe snubbed the request. Zambia then commissioned its own statue of the Scottish missionary and explorer. It was unveiled overlooking the Eastern Cataract in 2005 to celebrate the 150th anniversary of his first sighting of the Falls. A bust of Dr Emil Holub was also unveiled in the same year, located at the Livingstone Museum.<sup>231</sup>

As discussed in sections 7.2, factors like the ZIDERA sanctions and regional competition compelled Zimbabwe to rethink its tourism strategies on foreign policy and international relations. The decline in tourism arrivals from the traditional source countries in Europe and North America was largely attributed to sanctions and advisory statements from those source markets that packaged Zimbabwe as an unsafe tourism destination. Zimbabwe had lost important foreign currency revenue from major tourist markets (UK and USA) due to travel warnings issued against Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe had little room to manoeuvre except to tap into new emerging tourism markets with a look east policy venturing especially towards Asia and the Middle East.

The country had to find new markets to bolster foreign tourist arrivals and generate scarce foreign currency reserves. Foreign currency was critical as an engine for economic development to purchase key imports like energy (petrol and diesel) experiencing acute shortages. In the period 2003-2005, government policy shift and focus towards the east failed to yield tourist numbers that could match or surpass the heavy loss from traditional source markets. For example, arrivals from Asia marginally increased by 40 per cent from 29,075 to 40,971 in 2003. The visitors were mainly from Japan, India and China.<sup>232</sup> International arrivals recovered to 2,256,000 in 2003, declining to 1,854,500 in 2004, and average room occupancy

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<sup>230</sup> Robert, 2009.

<sup>231</sup> Interview, A4.

<sup>232</sup> NAZ, ZTA Annual Report, 2005; (Abel and Mudzonga, 2016).

at Victoria Falls dropped from 35 per cent in 2003 to 29 per cent in 2004. Visitors to the Falls Park dropped to below 80,000 in 2003 as arrivals from traditional core overseas markets continued to decline.<sup>233</sup>

#### **7.4 Tourism resilience at Victoria Falls**

A1 maintains that tourism enough support during the 2000s contributing to national economic development through tourism receipts with its workers making a difference to different lives especially among the rural and urban poor. A1 also believes that the Ministry of Tourism, ZTA and the private sector were a permanent marriage that made tourism work. Without each of them the resilience would not have happened since there was no scope for divorce of these parties or else tourism would have failed. A2 summed up tourism challenges as steeped in political crises than anything else. A2 states that tourism resilience overcame divide and rule politics witnessed between Mugabe and the MDC leader Tsvangirai who did not get along very well and that cost the country the tourism it would have enjoyed. A2 asserts that: ‘there was little investment at Victoria Falls as tourism capacity went down in the 2000s and 2010s. Visitor numbers kept fluctuating and never reached the 3 or 4 million threshold which would have made Zimbabwe a tourist hub. Zambia and South Africa as well as Botswana must surely have benefited immensely out of Zimbabwe’s political mess that seemed to last for eternity.’

A1 on the other hand argues that Zimbabweans are a ‘resilient and hardworking and people around the world know us for that and they want us to do well so they support us.’ A3 believed the FTLRP saw the destruction of the environment at Victoria Falls due to politics by some political people who wanted to spoil the nature and scenery which attracts tourists concluding that they failed. A4 says that ‘the survival of tourism has been based on the strong infrastructure and strong marketing with marketing linkages with source markets for example, sport hunting favoured by USA tourists, UK families ties and businesses. The sector survived because it generates foreign currency for the entire country. The Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe allocated critical funds for tourism due to its leverage in bringing benefits to the economy. The sector is an importer of foreign exchange through bringing people to see Zimbabwe.’

A3 also observed that tourism was resilient because tour operators knew that it was fundamentally important to engage and involve residents in CBT at Victoria Falls area. Including them as much as possible would result in the long-term sustainability of tourism

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<sup>233</sup> NAZ, ZTA Annual Report, 2005.

from the goodwill of the people. A3 also noted that: 'I think the main drivers of the tourism development in the private sector, who travel far and wide, to engage with external operators and clients, people like Ross Kennedy, have made enormous contributions to keep Zimbabwe on the map as a travel destination.' A4 agreed with A3 and stated that: 'The major driver of tourism are the people of Zimbabwe. They treat visitors as queens and kings due to their passion, commitment and professionalism. The people and country are going back to basics in how they manage the sector, the hotels and cuisines and marketing the uniqueness of the country to drive tourism growth with the important help from foreign tourists.'

A2 reiterates A3 and A4's observations and believes that a tourism indigenisation policy was the sustainable answer and future of tourism in Zimbabwe given the complex historical past which had excluded blacks from equal participation in lucrative sectors of the economy. A2 explained several related tourism issues that would perhaps result from an indigenisation tourism policy stating that:

The entry of locals into the tourism sector must be gradual and should not be rushed...they should be encouraged and supported to develop a more vibrant and competitive tourism sector still dominated by a few. The involvement of locals should go beyond them serving as 'tea boys' or waitresses, cab drivers, recipients of tourist handouts and onlookers or as being part of tourist cultural attractions through dresses and dances only. Revenues from tourism should also directly benefit local communities with proceeds building social service places for health and education and creating employment for the many jobless school or college graduates.

About indigenisation, A5 differed with A2 over black participation and emphasising the views of the private sector. A5 believed:

...the private sector thinks that locals must be allowed a free choice either to actively participate in the industry or be employees. No one should talk of forced affirmative action or persuasion of locals to venture into an industry or field they do not voluntarily choose to engage in. What is the point of saying because blacks never used to participate in tourism let us find some to be tourism practitioners- it's a recipe for disaster as results have shown time and again among those who have tried to fill in the so-called indigenisation quota? Let it come naturally with passion- again as evidenced by those who have voluntarily invested their hard-won capital. Do not misunderstand me, it's a very good thing to have blacks empowered in farming, mining, tourism etc but let it not be forced down their throats by an overzealous populist government such as we have had in 38 years of Zanu PF rule- or is it misrule. By all means, blacks should partner tour operators, be apprentices, be competitors and be successful operators in their own right but it takes the imagination and entrepreneurship....

A5 also saw the public and private sectors or government and tour operators/hoteliers as the key players in tourism development and its resilience because:

these dominant actors have the means to influence the direction of the sector. I cannot think of any other major drivers apart from these because they have the stamina to shape policy, provide capital and infrastructure for the sector. They also have the important links and synergetic relations or connectedness with other tourism players in other countries to promote, market and enhance tourism development. They share tourism information and sometimes tourists with neighbouring countries, international tourism bodies or associations and trends in government policies, competition and collaborations at workshops, seminars and exhibitions.

Victoria Falls tourism resilience was traceable in aspects of tourist activities. For example, in 2004, the Livingstone Regatta was rejuvenated and returned to the Zambezi. The Livingstone Regatta was a large sporting celebration organised way back in June 1905 and sponsored by the British South Africa Company (BSAC), to celebrate the jubilee of Livingstone's discovery of the Falls and as part of the official opening celebrations for Victoria Falls Bridge. This led to the establishment of the first Zambezi International Regatta on 12 June 1905. This was a one-day event attended by many visitors. It was reintroduced by an international invitation event sponsored by Sun International. Its hosted crews from Oxford, Cambridge and South Africa (from Rhodes and Rand Afrikaans Universities). Ernest Barry's grandson, Bill Barry, rowed in a special exhibition race.<sup>234</sup> Thereafter, the regatta was successfully held several times.

In the same year, Victoria Falls Hotel celebrated 100 hundred years of accommodating tourists and its pioneering role in the development of tourism to the Falls. From very humble beginnings to a modern five-star luxury hotel, it stood out as an iconic symbol of Victoria Falls, affectionately known by locals as '*The Grand Old Lady of the Falls*.'<sup>235</sup> The joint managers of the Falls Hotel- Meikles Africa Ltd and Zimbabwe Sun invested in a redevelopment of the tourist facilities at Victoria Falls with an upgrade of the visitor's car park at the entrance to the Rainforest. The new facilities included the construction of permanent marketplace for licensed independent curio traders – a hugely attractive centre from which tourists buy souvenirs.<sup>236</sup>

While the 2000s were a violent time in Zimbabwe, it was generally less so at Victoria Falls- another explanation of why tourism was resilient at the resort. Supported by the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP), tour operators initiated a tourism police patrol at Victoria Falls as a

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<sup>234</sup> Ibid; Interview, P5.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid.

security and precautionary measure against violence. A local community ‘tourism police’ was established to help and assure tourists of their safety.<sup>237</sup> The tourism police patrolled the main tourism areas around Victoria Falls town, often engaging in daily cat-and-mouse chases with illegal street vendors. Vendors sold their wares to tourists to earn a living. The ZTA and tourism police encouraged tourists to purchase arts and crafts only from licensed traders operating from the formal craft markets, stalls and shops.<sup>238</sup> However, vending livelihoods should not stereotype or shunned but understood in the grand scheme of Zimbabwe’s crises.

The harassment of vendors at Victoria Falls was very much linked to the notorious Operation *Murambatsvina* (Clear out the Rubbish), also known as Operation Restore Order carried out by the Zimbabwe government across cities and towns from 2005. The government forcibly removed vendors and with bulldozers, cleared informally developed urban areas in cities and towns. Residents of the Chinotimba African suburb at Victoria Falls suffered major losses from the operation.<sup>239</sup> Officials justified the operation as a legitimate decision and action to crackdown against illegal housing and an effort to control crime and the spread of infectious diseases. However, areas targeted were incidentally also strongholds of the MDC political opposition against ZANU PF. Homes were bulldozed and burned without notice as whole suburbs were razed to the ground. The UN Tibaijuka Report estimated some 700,000 people were displaced from their homes nationwide impacting on the livelihoods of 1.4 million individuals- impacts discussed in chapter 6.<sup>240</sup>

As Zimbabwe’s crises deepened in the 2000s, tourism competition on the Zambian side became ever stiffer. Tourism on the Zambian side of the river operated at peak-season to near-capacity taking advantage of the discord in Zimbabwe. This drove an increased growth in infrastructure development on the north bank. In 2004 visitors to the Zambian side of Victoria Falls was 72,002. Increased political and economic uncertainty south of the river correspondingly increased this figure to 179,786 in 2005.<sup>241</sup> The Zambian National Tourism Board (ZNTB) utilised floodlights on the Eastern Cataract during 2004 which had been installed in 1989, but not used due to a controversy. The development was short-lived. The Environment Council of Zambia instructed the ZNTB to terminate the project and remove the

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<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>238</sup> NAZ, ZTA Annual Report, 2006; Interview, A4.

<sup>239</sup> Interview with A3, Interview with A5.

<sup>240</sup> UN Report Tibaijuka Report Zimbabwe Murambatsvina.

<sup>241</sup> (Zambian Ministry of Tourism and Arts, 2014; Zambian National Tourism Board (ZNTB) Report 2006.

floodlights. International arrivals to Zimbabwe fell to 1,558,500 in 2005. Visitors to the Falls Rainforest totalled 161,834 in 2005, declining to 134,010 in 2006. By 2006 average hotel occupancy on the Zimbabwean side of the Falls sank to around 30 per cent.<sup>242</sup> The mid 2000s proved to be a very difficult time for tourism at Victoria Falls and in Zimbabwe but international tourist arrivals did not fall below the critical mark of 1 million visitors.

When land reform and election violence subsided from 2006, the ZTA and Ministry of Tourism began to aggressively market the country's tourism brand with the campaign called *Go to Victoria Falls.Com*. This was an effort to counter negative perceptions of the country as tourism providers in Victoria Falls launched the campaign to directly market the destination. The relative improvement in output growth and receipts in 2006 and 2007 was a direct consequence of the tourism and hospitality sector efforts and resilience to manage the country's damaged image through a perception management campaign which was rolled out in overseas markets.<sup>243</sup>

A Tourism and Image Building Task Force team was set up and tasked with the responsibility of mitigating the challenges in the sector and repositioning the country as 'Africa's Paradise.' Led by the then Minister of Information and Publicity – Shamhuyarira - the *Come to Victoria Falls* campaign was rolled out. However, the political instability in the country and the extremely violent 2008 elections derailed the campaign and resulted in the deterioration of the tourism sector. Politics overpowered the image-building efforts that had been implemented over two years when international arrivals to Zimbabwe had stabilised at 2,286,500 in 2006 and 2,506,000 in 2007.<sup>244</sup> Given the odds, tourism resilience in Zimbabwe was short of a miracle.

Zambia got carried away in its tourism competition with Zimbabwe at Victoria Falls. In October 2006, the Zambian Wildlife Authority (ZAWA) awarded a concession to South Africa's Legacy Group Holdings for an extensive new tourism development project near the World Heritage Site. The announcement stimulated a UNESCO monitoring mission to investigate the proposed development. The tourism project included the development of a \$200 million *Mosiyatunya* Hotel and Country Club Estate Project. It planned to develop a tourist resort on a 550-acre riverside site in the National Park. The grand plans comprised

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<sup>242</sup> NAZ, ZTA Annual Report, 2006; Interview with A6, Interview with A7.

<sup>243</sup> NAZ, ZTA Annual Report, 2007.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid*; (Mugwati, Nkala and Mashiri, 2016).



building two five-star hotels, an 18-hole golf course, conference centre and a marina on the Zambezi, all a short distance above the Falls. After widespread negative public reaction and strong local opposition to the proposals, Zambia abandoned the project in December 2006. A moratorium on development within the World Heritage Site (WHS) was subsequently imposed by UNESCO imposing a joint management plan for the site.<sup>245</sup>

A landmark joint management plan of Victoria Falls/Mosiyatunya WHS was signed by Zambian and Zimbabwean counterparts in 2007, seventeen years after the designation of the site in 1990. The plan adopted a unified vision for the site:

To ensure the integrity and long-term survival of the physical, natural and cultural resources of the Victoria Falls/Mosiyatunya World Heritage Site, and the water area around it, for the enjoyment and benefit of Zambia and Zimbabwe, the local urban and rural communities, and the national and international visitors.<sup>246</sup>

The UNESCO imposed moratorium on development within the WHS was lifted in 2008. A proposal for a tethered balloon located three kilometres northeast of Victoria Falls on the north bank was rejected based on its visual impact on the skyline. The project was resubmitted several times, on different potential sites, without success. A proposal for an amphibious vehicle was also rejected. A new two storey 77-room four-star lodge, the David Livingstone Safari Lodge and Spa opened on the northern bank in April 2008, with rooms offering views of the river and including five luxury suites.<sup>247</sup>

Tourism firms operating on the Zimbabwe side faced many changes and challenges to cope under fragile tourism operating environments. In 2007, Wild Horizons, originally established as Zambezi Fishing Safaris in 1982 and renamed in 1987, merged with white-water rafting company Adrift and African Sport and Leisure to form a single company offering a portfolio of tourism activities. The Wild Horizons Estate, a fenced privately managed wilderness concession within Victoria Falls National Park, also opened operations in 2007. The Wild Horizons Wildlife Trust was formed in 2008 to support local wildlife conservation management initiatives, including a flagship project establishing a specialist modern veterinary laboratory and wildlife rehabilitation facility. The Trust was renamed Victoria Falls Wildlife Trust in 2012. In 2009 news reports highlighted concerns over noise pollution from

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<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>246</sup> Victoria Falls World Heritage Site, 2007.

<sup>247</sup> Zambian Ministry of Tourism and Arts, 2014; Zambian National Tourism Board (ZNTB) report 2008.

helicopter flights over Victoria Falls, stirred by proposals to issue further licenses to new operators and to increase the numbers allowed to fly at any one time from five to up to 20.<sup>248</sup> Several major hotels formerly complained to the World Heritage Commission regarding the high levels of disturbance already caused by excessive noise pollution levels over Victoria Falls town. Karl Snater, General Manager of the Victoria Falls Hotel, wrote:

On behalf of the Victoria Falls Hotel, I would like to register a complaint against the helicopters and the noise they produce which has a negative impact on the environment and likewise destroys the atmosphere in our hotel and grounds. Daily we have to endure the noise and constant irritation from these aircraft which fly directly over and above the Hotel. If one considers that current hotel occupancies are running at approximately 20% of capacity surely when normal higher occupancies return the environment cannot sustain the impact of the increased flights, increased operators and increased frequency of the helicopters.<sup>249</sup>

Guests at Victoria Falls Safari Lodge, Elephant Hills, Kingdom and Falls Hotels often recorded the noise intrusions as ‘a nuisance.’ At the time eight helicopters were in operation at Victoria Falls, five from Zambia, with Batoka Skies managing three helicopters and United Air Charters two, and the Zambezi Helicopter Company (part of the Shearwater portfolio of companies) operating three helicopters from the Elephant Hills helipad in Zimbabwe. A World Heritage Committee monitoring mission to the site in November 2006 observed that: “The World Heritage Centre and IUCN observed during the mission that high visitor rates are causing noise pollution from helicopters, microlight aircraft, and boats. In addition, aquatic wildlife is constantly disturbed by riparian activities.”<sup>250</sup>

Concerns were also expressed over the volume of visitors to the resort, especially the number of boats on the river. It was also believed that the river had reached its maximum carrying capacity. As a result, the river was characterised by crowding, which tended to obstruct tourist views. This negatively impacted on visitors’ satisfaction. However, noise pollution constituted one of the major problems at the resort, especially low-flying aircraft.<sup>251</sup> In 2012 a new operator, Bonisair, launched flights on the south bank from a newly developed helipad, initially operating two helicopters. The Chamabondo helipad was located to the south of the town to comply with World Heritage Commission requirements to reduce overall noise impacts, with flight paths bypassing the town and approaching Victoria Falls from the gorges.

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<sup>248</sup> NAZ, ZTA Annual Report, 2009.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid

<sup>250</sup> (UNESCO, 2007).

<sup>251</sup> (Rogerson, 2009).

However, the new helipad resulted in an increased number of flights being operated, longer flying times and wider impacts of noise pollution and disturbance over the area downstream of Victoria Falls – in addition to the existing flight paths above Victoria Falls still being in operation.<sup>252</sup>

### **7.5 Regional tourism cooperation**

Victoria Falls tourism development and resilience were also made possible by collaboration and planning with different local and foreign stakeholders. A8 amplifies the significance of regional collaboration and states that:

I am the regional marketing manager for tourism based here in Victoria Falls since 2005. I have been in this job for close to 13 years now. My role as regional tourism manager is quite a busy one involving planning tourism events, collaborating with local and regional stakeholders here in Victoria Falls- hoteliers and tour operators to make sure local and international tourist visitors have value for money through experiencing what this natural wonder offers. We share notes on improving safety, food and accommodation, environmental protection and many other tourism related policy issues designed to develop and boost tourism in Zimbabwe and the region.

