

**Just Passing Through: stakeholder constructs and value in
Overland Truck Tourism through N.W. Zimbabwe.**

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Abstract

This research seeks to identify and examine constructs and values held by tourists and stakeholders concerning the biophysical and sociocultural environments encountered along a six-day stretch of overland truck journey in North-Western Zimbabwe. An interpretivist approach is taken with the use of Kelly's theory of Constructive Alternativism as a lens through which to address the formation of constructs of place. Using a multi-sited ethnographical framework (Marcus, 1995) an immersive approach enabled the researcher to participate on the journey with a group of overland truck tourists allowing for experience of place and also the internal dynamics of truck life. An in-depth interview containing an embedded repertory grid was used in discussion with tourist participants in order to extract prior constructs of place and to identify those constructs held soon after the journey. Further interviews with tourism brokers and local stakeholders took place after the trip. Constructs were coded and themes extracted revealing primarily emotional constructs of place. Participation exposed the wildlife focus of the tour and very limited contacts with local populations who were seen as the 'other' Urry (2011) through the windows of the truck. Short contacts with place meant that the tourists had little depth in encounter or ability to interpret what they saw. As a result, tourists retained and built upon constructs based upon narratives and interpretation of the environment framed through a European cultural lens, which were built upon and legitimised by a small number of brokers, primarily safari guides. The postcolonial recurs as an underlying theme when examining the data and constructs held and is also observable as linked to an inherited power dynamic within the tourism product. Local community members with little direct contact with the tourists held difference constructs of their environments viewing them holistically through a combination of spiritual and utilitarian meaning, but these remained largely invisible to the tourist. Suggestions to add value and address the sustainability of this form of tourism involve widening the narrative and partnerships amongst stakeholders.

Section A:
Embarking on the Journey

Chapter 1

Introduction and background

1.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces the research and the journey. The researcher observed overland trucks passing through the Bulawayo, Zimbabwe where the researcher was living, and this triggered her curiosity about this mode of tourism, and led her to investigate further. A search for existing research into the structure and impacts of the overland truck tour industry, revealed that little was documented about this form of tourism and no substantial prior research could be identified. As a unique form of tourism combining elements of the organised tour with aspects of adventure, overland truck tours and the tourists who embarked on them, merited research. After focusing on the core nature of overland truck tourism, the researcher embarked on an investigation of tourist and stakeholder constructs and values, within the framework of responsible tourism. In this introductory chapter, the researcher outlines her background and its position in the research itself. Research that follows seeks to contribute to knowledge of the workings of the overland truck tourism product and to the recognition of its existing value and value potential. In addition, the use of Kelly's construct theory (1963) as a frame for the research, and repertory grids as a tool used to extract tourist constructs and their associated values, is novel in this context, and allowed the researcher to evaluate its strengths and weaknesses for further use in this type of research. The aims and objectives of the study focus on the identification of tourist and stakeholder constructs of place linked to value and the narratives that result. Distinguishing differences in values placed on overland truck tourism and the environments it travels through, may help ensure the sustainability and benefits of this form of tourism in the region. A brief introduction is also made to the sections and chapters of the thesis.

1.1 Why embark on this research?

Overland truck tourism may be viewed as a form of niche form of tourism (Sarmiento and Henriques, 2009). Overland truck tours are a *'route based tourism product, during the course of which a range of cultural and political frontiers are crossed'* (Sarmiento and Henriques, 2009:284). The impetus for this focus for research stemmed from observation by the researcher, that it was more resilient in the event of negative publicity and economic setbacks affecting tourism within the host country. When numbers arriving to engage in the more mainstream and luxury forms of tourism receded, and individual backpacker tourism became less popular within Zimbabwe, the main visible tourism form outside a few main centres such as Victoria Falls, was organised overland truck tourism.

The origins of this research date back to the mid-2000s when the researcher was living and working in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe's second largest city. The researcher observed overland truck tour vehicles passing through her local shopping centre, briefly stopping to take on supplies before proceeding to campsites located on the periphery of the city. At the time, Zimbabwe's tourism had suffered a major setback, with numbers of arrivals dropping, linked to adverse reporting on Zimbabwe. Arrivals from outside Africa declined as potential tourists were influenced by media images of political instability and economic uncertainty, for instance there was a 13% drop in tourists from Europe between 2006 and 2007- a time when negative publicity linked to land acquisition was high.

Motivated to find out more, and with a long distant memory of personally participating in overland truck tourism in Kenya in the 1980s, the researcher embarked on a search for any prior research undertaken on the role, effects and impacts of this rather unique form of tourism locally, regionally and globally. It soon became apparent that there had been very little research, and despite the role of this form of tourism in ensuring a persistent tourism presence it was almost invisible in Zimbabwe Government statistics. From observation, overland truck tourism kept areas open to tourists even when arrivals for other forms of tourism receded, but it was unclear whether this form of tourism was viable, and whether it had a responsible footprint in the areas through which it travelled.

Overland truck tourism is very different from any other form of tourism; it normally focuses on travel through multiple countries to places that are off the beaten track and involves almost constant movement over large distances. The frequent movement through areas where there may be limited other tourism presence, is a distinct feature of this type of tourism and forms the pivot around which this research revolves. The actual journey is therefore, part of the tourism product and is marketed as such (see Box 1.1 below). Not only may this frequent movement be significant in terms of environmental and economic impacts, but it may also be significant when viewing the effects on the tourists themselves, and on the effects of contact with local people.

BOX 1.1

Marketing of overland truck tourism experience

'Overlanding is as much about the travel experience as the places you visit',
Oasis Overland (2019)

'While expedition is defined as a journey with a purpose, with overlanding the journey is the purpose', Dragoman (2019)

'Half the fun of travelling is the travel itself', Intrepid Travel (2019)

'If you...believe the journey is as important as the places you visit....', Acacia Africa (2019)

'All Nomad adventures are off the beaten track and the emphasis is on the journey, as well as the destination' Nomad Africa (2019)

Zimbabwe recognises the potential contribution of tourism to its economy. For instance, just after the commencement of this research, the Zimbabwe Ministry of Hospitality and Tourism launched a National Tourism Master Plan (Zimbabwe Ministry of Tourism and Hospitality, ZMTH, 2016). This views tourism as *'an integrated economic system'*, which can make *'substantive social, economic and environmental contributions...to economic success'* (ZMTH, 2016:2). The Master Plan *'embraces the concepts and principles of Responsible Tourism as its overarching principle'* (ZMHT, 2016:13). Community based tourism, and

involvement of local communities in tourism development through participatory approaches, are central to the development of tourism envisaged in the Master Plan. Responsibility is viewed as central to ensuring the sustainability of tourism as a key economic sector in the country.

The recognition of responsibility and community involvement as being critical approaches to ensure the sustainability of tourism is a reflection of a recent global approach. Rapid growth in global tourism has led to concern over its long-term sustainability and impacts. The designation of 2017 as the International Year of Sustainable Tourism for Development by the UNWTO, reflected this. Sustainable tourism can be defined as,

'tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of the visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities' (UNWTO, 2017).

To work towards more sustainable tourism there is a need for tourists to adopt responsible practice based on their understanding of people and places in the areas visited (Goodwin, 2016). In recognition of this, the UNWTO launched a consumer-orientated campaign in mid-2017 entitled *'Travel, Enjoy, Respect'* (Rifai, August 2017).

Overland truck tourism promotes itself as a secure, organised, way of engaging in travel into areas perceived as remote, underdeveloped and even unsafe. This form of tourism is marketed as an authentic travel experience for participants who are often inexperienced young travellers seeking a unique combination of adventure tourism and sociocultural education. Overland truck tourism operations aim to be sustainable, addressing the needs of visitors, the environment and host communities as well as the industry, and assisting in building empathy and understanding, and promoting responsible behaviour. Indeed, promotional materials produced by operators frequently make explicit mention of *'responsibility and accountability'* (Nomad Adventure Tours, 2016) and *'responsible tourism'* (Dragoman, 2017).