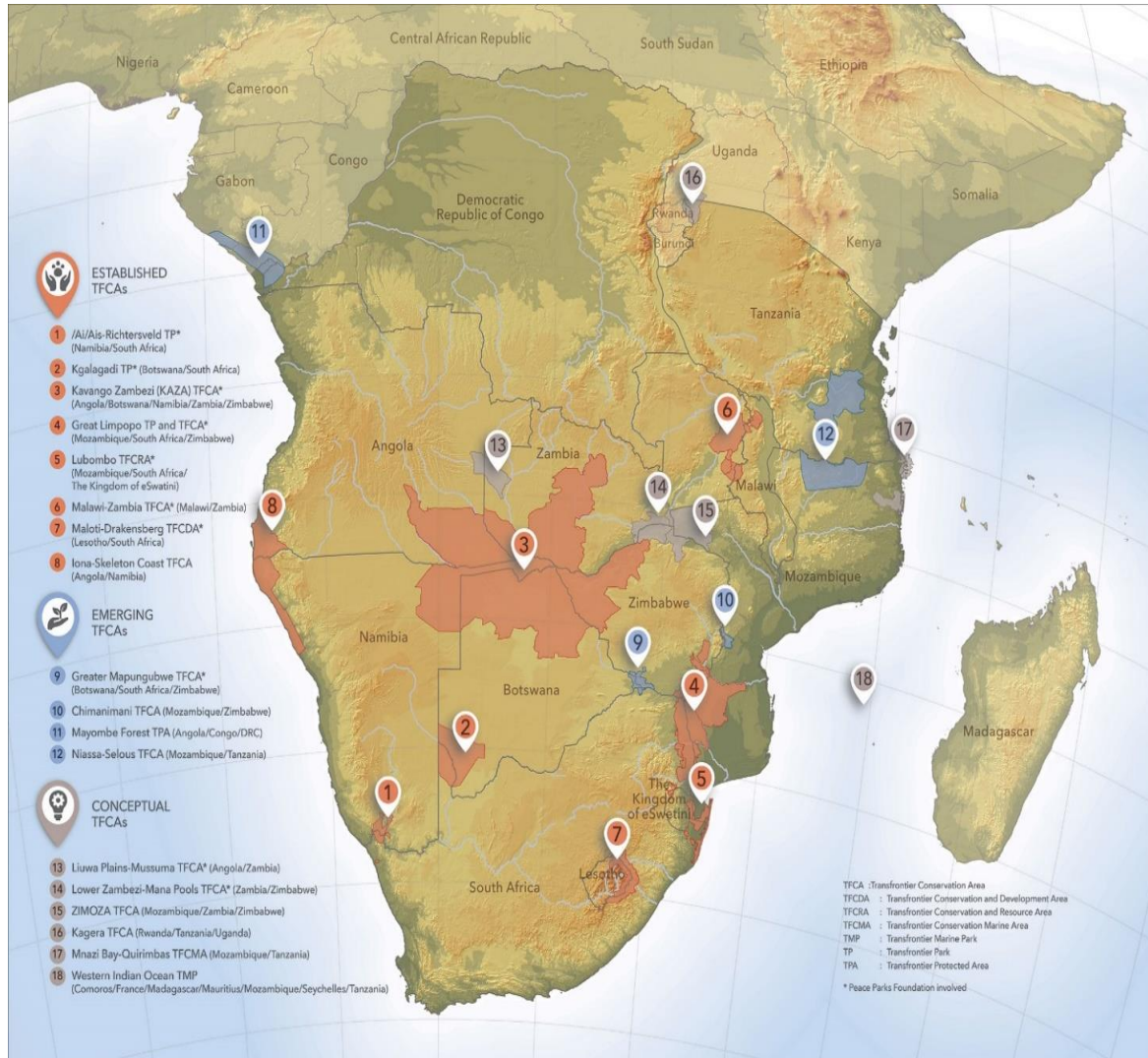
Regional and global tourism collaboration trickled down to the grassroots via CBT projects to make sure locals and international tourist visitors were provided with value for money, time and effort to attract repeat visits. On the other hand, the main reasons for the growing interest in regional collaboration at Victoria Falls was the belief that it led to the pooling of knowledge, expertise, capital and other resources, greater coordination of relevant policies, increased acceptance of the resulting policies, and more effective implementation of strategies (Pretty 1995). Wood and Gray (1991:146) define collaboration as a process where stakeholders engage in an interactive process, using shared rules, norms and structures, to act or decide on issues. In this context regional tourism planning and collaboration at Victoria Falls witnessed after 2000 the development of the Kavango Zambezi Trans- Frontier Conservation Area (KAZA) visa granted tourist access first to Zambia and Zimbabwe and later on included day trips to Botswana, Angola and Namibia- see Figure 7.1 for the (KAZA). The KAZA visa allowed tourists to the KAZA area using one visa limiting bureaucratic tendencies and delays. The KAZA visa was made available through immigration departments for citizens in 65 countries worldwide. The Kavango-Zambezi Trans frontier Conservation Area (KAZA TFCA) was also another tourism cooperative effort among five neighbouring

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<sup>252</sup> NAZ, ZTA Annual Report, 2012.

countries – Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. It linked protected wildlife areas across international boundaries largely for regional tourism purposes.

**Figure: 7.1 Map of the Peace Parks showing the KAZA Trans Frontier Park**



**Source: Peace Parks Foundation website.**

Victoria Falls was the heart of the TFCA, located as it was close to the meeting point of four of the five participating countries on the Zambezi at Kazungula border post located at number 3 on the map. The KAZA-TFCA tourism project took several years from 2006-2011 to become a reality through a treaty. In 2011 the KAZA TFCA recorded its mission to ‘establish a world-class trans-frontier conservation area and tourism destination in the Okavango and Zambezi river basin regions of Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe within the context of sustainable development.’<sup>253</sup>

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*

This vast KAZA-TFCA wilderness–wildlife tourism area (map above) became the world’s largest trans-frontier conservation project covering more than 520,000 square kilometres, the size of France. Occupying the Okavango and Zambezi river basins, it includes 17 national parks and a host of game reserves, forest reserves, game management areas, wildlife conservation and tourism concession reserves. The region supports the largest contiguous population of African elephant, with more than 120,000 elephants recorded in aerial surveys from the Okavango/Chobe region, over 50,000 elephants in north-western Zimbabwe and 16,000 in north-eastern Namibia.<sup>254</sup> Other focal species of conservation concern and of interest to tourists across the region included important populations of wild dog, lion and cheetah.

One example suffices to show the magnitude of tourism in the region. A survey of tourism accommodation provision in the KAZA-TFCA region, undertaken over 2006, estimated a bed-night capacity of 8,312 and a total annual guest-night figure of 782,200. Tourism revenues were estimated at over \$100 million, with \$89.4 million generated within the accommodation sector and \$10.8 million by tour operators.<sup>255</sup> Of the available accommodation capacity, 35 per cent was in Livingstone, 32 per cent in Victoria Falls, 17 per cent in northern Botswana, 12 per cent in Caprivi and just four per cent along the upper Zambezi. It was estimated that just over 318,640 guests spent one or more nights in the accommodation enterprises, and 782,200 bed nights were sold in the region. Livingstone made 39 per cent of total KAZA TFCA sales, Victoria Falls 25 per cent, northern Botswana [Chobe] 23 per cent, Caprivi sold nine per cent of total bed nights and establishments along the upper Zambezi sold the remaining four per cent.<sup>256</sup> This shared tourism in the region widened the choices and experiences of tourists contributing to country resilience of tourism.

## **7.6 Continuing state fragilities and tourism resilience**

Regardless of regional collaboration, new political problems continued to trouble Zimbabwe after the disputed elections of March 2008, but regional political leaders also helped Zimbabwe resolve its political challenges. On 15th September 2008, with the assistance of the then South African President Thabo Mbeki and SADC political stakeholders, Zimbabwe

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<sup>254</sup> NAZ, ZTA Annual Report, 2008; Victoria Falls World Heritage Site report, 2010.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>256</sup> Suich, Busch and Barbancho, 2005.

formed a Government of National Unity (GNU) comprising three main political parties (ZANU PF and the two divided factions of the MDC). Due to political fragilities, in 2008, Zimbabwe's international tourist arrivals fell slightly below 2 million decreasing to 1,956,000, but quickly bounced back with a slight increase to 2,017,000 in 2009,<sup>257</sup> closely influenced by political events in the country. Arrivals from South Africa declined 31 per cent, attributed to negative media publicity of political violence during the build up to elections and a cholera outbreak in Harare in the second half of 2008.<sup>258</sup> Annual average occupancy at the main hotels at Victoria Falls remained quite low, at 20 per cent in 2007, 25 per cent in 2008 and 24 per cent in 2009.<sup>259</sup>

Difficult economic and political operating conditions made challenging work for the tourism sector. Years of quantitative easing and escalating hyper-inflation finally resulted in the collapse of the Zimbabwe dollar. At the height of the crisis in 2008 menu prices at Victoria Falls had to be changed hourly to keep up with inflation. Staff salaries became virtually worthless and stores and stocks impossible to source. In 2008, annual mega inflation peaked at 89.7 sextillion per cent – almost 9 sextillion i.e. a 22 zeros worthless currency. A single egg cost well over a billion dollars, assuming you could find one.<sup>260</sup> Figure 7.2 below sums up stagnant tourist arrivals in Zimbabwe that remained at 2m and failed to reach 3m. Besides static arrivals, another casualty of the inflationary situation was the ultralight flight over Victoria Falls originally established by Bush Birds Safaris in the 1990s and later part of the Shearwater portfolio of tourism activities at Victoria Falls.

Due to inflation and severe foreign currency shortages, the operators failed to secure the essential international insurance cover the fleet of two ultralight planes and a specially the customised ultralight floatplane that offered a uniquely breath-taking experience. Their activities were suspended in June 2007. The Zimbabwe currency had been redenominated three times in 2006, 2008 and 2009, with banknotes of up to \$100 trillion- one with 14 zeros. This was the highest numerical value legal tender ever introduced in the world and issued in early 2009. The worthless currency could be seen everywhere being blown by the wind and provided collectors and tourists with a wide range of new novelty souvenirs. The government

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<sup>257</sup> NAZ, ZTA Annual Report, 2009.

<sup>258</sup> (Mugwati, Nkala and Mashiri, 2016).

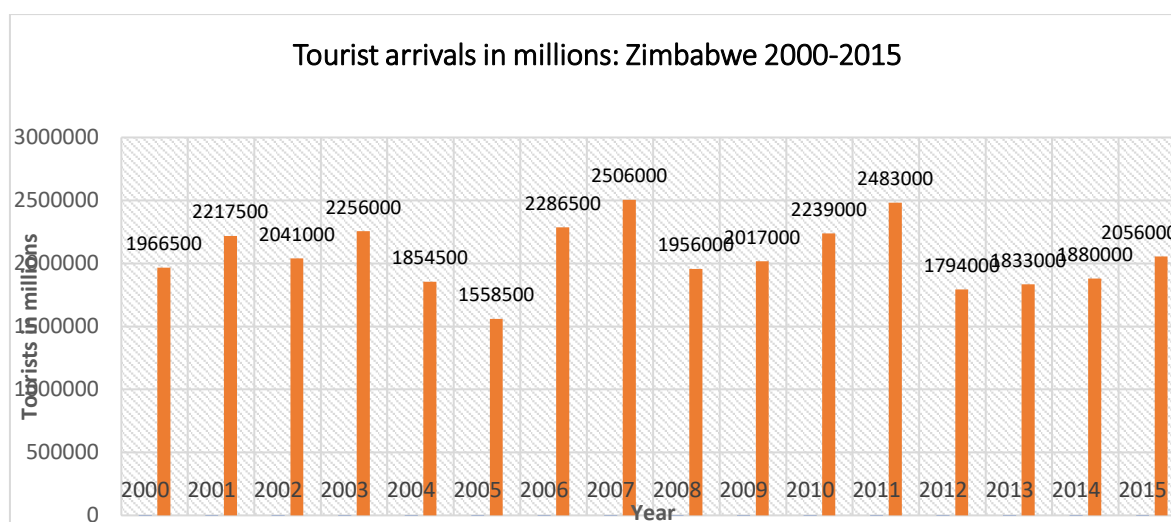
<sup>259</sup> (USAID, 2013).

<sup>260</sup> (*Financial Times*, 2015).

had no choice but to adopt the US dollar in 2009 as the main trading and legal tender within a multi-currency basket that included the Rand. Forced dollarization in 2009 marked the turning point in the economic crisis with stability slowly returning to the economy and the steady recovery of tourism. The GNU government ended in June 2013, with elections held in July under a new constitution. As with past elections, the 2013 poll was also controversial and violent as ZANU PF regained its monopoly and stranglehold on power. The Zimbabwe dollar was officially decommissioned in 2015 at a rate of 35 quadrillion (Z\$35,000,000,000,000,000) to one US dollar.<sup>261</sup>

In 2010, the ZTA reported a significant increase in national tourist arrivals with figures for the year reaching 2,239,000, largely attributed to trickle down regional benefits of the Federation Football Association (FIFA) Football World Cup tournament hosted by South Africa.<sup>262</sup> Of the total international arrivals received by Zimbabwe in 2010, Africa contributed 87 per cent, followed by Europe at six per cent, the Americas, three per cent and Asia at only two per cent.<sup>263</sup> Visitors from Oceania and the Middle East contributed less than two per cent. Annual tourism receipts rose to \$634 million from \$523 million in 2009.<sup>264</sup>

**Figure 7.2 Tourist arrivals in millions: Zimbabwe 2000-2015**



**Source: compiled by author from the tourism board reports**

<sup>261</sup> (Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, 2015).

<sup>262</sup> NAZ, ZTA Annual Report, 2010; Interview, A8.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid.

<sup>264</sup> Ibid.

Average annual hotel occupancy at Victoria Falls, however, remained depressed at 28 per cent in 2010 and 2011, reflecting the continuing economic and political fragilities as well as the high seasonality in tourism.<sup>265</sup> Visitors to Victoria Falls Rainforest totalled 141,113 in 2010, an increase from 116,223 in 2009. The Zambezi National Park received 58,598 visitors, up from 47,450 in 2009.<sup>266</sup> The site of the old and once popular Victoria Falls Craft Village, closed for several years, was redeveloped with the construction of the N1 Hotel, opened with 15 rooms in December 2010, expanded to 30 rooms.<sup>267</sup>

During 2010 the Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Management Authority (ZPWMA) partnered with the local activity provider and entrepreneur Shearwater Adventures, trading as Zambezi Helicopter Company, in a much needed, yet controversial, redevelopment of Victoria Falls Park visitor reception facilities. Much of the development included the conversion of the information centre into a modern commercial store selling high-value tourism souvenirs and the construction of a visitor restaurant and supporting facilities.<sup>268</sup> An outdoor interpretation and information area was developed, with detailed displays on the natural history and formation of Victoria Falls, as well as upgrading of toilets and other visitor facilities. The project sharply divided opinion and attracted a substantial amount of negative publicity and media coverage. Stakeholders in the town's tourism sector argued that there had been no formal environmental impact Assessment undertaken, with no public notification or consultation ahead of the development.<sup>269</sup> The controversy centred around the enduring long-term tourism policy in the country since UDI whose guiding principle was the conservation of natural resources through less intrusions onto park lands.

In government, authorities also clashed as the development reignited a long-running dispute over the sustainable management of the rainforest. The National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe, with the support of the Zimbabwe Republic Police used the controversy as an opportunity to regain control of Victoria Falls Park visitor facilities, reclaiming their legal management of Victoria Falls special area, and closed the restaurant.<sup>270</sup> After a short period of an awkward deadlock over the issue, and an eventual government ruling, the rainforest was returned to the management of the ZPWMA and the restaurant facilities were reopened after

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<sup>265</sup> (USAID, 2013).

<sup>266</sup> NAZ, ZTA Annual Report, 2010; Interviews, A2; A3.

<sup>267</sup> Ibid.

<sup>268</sup> Ibid.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid; Interviews A1; A7;A8



receiving clearance from UNESCO.<sup>271</sup> Additional plans for a proposed \$6 million development of the 'VIP Entrance' beside the Devil's Cataract, including restaurant, shopping and conference facilities overlooking the edge of Victoria Falls were quietly suspended to avoid courting further controversy.<sup>272</sup>

Other touristic developments took place at Victoria Falls from 2010. For instance, Wild Horizons started a new \$1 million luxury safari camp, The Elephant Camp, located within the Wild Horizons Estate. The initial development consisted of 12 luxurious, tailor-made tented lodge units. A new extension, the Elephant Camp West took longer to develop and was only opened in April 2015. It consisted of four tented suites overlooking the gorges below Victoria Falls.<sup>273</sup> Hotel operators in Victoria Falls recorded rising occupancy levels during 2011 with growth from new markets such as Eastern Europe, the Middle East and Asia. Occupancy rates for the seven largest hotels in Victoria Falls, offering a combined total of just over 1,000 rooms, were up 20 per cent in the first half of 2011. Overall annual average occupancy, however, remained low at just over 30 per cent.<sup>274</sup> Interviewee A9 noted that:

Victoria Falls Safari Lodge had the best July occupancy in 10 years at 70%. The Boma Place of Eating had its second-best July ever. Only July 2007 saw more covers per night at an average of 183, while 2011 had on average 163 per night. The settling and stability of the economy since dollarization in 2009 has meant that the supply chain has normalised and is thus operating to international standards. In addition, it has meant that use of foreign currency, pricing and access to goods has normalised and we are once again a tourist-friendly destination.<sup>275</sup>

Interview A9 also observed that the UK market, along with other traditional markets that had been 'staying away' from Zimbabwe since 2000, had started to return, influenced by the success of local destination marketing campaigns such as the *Come to Victoria Falls* campaign. He argued that many tourism operators and agents who had moved their business over the river to Zambia between 2000 and 2010 also returned to the disadvantage of Zambia. Nationally tourism arrivals to Zimbabwe rose to 2,423,000 in 2011, generating \$662 million over the period.<sup>276</sup> The upgraded four-star and 91-room A'Zambezi River Lodge reopened in May following a \$4.5 million renovation programme, including development of a 100-seater

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<sup>271</sup> Interview with A5.

<sup>272</sup> NAZ, ZTA Annual Report, 2010; interview A8.

<sup>273</sup> NAZ, ZTA Annual Report, 2010 and 2015; Interview A8.

<sup>274</sup> Interview A6; A7.

<sup>275</sup> Interview A9.

<sup>276</sup> Ibid, NAZ, ZTA Annual Report, 2011.

Conference Centre.<sup>277</sup> In 2011, the local tourism operator Wild Horizons proposed operating tours to Cataract Island from the south bank, having received permission to use the island for tourism purposes. The isolated island is a valuable refuge for the fragile rainforest flora sustained by the spray of the Falls. With the core of the tourism policy in mind and after consulting widely with local opinion leaders on the proposal Wild Horizons withdrew its plans on the understanding that the island would continue to be protected in its pristine natural state.<sup>278</sup> The Bridge bungee briefly became world news when a freak accident occurred on New Year Eve 2011. The cord broke when 22-year-old Australian Erin Langworthy's attempted the bungee jump and she dropped head-first into the Zambezi River. She, however, survived with just minor injuries.<sup>279</sup> The authorities scrambled to limit accidents of this nature with more secure equipment and monitoring.

The available archival record shows that Zimbabwe recorded 767,250 tourist arrivals over the first half of 2012, and achieved a year-end total of 1,794,000, earning \$749 million in receipts-less visitors but more revenue when contrasted with 2011. A combined total of 198,000 visitors toured Victoria Falls on both sides of the river, a significant increase on 146,203 visitors recorded in 2011. Approximately half of these visitors were foreign tourists.<sup>280</sup> The Zambezi National Park received 70,980 visitors, up from 56,475 in 2011.<sup>281</sup> The town's total population was estimated at 33,718.<sup>282</sup> In mid-2012 the Jafuta Heritage Centre opened at the Elephant's Walk complex, displaying a comprehensive collection of local cultural artefacts and information on the human history of Victoria Falls region. The centre was managed by the Jafuta Foundation, a non-profit organisation with the aim of preserving the traditional culture and material history of the region.<sup>283</sup>

In the following year 2013, the main accommodation providers in Victoria Falls, represented by eight hotels, recorded combined revenues of over \$23 million and 178,000 visitor room-nights, up from \$19 million and 159,000 room bookings in 2012.<sup>284</sup> A combined total of 252,800 tourists visited Victoria Falls in 2013.<sup>285</sup> Tourism from Britain showed significant

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<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>278</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>279</sup> Interview A2; A7;A9.

<sup>280</sup> (Victoria Falls World Heritage Site Joint Report 2014; NAZ, ZTA Annual Report, 2012.

<sup>281</sup> NAZ, ZTA Annual Report, 2012.

<sup>282</sup> CSO, 2012

<sup>283</sup> NAZ, ZTA Annual Report, 2012.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>285</sup> (Victoria Falls World Heritage Site Joint Report 2014).

signs of recovery, with arrivals from the UK trebling against the previous year.<sup>286</sup> Nationally, Zimbabwe recorded 1,833,500 tourism arrivals in 2013, having recorded first-half year figures of 860,000, and annual receipts of \$856 million.<sup>287</sup> In mid-2013 a new luxury cruise boat, the Zambezi Explorer, arrived on the Zambezi, having been built in Harare and transported to Victoria Falls by road – no small task for a hull 27 metres in length, over seven metres wide and eight metres in height. The three-decked Zambezi Explorer accommodates 140 passengers and offered premium standards of service, complete with on board food galley. All the vessel's state-of-the-art inboard facilities ran exclusively on solar energy, which together with fuel-efficient engines, minimised the environmental impact of its operation and set new standards for the tourism sector.<sup>288</sup>

More tourism investments were in the form of the Riverside Lodges Private riverside safari concessions developed upstream of Victoria Falls within the Zambezi National Park. Several independent safari operations started during 2013; the 26-bed Victoria Falls River Lodge became fully operational from late 2012 and the 12-bed tented Pioneers Camp opened in mid-2013. The latter was located close to the site of the Old Drift river crossing. Zambezi Sands River Camp opened in 2014 with a 16-bed tented lodge located in the western part of the Zambezi National Park. Joint Hosts opened its doors to visitors in August 2013. The Falls Hotel hosted the opening reception of the 20th Session of the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (WTO) General Assembly, jointly hosted by the towns of Livingstone and Victoria Falls. The event attracted more than a thousand delegates and VIP guests from across the world and provided a significant boost to local tourism, as well as giving Zimbabwe valuable international marketing exposure as a developing tourism destination.<sup>289</sup>

Like UDI tourism, throughout 2000-2015, the construction of accommodation facilities at Victoria Falls remained the major marker of tourism resilience because the demand for accommodation meant there was a perception of Zimbabwean tourism and Victoria Falls tourism in particular as enduring. This does not suggest that there were no other infrastructural developments taking place at Victoria Falls. For instance, during the and after the WTO meeting Victoria Falls Bridge was illuminated as part of a new installation to benefit tourists. A local telecommunications provider, Telecel, announced a \$100,000 sponsorship of the

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<sup>286</sup> NAZ, ZTA Annual Report, 2012.

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>288</sup> NAZ, ZTA Annual Report, 2013.