Observing the brief arrival and departures of overland trucks at the local shops and the lack of visibility of these tourists in other parts of the city, the researcher became concerned over the apparent lack of meaningful contact between the tourists and the place. She wondered what images and narratives tourists held of places visited, and whether the

relatively short contact they had with place allowed for enrichment or adjustment of prior constructs and the values linked to them. Do tourists and host community stakeholders hold varying ethical constructs of the world, and do the values that result assist in the understanding needed in order to engage in responsible and respectful practice?

A key issue with tourists' attempts to construct responses to their surroundings is that the nature of their long-distance travel involves stops of relatively short duration, offering only limited opportunities to evolve appropriate and responsible individual and collective behaviour towards the novel environments, societies, and cultures they encounter. Cohen (2002) questions whether a desire to seek authenticity and the resulting opening up of remote areas to satisfy adventurous tourists, serves to contribute or detract from sustainability in tourism industry practice. In their attempts to respond appropriately to the novel biophysical and sociocultural environments of their surroundings, tourists will typically rely on dominant narratives espoused by tour staff and the peer group with which they travel, interpreted in combination with individual's personal experience, education, media and value systems, which are typically European in nature. The values associated with these constructs may diverge due to *'clashes of values, disharmonies, social barriers and even very threatening experiences'* (Reisinger, 2005). Very little has been published on overland truck tourism in general and yet less on issues surrounding tourists values, associated behaviour, and resultant sustainability of overland truck tourism in biophysical and sociocultural terms. This study will contribute new knowledge within this contemporary field in the hope that by identifying constructs and values this form of tourism may fulfil its potential for tourists, stakeholders and the countries that are travelled.

In travelling rapidly through diverse areas, tourist participants have little time to make informed judgements and construct a developed understanding of their environment. A potential lack of common understanding between official and community stakeholders and tourists linked to contested spatial narratives and varying practices, might at times make it difficult to build a sustainable, mutually beneficial tourism experience, especially if formal guidance is lacking. There was found to have been no research to discover varying interpretations of place and behaviour held by tourists and other stakeholders participating in, and in contact with, this form of tourism. To ensure that organised overland truck

tourism may develop more sustainably, and that participants engage in responsible practice, there is a need to identify and document relevant ethical constructs held by all participants. This will provide a basis for the development of recommendations on responsible tourist conduct, to serve the goal of more sustainable operations.

1.2 Background of researcher

From the outset, it is necessary to position the researcher within the research. The researcher entered the first part of her research as a tourist and like every tourist on the truck, she brought her own set of constructs and narratives with her. Having been a resident in Zimbabwe, she had prior exposure to places visited within that country. She also had preconceptions regarding the truck as a result of prior experience, and of previously being an observer of other groups of tourists as they travelled along the Victoria Falls to Bulawayo route.

Embarking on this research forced the researcher to ask herself the question: 'who am I?' The first response to this was that the researcher saw herself as female, a mother, British (with Welsh influences) but partly Zimbabwean through 'adoption', married to an indigenous Zimbabwean, white, western-educated to a high formal level, and as an educator. Therefore, the researcher identified herself through her gender and relational roles of mother and wife; through race as a white British person married to a black Zimbabwean; and in terms of her educational background and present job. Running through this was a sense of the influence of place, through residence, nationality and family and societal relations.

The researcher grew up in rural Wales in the 1960s and 70s. As a white female of English/Welsh descent, from a well-educated parental background she had a relatively 'comfortable' childhood. At the age of seven, the family moved into an old house, living in it as they renovated, and for a time inhabiting the space without indoor water supply or electricity. This was preparation for a very different rural experience encountered by the researcher when she left university and travelled to Zimbabwe to teach at a rural school. However, in Wales the environment around her was comparatively affluent, with the privation years that followed the war (1939 – 1945) being long over. In contrast, when the

researcher arrived in Zimbabwe in 1982 the war for Independence was just over (in 1980) and this was reflected both physically and socially in all parts of the country.

She attended undergraduate studies in an English university taking a programme of study, which combined the discipline of Geography with a strong component of 'African Studies'. She therefore developed an academic interest and knowledge of Africa as a continent, which she added to through visiting Tanzania for six weeks at the end of her first year of study. That was in 1979, the Nyerere era of African socialism and at the end of Tanzania's war with Idi Amin in Uganda. The country that is now Zimbabwe had just moved from an unrecognised illegal state of Rhodesia (1965-1979), to an unrecognised attempt at a puppet state of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia (1 June 1979 - 12 December 1979). When she married a black Zimbabwean who fought for independence (war veteran), these past experiences and memories accompanied her.

In the context of Zimbabwe, which still reflects much of its settler colonial past and is a highly racially preoccupied society, the researcher is an anomaly. She is, however, in a position of privilege, due to her background, education and economic status. It is also necessary for the researcher to be aware of the subconscious arrogance that she carries as a legacy of her white British upbringing, in the broader context of the days when the Empire was just ending.

Place has always been of prime importance to the researcher. Although not of pure Welsh descent, growing up within a Welsh environment had something to do with this. Place is very central to Welsh understanding, with the significance of the natural landscape and the sense of history associated with the peoples living within it being central to the national psyche. The power of place at all levels forms a central part of the researcher's life.

After moving to live and work in Zimbabwe the researcher retained her emotional ties to Wales, while simultaneously acquiring further ties in Zimbabwe. The researcher has then assumed dual ties and influences. These build together to sometimes form a single construct of life and place. At other times, her constructs vary depending on situational and social context as sometimes she may view things through solely European eyes and at other times through trying to view through the eyes of her immediate family members.

1.3 Research aims

The aim of this research is:

To investigate and analyse the range and nature of constructs, values, and dominant narratives of biophysical and sociocultural environments held by tourists and host community stakeholders, as a basis to develop mutual understanding and potential to assist in achieving responsible practice, for more sustainable overland truck tourism operations in North West Zimbabwe and elsewhere.

Study objectives are:

1. To understand the overland truck tourism system and its value to different stakeholders within it.
2. To identify overland truck tourists' perceptions and values of the biophysical and sociocultural environments through which they travel, and their relationships with host community stakeholders encountered on the journey through North Western Zimbabwe.
3. To analyse the ethical constructs and dominant narratives held by tourists and host community stakeholders.
4. To identify common and contrasting value constructs between tourists and stakeholders.

The study will conclude with recommendations for strategies and opportunities to enrich tourist constructs and extend benefits and value to the tourism product and to the Zimbabwe tourism economy.

1.4 Contribution to knowledge

The research will make contributions to knowledge in the following respects:

- Enhancing overland truck tourism visibility, and increasing understanding of the workings of this form of tourism,
- Exposing the potential of overland tourism to add practical value to different stakeholders, and at different levels within the tourism industry,

- Assessing the usefulness of Kelly's Constructive Alternativism theory as a framework for social tourism research, and applying the repertory grid technique in a novel context.

1.4.1 Making overland truck tourism more visible and increasing understanding

There is a dearth of research focusing specifically on overland truck tours as a form of tourism. Of the two journal articles identified (Sarmiento and Henriques, 2009; Slocum and Backman 2011), only the latter looked at its levels of responsible tourism practice, and only in broad participatory terms. Slocum and Backman (2011) are also the only ones to situate their research in Southern Africa, although Bell (2005) in her book chapter on backpackers, also includes observations from a short overland trip from South Africa into Botswana. The lack of research into this form of tourism means that its full potential is not recognised, or its contribution valued. The Zimbabwe Tourism Authority (ZTA) produces annual statistical reports documenting tourist arrivals and economic contribution, but these do not break down into types of tourism, and therefore, overland truck tourism is not visible within them. Even in the more detailed Visitor Exit Survey of 2016 (ZIMSTAT, 2016), overland truck tourism is not clearly discernible. The Zimbabwe Tourism Master Plan (2016) focuses on community-based tourism and tourism development zones, but does not mention the value of forms of tourism such as overland truck tourism in contributing to development within these frames. The visible presence of overland truck tourism travelling through the North Western area of Zimbabwe and the lack of identifiable information, or academic research about it, led the researcher to focus on this form of tourism for study.

Participation in the truck experience allowed the researcher to gain an understanding of, and document, how overland truck tours operate, and where they intersect with other stakeholders and the environments they move through. By doing this, the study sought to contribute to filling the existing gap in research into overland truck tourism. Without an understanding of the operations and day to day workings of this form of tourism, it is difficult to identify its value, and the values placed on the tourism experience by tourists and other stakeholders. This can also be used as a source of information about the operations of overland trucks for use within the tourism industry in Zimbabwe.

1.4.2 Exposing potential to add practical value

Through this research, constructs of place held by stakeholders are identified, and the values that both determine and result from constructs that are held, are exposed. This makes it possible to recognise present and potential value of overland truck tourism and the experience associated with it, to Zimbabwe, and to individuals, groups, and tourists. Overland truck tourism creates, or builds on, value constructs held by tourists, through exposing them to certain aspects of the world outside the truck and to particular local people. It is also associated with economic value, and the possibilities of greater economic contributions in the future. There are, therefore, practical possibilities that may result from this research, as it reveals detail about the operations of this tourism product that may be applied to increase future value to the Zimbabwean tourism sector and to particular stakeholders.

The research is framed within the context of responsibility, on the basis that responsible values are central to ensure a sustainable product. Greater knowledge of the overland truck tourism product and values associated with it, can be used to ensure that this type of tourism moves into the future as a resilient and responsible sector within Zimbabwe's tourism.

1.4.3 Method used

The research is positioned within Kelly's theory of Constructive Alternativism, where constructs held by tourists, and other stakeholders, can be seen as deriving from prior experiences and exposure. This fits well into research of constructs held by tourists, and Kelly's repertory grid tool was used as a core part of interviews with tourist participants. This tool has not been much used in tourism research, and where it has, was primarily applied to place marketing (Pike, 2017). This research enabled the researcher to assess the applicability of the theory and the practical repertory grid technique associated with it, to this form of tourism study and to identify its strengths and weaknesses.

1.5 Chapters and research presentation

The research involved two parallel journeys. The first of these was the journey undertaken by the researcher in doing the research. This was a journey of cognitive discovery. The second journey was the actual physical journey (in this case two journeys, one a section of journey and one a full journey) where the researcher travelled in the truck along the Victoria Falls to Cape Town route.

This thesis is divided into six sections:

Section A: Embarking on the Journey (Chapters 1, 2)

This section is composed of two short chapters. An introductory chapter outlines the motivation behind the research, and the aims and objectives. It also positions the researcher within the research. Chapter 2 gives background to tourism in Zimbabwe and to the Overland Truck form of tourism.

Section B: The journey in literature (Chapter 3 and 4)

Literature that has relevance to the research was identified through a systematic literature review. It is presented in two chapters, chapter 3 focusing on responsible and sustainable tourism and chapter 4 on constructs and behaviour of tourists and locals.

Section C: Approaches to research of the journey (Chapters 5 and 6)

This section introduces the epistemology and ontology used in research. In chapter 5 it discusses the social constructivist framework within which the research is positioned and the choice of ethnography as a means within which to gather data. Chapter 6 goes on to discuss the more practical methods used to gather data in the field and the organisation involved.

Section D: Tourist and stakeholders views of place (Chapters 7, 8 and 9)

Chapter 7 presents data gathered from tourists during the participatory phase of the research. Chapter 8 presents data gathered from non-tourist stakeholders. Constructs of responsibility of tourist and non-tourist stakeholders are described in chapter 9.

Section E: Reflecting on the narratives and experiences of the journey (Chapter 10)

This chapter analyses and discusses constructs and narratives described in the previous section in the context of the objectives of the research, theory is derived and applied through the findings.

Section F: Lessons from the Journey (Chapter 11)

The final chapter of the thesis draws conclusions regarding common and divergent constructs held by different groups and the implications of these. It then puts forward suggestions of possible ways to ensure an empathetic understanding of the constructs held by others and to allow for the sustainable evolution of this form of tourism into the future. The research process is evaluated, and suggestions made for further research.

1.6 Summary

This chapter has set the scene for the research to follow. It outlines the motivation for the research and the aim and objectives. The research seeks to identify tourist perceptions of the environments they travel through and to identify constructs and narratives held by tourists and other stakeholders. It then seeks to identify values and constructs that have potential to enrich and add to the sustainability of this form of tourism. Little research has been undertaken on overland truck tourism and none looking directly at constructs of place by tourists. There is a need for research in order to identify ways to maximise value of the tourism product for all stakeholders. The use of the Kelly's theory of Constructive Alternativism and the repertory grid tool to extract these constructs and to frame the research, is a new application to this form of tourism research and allows the researcher to assess their applicability to future tourism research of this nature.

Chapter 2

Overland Truck Tours and tourism in Zimbabwe

2.0 Introduction

The previous chapter introduced the research and explained the motivation that led the researcher to embark on it. The presence of overland trucks within Zimbabwe where and when little other tourism was visible, provided the initial motivation to find out more about this tourism experience, and to examine the constructs of the places that tourists held after so brief a visit.

This chapter has two distinct parts. The first introduces overland truck tours as a form of tourism. It has been observed that many people are unaware of this type of holiday and are unclear what it involves. It, therefore, seems necessary to clarify the features that make overland truck tours distinct, and to situate them within the tourism sector. This necessitates brief description of the evolution of overland truck tourism to its present form, and an overview of the day-to-day organisation and life on the truck, which helps paint a picture of this experience. To present this, the researcher draws on the few writings and research papers that relate to overland truck tourism, company brochures and websites, and to general background that the researcher learnt from informal discussion with crew members from a number of companies who were encountered at camp sites.

The second half of this chapter presents a brief background to tourism in Zimbabwe. This section is necessary in order to place the overland truck within the context of the Zimbabwean tourism sector, both physically and at the time of the research. Zimbabwe has much to attract tourists, but because of its fluctuating political and economic fortunes, and the picture portrayed in overseas media, the contribution of tourism to the economy is not as great as it might have been. Various legislation pertains to tourism in the country, and there is a government structure to administer tourism development. Zimbabwe's tourism Master Plan (2016) places responsible tourism as central to the future of tourism in the

country and focuses on a participatory approach, with both the private sector and local communities seen as vital in tourism. Overland truck tourism is a small but steady form of tourism within the country, but it is largely unrecognised and undocumented.

2.1 Overland truck tourism

2.1.1 What is overland truck tourism?

As previously stated, Sarmiento and Henriques (2009) define overland tourism as a *'route based' tourism product in which different cultural and politics frontiers are crossed'*. This applies to organised overland truck tourism but could also apply to other route-based products. Slocum and Backman (2011) are a little more specific when they state, *'overlanding is a form of self-contained travel in the back of a truck or bus'*. However, to try to define this form of tourism accurately, there is a need to describe its features. One company provides a definition at the beginning of its brochure: *'Overlanding is self-reliant travel to remote destinations where the journey is the principle goal'* (Dragoman, 2019:3).