<sup>289</sup> NAZ, ZTA Annual Report, 2013, 2014 and 2015; P10.

illumination of the Bridge till 2028. In their WTO inaugural addresses, then President Mugabe of Zimbabwe and President Michael Sata of Zambia called for increased support for sustainable tourism and capacity building that promoted infrastructure development, environmental awareness and improved the welfare and livelihoods of local communities.<sup>290</sup> Addressing delegates at the opening session, the UNWTO Secretary General, Taleb Rifai, underscored the event as a:

A timely opportunity for all of us to continue along an encouraging path to drive tourism towards its fullest potential in fostering sustainable economic growth, jobs and development, and what better backdrop to do so than here in Africa, a region where we believe tourism can be a true force for good.<sup>291</sup>

In the modern age of the social media and instant messaging of events, one incident caught the world's attention when on 26 November 2013 a team of Livingstone Fire Brigade servicemen, together with Zambian Police and staff from Victoria Falls Bridge Bungee rescued a tourist who fell into the gorge from the north bank. Wang ShunXue, a 45-year old Chinese national, fell into gorge near the knife-edge bridge as he was taking pictures of himself using selfie with the Falls in the background. He became the first person known to have fallen into the gorge whilst taking a 'selfie.'<sup>292</sup> He survived without serious injury.<sup>293</sup> Regarding the running tourism construction theme, in December 2013, Cresta Hotels launched the redevelopment of Cresta Sprayview Hotel, after the \$1.75 million investment of the old Sprayview Motel had been lying dormant for many years. The reception area, 65 bedrooms, one restaurant, two bars and two conference rooms were completely remodelled and refurbished.<sup>294</sup>

Amidst these developments, the Victoria Falls Carnival, 'a three-day festival of music, performance, dance, adventure and fun' became a significant annual event, attracting performers and visitors from across the region. Accommodation providers recorded 100 per cent occupancies as thousands of revellers descended on the small town, swamping facilities and services. New Year festivals at Victoria Falls had started in 2009 with the 'Falls Fest,' operating from the central Victoria Falls Rest Camp, before the establishment of the perennial Carnival in 2012. The Falls Rainforest recorded an incredible 16,573 visitors and with

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<sup>290</sup> Ibid.

<sup>291</sup> UNWTO, 2013.

<sup>292</sup> NAZ, ZTA Annual Report, 2013; Victoria Falls Bits and Blogs, Nov 2013.

<sup>293</sup> (Victoria Falls Bits and Blogs, Nov 2013).

<sup>294</sup> NAZ, ZTA Annual Report, 2013.

entrance fee revenues in excess of \$270,000 over a 10-day period to 2nd January 2014, with international visitor entrance fee receipts totalling over US\$147,500, regional receipts US\$75,400 and Zimbabwe nationals US\$49,700.<sup>295</sup>

Developments since 2014 saw encouraging signs of tremendous recovery in Zimbabwe's tourism industry, with 867,000 tourist visitors recorded in the first half of 2014 and year end arrivals of 1,880,000, despite the Ebola epidemic casting a shadow over travel to the continent. The country recorded a marginal decline in total annual tourism revenues to \$827 million.<sup>296</sup> The tourism town of Victoria Falls was also experiencing regeneration, with several hotels investing in significant refurbishments and expansions. A long-neglected corner, in the centre of town, the old Wimpy restaurant was redeveloped as the Shearwater Café and opened in August 2014. Peak-season tourism arrivals were returning to the levels of the late 1990s, with the major hotels at Victoria Falls enjoying occupancy rates of 77 per cent in August 2014, up from 62 per cent in the same month in 2013. A8 reported a record month for their flagship property in Victoria Falls achieving the highest occupancy figures since it opened in 1994. He remarked that: "This is a sure sign that Zimbabwe tourism, and the destination are rapidly turning a corner, after three years of positive growth."<sup>297</sup> Annual tourism visitors to the Falls Rainforest reached close to the 200,000 mark. Average annual room occupancy, however, fell to 49 per cent from 53 per cent in 2013.<sup>298</sup>

In other developments, Victoria Safari Lodge Celebrated Twenty celebrated 20 years of operation with a significant \$1 million refurbishment, including an upgrade of all 72 rooms, completed in July 2014. The Africa Albida Tourism complex now included the six luxury Victoria Falls Safari Suites (converted from six of the existing Lokuthula Lodge units and opened in December 2013), the exclusive 20-room Victoria Falls Safari Club (development at a cost of \$2.7 million and opened in August 2012), as well as the original Victoria Falls Safari Lodge and Lokuthula Lodges.<sup>299</sup> On their part, in December 2014, Wild Horizons opened a new Lookout Café, part of a redevelopment of their gorge activity centre, perched overlooking the second and third gorges below the Falls. The development included a rebuild and expansion of the existing thatched structure, landscaped terraced gardens and the

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<sup>295</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>296</sup> NAZ, ZTA Annual Report, 2013.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>298</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>299</sup> Interview, A8.

clearance of a large area of natural bush for customer car parking. The gorge activity centre was originally developed in 2001 with the construction of a small thatched building and installation of high-wire infrastructure across the gorges, offering a bungee swing, zip-line and abseiling activities. The centre expanded its activities with the introduction of zip-line ‘canopy tour’ in the bend of the second and third gorges in mid-2013.<sup>300</sup>

Tourism development in Zimbabwe began on a strong note in the first half of 2015. The ZTA recorded 930,250 national tourism arrivals in the first six months of the year, with year-end figures reaching 2,056,500. African travellers contributed the majority- 1.76 million visitors- with overseas arrivals accounting for just 14 per cent – the Americas 76,751, Asia 35,000, Europe 149,000, the Middle East 3,990 and Oceania 25,000.<sup>301</sup> Visitor figures for the Falls recorded significant increases in tourist numbers, with combined totals of 353,025 in 2014 and 544,104 in 2015.<sup>302</sup> Occupancy levels from the ten leading tourism hotels on the south bank of the Falls recorded a small drop of two per cent over the same period, and entry numbers to the Rainforest declined 2.6 per cent<sup>303</sup> Unfavourable government taxation policies, including a new 15 per cent tax on hotel accommodation for foreign tourists, imposed at short notice at the beginning of the year, negatively affected predictions of increased growth. In the face of a challenging operating conditions, Africa Sun Ltd, for example, shifted its business emphasis away from direct hotel operation toward a hotel investment and management model, resulting in the appointment of Legacy Hospitality Management Services Ltd to manage the operation of The Kingdom and Elephant Hills Hotel.<sup>304</sup> Long-term and persistent political and economic fragilities continued to affect Zimbabwe but from the building and developments at Victoria Falls- resilience theory best explains how tourism managed to negotiate its survival around intricate national problems. The next section 7.7 analyses tourism related policies explaining tourism resilience.

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<sup>300</sup> NAZ, ZTA Annual Report, 2015.

<sup>301</sup> NAZ, ZTA Annual Report, 2015;

<sup>302</sup> (Victoria Falls World Heritage Site Joint Report 2014) A4; A8;A9;

<sup>303</sup> A1; A10.

<sup>304</sup> Interview A3; A6.

## 7.7 Sustainable Tourism development at Victoria Falls

Resilient tourism development at Victoria Falls also ought to be explained by the long run of STD policy adopted by both the UDI and post UDI governments but executed to varying degrees over 50 years. In the independence era the push and pressure for further infrastructural tourism development at Victoria Falls encroached on and threatened the natural environment due to unsympathetic and inappropriate structures in a protected CTA. The government rejected some of the investment proposals like the incessant bids to operate tethered observation balloons, an amphibious vehicle, and, a viewing wheel development overlooking the Falls from the northern bank. UNESCO also turned down projects from the south side attempting to develop a cable car facility into the gorge and many other projects, including a proposal to reopen tours to Cataract Island, the last remaining fragment of the rainforest untouched by modern tourism pressures.<sup>305</sup>

However, government officials did not always agree on the need for STD at Victoria Falls. Interview with A2 controversially proposed that Zimbabwe and Zambia should even forego the UNESCO listing of Victoria Falls and instead maximise commercial revenues. According to A2:

We don't need the Falls to remain a natural world heritage site as stipulated by United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). We need to go the Niagara Falls way and make money for our people and our economies. We can gain a lot of benefits if we commercialise it... We need to electrify Victoria Falls and start running it on 24 hours basis instead of closing the premises in the night.<sup>306</sup>

A2 argued that the Niagara Falls attracted \$30 billion annually, compared to less than \$500,000 at Victoria Falls for Zimbabwe and Zambia. He maintained that Victoria Falls had huge potential to raise more revenue from tourists if the Falls Park had electric lighting to enable night-time visits, steady water flows, restaurants, accommodation facilities and other modern amenities like Niagara Falls. Chief Mukuni countered A2 stating that tourists around the world travelled to Victoria Falls to see them in their natural form, undeveloped and generally untouched by controlled eco-sensitive commercial development. Mukuni pointed out: "In my opinion, we should keep the Falls as natural as possible and not commercialise it."<sup>307</sup> Mukuni's position was more in tune with many people who supported Zimbabwe's

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<sup>305</sup> Interview A2

<sup>306</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>307</sup> *Ibid*

long-standing tourism policy than A2's advocacy for an unrestrained commercial development of Victoria Falls area for maximum profit. Many people objected to his view because uncontrolled development would end up benefiting only a few privileged companies at the expense of nature, tourists, future tourism and the country.

The private sector supported government's STD policy. In the 2010s, the Green Shoots Tourism and other tour operators were very keen on conservation tourism. They increasingly adopted positive 'eco-tourism' principles, aiming to minimise environmental impacts and supporting conservation and community initiatives in the local area. From an emphasis on the 'green building' of new developments, minimising environmental impacts across all levels of the construction process, to the 'greening' of everyday operations, many tourism operators and accommodation providers recognised they needed to take active steps to minimise the impacts of their operations on the environment.<sup>308</sup>

The Victoria Falls Green Fund, launched in February 2010 by Environment Africa, aimed at encouraging development of Victoria Falls as a premier 'green destination' for tourism. Supported by contributions from local tourism operators the funds raised, including a \$1 per bed-night contribution from participating hotels was invested in local conservation and community-based projects that promoted STD in an environmentally friendly manner.<sup>309</sup> Several leading accommodation providers partnered with Green-Tourism.com to encourage the industry's adoption of sustainable eco-tourism management practices. Cresta Sprayview, Pioneers Camp, Victoria Falls Hotel, Victoria Falls Safari Lodge and Wild Horizons Elephant Camp collaborated to achieve green tourism accreditation.<sup>310</sup> A5 argued in favour of green STD commenting at length that:

Most of the ecological impacts wrought by tourist traffic is concerned with outcomes like soil erosion in paths frequented by visitors. There has been a terrible amount of deforestation shaped by the...infrastructure development of shopping places, hotels, roads and other buildings that have replaced trees, grasses and bushes. Wildlife has also been driven further away from the Falls as some of the animals do not find it feasible living side by side with humans. The Vic Falls National Park has also changed in that some of the rare animals have become extinct due to human tempering and encroachment on their habitats- poaching and cutting down trees for fuel and medicines. The growth of the residential places have also posed much environmental change and damage in that forests have been cleared to make way for homes and sometimes small crop fields. There is a lot of litter in Vic Falls found everywhere as the Municipality lacks capacity to efficiently keep the small town sparkling clean- dirty drains, overgrown grasses along roads, uncollected bins lined with flies posing dangers of

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<sup>308</sup> *Ibid*; Interview A5.

<sup>309</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid*.



contagious diseases like cholera. Litter is tourism product that requires good management or education of tourists themselves

The construction of a new airport at Victoria Falls that began in April 2013 was important in improving travel and transport to Victoria Falls but also posed environmental challenges. It was a significant \$150 million redevelopment and expansion of Victoria Falls International Airport, partially opened at the end of 2015 and officially opened Mugabe.<sup>311</sup> Works impacting the environment included the construction of an extended four-kilometre runway and associated taxiways, the construction of new terminal buildings with air-traffic control tower and supporting emergency services. The new airport runway, ate much natural grounded expanded from a length of 2,200 metres to 4,000 metres and doubled in width to 60 metres to allow international travellers to fly directly to Victoria Falls, accommodating the Boeing 747 and new generation of wide-bodied aircraft. The new terminal building was designed to handle 1.2 million international travellers (compared to the previous capacity of 400,000) and 500,000 domestic passengers per annum. Concerns were raised on the destination attracting a large volume of traffic and travellers and the implications for sustainable environmental management in the long run.<sup>312</sup>

Latter developments beyond 2015 confirmed the fears of environmental damage as tourist arrivals kept soaring above 2.2 million.<sup>313</sup> However, it would appear Victoria Falls conservation areas withstood encroachment from developers preserving their pristine and natural state – but a closer look shows that the Falls bear the inevitable and unmistakeable signs of ecological change consequent of ‘progress’ and development surrounding them. They are no longer the desirable form of untouched nature. For example, telephone towers occupy the skyline above the Falls (rather unsuccessfully disguised as giant palm trees), hotel buildings dominate the Falls environs and lodges overcrowd the river-frontage. Above the river cruise boats enact a race upstream each evening, jostling for prime position as the sun sets over the Zambezi. Helicopters and microlight planes buzz overhead, the latter often swooping low over the river, islands and gorges.<sup>314</sup> Downstream powerlines criss-cross the gorge and waste-water overflows drain into the river above and below the Falls.

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<sup>311</sup> NAZ, ZTA Annual Report, 2016

<sup>312</sup> *Interview A6*

<sup>313</sup> *Interview A7.*

<sup>314</sup> *Interview, A8; A9.*

Tourism infrastructure had grown and expanded, with increasing pressure to develop new activities and services to attract yet more tourists and generate successively higher revenues.<sup>315</sup> Apart from the obvious direct ecological impacts of tourism development on the immediate environment of the Falls, larger, more complex and challenging issues threaten to change the very nature of the river and Falls themselves. Such threats include serious deforestation, with illegal poaching for firewood, construction and curio carvings a significant local problems; water extraction and pollution, with the fragile habitat of the Falls Rainforest at threat from diminished volumes of localised rain and water quality threatened by sewage discharges from human settlements.<sup>316</sup> The introduction and spread of non-native invasive plant species also threaten the ecology of the Rainforest; and the spectre of the proposed Batoka Gorge dam development downstream threatens to flood the spectacular gorges below the Falls.<sup>317</sup>

Also, the protected core area surrounding Victoria Falls shows signs of steady erosion because protected areas have been designated and re-designated many times over. Areas of human encroachment and settlement have expanded undoubtedly increasing environmental impacts on the surrounding CTAs. The demography of Victoria Falls town has increased to 33,748 residents with the supporting suburban areas of Chinotimba and Mkhosana – developed on the site of the old Sprayview Aerodrome – expanding rapidly in the 2010s.<sup>318</sup>

Nonetheless, Victoria Falls still preserved wildlife and wilderness areas in compliance with UNESCO and government conservation policy and regulations. For instance, elephants have adapted to living side by side with humans. They are attracted to well-watered suburban gardens to feed on fruit trees and other seasonal favourites often coming into conflict with humans. They also pose danger and have become increasingly problematic for the town's human inhabitants. They often lean on walls to break entry into the greenest gardens and causing much damage.<sup>319</sup> Warnings have been issued several times around town after herds of buffalo, often to be found along Zambezi Drive and at the Safari Lodge waterhole, seek refuge in suburbs when hunted down by lions. Park Authorities supported by rangers manage these wildlife- wildlife-human conflicts. Human-wildlife and wildlife- wildlife conflict has been recorded in many parts of the world practising conservation tourism.

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<sup>315</sup> Interview, A10.

<sup>316</sup> Interview, A9.

<sup>317</sup> Interview, A6.

<sup>318</sup> ZIMSTAT, 2012; Interview, A8.

<sup>319</sup> Interview, A10.

Other threats to Victoria Falls tourism environment include the increasing volumes of trash explained by A5 earlier. Among other rubbish, the waste includes cans, bottles, fast-food wrappers and plastic bags to household and sometimes even business and industrial waste illegally dumped in the open bush surrounding the town.<sup>320</sup> Community groups and tourism operators organise regular voluntary litter clearing collections. Management of the town's waste has long been problematic, with a large open landfill site on the outskirts of town the ultimate destination for an estimated 3,300 tonnes of rubbish generated annually by residents, tourists and supporting industries.<sup>321</sup> The ingestion of plastic bags was linked to the death of at least eight elephants used to feeding on waste food found at the dump, resulting in calls for the site to be properly fenced.<sup>322</sup>

Fundraising campaigns were launched by concerned residents and local conservation organisations with the support of an online crowd to lobby for conservation funds from the tourism sector including significant financial support from Shearwater Adventures, who contributed fifty per cent of the necessary finance. An electric fence was installed around important sites.<sup>323</sup> Concerns were raised over high levels of water exploitation from the Zambezi River. News stories highlighted that the Falls were 'running dry,' with especially low water levels over the Eastern Cataract during dry and drought seasons.

An initiative to reduce extraction levels for the hydro-electric power station during such times were prematurely abandoned. UNESCO estimated that to operate at full capacity the plant required between 44-87 per cent of the typical dry-season flow. UNESCO judged that: "This level of water abstraction is clearly affecting the visual impact and aesthetic value of the property and may be having other long-term impacts such as degradation of the adjacent rainforest as a result of reduced spray at critical times."<sup>324</sup> Whilst energy demands required Zambian authorities to maintain extraction levels and power production during the dry season, generation was occasionally turned off for short periods. Often coinciding with visits of 'VIPs' to the Falls, the suspension in effect 'turns-on' the Falls, with noticeably higher flows over

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<sup>320</sup> Interview A8

<sup>321</sup> Interview, A5.

<sup>322</sup> Interview, A9.

<sup>323</sup> Interview A10

<sup>324</sup> (UNESCO, 2012).

the eastern end.<sup>325</sup> A9 Tourism, highlighted the responsibility to manage growth in a balanced manner. A9 pointed out that:

Some may believe Victoria Falls is better left as it is while others will embrace the counter argument that ‘growth is necessary and good.’ But what matters is that growth is inevitable, so both the public and the private sector must be responsible, accountable and caring in managing such expansion.<sup>326</sup>

The largest shadow hanging over the future conservation of the Falls and its surrounding environments come from ecological threats posed by the planned Batoka Gorge Hydro-Project. The project was first proposed in the 1950s and underwent a revised feasibility review in the 2010s. The proposed dam, some 50 kilometres downstream from the Falls, would flood the gorges below the Falls, forever changing their unique nature and ending commercial white-water rafting.<sup>327</sup> Despite its UNESCO WHS status, Victoria Falls and the immediate surrounding areas have always been under threat from the most intensive development pressures causing several environmental fragilities, on both sides of the river. The priceless natural aspects of this global wonder, including the wilderness which surrounds them and wildlife that frequents them, must be valued and preserved for future generations. There is a saying often applied to nature reserves and national parks - ‘take only photographs, leave only footprints.’ The present generation owe it to future generations to ensure the footprints left today are as transient and ephemeral as possible.

## 7.9 Summary

This chapter demonstrated how land reform and political violence were the major fragilities impacting tourism development at Victoria Falls at the start of the millennium. These difficulties were accompanied by related problems like hyperinflation stalling tourism development. Nonetheless, international tourist arrivals including those from Africa, Asia, the Middle East and the traditional source markets of the EU and USA maintained a reasonable flow around 2 million in the period 2000-2015. This success was attributed to the attractiveness of the Falls as well as many initiatives by the public and private sector such as the adoption of STD policies. Alongside the numbers were many capital development projects undertaken by several players in the industry with direct and indirect ecological consequences and fragilities that have been the focus of key debates regarding the future of Victoria Falls. The resilience of tourism and tourism development at Victoria Falls can be cannot be

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<sup>325</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>326</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>327</sup>

explained by one factor alone but by several interconnected reasons including its status as a protected WHS preserved and guarded by government and UNESCO rules and regulations. There are many threats to Victoria Falls but there are also several development opportunities offered by the voices arguing for balanced and sustainable development rather than unbridled exploitation of Victoria Falls CTA for maximum exploitation for tourism benefits.