They go on to state that,

Typically, but not exclusively, it is accomplished with mechanised off-road capable transport, where the principle form of lodging is camping, often lasting for extended lengths of time and spanning international boundaries (Dragoman, 2019:3)

This is a fairly comprehensive description of overland tours, however, overland trips are evolving all the time and some companies may offer options of lodging that is primarily guesthouses, or even hotels (Intrepid, 2019). Today's tours vary in form. Some utilise smaller vehicles, or combine vehicles, using the larger trucks on longer, rougher stretches of journey and smaller vehicles easier for safari viewing on shorter legs within countries. Overland truck tourism is often bundled under the broad category of 'Adventure tourism', its presence as a distinct form of tourism implied rather than noted (see 2.1.4)

For this research, the researcher chose a company that still follows a traditional model of tour, using a company converted large truck and mainly camping. This company is well established, operates in Asia and South America as well as Africa, and has a fleet of more than twenty converted trucks.

2.1.2 Research conducted on overland truck tours to date

Little prior research focusing on Overland truck Tours could be identified. Bell (2005) undertook a participatory research, when she joined a short trip with Nomad from South Africa into Botswana. This was part of wider research she undertook into backpackers. In 2011 Slocum and Backman published a highly descriptive but interesting paper, based on participatory research into levels of responsibility on an overland truck tour through East and Southern Africa. Sarmiento and Henriques (2009) question the reality of this form of tourism in a desk-based paper with a focus on trips from Istanbul to Cairo. Newman (2014) engaged in participatory research on an overland truck through West Africa, as research for a Masters thesis (unpublished). His research was anthropological in nature, with a focus on internal dynamics of truck participants.

Mention of truck tourism is also largely absent from tourism texts. Richardson (2016) includes it in his history of package and escorted tours. After tracing the development of this form of travel, he acknowledges that this form of tourism has become *'increasingly corporate in outlook, and increasingly international'*, giving Intrepid as an example. Mowforth and Munt (2016) take an extremely negative view of overland trucks and do not see them as real adventure but rather as *'environmental bubbles'*.

As can be seen in Table 2.1 below, most published information on this form of tourism is located outside mainstream research journals or texts.

Table 2.1: Published information on overland truck tours

Publication	Date	Title	Publication
Research			
Bell, C.	2005	The nervous gaze: backpacking in Africa	Blackwell companion
Newman, M.	2014	The back of beyond: the structure and interdependence of overland travel	Unpublished MA Thesis. Stockholm University
Sarmento, J. and Henriques, E. B	2009	Overland tourism in the Istanbul to Cairo route: real holidays or mcdonaldised niche tourism?	Universidade de Lisboa, Centro de Estudos Geograficos
Slocum, S. L. and Backman, K. F.	2011	Responsible tourism: an African overland example	Omani Journal of Applied Sciences
History			
Davis, G	2013	Faraway places with strange sounding names: the Penn overland story	Braddon: Halstead Press
Richardson, D.	2016	Let's go: a history of package holidays and escorted tours	Stroud: Amberley
Sustainability			
Mowforth, M. and Munt, I.	2016	Tourism and sustainability: development, globalisation and new tourism in the third world	Abingdon: Routledge
Reports			
Mintel	2016	Adventure tourism in Africa- July 2016: adventure activities by type	Mintel Ltd
On-line Archives and Blogs			
Encounter overland	2020	Archive of overland truck history	https://encounteroverland.info
Assorted		Blogs by overland travellers	various

Source: Newsome-Magadza, 2019

Most of the research published is anecdotal and the product of brief studies. No research focused on overland truck tourism could be identified in any of the high-ranking journals. There is a clear need for further research into aspects of this form of tourism.

2.1.3 What makes overland truck tourism distinct?

There are many features that make this form of tourism distinct. The overland truck tour has much in common with the organised bus tour. However, where the bus tour will take good tarred roads, stay in hotels, and mostly operate in the more economically developed parts of the world, overland truck tours travel often on dirt roads, camp in basic campsites, and travel through less-economically developed regions. Therefore, this form of tourism, combines the relative safety and convenience of an organised tour with a more challenging 'hands-on' experience. While the organised luxury bus tour journeys between sights in air conditioned comfort, the journey itself is seldom marketed as a main feature of the tour. In the case of overland truck tourism, the journey is central to the tourism product (see Box 1.1), Oasis Overland sum this up when they state, *'overlanding is as much about the travel experience as the places you visit'* (Oasis Overland, 2018).

This form of tourism can be positioned as a niche product within adventure tourism as it may involve travel to remote places, and often also camping in basic conditions. These journeys may open-up new areas to tourism and may be present where little other tourism is visible. Many companies ply the same routes and often use the same campsites and facilities. This means that there may be a cumulative impact on an area frequented by overland truck tourism.

In this form of tourism, the group dynamic is important. Although there is also a group element to more conventional bus tours, the group interaction is more central to overland truck tours as the tourists participate in the operation of the tour experience, through group activities such as cooking, or assisting with catering, and assigned tasks like emptying rubbish, loading and unloading the truck, helping with the purchase of food, taking responsibility for safe security of valuables, and so on. All tourists erect and dismantle their tents at each stop. The trip will not progress smoothly unless all tourists work together and therefore the group element is a matter of both group survival and of social worth.

2.1.4 Overland truck tourism as adventure tourism

As previously mentioned, overland truck tourism can be placed within the broad category of adventure tourism. This is illustrated through the marketing language of companies and agents. One of the largest tour operators/agents, Trailfinders, place overland travel under a heading 'adventure tours' within the Africa section of their travel brochure (Trailfinders, 2019). They say that these tours are,

'aimed at travellers looking for a healthy mix of active exploration, thrilling wildlife encounters and cultural experiences, and ...offer a great value and sociable way to see Africa'. (Trailfinders, 2019:47)

This description fits perfectly into the definition of adventure travel given by the Adventure Travel Trade Association (ATTA) as,

'a trip taking an individual out of his or her regular environment for more than twenty-four hours and including at least two of,

- *participation in a physical activity,*
- *a visit to a natural environment,*
- *a culturally immersive experience.'* (ATTA, 2020)

All overland truck tours contain some degree of physical activity and close contact with natural environments through which they travel, and some cultural exposure although this will vary depending on the route taken and programme followed. However, it is unlikely that truck tours can offer any great depth of cultural immersion due to the very short term contact with culture and inhabitants of areas. The rhetoric used in the marketing of most truck tours also references adventure linked to physical contact with place and to discovery.

Overland truck tours do view themselves as an adventure product. Africa is also regarded by most western tourists as an adventure destination, providing a wild nature experience. An overland truck trip through a part of Africa is, therefore, viewed as an adventure product by both the tour company who provide the tour and by their tourist clients.

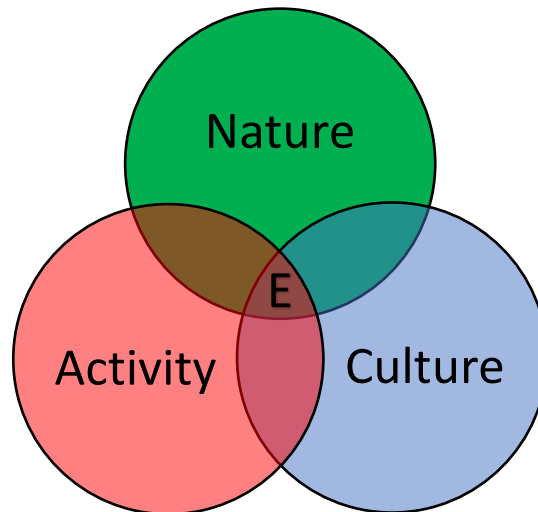


Figure 2.1: Adventure tourism experience (adapted from ATTA, 2020)

Ultimate individual and group adventure travel experience is positioned where nature, activity and culture intersect, seen as E in figure 2.1 above. Tours may vary with some placing greater emphasis on experience of nature and others on culture, with all emphasising a degree of activity linked to the hands-on nature of these trips. In addition, overland truck tours allow for greater or lesser extreme adventure through optional activities at some stopping points. These allow the more active and thrill seeking tourist the chance to engage in activities such as (in the Southern African context), Bungi jumping and white water rafting (Victoria Falls) and sky diving, sand boarding (Swakopmund), while those craving a softer (Bowen and Clarke, 2009) adventure experience can go on sunset cruises on the Zambezi (Victoria Falls), or activities such as seal watching (Swakopmund). Day-to-day adventure is associated with the whole camping (in some cases ‘wild’ camping) experience and the journeying itself over long distances through relatively remote areas. Perhaps the most significant aspect is the perception of being on an adventure that is bought into by tourists embarking on overland truck tours, and the ability of these tours to provide this ‘adventure’ in an organised and safe form. Overland truck tours attempt to cater for a clientele with a range of interests and motivation. The optional activities at some stopping points seek to allow some flexibility to cater for different interests within the tourist group, however, the researcher did not encounter any overland truck tours advertised as catering for special interests. This type of tourism is evolving and some companies do offer truck tours for hire to groups, therefore, it is possible that increased use

of this form of tourism by particular groups such as ornithologists or wildlife clubs, might allow for more focused trips.

2.1.5 Evolution of this form of tourism

Overland truck tourism has evolved from early beginnings linked to the ‘hippy trail’, to relatively prescribed and organised trips run by established companies. Companies such as Penn Overland started at the end of the 1950s (Davis, 2013), and inducted many into overland trucking. When they folded in 1981, some of their employees went on to found other companies (Richardson, 2016). Companies such as Encounter Overland and Exodus operated trips through Africa in the 1970s. Early overland trips started in London or places like Gibraltar, with tourists travelling by road or rail to join the truck.

Some of the first trucks through Africa were very rough open backed trucks with canvas awnings. Trips dates were only rough guidelines and the truck would often arrive at its destination days late. The whole experience was relatively fluid and itinerary flexible.



Figure 2.2: First encounter overland north bound trip through Africa 1972

Source: Encounter overland archive (accessed, November 2019)

I was on the 2 truck convoy of encounter overland in 1973, Jo’burg to London. The trip, among other things, involved the death of two people on the journey, our leader/driver quitting and the 2nd driver who took the reins eventually having a nervous breakdown. (Reply to a blog in 2017)

The above quote gives a feel of these early journeys. These were not the professional operations of today's tours and risks abounded. These early journeys were very much situated within explorer constructs. Those on the truck certainly would not have considered themselves as tourists in today's sense. As Penn Overland states in one of their brochures in the early 1970s,

Travelling in small groups our emphasis is firmly on exploration. Despite the impact of progress, Africa is still unchanged- the same prodigious variety of races, climates, incredible landscapes and fascinating age-old customs (Davis, 2013:146)



Figure 2.3: Exodus travelling through central Africa in the 1980s

Source: Overland archives (encounter overland, 2018)

Since the early 2000s truck tours through Southern Africa have become relatively comfortable. Trips nearly always depart and arrive as per schedule and the risk element is far less than in the early days of this form of tourism. Tour leaders and other members of overland companies are trained and prepared for the job. Inaccessible areas have become more accessible, although there are still parts of Central Africa that would be difficult to travel through. Routes have changed with trucks no longer crossing Algeria or driving through the centre of Congo (today's DRC). Truck routes reflect the changing geo-politics of Africa, and demand reflects the opening-up of constructs of places in tourists' minds as imagery becomes more accessible to international public. Richardson (2016) sees the

Package travel regulations adopted by the European Commission in 1993 as being a restraint on operators who followed the old overlanding model. In these, tour operators became liable for activities and excursions even if they were operated by a third party. As Richardson points out, the more the overland business entered the mainstream, the more clients expected certain standards (2016). The researcher witnessed complaints by one young tourist who felt that a campsite was sub-standard, and Slocum and Backman (2011) noted that tourists complained in the Okavango delta when they felt the experience they received was not how it had been described in the marketing. This has implications for the evolution of the trip experience and reflects a change in the type of client being attracted to these holidays.

The nature of overland truck tourism has changed and continues to do so. Older tourists are joining the trips, as a greater number of people enter retirement financially secure and still fit and active. Most tourists fly into and out of Africa, to join or depart their overland trip in places like Nairobi, Cape Town and Dar es Salaam. Trips are now usually done in short stages of around three weeks. Family trips have been introduced by some companies (Dragoman, 2019; Intrepid, 2019), allowing families with children over seven years of age to join other families on the truck. Larger companies like Intrepid (2019) become ever keener to cater for different niche markets and have introduced single parent family trips and women's trips amongst others (though not all may be available in Southern Africa). Some companies are introducing Wi-Fi to their trucks allowing online access during the journey. According to members of the crew of one truck, most tourists no longer wish to endure the hardships faced as part of the old overland experience. This has led to companies reducing the risk element and opting for relatively comfortable campsites and facilities at stops. Overland truck tourism in areas such as southern Africa provides an element of adventure, a group experience which packs in a variety of short snapshot exposures to place.

2.1.6 Trucks

Most trucks are adapted to carry passengers and equipment in rough road conditions. Some companies use only their own trucks adapted at company base in their own workshops,

which may be in countries outside Africa. Others may also hire trucks from other owners. At the town camp site at Victoria Falls the researcher observed many different trucks, some laid up awaiting tours.

Talking to truck drivers prior to the research, it was discovered that although there were no Zimbabwe based companies. Individual Zimbabweans did own some of the South African registered trucks, which they hired to some of the overland truck companies.

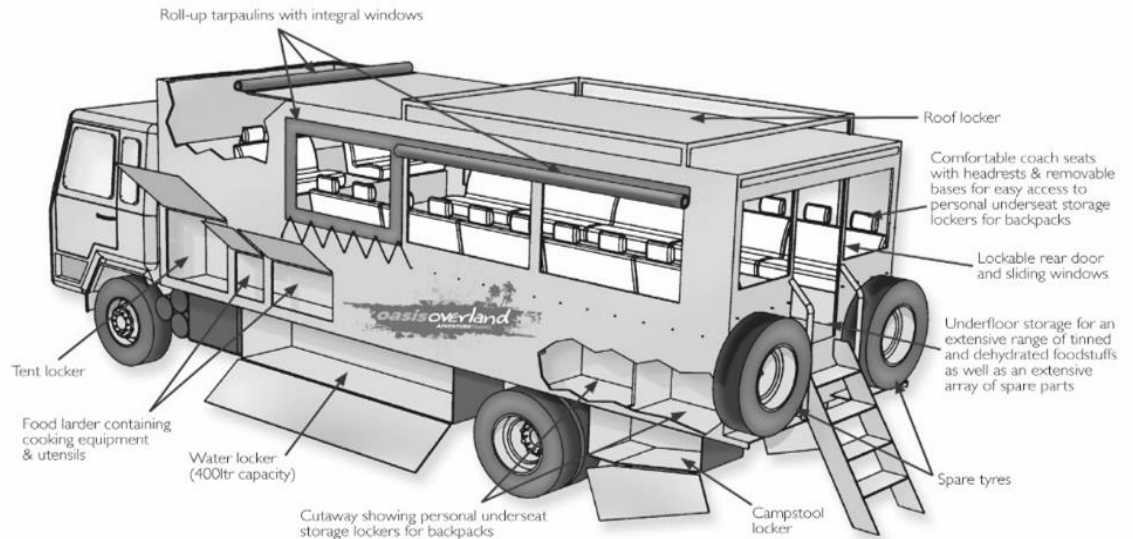


Figure 2.4: Trucks parked at Victoria Falls Rest Camp, 2018

Source: Newsome-Magadza, 2018

Trucks have common features which make them relatively self-sufficient. Seating is raised above lockers that not only carry personal tourist luggage, but also camping and cooking equipment, stools, tables, gas cooker and canisters. Most trucks have tanks for drinking as well as washing water. There are refrigeration facilities for storage of perishable foodstuffs, and cool boxes for client's drinks. Some of the typical truck designs are shown in Figure 2.5

below. These are designed for efficiency and self-sufficiency, stowing and transporting all the basic requirements for the trip.