## **Chapter Eight**

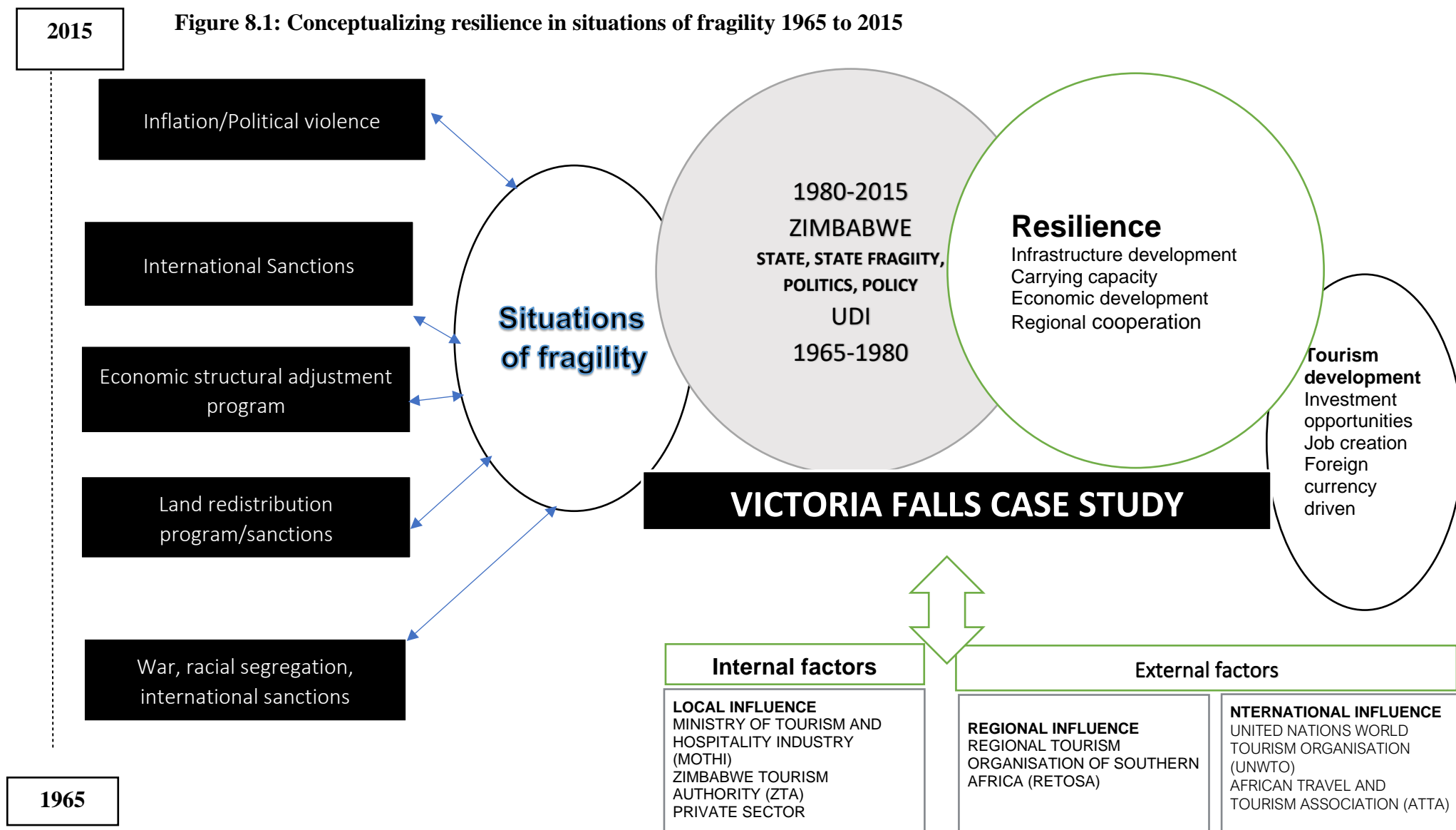
### **Conclusions**

#### **8.0 Key concepts that emerged from the study**

In this concluding chapter a summary of key concepts and that emerged from the study findings are highlighted through an illustration of a timeline. The future research prospects are outlined alongside other destinations in Africa. The chapter include the research contributions and implications for practice for tourism boards. Finally, the chapter conclude with a reflective epilogue at the end of the thesis. This qualitative tourism study advances novel insights and conclusions specifically concerning tourism development in modern Zimbabwe. The thesis shows that the second half of the twentieth century from 1965 continuing into the early twenty-first century to 2015 have been a telling era characterized by violent decolonization, followed by muddled and certainly ambiguous socio-economic and political developments in independent Zimbabwe.

#### **8.1 The study conceptual framework**

The conceptual framework aimed at providing an understanding and context of the main theory and variables investigated and examined in this study, i.e.: situations of fragility, resilience and tourism development. The interrelationship between these variables derive from the situations of fragility driven by politics associated with the activities of the Rhodesian or Zimbabwean states that governed and made decisions on behalf of its people over time. An understanding of the state under UDI and independence was important because the state of fragility in colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe had been influenced by several issues: war, UN and western sanctions, economic structural adjustment, violence and land reform outlined in Figure 8.1 below. These fragility determinants were examined in detail in chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7. The fragility and resilience frameworks followed a historiography of Zimbabwe from 1965 to 2015. While there had been a trajectory of different situations of fragility in Zimbabwe's tourism industry outlined in Figure 8.1, its resilience and development were an untold story in the available literature. The case study privileged Victoria Falls National Park and how the tourism industry survived over half a century highlighted in chapter 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7. This study focused primarily on the resilience of tourism development at Victoria Falls and Zimbabwe more generally experienced under different situations of fragility highlighted in the conceptual framework below.



The conceptual framework highlights resilience as one of the key concepts and theory in understanding why there was development in infrastructural projects, tourist arrivals and carrying capacity, and, general economic development in Zimbabwe influenced by the wider region of southern Africa. Walker and Salt (2006) point out that resilience offers a theoretical underpinning for development studies not only on ecological dynamics but also on organisational and institutional capacity to understand these dynamics and manage them. Resilience theory also offers theoretical underpinnings to the interdependent systems of state, human society, economics and the natural environment (Butler, 2017).

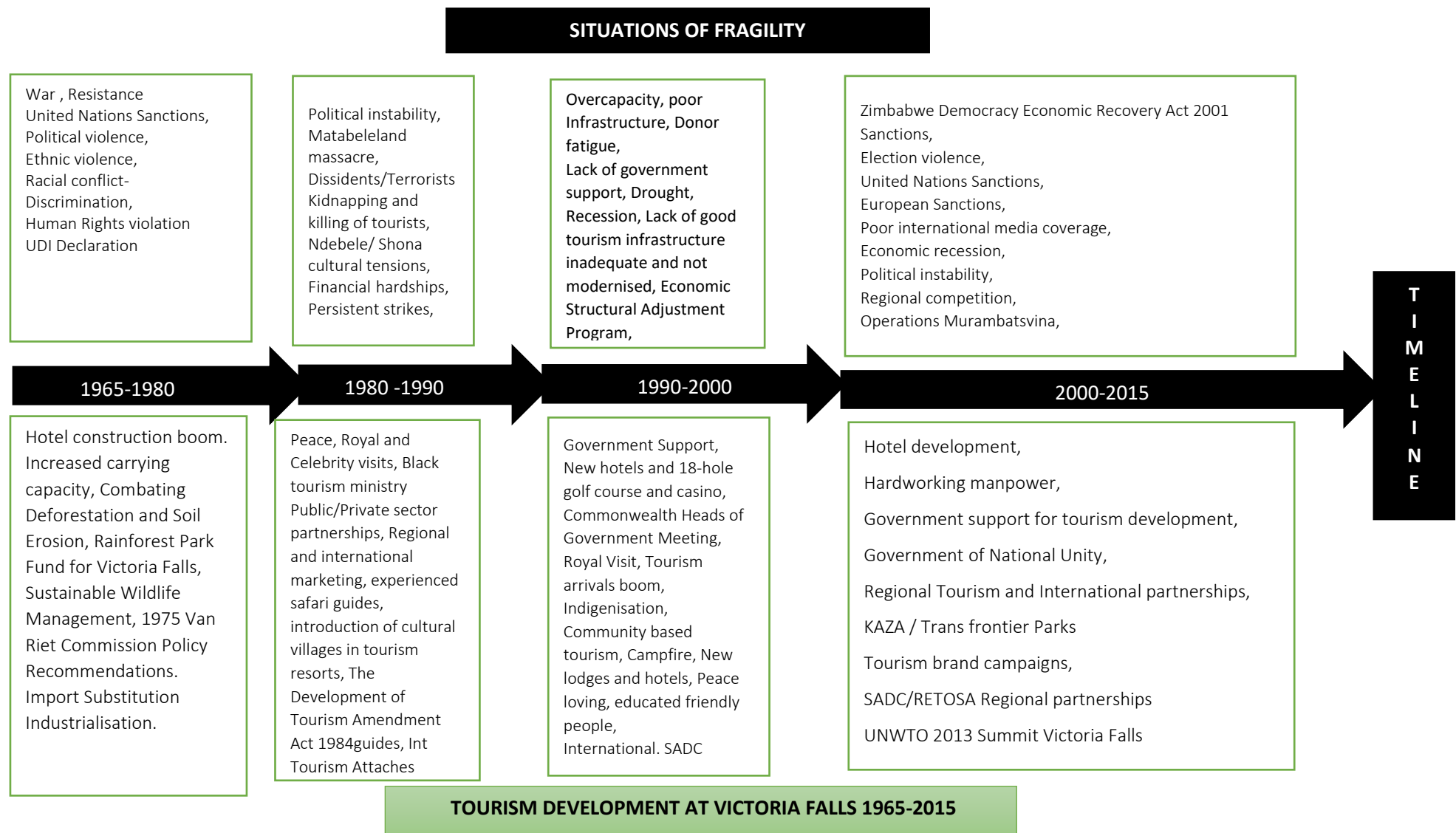
To understand situations of fragility in a country one must first understand the characteristics of a state and the definition of politics. Fragility conditions include nations often referred to as struggling states, and, as a preamble to the literature review, a working definition of state and state fragility is imperative. By drawing upon fragility, state politics, resilience and tourism development literature, this study adopts a case study approach, hence, the focus on Victoria Falls which allows for empirical evidence on how and why tourism development has taken place in parts of the world like Zimbabwe that experience political, economic and policy instabilities driven not only by internal factors but also influenced by external forces. This chapter captures these issues and is structured thematically, corresponding to and aligned with the five research objectives identified in chapter one.

## **8.2 Summary of the trajectory and tourism development from 1965 to 2015**

The thesis concludes that this era was undoubtedly characterised by noticeable, peculiar and traceable situations of fragility, which influenced the evolution of tourism in the country over a period of fifty years 1965-2015 of protracted turmoil. The study highlighted that such situations of fragilities were a product of various determinants destabilising the entire fabric of the nations. These wide-ranging factors were critically examined in the thesis and shown in the summary timeline in Figure 8.2 below. These included a fifteen-year civil war period, two different sanctions and unending election and political violence. As demonstrated in the study, this modern phase of Zimbabwe's contemporary history and mixed experiences was undoubtedly saddled by controversial and difficult socio-economic developments played out and mirrored the most in the sensitive tourism industry. Persistent and peculiar influences of various situations of fragility in the country, which underpin this study were evidently present and significant in directly and indirectly shaping the evolution and trajectory of half a century of tourism development in Zimbabwe- 1965-2015.



**Figure 8.2 The key historical, and tourism development events within the period (1965-2015)**



These were fifty years of protracted economic and political risks, struggles and turmoil at different times, in different spaces, with different actors and different outcomes that impacted tourism opportunities. The study argues that the long run multi-layered multiple situations of fragility in Zimbabwe had much deeper historical roots than previously appreciated in scholarship and a product of various interconnected determinants such as ethnic and racial conflict and discrimination destabilizing the entire social fabric of the nation. Critically examined in the thesis, these wide-ranging delicate situations had a huge bearing on developments in the tourism sector.

In a nutshell, the outstanding problems in modern Zimbabwe included a fifteen-year civil war, two different sets of sanctions (the UN sanctions since UDI and ZIDERA sanctions induced by a violent land reform from 2000), protracted election and political violence as well as many economic challenges. It therefore follows that, among other research objectives and questions, this study justifiably asks and places particular attention on ‘how, why and in what form could tourism have not only existed but also developed in a Zimbabwe riddled with and experiencing bouts of insuperable multiple difficulties?’ To address these and other questions, the research selected Victoria Falls National Park as the most appropriate and ideal single case study to investigate tourism development in Zimbabwe.

Both the available archival evidence and new data sets collected from in-depth semi-structured interviews prove the very resilient nature of tourism specifically at Victoria Falls and Zimbabwe more generally. The available primary and secondary evidence show that public and private sector stakeholders collaborated in time, space, resources and knowledge keeping tourism afloat in Zimbabwe. Interestingly, regardless of war, sanctions and violence, changing and different domestic tourism drivers (like tour operators, lodge owner, hoteliers, ministry of tourism and state tourism boards) cooperated locally and externally, though not always, with regional and global tourism players reaching out to maintain a semblance of stability and development in a tourist sector threatened by many changes.

Continuous collaboration and connectivity with international tourism players was one of the most critical factors boosting tourist arrivals, tourism revenue generation, employment creation and poverty alleviation at Victoria Falls and Zimbabwe. In particular the Zimbabwe Tourism Authority and its predecessor the Zimbabwe Tourism Development Cooperation played a key role in creating regional and international awareness of the tourism market by maintaining external offices in the United Kingdom, USA, Germany, France and South

Africa. While the State and the ministry of tourism initiated and organises conferences at the Victoria Falls that promoted international leisure and business travel unique selling points that brought economic and employment benefits.

It is important to note that, while external tourism links were vital, local tourism related activities, operations and developments very much complemented the foreign contribution angle to Zimbabwe's tourism industry. From Figure 8.1 Victoria Falls tourism was rejuvenated from time to time and remained alive and ticking within the framework of state fragility, economic and political instability precisely because of destination resilience notably regarding infrastructural and economic development, continued tourist arrivals, tourism revenue generation, employment creation and poverty reduction.

Conclusions made in this study drew from and benefited immensely from the extant literature informing the main conceptual framework of situations of fragility, UDI, the Zimbabwe state, resilience and tourism development. Wide-ranging tourism literature reviewed in chapter two provided a backdrop and solid ground for the empirical part of this thesis. The thesis moves the tourism field ahead showing how the state's incompetence in delivering the three most recognized basic functions of providing administration, security and well-being for citizens; the enforcement of the rule of law; and its acceptance by the public for legitimacy purposes directly slows down and distorts tourism performance and development due to, among other destabilizing influences, continuous civil strife, political polarization, fare/price instability, hostile mainstream western press and poor destination perceptions.

State functions and the human rights track record in colonial and independent Zimbabwe bore much relevance, much influence and input on the pace and extent of tourism development through determining visitor perceptions of Victoria Falls and Zimbabwe. For example, over reliance on brute force by both the Rhodesian and Zimbabwean state in the half century studied was a tenuous and unsustainable arrangement for the tourism sector to thrive and achieve its optimum potential. Tourism was affected by perennial human rights violations and unrelenting political violence that accounted for many frailties, state fragility and economic instability juxtaposed with evident resilience across social, economic and political actors and activities notably in Victoria Falls tourism. State-citizen relations were largely very tenuous because of the long running controls first by Smith and his successor Mugabe. State fragility constrained the potential of STD at Victoria Falls CTA. Conclusively, the failure by the state to identify, recognize, accept and resolve its major administrative shortcomings put Zimbabwe

and Victoria Falls in a muddle that accounted for the serious impediments to tourism development accounting for the lack of an early tourism modernization thrust for improved tourist infrastructures in airports, hotels, roads, railways, flight connectivity and ongoing resort refurbishments. Indeed, the major impediments of state stability and faster tourism development in Zimbabwe were political instability and the associated investment risks.

Apart from attributing state weaknesses as contributing to stifling the growth of tourism and other economic sectors like agriculture, mining and manufacturing, the thesis advances that modest tourism development nevertheless manifested in various tourist activities, operations and visits in the last 14 years of settler colonial rule in Rhodesia. These years were characterized by serious racial and ethnic conflict as well as intense black nationalism and civil war framed by the Cold War and the broad decolonization process of the 1960s and 1970s. Under these diverse trying situations of greater fragility, the multi dimensions of tourism development in modern Zimbabwe appear to have overcome the economic hurdles of isolation and sanctions as well as the destruction and damage consequent of the irregular guerrilla warfare of independence.

The assumption that civil war must have easily, and seriously destroyed or undermined UDI tourism is a misreading of reality because this study found out that the impacts of war on tourism and the Rhodesian economy were quite ambiguous. UN sanctions and near-complete international isolation made Rhodesia not only self-sufficient through ISI, but also enhanced the resilience of the tourism sector in different periods of the 60s and 70s, different activities at Victoria Falls in different dimensions like attracting foreign tourists in steady numbers that on dwindled and tailed off in 1978 as the war intensified but also drew to end with the Lancaster House Agreement that led to relative peace and independence. UN sanctions were not only porous but also ineffective in barring tourist arrivals and general economic development.

The consequences of UDI and sanctions are therefore controversial with some scholars suggesting it boon while others maintain that it was bane. However, UDI tourism in Rhodesia received a boost and massive support from neighbouring South Africa, other southern African states like Malawi and Zambia as well as Portugal to bust UN sanctions. UDI tourism development generally showed a growth trajectory that suffered temporarily in 1966 and 1967 at the time when UN sanctions were imposed. All the other years of UDI showed a growing tourism sector demonstrated by a boom in hotel construction and increasing tourist arrivals.

Rhodesian tourism defied both UN sanctions and civil war. The UDI era clearly shows the two diametrical opposites- fragilities and resilience in tourism development. The Rhodesian government was able to adapt to sanctions and adopt the implement ISI to bust UN sanctions. The country's tourism policy went beyond building hotels and camps to protecting Victoria Falls, national parks and resort environments from being overexploited for tourist purposes. The Rhodesia government was concerned about environmental issues like deforestation and soil erosion at Victoria Falls. Victoria Falls tourism demonstrates a complex basket mix of fragile politics, policy, environments and problems framing tourism development in Zimbabwe. Most peace talks between black nationalists and white rulers were mostly held at Victoria Falls making it not only a place for tourists but also controversial politics.

Social and political interactions at Victoria Falls highlight the close and symbiotic interrelationships between polarized politics, state fragility, tourism development and its resilience. A clear paradox existed between a fragile situation and resilient developments in tourism, two opposites that were not mutually exclusive. In contrast to the above, the study also found out that the interface of fragility and resilience in tourism development completely changed in independent Zimbabwe. The fragilities framing and overlapping tourism development and tourism resilience transformed in the first decade of independence, the 1980s, also referred to in the extant literature as a 'socialist' era in literature on Zimbabwe.

Among the many political fragilities threatening stability in modern Zimbabwe were the ethnically motivated dissident problem in Matabeleland and the Mozambican Renamo rebel atrocities to the east and north of the country. These two internal and external military threats were a continuity of UDI insecurity in many parts of the country impacting the safety of tourists including at Victoria Falls. In addition, political polarization between the two main political parties in the country, Zanu PF and PF Zapu from 1980 exacerbated the situation as North Korean trained Fifth Brigade committed atrocities in Matabeleland. The political disagreements over development policies and political power sharing became a major drawback for the tourism sector due to human rights violations publicized in the media. However, state tourism funding, policy and practices remained the key drivers of tourism development during the 1980s very much weighed against the paradox of persistent political and economic fragilities in independent Zimbabwe.

The fragilities revolved around ethnically based political differences, political and election violence which to a large extent generally deterred more tourist arrivals, FDI in tourism trade

and business. In particular, the murders of nine young tourists in Matabeleland allegedly by dissidents damaged the safety and image of tourist industry. Nonetheless, tourism resilience during the 1980s was like in the UDI era demonstrated by modest increases in tourist arrivals in Zimbabwe generally and at Victoria Falls more specifically. Tourism infrastructure development was however at a much slower pace in the 1980s due to financial difficulties and the inability to attract adequate FDI in the tourism sector. There was a very low hotel carrying capacity and reduced occupancy rates explained by a deficit in the development of more tourism infrastructure. Tourism resilience in the 1980s was very much influenced by government support of the tourism industry notably when it created the ZTDC whose role was to market and develop tourism facilities and activities in the country.

The thesis considers the 1990s as the boom or golden years for tourism development in Zimbabwe. Regardless of this general conclusion, Victoria Falls and the country at large continued to face and experience several challenges of a political, economic and social nature more or less similar to those of the 1980s except for the dissident menace ended in 1987 by a Unity Accord between Mugabe and Nkomo. The social, economic and political trials and tribulations of the 1990s were therefore more of continuities than change in Zimbabwe impinging the tourism sector. Tourism resilience during the 1990s was evidenced by boom years of the sector despite the contradictions of myriad problems. The tourism sector was indeed appealing to the domestic, regional and international tourists as evidence by rising visitor numbers in the country. Through public and private partnerships and FDI inflows, improvements to operations and infrastructure were implemented specifically at Victoria Falls and the country more generally.

The bulk of the tourist infrastructure was consolidated to meet international standards, a feat attributed to the ingenuity and collaborative enterprise of many stakeholders including the tourist board and Ministry of Tourism. The tourist industry endeavoured to be based on an excellence and a quality unsurpassed in Africa. Tourism policy in the 1990s recognized that pressures from agriculture, mining, timber logging and urban development made deeper and wider inroads into wilderness and wildlife habitats, and these flora and fauna became increasingly 'discovered', threatened and over-exploited for tourist purposes. Tourism policy articulated that these natural resources were finite, fragile, and tourism will only enjoy a long-term viability if they were carefully protected, conserved and allowed to appreciate. Conservation measures against deforestation, soil erosion and poaching were designed to protect natural resources from rapacious extractive exploration and damage for the sake of

short-term gain. This policy initiative was the major guiding principle in the Zimbabwe tourist industry, whereby relatively few visitors each year paid a high price for the ‘privilege’ of visiting to enjoy the natural attractions the climax of which was invariably Victoria Falls. As in the past, tourism played an important role in the overall economic, educational and social development of the nation providing the much-needed employment, foreign exchange generation and to a limited extent poverty alleviation.

During the 1990s, tourism optimised the natural resources upon which it was based both from a pleasure and from an economic point of view. It was made available in some form or another to all people as an instrument of recreational, educational or social benefits. The sector rejected offering superficial experiences but endeavoured to be based on the belief that the visitor to Zimbabwe, or the resident visiting his own tourist areas, will return home a better person than when he set out. Zimbabwe’s tourism policy strove to be profitable to the operator ensuring direct and immediate economic benefits to the local communities involved in tourism and to the national exchequer.

Wide consultations were made with stakeholders on minimum standards to be adhered to alongside regulations controlling hostels and hoteliers, tour operators and safari operators, couriers and guides, caravan parks, camping grounds, resorts and designated tourist amenities – which included such ventures as CBT, craft villages and animal parks. Every amenity available to holidaymakers was expected to meet certain mandatory minimum standards to protect the interests not merely of the genuine operators against the so-called ‘fly-by-night’ operators, but also guarantee and protect the interests of the visitor.

The tourist sector had two sides of the same coin, fragility and resilience that reinforced each other. However, since 2000, the political and economic instability and the resilient mechanisms/features adopted by the tourism industry changed. The new socio-economic and political fragilities that framed tourism development and resilience at Victoria Falls were chiefly a violent and chaotic land reform, hyperinflation, continued political and election violence, political polarisation and prolonged economic recession. The four fragility themes of land, inflation, political instability and economic collapse constrained tourism development at Victoria Falls and the country. Land reform and political violence were the major fragilities impacting tourism development at Victoria Falls at the start of the millennium because hundreds of people died, and thousands were imprisoned for belonging to the opposition MDC party. Nonetheless, international tourist arrivals including those from Africa, Asia, the Middle

East and the traditional source markets of the EU and USA maintained a reasonable flow around 2 million per annum in the period 2000-2015. The ZTA believed this relative success against all the odds must be attributed to the attractiveness and appeal of Victoria Falls as well as the many initiatives by the public and private sector such as the adoption of STD policies.

Alongside the modest numbers were many capital development projects undertaken by several players in the industry with direct and indirect ecological consequences and fragilities that have been the focus of key debates regarding the future of Victoria Falls. The resilience of tourism and tourism development at Victoria Falls can be explained by several interconnected factors including its status as a protected WHS preserved and guarded by government and UNESCO rules and regulations. There are many threats to Victoria Falls, but there are also several development opportunities offered by the voices that have consistently argued for a balanced and sustainable development rather than unbridled exploitation of Victoria Falls CTA for maximum exploitation for tourism benefits.

Tourism development has been and is a major source of employment and many livelihoods in Zimbabwe. Tourism development over the fifty years certainly became one of the most resilient economic sectors in Zimbabwe contributing to the country's GDP and employing hundreds of thousands of people in rural and urban areas with Victoria falls being the epicentre of attraction and tourism in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe's tourism may not have realized or experienced the highest rate of tourism growth for fifty years but always showed a high potential for further development. In Zimbabwe tourism established itself as an important service industry accounting for 8-10% of GDP. Given its cross-sectoral nature, tourism grew relatively and sustainably because it was integrated into the country's overall economic, social and physical planning policies. National attractions were shared with neighbouring countries, joint or regional promotion and marketing which made the country's tourism functional but not effectively especially given the bottlenecks and limitations.

Throughout the study period, tourism development in Zimbabwe attempted and to an average success managed to refocus, plan and implement viable policies that encourage STD in natural resources benefiting a few stakeholders. For instance, state interventions in tourism adopted relevant tourism investment legal frameworks, construction of enough green infrastructure and the provision of health and safety facilities. Zimbabwe had always made strenuous efforts to resolve its long-running macro-economic fragilities to address a hostile operational environment largely caused by among other factors, political violence, the 2001 ZIDERA



sanctions consequent of the chaotic 2000 FTLRP. This unstable macro-economic situation often described in the existing literature as ‘Zimbabwe’s crises,’ caused trickle down difficulties like long-term high rates of unemployment affecting demand of goods and services, unfavourable media publicity and capital flight. Tourism infrastructure; buildings, transport, power and technology tended to lag behind compromising quality of service delivery and stunting tourist arrivals. For instance, few international flights from source markets caused inconveniences to tourists. Also, tourism products on offer in Zimbabwe were generally natural heritage and needed beneficiation to add more value. The industry remained basic in many of its operations and required more tourist activities to complement tourist attractions such as duty free and curio shops.

Zimbabwe’s STD policy also addressed difficulties created by interactions of many stakeholders; tourism industry, tourist, natural environment and hosting local communities. The growth and expansion of tourism often produced detrimental effects on the environment in certain areas. Sustainable tourism did not operate within natural capacities for the regeneration and future productivity of natural resources or recognize the contribution that people and communities, customs and lifestyles made to the tourism experience accept that the indigenous people had rights to equitable shares in the economic benefits of tourism. Only in isolated and few cases around Victoria Falls villages did tourism try to incorporate the wishes and interests of local people and communities in the host areas. Tourism did not fully minimize the impact of tourism activity around Victoria Falls environments to acquire ecological sustainability. It contributed little to maintaining and enhancing conservation through the return of a part of the revenues towards the protected heritage areas such as the poor waste management practices at Victoria Falls.

Also, tourism policy was not visible enough in minimizing the negative impact of tourism activity on local communities and its members to obtain social sustainability. Tourism appeared to upset and disturb the daily life of the population at tourist destinations by not embracing the communities and sensitively acknowledging their culture often seeing indigenous peoples as part of nature to be observed through traditional dances rewarded with a few coins and useless gifts. Hence, Zimbabwe tourism has a long way to minimize the negative impact of tourism activity on the culture/traditions/customs of the local communities to obtain cultural sustainability. It has not yet developed a tourism capable of determining the authenticity and individuality of local cultures to preserve and avoid their saturation with ‘external’ cultural influences. In addition, the economic benefits of the local population as a

result of developing tourism did not accord them widely recognizable tangible benefits and economic sustainability.

The Tourism policy failed to educate the tourist through awareness and consideration of the impact generated, to improve personal attitude towards the environment and reducing the impact. It lacked an ecological education component (for visitors, locals, local administration, rural and urban population) at the eco-tourism level, both from the point of view of the product and of the local administrations. However, government made some policies to improve tourism operations to attract more domestic and international tourism. Policies attempted to revamp with little success, economic growth to provide high-quality visitor' experience in the destination while ensuring that the destination was not compromised in terms of its social, environmental and cultural integrity.

Generally, government abdicated its leverage to support capitalization of the industry through offering duty relief to tour operators and hotels to import where necessary, vehicles and hotel equipment that was not manufactured locally. It entered bilateral and multilateral tourism arrangements with other countries in joint tourism programs with neighbouring countries making important country-to-country tourism agreements and country-to-country cultural exchanges regarding for example, relaxed visa rules and tourist stays. Nonetheless, the state made limited progress in protecting and conserving the natural tourism resource, the very interest of tourists including the environment and cultural centres. Only to a limited degree did government tourism officials and policy makers formulate plausible rules to relieve the pressure on the scenic spots through measures such as the designation of protected areas and limiting opening hours of some centres.

The government's indigenization policy to encourage local private tourism players to participate in the tourism sector suffered from a severe lack of capital by blacks. The government also barely managed to attract direct foreign investment in tourism to have a stake in participating in the development of domestic tourism resources. Government's functions of guidance, coordination, supervision and management were not fully developed. For example, it neither developed and implemented preferential policies to develop inbound tourism like visa free period of entry into the country for foreign tourists in transit to enable them to visit interesting places at convenience further simplifying entry and exit procedures for tourists.

The government has also struggled to facilitate direct flights from upcoming source markets such as Asia. The country lacked sustainable international, regional and internal airline

connectivity to enhance growth of tourist movement. Zimbabwe was serviced by very limited airlines. Only South African Airlines, Ethiopian Airlines, Emirates, Kenyan Airlines and Air Zimbabwe flew into the country since 2000. Zimbabwe fell short of the required fleet. The government did not engage more airlines to link the country with more source markets. Collaborating airlines were not engaged with to offer discounted fares. More importantly, tourism suffered because government failed in its important role of providing a national airline critical for tourism development as it is one of the major vehicles in the marketing of the country and as a means of communication.

The study generally shows that limited long-term infrastructure development occurred in Zimbabwe over fifty years and tourist arrivals remained modest throughout with muted domestic participation in the sector. Cities, towns and rural areas remained largely disconnected without efficient rail; road and air networks while international routes linking Victoria Falls decreased rather than increasing. Government programmes that promoted the Zimbabwe tourism brand through campaigns such as “Creating Brand Zimbabwe” and “Buy Zimbabwe” were largely driven by the private sector achieving minimal results on creating an effective brand in marketing Zimbabwe exports and promoting FDI. The state did not build a diversified platform of investment and financing in the tourism industry. The government also did little to strengthen exchanges and cooperation with the UN World Tourism Organization, the World Bank and other international tourism research institutions to actively seek soft loans and investment from international financial institutions and foreign funds.

### **8.3 Future research prospects and other destinations in Africa**

Overall, notions of tourism development and concepts of state fragility in Zimbabwe emanate from local, regional and international ideas and influences. This study has contributed and explored several tourism issues and the contexts building them in modern Zimbabwe thereby opening further scholarly questions, topics and debates for other future tourism researchers working on Zimbabwe, Africa and beyond to examine for example, the nature and details of tourism development in fragile or failure states. Researchers may adopt specific focuses on World Heritage Sites case studies focusing on the Kruger National Park or take a countrywide case study approach such as the tourism industry in Malawi or Mozambique, Kenya, Tanzania and Angola’s resilience. This study will be invaluable to newer future tourism studies in offering comparisons and historical experiences in colonial and post-colonial Africa and other parts of the world. This study had the main objective of providing novel insights of tourism development in a developing country whose many socio-economic and political dilemmas are

very much like many other developing nations in the world. The study recommends that future research considers the significant variables of state fragility and tourism resilience to find out how the different paradoxes in time and space are resolved in tourism development. It is recommended that further studies address important themes of the lagging behind in African local participation in tourism, poor tourism infrastructure, slow economic growth and restricting carrying capacity of tourist arrivals. Central to this study has been the multifaceted interrelationships between destination fragility and resilience, between local policymakers, practitioners, regional and global forces that influenced tourism development in Zimbabwe and especially at Victoria Falls.

#### **8.4 Research Contributions**

The study is the first of its kind in examining tourism development at Victoria Falls National Park in modern times, within the frameworks of state fragility and resilience theories. The thesis contributes novel knowledge about the multidimensional aspects of tourism development and destination resilience despite the existence of adverse conditions of its state of fragility. Tourism development and its resilience was primarily associated with infrastructural and economic development, continued tourist arrivals, tourism revenue generation, employment creation and poverty eradication. Key findings show evidence of the historical operations, existence and survival of tourism in Zimbabwe associated with its strong regional ties and maintained relationships with international tourism organisations.

#### **8.5 A reflective epilogue**

The thesis therefore tells a consistent tourism story, model or paradigm over many decades of tourism fragility on one side and tourism resilience on the other. ZANU-PF nationalist narrative portray the tourism sector as a symbol of national pride and therefore, despite the odds, the government has struggled but continued financing and promoting Zimbabwe tourism worldwide. In some respects, its economic diversification in the tourism industry include the participation of wider society through its indigenisation and gender empowerment programs. However, the idea that the tourism sector has defied fragility oversimplifies the actual complex situation of Zimbabwean tourism (Gomera, UNEP, 2015). The tourism industry has no doubt transformed tremendously, not just in ownership terms, but in the typology of product and market access (Zibanai, 2016). The extent to which that transformation has been successful, and representative of a more permanent pattern remains an open question.

Given the fact that tourism development is dependent on natural resources in Africa and especially Victoria Falls, the drive to increase employment and economic benefits is pushing for further infrastructure development. There is growing concerns on the developments earmarked for the resort especially new hotels, shopping malls and huge multi story conference centre that will cater for international, regional and local events. Concerns on the human social and economic activities encroaching on the pristine nature of Victoria Falls and destroying the scenic sites; wildlife and wilderness replaced by modern buildings for the pleasure of tourists and perhaps less for locals; deforestation and soil erosion have crept onto Victoria Falls for so many years with little effort to combat its increasing nature. In the end, these consequences defeat the whole purpose of tourists seeing nature in its true natural state. Both Zambia and Zimbabwe encourage more tourists to visit Victoria Falls without much concern on its carrying capacity. There is need for the five countries (Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe) in the KAZA region that house Victoria Falls to come together and provide resources and policies that will help to protect the resort environments and to carry out transparent environmental impact assessment of Victoria Falls resort covering the Falls, Rainforest, the town and the Zambezi National Park. This way future generations will have the opportunity to visit and experience this natural wonder, Victoria Falls.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **Appendix 1 Consent letter**

#### **REQUEST TO PARTICIPATE AND INFORMED CONSENT LETTER FOR SEMI STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS**

Felicia Kuda Munjaidi  
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School of Sport and Services Management  
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Eastbourne BN20 7UR  
Telephone: 07930454099  
Email: [f.munjaidi@brighton.ac.uk](mailto:f.munjaidi@brighton.ac.uk)

13<sup>th</sup> March 2015

#### **TITLE OF STUDY**

Fifty Years of Politics, Policy and Problems of Tourism Development in Zimbabwe Under different situations of fragility from 1965 to 2015

#### **REQUEST TO PARTICIPATE**

You are being asked to take part in a research study. Before you decide to participate in this study, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please read the following information carefully and ask the researcher if there is anything that is not clear or if you need more information.

#### **PURPOSE OF STUDY**

The purpose of this research is to study tourism development at Victoria Falls destination under different challenges. The study seeks to find out how tourism has been conceptualized and experienced from 1965 to 2015, a fifty-year period in which the tourism sector has undergone many changes and experiences and trajectories.

#### **INTERVIEW PROCEDURES**

The amount of time required for the interview is one and half hours and will only be one session. During the semi-structured interview please, kindly note that audio taping will be used. Before the use of these products your consent will be required. You may decline to answer any or all questions and you may terminate your involvement at any time if you choose.

#### **BENEFITS**

There will be no direct benefit to you for your participation in this study. However, we hope that the information obtained from this study goes a long way to add better understandings about tourism activities in modern Zimbabwe and how the industry may learn lessons and improve its performance in the future.

## **CONFIDENTIALITY**

For the purposes of this research study, your comments will be anonymous. Every effort will be made to preserve your confidentiality including the following:

- Assigning code names/numbers for participants that will be used on all research notes and documents.
- Keeping notes, interview transcriptions, and any other information identifying participant information in a locked file cabinet in the personal possession of the researcher.

## **CONTACT INFORMATION**

If you have questions or concerns at any time about this study you may contact the researcher whose contact information is provided on the first page. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, or if problems arise which you do not feel you can discuss with the researcher. You may contact the University of Brighton.

## **VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION**

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You will be asked to sign a consent form below. After you sign the consent form, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. Withdrawing from this study will not affect the relationship you have, if any, with the researcher. If you withdraw from the study before data collection is completed, your data will be returned to you or destroyed.

---

## **CONSENT**

I have read, and I understand the provided information and have had the opportunity to ask questions. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason and without cost. I understand that I will be given a copy of this consent form. I voluntarily agree to take part in this study.

Participant's signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Researcher's signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_



## Appendix 2

### Interview guide -thematic questions

Name: Kuda Felicia Munjaidi  
Course: MPhil/PhD Sports and Service Management  
Thesis Title: Fifty Years of Politics, Policy, and Problems of Tourism  
Development in Zimbabwe 1965 to 2015 under different situations of fragility

Participant category \_\_\_\_\_ Place \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

1. What is your role in tourism and since when?

Answer:

2. What influenced you to work in the tourism industry in Zimbabwe, what did you like most about the sector?

Answer:

3. What are your opinions or feelings about the Zimbabwe tourism industry especially the Victoria Falls?

Answer:

4. What have been the challenges faced by tourism industry at Victoria Falls and country?

Answer:

5. Why do you think the Zimbabwe tourism industry has survived during UDI and post-independence?

Answer:

6. Who are the major drivers of tourism development in Zimbabwe and why?

Answer:

7. What would you say are the environmental consequences emanated from tourist activity at the Victoria Falls? what should be done to manage tourists?

Answer:

8. What do tour operators think about involving locals in tourism development at Victoria Falls or industry in general?

Answer:

9. Where do you see the tourism industry sector heading into the future especially the Victoria Falls and What advice would you give to someone who wants to invest in the tourism sector in Zimbabwe?

Answer:

10. Where do you see the tourism industry sector heading into the future? Would you like to add anything relevant to my research?

### **Appendix 3: An illustration interviewee response**

The significance of each question is briefly explored. To gather meaningful and accurate information, the first question asked; **What is your role in the tourism sector, since when?** Experience and function in the tourism sector were critical not only in selecting respondents but also in sourcing informed knowledge and views. This question was important as it sought advance our knowledge and provide insight for assessing tourism development through personal roles, experiences, story, moral valuation, and emotional connection (Chronis, 2012). Many Zimbabweans are known worldwide as hardworking, hospitable, welcoming and caring people. A symbol of pride for many Zimbabweans especially in the hospitality industry who work long hours, multitask to enhance experiences of the visitors and their own livelihood. For example, Interviewee A1 notes that:

“I joined tourism by default. I had studied economics at Uni. While working for the Ministry of Trade and Commerce there was an opportunity in the Min of Tourism which I liked because it would enable me to trade in services as opposed to goods. In the 1990s, promotion for women at the workplaces was a problem so I seized the opportunity like an escape toward my passion to care or people”.

Whether a tourist or visitor is traveling for business or pleasure, the level of customer service received on the trip will help determine whether they come again or not. To many visitors particularly those on holiday memories they can look back on with a smile help to promote the destination. When it comes to hotels and tourist resorts like the Victoria Falls, guests expect staff members to be courteous, helpful and friendly. They also want staff members to be knowledgeable about the area and attractions. Working in tourism require passion and caring. Interview A3 quite rightly said that:

“I have a great passion not only to meet but also work with and for people from diverse or multicultural backgrounds. I am a social animal and from a very young age, I have always wanted to work in the tourism industry not so much for the material benefits like packs and salary, you know the pay cheque at the end of each month, but for what I learn and gain socially from learning about other cultures, their clothing, food, language and way of doing things”.

The very act of passion and caring in the tourism industry could be a step towards the successes and resilience attached to the tourism industry and services provided to tourists in Victoria Falls and Zimbabwe more widely. Family, culture and the desire to learn new things/languages influenced and played a huge part with Interviewee A3 pointing that his passion and drive to take a role in tourism was passed on by his father:

“I was influenced to work in tourism from my childhood experiences especially my dad’s influence. I had a desire to learn many languages and could do so by meeting the world through working in the tourism industry. This developed my vision of wanting to meet diverse and important people like the heads of states I have personally seen and met. I speak 7 languages, but I am fluent in 5 which also helps me to learn and better understand the world. I like the tourism sector for its honesty in telling people facts and giving them accurate information because if you lie to tourists, they will soon find out for themselves anyway. The sector is educative and educational and gives me plenty to learn about other cultures of the world”.

The Centre on the Developing Child Harvard University suggest that children with strong relationships with important adults in their family and community do well in the face of serious hardship and may develop biological resistance to adversity. Such influence and experiences can help children to reach their goal. While the opportunity to learn new things and to meet people in the tourism industry resonates from the traditional Zimbabwean culture of welcoming also highlighted by Interview A3. Culture and cultural tourism are a very complex segment of the tourism industry as its supply is diverse and versatile. According to Tylor (1871) culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of a community or society. While Hofstede (1997) defines culture as a cumulative deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, notions of time, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving. The core of a culture is formed by the values which in terms of tourism will be the basics for the attraction of a given resort like the Victoria Falls or Zimbabwe more generally. Interview A4 noted:

“I was attracted to work for the tourism sector mainly by the pleasure it offers to meet new people from different cultures from across the world. There is satisfaction in hosting people, guiding them with tourism information about the Victoria Falls and the activities they can do here. Afterwards, it is very rewarding to know that they have indeed actually enjoyed their stay. I like to work for the Ministry of Tourism and the Zimbabwe Tourism Authority with that sense of contributing to national economic development through tourism receipts. I studied tourism at university and liked the idea that the sector and its workers can make a difference to different lives especially among the rural and urban poor. In fact, several reasons motivated me to work in tourism. What I like most about the sector are the opportunities it offers local and foreigners to know and enjoy Zimbabwe”.