Oasis Overland, 2019



Dragoman, 2019

Figure 2.5: Features of trucks from two different companies

Some trucks have access to the roof so tourists can view game and scenery when off the main road, however, this is not permitted in many parks in Southern Africa and is only possible for tourists when in Namibia. Because of the negative impact of large trucks on parks roads, they are not allowed into parks in Zimbabwe or Botswana and are only used for game viewing in Etosha in Namibia.

2.1.7 Tourist clients

Most trucks carry between 15 and 22 passengers, plus crew (Oasis Overland, 2019; Intrepid, 2019; Dragoman, 2019). Some companies target the more youthful market (either for all their trips, or for some of the trips they view as more physically challenging) with clients within the 17 to 38 year age group. Acacia Africa is a company that restricts ages for many trips (Acacia, 2019). Others, such as Intrepid, Dragoman or Oasis, have no fixed age requirements, with the proviso that tourists must be of a certain fitness level. In general these trips are not suitable for those with physical limitations, as they involve mobility challenges such as clambering in and out of high trucks. Most tourists come from countries in Europe, North America and Oceania. Some companies target tourists from particular countries, often those where the company is based.

2.1.8 Crew

All trucks have a driver and tour leader, some companies provide a cook on some stages of journey. In such cases the tourists work with the cook, doing the prep work such as chopping vegetables, laying out picnic, and washing pots. Tourists wash their own utensils at the end of each meal. Some trips may also have a trainee crew member on board. Training and orientation vary from company to company. Some expect the tour leader to be able to do some driving and mechanics, while for others job descriptions are more distinct. Very large companies like Intrepid, appear to have the capacity to fly in a new driver or tour leader if a problem is experienced. This is not possible for smaller companies and crew have to be able to step in where required. The origins and training of crew vary from company to company. Some companies appear to employ leaders from outside Africa, with others using African as well as non-African leaders. Tour leaders from Kenya, Zimbabwe and South Africa were seen at camp sites. Drivers also came from different countries. Slocum and Backman

(2011) found that the crew on the trip they joined were all from outside Africa, and attributed this to difficulties faced by some Africans in crossing the border with the truck because of *'immigration and refugee situations'*. This problem did not appear to apply in Southern and Eastern Africa at the time when the researcher was considering this research. European tour leaders were both female and male and all handled driving at times to allow the driver a rest. All the tour leaders from Britain who spoke to the researcher had participated in overland truck tours prior to deciding to apply for employment as tour leaders. They in effect 'got the overland bug'. They were enthusiastic about their job although it was very lowly-paid, and they relied partly on tips given at the end of trips. Overland companies pay a small daily stipend to employees, they get their food and basic expenses covered and they get additional money when laid up between trips at the start and end of tours. It is a job that takes a great deal of commitment and there is little time to oneself during the trip.

2.1.9 Planning by the company

Each overland company operates slightly differently, but there are common elements in all. Prior planning is likely to draw heavily on past-experience. Many overland truck companies are owned and staffed by people who have been on overland trips and the knowledge and practical lessons gained are drawn on when designing trips and dealing with the logistical planning.

Prior planning appears to rely on a culmination of experiences, based on owner or manager knowledge of the route and conditions to be faced and on feedback from the crews. Trucks are in many cases designed at company base outside or inside Africa and converted in company workshops to fit the overland needs. Many trucks are registered at home base, so if the company is based in the UK, vehicles may be registered there and carry British number plates. Some large companies may have some vehicles registered elsewhere. Many overland companies operating in Southern Africa have vehicles registered in Namibia and a few in Zimbabwe.

Companies appear to have developed a network of contacts in the areas they pass through and usually the same campsites and safari operators are used trip after trip (observation,

2018 and discussion with crews). Routes used by companies are often common, and this means that there is a level of specialisation with some campsites and facilities depending largely on overland truck trade.

During the trip, or between trips, equipment is repaired and supplemented by suppliers at points along the journey. At the Victoria Falls where stages of truck tours begin and end, there is time for servicing of equipment, such as repairing tents, which are sent for repairs in the town. Presumably most companies also use a local company for such repairs and so local industry is supported.

Food is bought by companies from shops and markets along the routes. Most trucks contain refrigeration facilities, but they are limited, as is storage for foodstuffs. This necessitates shopping when the trucks pass through small towns or shopping facilities. In some countries this may mean going to large supermarkets, in others, a trip to the local market. This makes shopping a central part of the trip experience. Taking on fuel and water must be done at points along the journey. Water for drinking is filled into a special tank on most trucks and purification chemicals added. In some countries fuelling points may be far apart and fuel supplies unreliable and most trucks carry some fuel reserves.

2.1.10 Organisation of the group during the trip

At the start of the overland trip the trip leader divides the tourists into groups for cooking duty. These groups rotate and there is an element of competition over which group cooks best, or functions most effectively. In addition to the cooking duty, there are other tasks that need to be done to ensure that the trip runs smoothly. These tasks include, sweeping the truck, emptying the bins, loading and unloading camping equipment, luggage, stools and equipment, overseeing the truck safe (where documents and valuables are kept) and cleaning and loading cooler boxes (used by tourists for their own cool drinks and alcohol). Each tourist volunteers for at least one of these additional tasks at the start of the trip, and remains responsible for this for the whole duration. This system of assigning and taking on responsibilities, is vital for the success of the trip. Responsibilities also assist in creating a sense of belonging within the group. These details help explain the possible evolution of group constructs as the trip progresses.

2.1.11 Companies

There are established international companies that provide overland truck tours through Africa, Asia and South America. There are also companies that specialise in particular continents or regions. Companies such as Intrepid, Dragoman, Oasis and G Adventures dominate the overland truck scene internationally. In addition to these, Absolute, Toucan, and Acacia operate through Zimbabwe and elsewhere, as well as a number of South African based companies that travel north into Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and beyond. More than twelve overland truck companies pass through Bulawayo, spending a day in Matopos. Some of these pass through more regularly than others.

2.1.12 Trip structures

Most of the larger overland truck companies operating within East and Southern Africa arrange their trips in stages. Tourists can book a stage, or a sequence of stages, to build a journey of anything from around 12 days to 142 days (Cape to Cairo, Dragoman, 2019) or even around Africa from Morocco to Cape Town and back up to Cairo, a total journey of 40 weeks (Oasis, 2019). The Cape to Cairo journey might be divided into up to ten stages, and some tourists may do one or two, and return at a later date, to do the next stage, eventually completing the journey after some years, spreading inputs of time and money.

The majority of companies take payments for trips in two parts. An initial payment is made to the company prior to the trip, this is made to wherever the company is based, and is likely to remain there to cover administration, staff payments, and truck conversions and equipment. A second payment is a local payment, made in an easily tradeable local currency at the start of the trip. This is given to the tour leader and forms a 'kitty' from which local expenses are paid. Food, fuel, campsite fees, park admissions and other local expenditure is taken from this kitty (Oasis Overland, 2019; Intrepid, 2019; Dragoman, 2019). Local payment amounts vary considerably from company to company, explained in part by what is covered by the company and what is paid for as an option by the tourists themselves. At the end of the trip the costs are calculated, and any remaining balance left from the initial kitty collection is split between tourists and returned to them. The 'kitty' or 'local payment' element of tour pricing appears unique to this form of travel. It is a product of the need to

pay locally for services and supplies and is often mentioned as a reflection of responsibility through local spending.