As tourists travel and make their way around the country one thing remain the same that of welcoming and hospitable Zimbabweans. This was equally relevant for question 2 but with specific reference to key information on what motivated the participants to work in the tourism industry in the first place asking: **What influenced you to work in the tourism industry in**

**Zimbabwe, what did you like most about the sector?**, family members, education and childhood experience motivated many of the participants to work in the tourism industry. Already highlighted above different reasons were cited on why participants liked to work in the industry: passion for travel; fastest growing sector in Zimbabwe, learning new things, languages, meeting people and easy to get promotion if one worked hard. The reasons are just as vast as the tourism industry sector with its deep roots in history of the country and development at Victoria Falls. The Zimbabwe tourism industry especially the Victoria Falls has continuously evolved with future technologies and resources promise to innovate more. Question 3 was deliberately broad and open again seeking to solicit important knowledge and themes about participants views or feelings about the Zimbabwe tourism industry especially the case study area. It asked: **What are your views or feelings about the Zimbabwe tourism industry especially the Victoria Falls?** From the question the researcher wanted to dig deeper into participant feelings and views of the Zimbabwe tourism industry, its potential and development and if they knew the industry well. The general feeling from the participants was that Victoria Falls was the major pillar of strength, God given, revenue spinner and a cornerstone of the tourism industry in Zimbabwe. Pillar of strength is defined as someone or something that gives support or help during difficult time. Biblically, pillar of strength represents stability. This self-awareness and feelings one would say helps those who work in the tourism industry to become more resilient, have self-belief and purpose. Purpose as a recognition that helps to shape the mindset and attitudes towards different experiences. Furthermore, individuals find purpose in their families, political parties or being part of an organisation ([www.bounceback.com](http://www.bounceback.com); The five pillars of resilience).

Question 4 sought thematic information focused on the wider fragilities and resilience of the tourism sector asking; what you would say about the ability of the tourism industry to survive civil war, sanctions, land reform and other socio-economic problems in Zimbabwe; and asked: **What have been the challenges faced by tourism industry at Victoria Falls and country?** The biggest challenges for the tourism industry in Zimbabwe especially Victoria Falls from the participant views centres on the role of the government and tourism representative body the tourism board or tourism authority as it is known today. The lack of funding and over dependency on the private sector; the tourism authority is constrained by lack of financial support; lack of good infrastructure, sanctions, troublesome politics, election violence and little or no investment. One participant summed the challenges of the tourism industry by saying:

I think that your question is important because to tell you the truth, this country has gone to hell and back. Here I am talking about its crooked politics since white people came to this country and after we got independence. Actually, I think that bad politics is the greatest challenge ever for tourism in Zimbabwe. No other challenge is greater than the divisive politics that has given this country and the Vic Falls a very bad name and image. Look for example at the liberation war that tore the country apart. I think the country was also under United Nations Security Council sanctions since 1967 first imposed by the UK. Sanctions must surely have had a negative impact on tourism don't you think. But that does not matter now. Then came our independence and what do you have, Mugabe fighting Nkomo in Matabeleland for I think so many years from 1982 to 1987 when some Unity Accord was said to have been signed to end the so-called dissident problem that worried tourists and tour operators. I think the dissident issue was bad for tourism. Off course there were many challenges and one cannot talk about all of them if you see what I mean. But if you allow me to come back to poor politics that polarises the people and creates hatred in families because politicians like to divide and rule the people. The former president Mugabe and former prime minister Tsvangirai did not get along very well and that cost the country the tourism it would have enjoyed. There was little or no investment. The Vic Falls capacity went down in the 2000s and 2010s, I think. Visitor numbers also kept fluctuating and never reached the 3 or 4 million threshold which would have made Zimbabwe a tourist hub. Zambia and South Africa as well as Botswana must surely have benefited immensely out of Zimbabwe's political mess that seemed to last for eternity.

The emphasis on the challenges centred on politics. From international sanctions imposed by the United Nations Security Council in 1967, then leadership fight between Mugabe and Nkomo which was settled by the Unit Accord. However, these political fights continued described as political mess that appeared to last forever. Yasarata et al (2010) investigate ways in which political obstacles inhibit the implementation of tourism development. Yasarata et al draw on in-depth interviews from participants of significant positions in the tourism sector of the North Cyprus. The research findings showed that the North Cyprus policy for tourism development was found to be a product of political influence and the use of public resources as an instrument for political power. As a result, this politicisation of the public sector weakened progress in sustainable tourism development. Novelli et al (2012) identified powerful political elites as a huge challenge to sustainable tourism development in southern Africa. Nunkoo (2015) provided a new perspective on the political dimension of tourism development and how it can have beneficial political effects such as increasing legitimacy. He suggested that politicians and governments should allow its citizens to feel empowered and derive benefits from tourism development for them to trust the government. In Zimbabwe the tourism industry has been viewed with mixed optimism and pessimism due to the largely political problems the country has faced both under UDI and followed by 35 years under Mugabe. One participant noted the two rulers of pre- and post-colonial Zimbabwe one white

and one black wasted tourism opportunities for the country. However, several participants disagreed and felt that the government was doing enough to drive the tourism sector and should be applauded that:

Despite the underdeveloped nature of the sector- its survival is a totally different matter. If fact, it's like a miracle that the industry has stood on its two feet for much of the recent past and now. I believe that along the way, it often stood on one leg like a cockerel- due to insuperable problems of the 1967 United Nations Security Council sanctions, a 15-year civil war, endless political squabbles and the ZIDERA sanctions etc. But your question asks why- Zimbabwe is generally a very attractive country and people are fascinated by it and come to see it despite the odds- your Vic Falls for instance cannot be resisted by thousands from the across the world. Those in government and private sector should be applauded for not giving up on the sector. They continued despite the odds to sell the sector to the African and global markets and with responses that were either encouraging or discouraging dependent on the severity of the problems obtaining in the country in time and space.

The Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act (Zidera) is a policy of the United States Congress on 8 March 2001. The policy introduced to support the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle to effect peaceful, democratic change, achieve broad-based and equitable economic growth, and restore the rule of law. However, despite these policies Victoria Falls still attracted people from around the world. Following on from the previous questions, question 5 pursued the main reasons for the apparent endurance of the tourism industry despite the fragilities over the fifty years. This section of the interview was designed to examine how the tourism industry had survived the 50 years under different themed challenges and asked: **Why do you think the Zimbabwe tourism industry has survived during UDI and post-independence?** What was the general statistical trend in tourist arrivals at the Victoria Falls and Zimbabwe over the years? For many of the participants and responses from the UDI period the following statement still holds true:

Aspiring for freedom gave hope to many blacks, though I have limited experience of UDI tourism because for most blacks' holiday making was out of reach except for when kids for example went to see the airport and aircraft.

The cost for this unbalanced life experienced by many blacks led to the war of liberations and independence in 1980. It is hoped that the deeper insight in Chapter 4 on tourism development under UDI will bring to four the challenges faced and the survival of the tourism sector. This part of the interview on question 6 was concerned with finding out who the important stakeholders in the development of the tourism sector were and how that reflected on national development. It asked; **Who are the major drivers of tourism development in Zimbabwe**

**and why?** The term stakeholders in tourism development according to the UNWTO includes the following players:

- national government;
- local government;
- tourism establishments, tourism enterprise and their associations;
- tourism employees, tourism professionals and tourism consultants;
- trade unions and tourism employees;
- tourism education and training centres;
- travellers, including business travellers, visitors to tourism destinations, sites and attractions;
- local communities and host communities at tourism destinations, sites and attractions;
- other juridical and indigenous persons having stakes in tourism development including non- governmental organisations specialising in tourism and directly involved in tourism projects and the supply of the tourism services (WTO Report, 2005).

From the participants responses local government and private sector had the largest responsibilities for tourism development in the sector. However, given that the private sector enterprises dominated the Zimbabwe tourism industry and represented by their industry associations the private sector participants tended to be hostile towards excessive government regulations and policies. The issues of key policy, planning and training for tourism were highlighted with stakeholders working together to achieve this.

The local government as the main driver of tourism development needed to do more. One participant said that:

In the past, during UDI and Mugabe years- the sector was perceived as struggling- very much underfunded, understaffed, lacking in initiatives, run with poor policy, undertrained manpower and generally not a priority for government. The UK also perceived the sector as having enormous potential given a conducive climate to operate in terms of domestic and foreign direct investment. The politicisation of tourism is a very big or wicked problem. Government should wake up and appoint competent well-qualified tourism professionals who merit the jobs.

Question 7 solicited information on a critical theme running through Zimbabwe's tourism policy asking; **What would you say are the environmental consequences emanated from tourist activity at the Victoria Falls? what should be done to manage tourists? One participant remarked:**

To answer this question I might as well resort to listing some of the ecological effects at the Vic Falls; humans have encroached on pristine nature and destroyed scenic sites; wild life and wilderness have been replaced by modern buildings for the pleasure of tourists and perhaps less for locals; waste spoils the place and its management is not efficient; deforestation and soil erosion have crept onto the Vic Falls for so many years with little effort to combat its increasing nature; investors like to test the limits of enjoying nature by applying to invest on the pristine islands; the sunset cruises or early morning game views leave the human footprint of waste- no matter how little. In the end, these consequences defeat the whole purpose of tourists seeing nature in its true natural state because these two things do not go hand in hand but actually compete and reaching an equilibrium is difficult for governments. The new Vic Falls airport and accompanying road networks serves as a good example of how humans destroy vegetation and displace animals to accommodate modern facilities for the enjoyment of tourists. Off course there are a few sustainable practices that mitigate the consequences such as the turning down of some applications intending to develop in sensitive places of the Falls. Also, the government has been cautious on the speed with which the place is readily polluted or ‘destroyed’ to accommodate capitalist developments

The negative impacts of humans and tourism development at Victoria is believed to have led to shortages of clean water. The displacement of wildlife and wilderness, deforestation and soil erosion. One participant commented that:

Most of the ecological impacts wrought by tourist traffic is concerned with outcomes like soil erosion in paths frequented by visitors. There has been a terrible amount of deforestation shaped by the little infrastructure development of shopping places, hotels, roads and other buildings that have replaced trees, grasses and bushes. Wildlife has also been driven further away from the Falls as some of the animals do not find it feasible living side by side with humans. The Vic Falls National Park has also changed in that some of the rare animals have become extinct due to human tempering and encroachment on their habitats- poaching and cutting down trees or fuel and medicines. The growth of the residential places has also posed much environmental change and damage in that forests have been cleared to make way for homes and sometimes small crop fields. There is a lot of litter in Vic Falls found everywhere as the Municipality lacks capacity to efficiently keep the small town sparkling clean- dirty drains, overgrown grasses along roads, uncollected bins lined with flies posing dangers of contagious diseases like cholera. Litter is tourism product that requires good management or education of tourists themselves.

With the current shortages of finance and capacity for local government many of the participants believed that putting investment or tourism development around Victoria Falls was crucial to stop more encroachment near the natural wonder and along the river Zambezi. Cutting down of investors to Victoria Falls would maintain its pristine vegetation and the rainforest. Question 8 related to another important theme or thread in tourism development specifically at the Victoria Falls and the country as well. It asked; **What do tour operators think about involving locals in tourism development at Victoria Falls or industry in general?** While it was important to involve local communities in tourism at Victoria Falls



some participants said that it should not be forced down their throats. Another participant advised that:

The private sector thinks that locals must be allowed a free choice either to actively participate in the industry or be employees. No one should talk of forced affirmative action or persuasion of locals to venture into an industry or field they do not voluntarily choose to engage in. What is the point of saying because blacks never used to participate in tourism let's find some to be tourism practitioners- it's a recipe for disaster as results have shown time and again among those who have tried to fill in the so-called indigenisation quota? Let it come naturally with passion- again as evidenced by those who have voluntarily invested their hard-won capital. Do not misunderstand me, it's a very good thing to have blacks empowered in farming, mining, tourism etc but let it not be forced down their throats by an overzealous populist government such as we have had in 34 years of Zanu PF rule- or is it misrule. By all means, blacks should partner tour operators, be apprentices, be competitors and be successful operators in their own right but it takes the imagination and entrepreneurship I hinted on earlier on in this interview session.

Question 9 tested the future risks and opportunities in the tourism sector and asked; **Where do you see the tourism industry sector heading into the future especially the Victoria Falls and What advice would you give to someone who wants to invest in the tourism sector in Zimbabwe?** The participants felt that understanding and appreciating local conditions, customs and traditions was important for those investors who wanted to invest in the tourism sector. this was summed up by one participant who said that:

I would advise investors to invest in the people of Zimbabwe and not things. Training people would help investors to market knowledge about the sector. Trained people would provide knowledge and therefore it is important to invest in brains first rather than structures to benefit investors who may want to diversify their businesses from tourism to other sectors of the economy.

Lastly, question 10 asked; **Where do you see the tourism industry sector heading into the future? Would you like to add anything relevant to my research?** This last question was open ended to solicit any other relevant tourism information not captured in the range of questions and the resulting discussions. It was generally believed by participants that tourism development in Victoria Falls and Zimbabwe more generally will be driven by the private sector more than the government as the majority of the sector is still white dominated. From 1965 up to 2015 the period under study, only a handful of blacks have managed to penetrate the tourism industry. The fact that the industry is capital intensive makes it even more difficult for the indigenous people to venture into the tourism sector. There are numerous studies that examined local participation in tourism development. Butler (2007); Hinch (2004) and Sofield (1993) suggest that indigenous participation in tourism development should be found in

government legislation and regulations for real change or innovation to be expected. They believe that participation of indigenous people in tourism will be stronger if supported by government. On the other hand, some participants believed that indigenous people by virtue of being local and nationals have always been part of the tourism sector, their passion, feel and commitment to the environment and tourism foreign ownership should be severely restricted.

**Appendix 4:** Outline of accommodation facilities and activities for the tourist at Victoria Falls from the **Victoria Falls Tourism Manual and Guide on accommodation and activities**

**Accommodation**

<b>Self-catering units</b>	<b>Quality</b>	<b>Km to Vic Falls entrance</b>
<b>Adventure Lodge</b>	2	2 km
<b>Cresta Sprayview Hotel</b>	3	2 km
<b>Rainbow Hotel</b>	3	1.5 km
<b>The Elephant Hills</b>	4	4 km
<b>The Kingdom Hotel</b>	4	1 km
<b>A' Zambezi River Lodge</b>	4	5.5 km
<b>Ilala Lodge</b>	4	1 km
<b>Victoria Falls Hotel</b>	5	1 km
<b>Victoria Falls Safari Lodge</b>	4	5 km
<b>Victoria Falls Safari Club</b>	5	5 km
<b>Victoria Falls Safari Suites</b>	4	4.6 km

**Bed and Breakfast Guest Lodges**

<b>Self-catering units</b>	<b>Quality</b>	<b>Km to Vic Falls entrance</b>
<b>Lorries B/B</b>	Standard	3 km
<b>Amadeus Garden Guest House</b>	Comfort	3 km
<b>Livingstone Lodge</b>	Standard	4.5 km
<b>Bayete Lodge</b>	Comfort	3.6 km

### Out of Town Victoria Falls Safari Lodges

<b>Safari Lodges</b>	<b>Quality</b>	<b>Km to Vic Falls entrance</b>
Gorges Lodge	Luxury	22 km
Imbabala Safari Lodge	Luxury	80 km
Stanley & Livingstone	Luxury	15 km
Old Ursula Camp	Standard	12 km
Elephant Camp	Luxury	10 km
Victoria Falls River Lodge	Luxury	14 km
Zambezi Sands	Luxury	39 km
Pioneers camp	Standard	20 km

### Self-Catering Accommodation

<b>Self-catering units</b>	<b>Quality</b>	<b>Km to Vic Falls entrance</b>
Zambezi national parks	Standard	6 km
Victoria Falls Rest Camp	Standard	1 km
Lokuthula Lodges	Standard	6 km

### Camping and Backpackers

<b>Camping &amp; backpackers</b>	<b>Quality</b>	<b>Km to Vic Falls entrance</b>
Shoestrings	Good	1 km
Victoria Falls Rest camp	Good	1 km

#### Adrenaline and Adventure Activities:

- Low Water White Water Rafting
- High-Water White-Water Rafting
- River Boarding
- High Wire Bungee Jump
- Bridge Swing
- Bridge Slide
- Gorge Swing
- Flying Fox
- Zip Line
- Canopy Tours
- Boiling Pot Hike
- The Batoka Gorge Hike and Ndebele Village Tour
- Wildlife and Safari Adventures
- Upper Zambezi Canoeing –
- Overnight Upper Zambezi Canoeing
- Afternoon Raft Float
- 2 Day Canoeing/Overnight in Pioneers Camp
- Game viewing safari in the Zambezi National Park
- Walking safari in the Zambezi National Park
- Birding Safaris, Night Drive and Bush Dinner ,
- Day in the Park ,
- Walk with Lions
- Elephant Back Safari
- Horse Back Safari
- Zambezi River Fishing
- Guided and Scenic Tours
- Guided Tour of Vic Falls
- Photographic Tour of the Falls
- Lunar Rainbow Tour
- Helicopter Flights- Flight of The Angels
- Helicopter Flights- Zambezi Spectacular
- Breakfast Cruise
- Lunch Cruise
- Sunset Cruise
- Dinner cruise
- Zambezi Jet Boat Safaris
- Birding Safari
- Photographic Safari
- Steam Train.
- The Royal Livingstone Express Steam Train
- Spencer's Creek Crocodile Farm
- Historical Bridge tour
- Cultural Activities
- The Boma – Place of Eating
- Meet the People Tour – Traditional Village

Source: Zimbabwe Tourism Authority Victoria Falls Tourism Guide

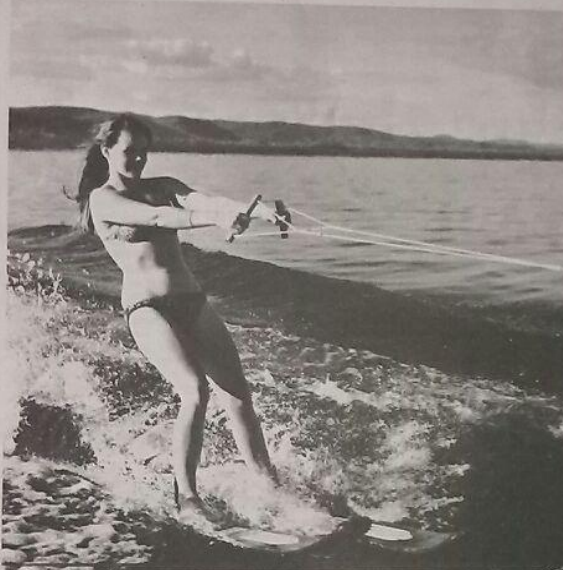
THE RHODESIAN  
FINANCIAL GAZETTE

## TRAVEL & TOURISM SURVEY

NOVEMBER 27, 1970

# HOLIDAYS BY AIR A HIT

Tourists travel to and from Rhodesia in many ways, but the simplest and quickest method is by air.



ATTRACTIVE scene, attractive girl, attractive sport . . . water-skiing at Lake Kariba is proving a big attraction to tourists.

## Tourist Board pushing on facilities

Mr. Leo Ross, chairman of the Rhodesia National Tourist Board, wrote this message for this Survey:

It is with great pleasure that I take the opportunity of contributing a few words in support of the interest shown by the Financial Gazette in Rhodesian tourism—an interest which, in this issue, is extended to an entire 16-page supplement.

The National Tourist Board over the last few years has based its policy on the three main premises of planning, training and marketing.

Planning for tourism has particularly caught the attention of the public in all fields related to it and, indeed, it has become a watchword in this country.

In its planning the Board has tried to play its full part: by encouraging operators to keep the supply of amenities ahead of the demand; by seeking to establish standards of quality, for example, in the grading of hotels; by

attempting to eliminate obstacles to progress; and, above all, by urging a policy of flexibility in planning, to make allowances for the changing trends of travel.

Areas that have so far received and are still receiving special planning attention are the regions of the Victoria Falls—Wankie National Park Kariba, the Fort Victoria—Kye—Zimbabwe complex, Inyanga and the Vumba.

Tourism is a service industry, and the Board will more and more extend its activities in co-operation with the private sector as well as with various branches of the Government, into the field of training for service. The person who serves tourists must know how to do his job, and he must be qualified to a suitable standard.

It is almost impossible for us to look outside Rhodesia

for the trained man and we must therefore undertake the task of training, testing and qualifying of staff for hotels and restaurants, for transport, touring and sight-seeing services and for any other organisation directly handling tourists.

Meanwhile, of course, the process of "selling" must go on, harder than ever, if our flow of tourists is not to falter. The market for tourists is intensely competitive as virtually every country in the world recognises the value of the tourist trade.

The Board aims at an ever-increasing scale of marketing with campaigns as strong as funds will permit, not only in established markets but also in new areas where the potential for Rhodesia is growing as an awareness of our tremendous attractions becomes better known.

Flame Lily holidays, pioneered by Central African Airways 10 years ago and now operated by Air Rhodesia, bring in well over 6 000 people a year from South Africa, and last year netted \$500 000 for hotels and tour operators.

Rhodesia's main market is obviously South Africa, and advertising campaigns are concentrated on that country, aimed at three groups — teenagers (for the "wild" life), families, and older couples.

"We have a range of holidays to suit most people, but if someone wants a tailor-made holiday we are always prepared to do this," said Mr. R. A. Weeden, commercial manager of Air Rhodesia.

With 32 Flame Lily holidays available from Johannesburg to Rhodesia, ranging from \$68 for a weekend in Victoria Falls to \$212 for a round trip of the Falls, Wankie, Kariba, Salisbury, Beira and Lourenco Marques, virtually all tastes—and pockets—are catered for.

The Rhodesian holidaymaker, too, has quite a choice. Starting with a day excursion to Kariba for \$23 all-in, the holidays go right through the price range up to \$121 for a 6-day all inclusive tour of Matopos, Victoria Falls, Wankie National Park and Kariba.

Holidaymakers from Bulawayo find things a little cheaper with a 6-day tour of the Falls, Wankie and Kariba costing only \$116.

These internal holidays are obviously mainly aimed at Rhodesians, but a large proportion of visitors also arrange an aerial holiday while they are here. This is why Air Rhodesia is not particularly worried about how people travel to Rhodesia.

Its offices outside the country are run in conjunction with the Rhodesia National Tourist Board, and provide information generally about Rhodesia and its attractions rather than just about holidays by air.

"We provide a service for the tourist rather than just trying to attract additional business for ourselves," said Mr. Weeden. "We don't mind if people come up by rail or by road, and our offices provide information on camping sites and other amenities."

"If, for instance, a family comes up by caravan, then quite often they will buy an internal Flame Lily holiday once they are here.

"South Africa is still our main market, and because of the increase in demand we are introducing 2 additional Viscount flights a week between Salisbury and Johannesburg, from December 6th," he said.

Part of the drive to increase the tourist traffic to Rhodesia includes the sponsoring, with the Tourist Board, of groups of travel agents from America, Europe, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

"This sort of promotion is very successful and brings a lot of business here once these

people see what Rhodesia has to offer, and now the holiday traffic constitutes a fair proportion of our passengers," Mr. Weeden said.

For Rhodesians who want to travel outside the country, but don't want to go as far afield as Europe or the Americas for either passport or financial reasons, the scope is still pretty wide.

In association with South African Airways, there are well over 20 different all-inclusive holidays offered in South Africa—the most popular being in Natal.

"This area has a lot to offer at very reasonable prices. Basically it offers some of the least expensive holidays anywhere in the world," said Mr. Weeden.

The sea is a great attraction, and 15-day Protea Skycoast holidays at the coast start at around \$98. In similar vein, the sky-cruise holidays are also proving a big draw. A flight to Durban from Bulawayo or Salisbury, then a sea trip to Cape Town via Port Elizabeth and East London, starts at \$170, and what could be more relaxing.

For those who have seen most of what they want to see in South Africa, the field is still wide open, with Mozambique and Malawi offering new areas of exploration.

Eight days on Paradise Island can cost as little as \$87, and a 2-day stay in Beira around \$30. This, in fact, has shown the most dramatic increase in holiday traffic.

The sea caught people's imagination, and for the first 3 months of this financial year (July to September) traffic has increased by 57 per cent over last year.

"We have also just started Flame Lily holidays in Inhaca, and these are proving very encouraging," Mr. Weeden said. 15 days at the Inhaca Island Hotel costing only \$133, and this can include a stopover in Lourenco Marques — itself a great attraction for Rhodesians. One of the latest holiday centres to open up has been Lake Malawi, made possible by the construction of new hotels on the lake shore, and an agreement with Air Malawi.

"The Flame Lily holidays attract a wide range of people, and we are always on the lookout to extend the variety of all-inclusive holidays and maintain the standard of our present services."

"In fact we have carried out such extensive campaigns, that in South Africa we are often referred to as the 'Flame Lily Airline' and it has become a household name associated with Rhodesia," added Mr. Weeden.



## Appendix 6: Tourist pour in despite sanctions in Rhodesia - Sanctions basting tourists and how The Rhodesia National Tourist Board worked to improve facilities

[illegible]

## Appendix 7: Public and private sector collaboration in hotel development

970 RHODESIAN FINANCIAL GAZETTE SURVEY November 27, 1970 3

# BETTER HOTELS IS THE ASSOCIATION'S BIG AIM

"Too many people say it is dead easy to run a hotel. It is not—not to run it properly, anyway."

That's the opinion of Mr. Denis Bishop, secretary of the Hotel Association of Rhodesia.

One of the most powerful trade associations in the country—it has about 97 per cent support in the industry—the Association considers the development and improvement of hotels as one of its main purposes.

Formed basically to look after the interests of its members and to maintain good relations with the Government and other bodies concerned with the hotel industry, it also sees as one of its principal tasks the encouragement of its members to do more for themselves.

Mr. Bishop, who works from the Association's small office in Salisbury's Jameson Avenue, is proud of what the Association has achieved in recent years.

"We have managed to establish ourselves in such a strong position that none of the Government departments concerned make a move without sounding out our views."

"They don't, of course, always take our advice; but they do consult us, and we are always in a position to go and put our views."

The Association played its part in gaining for hoteliers substantial tax relief for new equipment and structural improvements over and above the normal.

There is now also tax relief up to 100 per cent on increased

expenditure on advertising designed to boost tourism in overseas publications, and Rhodesian publications aimed at tourists which go overseas.

The Association works closely with the Government when new legislation concerning the industry is being planned.

It was closely concerned, for instance, with the drafting of the new Hotels Bill which will soon be coming before Parliament.

The new legislation, says Mr. Bishop, "should be a lot more realistic. A lot of anomalies have been cut out."

A more realistic hotel grading is now in force. "In the past many 1-star hotels were so alarmed at what was involved in achieving a 2-star status that they just decided it was not worth their while."

"Now the gap between a 1 and 2-star hotel has been reduced, and it will also be easier to move from 2 stars to 3."

The Association has also been largely responsible for arranging that hotels will be able to borrow from the Hotels Development Fund at more reasonable rates.

Originally, money was lent at 7½ per cent; soon it will be lent at 5 per cent or possibly even less.

A problem which will concern

MR. DENIS BISHOP at work in his office.

the Association for some time is the drafting of the controversial new Liquor Act. "All we can say at this stage is that we will do everything possible to ensure that the new Act is an enlightened one that will allow hotels to offer tourists facilities they can get elsewhere," said Mr. Bishop.

The Association also encourages the building of new hotels in suitable areas and improvements, where possible, to existing hotels.

It is also active in encouraging the training and education of all grades of staff.

The Government has agreed

in principle that a Rhodesian national diploma course in hotel-keeping and management will be started — next year, it is hoped.

"This will be of great benefit," said Mr. Bishop. "Everybody is working to ensure that the course will be up to international standards, and that people who pass would be able to get jobs in London, Paris, New York and so on, on the strength of it."

"Of course, we hope that those who pass will stay, or that if they do go overseas they will come back — overseas experience, after all, is an excellent

thing.

"With the development in tourism, we have got to make sure we have the properly-trained staff to run our hotels."

Membership of the Association, restricted to licence-holders, involves fees on a sliding scale depending on the number of employees, and ranges from \$15 to \$200 a year.

It has surplus funds, "ready to fight any case which might come up affecting our members."

Mr. Bishop is very happy with the state of the industry. "It's really alive at the moment, and everybody is working to improve the position."

## New Wankie airport terminal

An artist's impression of the new \$226 000 terminal being built in the Wankie National Park. The control tower and fire station are on the left. The building is due to be completed in May next year.



## • More and more money is being invested •

# A MULTI-MILLION PUSH IN HOTELS

A few years back the message to his private secretary from most Salisbury businessmen entertaining a visiting VIP was almost automatic — "Book him into Meikles."

Many still do, of course. But the standard of other hotels in the city has risen so sharply in the past few years that the decision is no longer automatic.

And the same applies in most other parts of the country.

With encouragement from the Government — albeit through necessity more verbal than financial—in view of the need to boost tourism, more and more money is being pushed into the building of new hotels and improving the old.

The traditional country hotels will generally stay much as they are, for the present at least.

But in the cities and major tourist centres new projects are being announced at a fantastic rate as more and more firms realise the potential investment returns as tourism moves into the Jumbo jet age.

Meikles, South Sun, Freecor, Goodwood and many smaller groups have plans totalling millions of dollars to boost the country's hotels to cater for the ever increasing number of tourists visiting Rhodesia.

The biggest single project on the cards is the redevelopment of its 4-acre site in central Salisbury which is being considered by the Thomas Meikles Trust and Investment Co.

The scheme, which it has been estimated could cost as much as \$40m., would involve knocking down "Old Meikles", probably the best known hotel in Central Africa, and the construction of a new hotel and shopping complex.

Last year Meikles commissioned an \$80 000 feasibility survey for the scheme.

Meikles, which owns a chain of 5 hotels in Rhodesia, this year took over the lease of the 3-star Park Lane in Salisbury, a move which would ease any temporary accommodation and catering difficulties if their redevelopment scheme goes ahead.

Preliminary work has already started on alterations and extensions to the Park Lane, expected to cost a total of about \$200 000.

These include the building of 20 new bedrooms and a new restaurant.

The most ambitious, widespread programme is being carried out by the Rhodesian Breweries' Southern Sun Hotel Corporation.

In August this year, the Southern Sun Hotel in Bulawayo — formerly the Hotel Victoria — was opened, and will have been totally renovated by the first quarter of next year.

It features air conditioning and television in all 187 rooms and will incorporate the country's most comprehensive convention and conference facilities.

Southern Sun are currently working on a \$300 000 face-lift to the Victoria Falls Hotel, which it leases from Rhodesia Railways.

This should be finished by February next year, and plans are being submitted to the Railways for major extensions to the hotel.

Plans are expected to be ready soon for a new project, the Southern Sun Hotel at the Falls.

The middle of next year is the target date for starting work on this 200-room high class hotel on the banks of the Zambezi, with its own 18-hole golf course.

It is hoped the hotel will be ready towards the end of 1973.

Last year the Corporation bought the Troutbeck Inn at Inyanga for \$460 000 and it is planned to double the hotel's capacity to 100 rooms, with the first phase of about 30 rooms ready by the middle of next year.

Work is up to schedule and has reached the first floor stage in the building of the Southern Sun Safari Lodge on the edge of the Wankie Game Reserve.

It is hoped the 100-room project will be ready by the end of August next year.

The biggest new project planned is the \$2.6m. 300-room luxury Southern Sun Hotel overlooking Salisbury Gardens.

It is hoped to start work in June next year, and to finish in November 1973.

Only minor extensions are planned at the Corporation's Kariba Heights Hotel, but it plans to build the Southern Sun Marina at another Kariba site.

Work, it is hoped, will start early next year and finish by the end of 1972.

While concentrating on major hotels, the Corporation has adopted a policy of selling its smaller hotels. In recent months it has sold Brown's Hotel, Umfali, the Baobab, Wankie and Grey's Inn, Bulawayo.

The only hotel in the country which has been rated 4 stars is the Jameson, Salisbury, part of the Freecor group.

Work is well under way on \$400 000 alterations to the hotel which are due to be completed by April next year.

The extensions will include a basement for parking, a new public bar and bank premises on the ground floor, functions rooms and kitchen extensions on the first floor, and 6 floors with bedroom accommodation. The 54 bedrooms will contain 110 beds.

The hotel foyer is to be extended, with a grill room-cum-steak house next to it.

This year Freecor also bought the Lake View Motel at Kariba for \$137 000, and it is hoped that alterations, designed to give the 120-bed motel a 2-star rating,

will be completed by the end of the year.

The 32-acre site will be landscaped and irrigated, all bedrooms will be air-conditioned and refurbished, and the caravan park will be redesigned to cater for the increasing numbers of visitors.

Another expanding firm in the hotels field is Goodwood Hotels & Motels.

Part of the Industrial Marketing group, it this year took over the Ambassador, one of Salisbury's leading hotels, and announced that work is planned to start early next year on the building of a \$300 000 "safari-type" hotel on the banks of the Zambezi above the Victoria Falls.

The plan for the 7-acre Falls hotel site provides for 196 guests and has been designed to bridge the gap between the National Parks chalets and luxury high-priced accommodation.

The company also controls Biantyre Hotels Ltd., a public company which owns Ryall's Hotel and Shire Highlands Hotel in Malawi, the Karol Hotel, and the Cutty Sark Hotel, Kariba.

Extensions costing a total of about \$24 000 to the Cutty Sark will, it is hoped, be completed before Christmas. They include a new air-conditioned cocktail bar and an additional bedroom wing which will increase the hotel's capacity to 100 beds.

Another go-ahead group is the Victoria Falls Casino company which is planning to go public as it goes ahead with expansion projects in several parts of the country.

The Falls Casino has now been operating successfully for more than 4 years and the company, in conjunction with Mr. and Mrs. William Lount, are awaiting a decision from the Government on their application

to open a second casino at the new Montclair Hotel in Inyanga. The company is also considering opening a casino hotel at Kariba.

A total of \$1 400 000 has been spent on the Falls Casino and the company is actively considering building a further 90 bedrooms to the present 109-bedroom hotel and other extensions at a cost of about \$500 000.

The Nedlaw Investment and Trust Corporation is another company with big extension plans.

The company's Moore's Motel network comprises the recently opened \$240 000 Gatooma Motel, one at Rusape, 2 near Salisbury, and the Settlers' Inn at Raffin-gora.

Plans are in hand for new motels at Beitbridge and the Victoria Falls, and there is a possibility of a further 5 being established in other parts of the country.

A different type of development is going on at Paradise Park, a few miles outside Salisbury, where the former River-view Motel is being converted into a "Butlin's-type" holiday camp.

It covers an area of 25 acres and accommodation will be available for 100 once building is completed.

Another new development was the completion this year of a \$50 000 hotel at Inyanga to cater for African tourists.

The hotel, which has 12 bedrooms, dining room, lounge and cocktail bar, attracts visitors mainly from Salisbury and Umfali, but has had South African guests.

At the end of last year more than 20 new projects involving a capital expenditure of \$65m. had been announced.

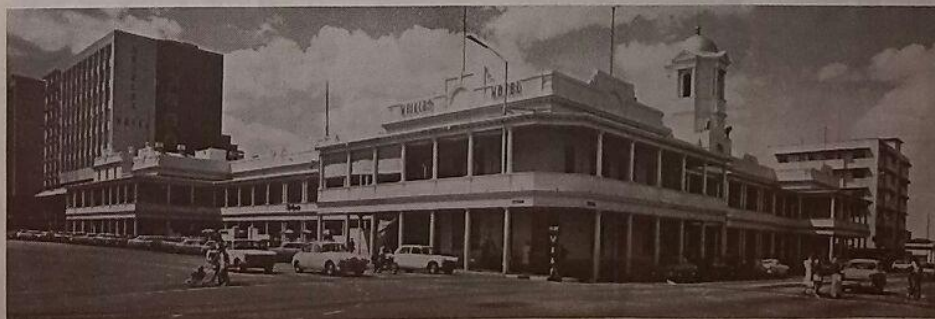
The story is similar all over the country. There is hardly a hotel in Rhodesia which is not either expanding or planning to develop.

Last year the 300 000 visitors Rhodesia received—almost on a par with the whole of South Africa—was the highest ever.

This year the figure may well reach 330 000, and the numbers seem set to rise every year.

The hotel industry appears determined that it will be more than able to cope with the influx.

MEIKLES HOTEL, Salisbury—site of a projected multi-million project.





## Appendix 9: UN Sanctions regime on Rhodesia

Society of Travel Agents. He assisted with the export of Hertz Rent-A-Car uniforms to Rhodesia and facilitated the purchase of technical U.S. military manuals along with engineering and other equipment for the regime.

Perhaps most significant, Mr. Cowley was instrumental in arranging travel in the United States for his Rhodesian superior, Mervyn Eyett. Mr. Eyett met with executives of McDonnell Douglas, Boeing, and United Airlines to arrange the purchase of three Boeing 720's for Air Rhodesia (see photo on p. 3B).

Mr. Cowley similarly helped to arrange the sale of a DC-8 to the Rhodesian regime. Prior to becoming a vice president of United Aircraft, Clark MacGregor traveled to Rhodesia in November 1972 and discussed aviation needs with Ian Smith. Mr. MacGregor was then head of the Committee to Re-elect the President. Shortly thereafter the Rhodesians purchased the DC-8, which is presently being used to export Rhodesian beef. United Airlines trained the pilots for both the DC-8 and the Boeing 720's in Denver, Colorado.

### Action by the United Church of Christ

Thousands of pages of documents on these transactions were obtained by the United Church of Christ Center for Social Action from a conscientious former employee within the Air Rhodesia office.

On April 10, 1974, the Rev. Donald Morton became the first representative of a nongovernmental organization to present testimony to the U.N. Security Council Sanctions Committee. Mr. Morton documented the fact that airlines in 22 countries maintained "interline agreements" with Air Rhodesia in violation of sanctions. Eighteen of the 22 have since taken action to halt these agreements.

Mr. Morton also presented evidence on May 17, 1974, to Federal Aviation Administration legal investigators in Washington, D.C., indicating that 21 airlines in the United States held similar agreements with Air Rhodesia. All the airlines involved subsequently received directives from the FAA to cancel the agreements.

As a result of these actions and

## I T E M I

### U.S. Laws and Rhodesian Sanctions

The foundation for U.S. laws relating to Rhodesian sanctions consists of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 232 (1966) and 253 (1968). Prior to mandatory sanctions, the United States ended Rhodesia's sugar quota, instituted an arms embargo, and withdrew its Consul General from Salisbury.

U.N. Res. 232 deemed the unilateral declaration of independence by the white minority government a "threat to international peace and security." It called on U.N. member states to impose selective economic sanctions under Article 41 of the U.N. Charter. Presidential executive order 11322 (1967) essentially reiterated the U.N. resolution and assigned enforcement responsibilities to various U.S. federal departments.

U.N. Res. 253 further tightened and expanded sanctions, calling for an end to all trade with Rhodesia. Executive Order 11419 (1968) implemented the second U.N. resolution banning all imports from and exports to Rhodesia, except for humanitarian purposes.

All violations under the executive orders are subject to fines up to \$10,000 and/or prison terms up to ten years.

The executive orders are further spelled out in regulations issued by the enforcing departments. Regulations of the Department of Transportation's Federal Aviation Administration govern many aspects of tourism.

Special FAA Regulation 21 provides in section 2 that:

(c) No U.S. air carrier may operate any aircraft . . .

(1) To or from Southern Rhodesia; or

(2) In coordination with any airline company constituted, or aircraft registered, in Southern Rhodesia, whether by connecting flight, interline agreement, block booking, ticketing, or any other method of linking up.

(d) The prohibitions in this section apply to the owner, lessee, operator, or charterer of the aircraft, and any other officer, employee, or agent of any of them who participates in the prohibited carriage or operation.

(e) Any carriage or operation the purpose or effect of which is to evade any prohibition of this section is also prohibited.

The Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control is assigned to monitor any transfer of funds to Rhodesia. The office handles this through a licensing procedure to permit only legal transactions.



## Appendix 10: Private sector participation in the tourism industry

1970

RHODESIAN FINANCIAL GAZETTE SURVEY November 27, 1970

11

# Organised tours are popular

A few people like to get away from it all when they go on holiday, and either go on their own for a couple of weeks' fishing, or to some out-of-the-way place in a small family group.

But the vast majority, being of gregarious nature (and perhaps with an eye on the bank balance) prefer being with a crowd and opt for the organised group tour.

If it is just a quick weekend in Beira, a more prolonged stay at Kariba or in South Africa, they like the security of knowing they are with people from "back home".

This to a great extent is where the tour operators come in. While they do cater for individual tourists — FIT's or Foreign Independent Travellers — the bulk of their work centres around the large scale organised tours from America, Europe and South Africa.

The United Touring Company, the largest tour operators in Rhodesia, handles the majority of visitors once they arrive in the country, and a break-down reveals that about 75 per cent of them arrive in groups.

UTC, part of an international company, carries out extensive advertising throughout the world, and distributes 18 000 manuals on Southern Africa to agents in all the main centres in a drive to bring people to Rhodesia and South Africa.

The object of the tour operator is to plan the itinerary of visitors before they arrive and to look after them once they have landed.

But the facilities which are available at all the main tourist centres are also on tap for local use, such as game viewing vehicles, river launches and speed boats at Kariba.

A typical itinerary for a 10-day tour of Rhodesia begins at Bulawayo airport, after flying in from Johannesburg. The groups are met by couriers, many of them multi-lingual, and they are taken on a tour of the city, the Matopos, the Khami Ruins and other areas.

The next day they fly to Salisbury where they are given time to shop and relax before beginning a tour of the city and outlying districts. Then they fly to Zimbabwe for the day, followed by Kariba and a visit to the dam wall.

A 40-mile launch trip to Buml Hills for extended game viewing takes up the rest of the day and the next morning, before they return to Kariba and see the crocodile farm.

After more game-viewing they fly to Wankie to see still more game, and the next day fly on to Victoria Falls for launch cruises and a tour of the Falls.

That takes up the full 10 days and the group then leaves either for Johannesburg or for Zambia to continue their holiday.

Substantial numbers of people come from the United States, but traffic is increasing from Europe, and there is great potential from Australasia.

One of the problems which face the operators is accommodation. Wankie is one of the worst bottlenecks, according to Southern Cross Safaris, but extensions and planned new hotels

throughout the country should alleviate the major headaches.

But, as things are, bookings have to be made well in advance. Already major hotels in Salisbury are booked up at least a year in advance for peak periods and bookings are now being made for 1972.