2.1.13 Responsible policies

Most overland truck companies have policies relating to responsibility in travel. These are usually found on the company websites (Intrepid, 2019; Oasis Overland, 2019; Dragoman, 2019). Policies cover such things as respecting local areas, supporting local economies, and preserving local environments. Most companies also mention human rights and anti-human trafficking. All the large companies attempt to promote animal welfare and discourage tourists from activities such as lion walks. Most companies appear to have community projects that they have adopted and try to assist, such as an orphanage in East Africa and wildlife projects. Some aspects of responsible policies may be displayed within the truck, such as policies on recycling.

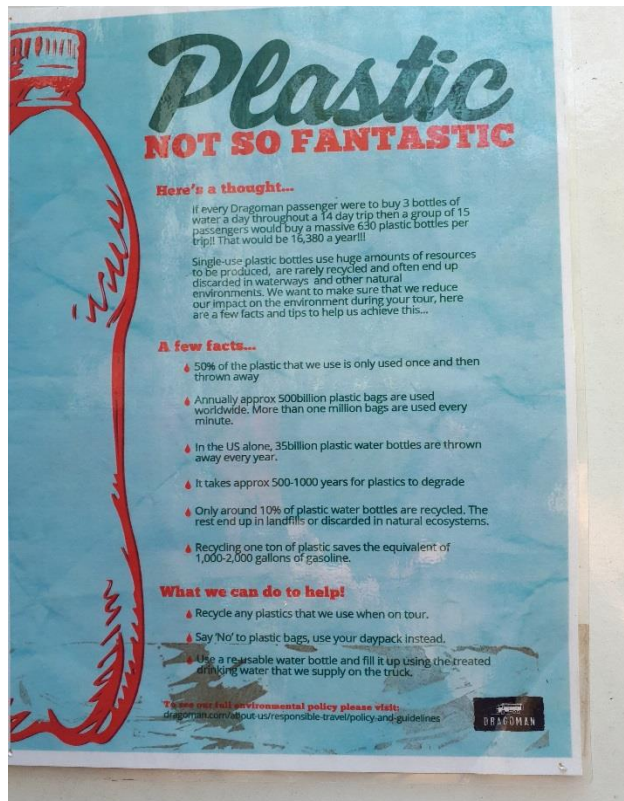


Figure 2.6: Poster on a truck encouraging tourists to avoid the use of disposable plastics

Source: Poster: Dragoman, 2018; photograph: Newsome Magadza, 2018.

2.2 Tourism in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe has considerable potential as a tourist destination. However, development of the tourism sector in the country has been erratic. This has been mainly due to political and economic uncertainties and poor media coverage, particularly in countries outside Africa.

Zimbabwe became independent in 1980 after a violent war for independence. Formerly a British colony, the European settler population refused to move towards majority rule and declared unilateral independence in 1965. During the period of 1965 to 1980 escalating conflict between African nationalists seeking majority rule and settler descendants seeking to retain power and privilege (Mlambo, 2014), made the country an increasingly unsafe destination. On independence the country inherited a system where the majority of land and resources were in the hands of a small sector of the population of settler descent. Tourism was no exception and many tourism companies have remained in the hands of Euro-Zimbabweans, this is particularly true of the game and wildlife sector. As a result, much of government focus when developing tourism has been (at least on paper) to indigenise the sector.

2.2.1 Development and structure

Zimbabwe has had a Ministry of Tourism since independence in 1980, although at various times the portfolio has been combined with 'Information', 'Recreation', and 'Environment'. The Zimbabwe Tourism Act of 1995 (amended in 2001 and 2004) provides the legislation for the establishment of the Zimbabwe Tourism Authority (ZTA) which effectively oversees the tourism industry, registers and licences tourism facilities, collects revenue, compiles statistics and assists in marketing tourism. The ZTA works with regional tourism organisations such as the Regional Tourism Organisation of Southern Africa (RETOSA). Organisations such as RETOSA assist in marketing tourism in the region alongside trade organisations such as Hospitality association of Zimbabwe.

2.2.2 Attractions

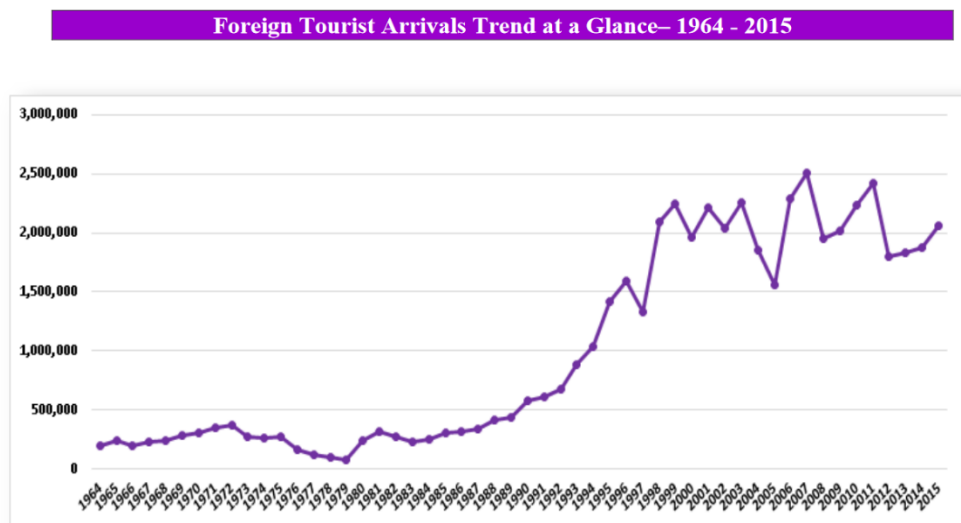
Zimbabwe's most popular and well-known attraction is the Victoria Falls. This has developed into a tourist hub with adventure activities centred on, the Zambezi River above,

and in the gorges below, the falls. Zimbabwe has excellent national parks, the largest being Hwange National Park which is home to the ‘big five’, (elephant, rhinoceros, buffalo, lion, leopard) and many other species. Scenically, Matopos has unusual granitic rock formations, and these also shelter some of the best San cave paintings in the country. The Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe are a mountainous area with attractive scenery. Historically the walled ruins of great Zimbabwe and Khami also attract tourists.

Zimbabwe has relatively developed cities and infrastructure. There is a potential for more cultural tourism in the country.

2.2.3 Trends

A study of trends in tourism arrivals to Zimbabwe is useful, as it shows the fluctuations that have been experienced, and reflects the dangers of over-reliance on tourism for countries with unstable political or economic systems. It should be noted that these arrival figures capture all arrivals, and that the bulk of tourists to Zimbabwe come from neighbouring African countries. Arrivals of long-haul travellers from Europe, America and Oceania are most influenced by adverse reports and conditions.



Source: ZTA

Figure 2.7: Tourist arrivals 1964 to 2015

Source Zimbabwe Tourism Authority, 2015

Figure 2.7 illustrates the rise and falls in tourism arrivals to Zimbabwe (Rhodesia prior to 1980) over a fifty-year period. Slow growth in arrivals in the 1960s link to early development of the sector. At this time there was less cross-border and long-haul tourism so overall numbers were low. The war for majority rule became more intense in the 1970s and travel within the country was dangerous. Arrivals had dropped to almost zero by 1979 when the war reached its peak and ceasefire negotiations began. Zimbabwean Independence took place on 18 April 1980, and at this point arrivals grew, reaching almost what they were in 1970. There was a decline again in 1981 and 1982, probably linked to the troubles in the Matabeleland areas of the country where there was conflict between former ZAPU fighters and government leading to security issues and difficulties in travelling outside Bulawayo.