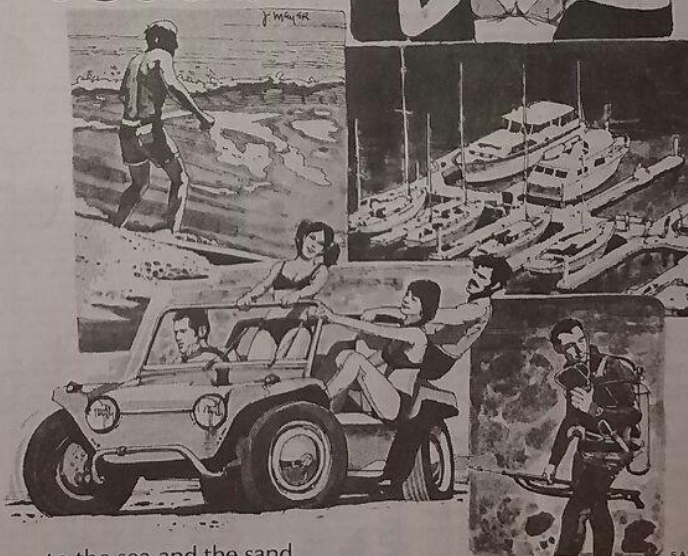
Because of the developments, the pattern of tourism in Rhodesia is gradually changing from the short 2-day stop-over to the longer holiday period.

"The more development there is, the more we have to offer, and the longer people will stay," said a Southern Cross spokesman.



After dark, families have a get-together round the fires at Mana Pools Game Reserve which is situated on the Zambezi River, 240 miles from Salisbury.

## head south!



### to the sea and the sand

South, to the Republic, where the beaches are. Where miles of sun-drenched sand and blue sea provide a perfect setting for the holiday of your life.

South, to the Republic, where leisure hours at the beach can be interspersed with the thrilling experience of deep-sea game-fishing; where the opportunities of water skiing are plentiful; and where there is some of the most exciting surfing in the world.

Head South, to the infectious enthusiasm of the golden beaches, where the wonderful sea-air assaults your senses. Where honeymoon couples build memories to last a lifetime, and children build castles while their laughter carries across the sunlit waters.

For further information on South Africa, contact your travel agent or fill in the coupon opposite and address to South African Tourist Corporation, Mercury House, Gordon Avenue, Salisbury.

HEAD FOR SOUTH AFRICA and a warm welcome.

I intend visiting	(insert area)
in	(insert month)
I wish to travel by	(car, rail, air, sea)
I intend taking a car/van	
I wish to stay in a hotel	
I want a holiday flat/cottage	
Name	
Address	



## Appendix 11: High expectations for the tourism sector in the 1980s

One of the greatest attractions of Zimbabwe is the richness of its wild life, to be seen in the many national parks. Here are waterbuck and zebra in the Matusadona National Park.



# A bright future for Zimbabwe's tourism

by MICHAEL GARDNER, Director of Tourism

we were able to take stock of our situation and, in many instances, introduce improvements to our operations. The industry grew lean — but it also became more resourceful.

The bulk of the tourist infrastructure has been brought through intact, and this is due not simply to the ingenuity and enterprise of all involved, but

**W**ITH the coming of Independence a new and exciting era for Zimbabwe is beginning. The recognition of the new state by the international community will see our great potential in commerce, mining, industry and agriculture come to full realisation.

The tourist industry stands ready to take its part as one of the important components of the national economy, and within a few short years the contribution from this sector should surpass the peak boom years of the early 1970s.

The past years have severely tested the resources of many sectors of the Zimbabwean economy. Without exception, each branch of the economy has shown a strength, tenacity and a will to survive which many outsiders find almost unbelievable.

On numerous occasions tourism approached near disaster, and yet ways and means were devised to keep the industry in operation.

The return to normality in our country is welcomed by the entire population, and the tourism sector will have few regrets that the dark days are over. However, the difficult years did not pass entirely without benefit, for



The jewel in Zimbabwe's tourist crown is the 1,25-kilometres-wide Victoria Falls, where the Zambezi River plunges 100 metres into a narrow chasm.

because our tourist industry is based on an excellence and a quality unsurpassed in Africa.

Zimbabwe has been blessed with some of the most spectacular and beautiful natural and wildlife resources in Africa. Throughout the world, wilderness and natural beauty become rarer each year. Pressures from agriculture, mining and urban development make deeper and deeper inroads into the wild places, and these wild places become increasingly "discovered" and over-exploited for tourist purposes. These natural resources are fragile, and tourism will only enjoy a long-term viability if they are carefully protected and allowed to

purely as an exclusive form of amusement for affluent visitors.

It is our intention that the tourist industry in Zimbabwe should achieve the title "quality tourism" by fulfilling a number of important conditions.

- It must seek to optimise the natural resources upon which it is based both from a pleasure and from an economic point of view;
- it must be available in some form or another to all people as an instrument of recreational, educational or social benefit;
- it must never downgrade local, natural, social or cultural values;
- it must not offer superficial experiences, but it must be based on

maintained by the operators. We are fortunate to have in operation now regulations controlling hotels and hoteliers, tour operators and safari operators, couriers and guides, caravan parks, camping grounds, resorts and designated tourist amenities — which include such ventures as craft villages and animal parks.

We are now able to ensure that every amenity available to holiday-makers meets certain minimum standards. In this way we protect the interests not merely of the genuine operators against the so-called 'fly-by-night' operators, but what is more important, we guarantee and protect the interests of the visitor.



The ancient Zimbabwe Ruins, unique in Africa, are a reminder of the country's historic past.

appreciate in value. They must not be damaged for the sake of short-term gain.

We realise that this objective has been enunciated by tourist boards all over the world, which would ideally like to have what is known as a "quality" tourist industry, whereby relatively few visitors each year pay a high price for the "privilege" of visiting wild places.

Our definition of the term "quality" tourism does not simply imply that a few people paying a high price will enjoy our natural attractions. We believe that tourism has too important a role to play in the overall economic, educational and social development of the nation to allow it to be developed

the belief that the visitor to this country, or the resident visiting his own tourist areas, will return home a better person than when he set out;

- and, finally, we believe that tourism must not only be profitable to the operator but it must ensure a direct and immediate economic benefit to the local communities involved in tourism and to the national exchequer.

To achieve some of these objectives it is important that there should be a system of registration for all sectors of the tourist industry. We have taken advantage of the quiet years to consult with each sector of our industry to lay down sets of minimum standards which should be adhered to and

Our prime tasks in the immediate future will be to rehabilitate existing amenities and to develop such new facilities as may be necessary or desirable to supplement and complement those which already exist. In carrying out this programme the Zimbabwe Tourist Board, in consultation with the private sector, has identified certain priority areas and certain priority projects.

The most important area, not merely for Zimbabwean tourism but for tourism in the whole of the Southern African region, is the Victoria Falls.

Many writers and photographers, both amateur and professional, have

*continued on page 13*



*continued from page 8*

tried to describe the beauty of this mighty waterfall. Most have achieved a little success in capturing one or two small facets of its changing personality; but it is almost impossible to capture with pen or with picture all the moods that are to be found along the palm-lined river bank, on the wooded or sandy islands, in the spray-drenched rain forest or down the dark roaring gorges.

Only those people who have visited this corner of our country a number of times, taking in the hot, the cold, the wet and the dry seasons, and also seeing the waterfall in the cool, early morning, in the heat of the afternoon, in the late evening or under a rising moon have truly experienced the full impact of this miracle of Nature.

The natural beauty of this area cannot be improved upon, but there are a number of developments which are highly desirable to add to the enjoyment of visitors and to ensure that they come not merely for a day, but stay and savour deeply the magic that is the Zambezi River.

The Zambezi River is the true spring of our tourist industry. There is a lifetime of varying moods and experiences stretching from the placid calm river which flows above the Falls through to the tranquillity of the lower Zambezi of Mana Pools.

This is the Africa of the great explorers, but today it combines the unspoiled with the modern, allowing true enjoyment to be derived from its many attractions.

The Matusadona National Park on the southern shore of Lake Kariba offers game-viewing facilities unequalled in Africa. Against the hazy, purple backdrop of the Matusadona Mountains one may move in small craft up the creeks and between the islands and watch herds of elephant and buffalo swimming, drinking, and grazing on the green lakeshore grasses. One may also see lion, black rhino and a host of other African animals within a few metres of the game-viewing craft. In the clear waters of the lake, the tigerfish abounds, and to visit this area is to lose oneself in a host of deep and very real memories.

At Mana Pools the Zambezi River flows on almost as it has done for thousands of years. It is now a "controlled" river, because the floods of yesteryear are kept in check by the mighty Kariba Dam; and yet to the

visitor, the river, the floodplains, the groves of trees and the vast herds of animals exist as if man had never set foot in this part of Africa.

If the Zambezi River were not enough for one country, there are still the other, great national parks of Wankie, Gonarezhou and Chizarira. And in contrast to the hot mopane bush country of the lowveld there are the mountains of Inyanga, the Vumba and Chimanimani. The Eastern border of Zimbabwe rises up to cover 2 500 metres, and the slopes are clothed with

landscape, and which are best seen in the quiet of the Matopos, south of Bulawayo. There, few sounds break the silence or disturb the great black eagles that soar in splendid circles over a sun-drenched land.

Zimbabwe is a country with potential for development that is only now beginning. In opening up and developing this country for tourism it is our intention to use each part to best advantage. For those who seek the great experience of large herds of big game this will be available, but those



Air Zimbabwe has already re-established links between Zimbabwe and Britain, Zambia and Malawi. Services to Kenya and other countries in Africa are also being planned.

forests and cut through with streams and dams, bringing wild mountain country to the hikers and year-round fishing pleasure to the trout angler.

No country would be complete without mystery and ancient history, and in the Ruins of Great Zimbabwe, Khami, Nalatale and many others scattered down the length of the country there is ample opportunity to wonder and to guess at the unsolved riddles of the peoples that once lived here.

There is more, much more, that can be offered to the visitor seeking to experience, in depth, a real country. There are the cities with their clean tree-lined streets, luxury hotels and sophisticated night clubs, restaurants and entertainment facilities. There are the wide-open spaces of the farming country where agricultural commodities ranging from tobacco, cotton, maize, sugar and beef all make Zimbabwe into potentially one of the richest producers of food in Africa.

There are the rolling hills with the piled-up masses of wind-hewn granite which are a feature of the Zimbabwean

who wish to walk alone and experience deeply the true taste and smell of the African bush, will also be catered for.

Communications by air, road and water are being re-opened, and new routes are being developed. Staff for hotels and for the tour operators and hunting operators are being trained.

On paper we are attempting to set down and portray some of the beauty that is Zimbabwe so that we may tempt the jaded appetites of world travellers and lure them to a very special country.

There is much to be done, and we are already seeing the return of the first — possibly tentative — tourist groups to this country. But no one need come tentatively, as we offer a high standard of attention and service, and what is probably most important of all, we guarantee a warm and friendly reception. This has always been the hallmark of the people of Zimbabwe and now once again it is ready to express itself.

We extend a genuine welcome, and promise, to all visitors that a stay in Zimbabwe will be an experience that will never ever be forgotten. ■

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## Appendix 12: Tourists sources markets into Zimbabwe in the 1980s

replace the Boeing 720s at present operating on regional and domestic services. This aircraft will also be used for the development of services to African countries not yet served by Air Zimbabwe.

The new aircraft presently in service between Salisbury and London is a "C" model, and is heavier and more costly to operate than the Boeing 707-320B aircraft now purchased. The "C" model aircraft will be disposed of in due course.

The purchase of these aircraft will ensure the corporation's ability to operate internationally until such time as a decision is taken to purchase wide-bodied aircraft.

Delivery of the first aircraft is scheduled for February, 1981, and the last aircraft for May, 1981.

The financing for this project has been arranged through a loan in Eurocurrency of US\$11 million repayable over five years, negotiated with Manufacturers Hanover Limited of London, a subsidiary of Manufacturers Hanover Trust of New York. This is the first Eurocurrency loan negotiated for this country and is guaranteed by the Government of Zimbabwe.

The interest rate of 1,1/8th% over Libor is considered to be low for a loan to a third-world country and an indication of confidence in the economy of Zimbabwe.

### Hotel bed-night sales recover 11% — to 45%

Zimbabwe's hotels sold an average of 45% of their available bednights from May to August — an 11% improvement on the same period last year.

Gwelo was the only centre where bednights sold dropped — by 2% — and Umtali and Que Que/Redcliff remained the same. All other centres showed increases of between 7% and 27%.

The Vumba area, which had the lowest occupancy percentage last year at 5%, rose to a 22% occupancy this year. The Inyanga area, which had only 10% occupancy last year, rose to 37% this year, the largest increase in occupancy.

### Most visitors come from Zambia

In the first eight months of this year Zimbabwe earned close on \$14,5 million from tourism — almost double the amount earned in the whole of last year. (The figure does not include shares of international fare payments.)

From January to August, 131 008 tourists visited Zimbabwe, compared to 42 361 in the same period last year. August alone showed a 363,5% increase in the number of

tourists with a total of 26 572 for the month this year.

Monthly arrivals from June to August for the last three years are:

	1978	1979	1980
June .....	6 888	4 942	17 958
July .....	10 001	6 230	25 545
August .....	7 326	5 732	26 572

August saw Zambia take over from South Africa as the country from which most tourists came. Tourists claiming permanent residence in Zambia numbered 6 913 and those from South Africa 6 301. But in the overall figure from January to August South Africa was way ahead with 47 502 visitors from the Republic.

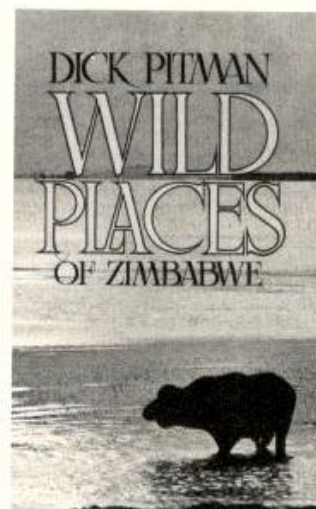
Most tourists arrived by road. Of the 66 854 who came by road from January to August, 26 932 arrived at Beitbridge, 12 025 at Chirundu and 12 212 at Victoria Falls.

322 people entered at Umtali during the month. There were no entries at this border post from 1977 to 1979, inclusive.

55 563 of the tourists came by air. Most entered at Salisbury (42 793), Bulawayo (11 039) and Victoria Falls (1 115).

The following table shows the origin of tourists who departed Zimbabwe during August:

Country of permanent residence	Number of visitors
<b>Africa:</b>	
Botswana .....	10 884
Kenya .....	777
Malawi .....	3 444
Mozambique .....	598
South Africa .....	47 502
SWA/Namibia .....	604
Tanzania .....	277
Uganda .....	28
Zaire .....	345
Zambia .....	33 988
Other .....	1 270
<b>America:</b>	
Canada .....	734
United States .....	3 227
Other .....	295
<b>Asia:</b>	
India .....	710
Israel .....	291
Japan .....	725
Other .....	584
<b>Europe:</b>	
Austria .....	185
Belgium .....	310
Denmark .....	254
France .....	1 103
Germany .....	2 210
Greece .....	152
Italy .....	468
Netherlands .....	458
Portugal .....	124
Ireland .....	312
Spain .....	149
Sweden .....	328
Switzerland .....	627
United Kingdom .....	12 275
Other .....	367
<b>Oceania:</b>	
Australia .....	1 030
New Zealand .....	348
Other .....	56
<b>Not stated</b>	<b>460</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>127 496</b>



**WILD PLACES**, by Dick Pitman (Books of Zimbabwe, Bulawayo) 51 cm x 32 cm, 192 pp. 32 illustrations, 7 maps.

There are many wild places in Zimbabwe — large areas where man's influence has hardly been felt and where the old Africa may still be experienced. They are known by musical African names that sing if given their correct pronunciation: Gonarezhou, Chizarira, Mana, Matusadona, Matopos, Wankie and Zambezi.

All are protected areas, under the aegis of the Department of National Parks and Wild Life Management, and due to their remoteness many were inaccessible during the war years. As conditions within Zimbabwe return to normal it will become possible to visit them once again, and for those who are first, it will be the experience of a lifetime.

Dick Pitman, a local writer, visited them during the latter part of the war, and although many of his comments are somewhat historical, they serve to show how the dedication of the National Parks staff ensured a protected presence in almost all.

Mr Pitman cherishes these wild areas, and his enthusiasm and concern comes through strongly in his descriptions of his visits. Not only does he contribute to one's knowledge of corners of the country one may have only heard of, but his "travellers' tales" of encounters with animals and tussles with the terrain are entertaining.

It is regrettable that the book could not have included colour pictures, for this would have added to the appeal of his work. Colour would also have strengthened his arguments for consideration of the areas' value as living ecological museums, to be preserved even in a country with a burgeoning population.

Anyone who has been captured by the beauty, diversity and uniqueness of Zimbabwe will find Mr Pitman's book to be a confirmation of the country's special status.

## Appendix 13: Tourism promotion and policy statement in the 1980s

### TRAVEL & TOURIST NEWS



Pictured at the entrance to the Rain Forest at the Victoria Falls are delegates to the Regional Tourism Symposium held recently.

*Back row, left to right:* K. Mogatle, senior game warden, Botswana; J. Maniengwa, marketing officer, Zimbabwe Department of Tourism; J. Baisens, chief tourist officer, Botswana; F. Kanyini, tourist officer, Malawi Department of Tourism; D. Anstey, chief game warden, Malawi; A. Wood, principal tourist officer, National Parks and Wild Life, Zimbabwe; W. Fikarini, director of tourism, Zanzibar; R. Underwood, chief development officer, Department of Tourism, Zimbabwe; P. Mhisa, principal secretary, Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Tourism, Malawi; M. Gardner, director of tourism, Zimbabwe; D. Kaufman, marketing officer, Department of Tourism, Zimbabwe.

*Front row, left to right:* M. Mandoza, Department of Tourism, Mozambique; Mrs J. Chikwenda, public relations manager, Zambia National Tourist Board; Ms M. C. Bogosi, tourist officer, Botswana; Miss I. Musonda, assistant research advisory services manager, Zambia National Tourist Board; I. Findlay, deputy secretary, Ministry of Information and Tourism, Zimbabwe.

## Historic meeting of tourist officers

**A**N historic meeting of national tourist organisations, representing six Central African countries, took place at Victoria Falls recently. It brought together for the first time, representatives of countries which, together, could form a powerful and attractive tourist region in Central Africa.

The symposium was attended by officers of the tourist organisations of Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, and of the Parks and Wild Life Departments of Botswana, Malawi and Zimbabwe.

At the symposium, the various Government tourism policies were outlined and areas of possible co-operation explored. At the end of the meeting, recommendations to the various Governments were made which could advance the regional co-operation initiated at Victoria Falls.

Although no resolutions binding the Governments were made, delegates agreed

that the countries of the region should form an association or working alliance, so that the concept, and practical implications of developing regional tourism could be achieved. The work of the alliance would include those aspects of wild life conservation directly affecting tourism.

Delegates also agreed to recommend to their Governments that urgent consideration should be given to:

- The liberalisation of foreign-currency allocations for nationals travelling within the region.
- The easing of border formalities.
- The pooling of information and statistical data.
- Early collaboration of wild-life areas on contingent borders of countries in the region.
- The improvement of postal and communication links.

It was agreed that continuing, informal

contact would be maintained within the organisations represented at the symposium, and that a further formal meeting should be held in six to eight months time, possibly in Malawi.

## All systems go for tourism

Active international promotion of Zimbabwe as a hotel destination has already begun, Michael Gardner, Director of Tourism, told *Africa Calls* recently. Following the recent retail-agents workshops held in South Africa which were very successful, further workshops are planned for Britain in November, and for Europe and America in January and February next year.

Mr Gardner said that Zimbabwe Tourist Board representatives were already established in South Africa, and personnel would be placed in Britain by the end of October, in Germany by the end of December, and in the USA by the end of January next year.

Consumer advertising has already begun in South Africa and this will be continued in Britain in early December.

## Policy statement unveiled

The Government's new Policy Statement on Tourism was made public for the first time at the recent Economic Resources Conference held in Salisbury. The policy, which was recently presented to Cabinet by the Minister of Information and Tourism, Dr Nathan Shamuyarira, formed the basis of an address to the conference by Michael Gardner, Director of Tourism.

The full policy statement is as follows:

1. It is the intention of the Government of Zimbabwe to encourage and maintain a profitable tourist industry of the highest possible standard.
2. Government recognises the importance of a viable, quality tourist industry for the following reasons:
  - (a) It is an earner of vital foreign currency.
  - (b) It is a profitable form of natural resource utilisation.
  - (c) It is a labour-intensive industry and encourages employment and industrial and commercial opportunities in areas normally only marginally viable.
  - (d) It encourages an understanding of all aspects of our country by foreign visitors.
  - (e) It contributes substantially to physical and mental well-being of the nation by offering educational, recreational, and holiday opportunities for our own citizens.
3. A quality tourism industry must fulfil the following conditions:

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