Tourism rose steadily in the late 1980s and first half of the 1990s, but dropped significantly in 1997, linked to the forced land redistribution taking place in the country and the negative international publicity surrounding it. In 2005, further land nationalisation and adverse reporting surrounding forced evictions of informal settlers, alongside political turmoil and inflation, combined to paint a negative picture of the country. Election disturbance and a cholera outbreak caused a setback for tourism in 2008 (Newsome-Magadza et al, 2013). Since then, tourist arrivals have risen and fallen in response to political and economic developments within the country. In 2018, when this research took place, foreign tourist arrivals reached 2,579,974, however, this figure may be deceptive, as only 515,440 of this figure represents arrivals from those based outside Africa (ZTA, 2018). Within this there were a growing number of arrivals from Asia (growth of 23% between 2017 and 2018), particularly from China and India. In contrast European arrivals only rose by 6% in the same period and in fact declined slightly for arrivals from Britain (minus 2%). These figures reflect a changing tourist profile that may be partly due to Zimbabwe relaxing visa requirements for some Asian countries and on focusing on trying to expand the Chinese market.

A study of these patterns proves the sensitivity of tourism to internal events in a country and to the reporting of them. These fluctuations affect the luxury photo safari market most greatly, and scare off many solo or independent travellers. Overland truck tourism appears least affected, and although the researcher was unable to access the figures to prove this,

observation and discussion with overland truck company staff confirmed their continued journeying even when other tourism almost ceased.

2.2.4 Policy

Tourism contributed 6.3% of Zimbabwe's GDP in 2018 and it is a sector that the country is keen to expand to make the most of its natural assets. Zimbabwe has increasingly attempted to place indigenisation as central to government policies for future economic development. In 2008 the Indigenisation and Empowerment Act mentioned tourism as an area with potential for greater indigenisation (see Box 2.1 below). Although the Act has been updated since, this set the tone for development in Zimbabwe's economic sectors.

Box 2.1

2008 Indigenisation and Empowerment Act

- Commitment to underpin our political sovereignty through economic independence.
- The need for broad-based participation in the indigenisation process as opposed to the enrichment of a few individuals only.
- To democratise ownership of productive assets of the country.
- Promote procurement of goods and services from indigenous businesses.

Focus on indigenisation of tourism industry and community involvement

- Attempts to move from an elite male dominated sector into a more equitable form of ownership and participation.
- Funds set aside to assist in establishment of indigenous initiatives.

Source: Zimbabwe legal Information Institute, (accessed, 2019)

Indigenisation and community tourism has been the general approach to tourism in recent years. However, because of limited arrivals, especially from beyond the African continent, many community tourism initiatives have failed to develop their potential and to bring tangible benefits to communities. Initiatives such as tourism projects linked to Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) where communities ran small lodges or went into partnership with hotels (such as in Mahenya in the 1990s) in joint venture agreements, have become dormant or collapsed. Initiatives to found Village

hotels (VOTELS) in a few areas, such as around Plumtree (Dube, 2013), have remained mostly invisible within the tourism sector.

Zimbabwe and Zambia together hosted the 20th UNWTO General Assembly at Victoria Falls in 2013. This placed tourism as central in the national consciousness. However, tourism development in the years immediately after the meeting was slower than anticipated. In late 2016 Zimbabwe published a national Tourism Master Plan. This presents Zimbabwe's vision for tourism development. It places responsible tourism centrally within tourism policy.

Box 2.2

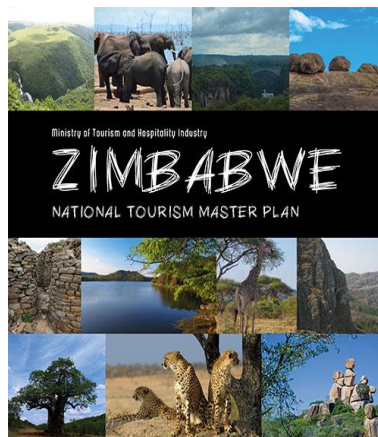
Zimbabwe Tourism Master Plan 2016

After citing the Cape Town Responsible Tourism Declaration (2002) the Master Plan states,

Responsible tourism recognises that, direct tourism may not necessarily be appropriate for livelihood and rural integration. However, indirect tourism-related economic activities that are supplementary to day-to day livelihood activity can achieve substantive and substantial economic empowerment' (2016:13).

The Master Plan places emphasis on community based tourism.

The Master Plan identifies eleven tourism development zones of which two are Victoria Falls and Bulawayo (including Matopos). These are areas with existing infrastructure for tourism and have good potential for further development.



Source: Zimbabwe Ministry of Tourism and Hospitality Industry, 2016

2.2.5 Zimbabwe tourism and overland trucks

After Independence in 1980, overland trucks began to move through Zimbabwe. However, in mid-1982, an overland truck was stopped at a dissident road block along the Victoria Falls to Bulawayo road (the same route studied in this research) and six tourists were marched into the bush and disappeared (Doran, 2017). This curtailed the overland truck operations through Zimbabwe, with trucks passing through Zambia into Botswana at the Livingstone side of Victoria Falls and thus bypassing Zimbabwe. The bodies of the tourists were discovered in 1985. In 1987, a unity accord was signed between the two main liberation parties in Zimbabwe (ZANU and ZAPU) and the whole country became more politically stable. It was again possible for the overland trucks to travel along this route.

Today the busiest route within Zimbabwe for overland trucks is the Victoria Falls to Bulawayo stretch, which is the focus of this research. A few companies do travel from South Africa through Mozambique and into Zimbabwe at Mutare, and then head South through Bulawayo and North-West to the Victoria Falls, or travel through Harare and north into Mozambique. Trucks continued to pass through Zimbabwe even when the country was receiving negative publicity internationally. One of the Directors of one overland company told the researcher that if uncertain, he contacted the safari operator and other connections in Zimbabwe to check on the situation on the ground and proceeded on their advice.

Although there is regular overland truck tourism through parts of Zimbabwe the ZTA has no statistics on companies or trip and tourist numbers for this form of tourism. Where 'trucks' are mentioned in reports they are likely to be mainly movements of truckers carrying goods through Zimbabwe, and therefore featuring as 'visitors' (ZIMSTAT, 2016). When asked about this form of tourism in the country, officials in the research division in the ZTA central office in Harare stated *'we have no records for them, we know that they come, and that they spend money and so that is good'* (informal discussion with researcher, ZTA office, Harare, January 2018). They went on to say that they just did not have the manpower or financial resources to gather statistics on tourism types and flows and were reliant on basic immigration statistics collected at the country's borders. This implies that the overland

truck tourism remains officially invisible and potential to integrate it into tourism planning is missed.

2.3 Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of overland truck tourism operations and a background to tourism in Zimbabwe. Overland truck tours have been seen to be a mobility-based form of tourism, where the journey is a central element of the product. This form of tourism has evolved from a much less structured form of exploration travel that had its origins in the late 1950s on the 'hippy trail'. Today's tours are far more organised, and the risk element is no longer a central feature, but they are still viewed as a form of adventure travel. The group aspect of these tours is also important as tourists work as a team undertaking tasks to facilitate the smooth operation of the tour. The truck is adapted to be self-contained carrying most of what is required in terms of basic needs and camping equipment.

Tourism in Zimbabwe has grown as a sector since the country's independence in 1980, however, the industry still reflects elements of pre-independence inequity in ownership of some facilities. Numbers of tourist arrivals have experienced fluctuations that mirror the political and economic fortunes of the country, and numbers of tourists from outside Africa are still small. Government policy towards tourism seeks to utilise it to grow and empower the community and indigenous sector of the economy and this is reflected in the current tourism Master Plan. Although overland truck tourism has been operating through Zimbabwe since the mid-1980s, little is documented about it and there are no statistics that capture its volume or pattern.

Section B:
The journey in literature

Chapter 3

Responsible tourism practice and the sustainability of overland truck tourism

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapters have outlined the nature of overland truck tourism and situated it within the context both of Southern Africa and of this research.

Within the aims of this research there is mention of responsible tourism practice and ensuring that overland truck tourism remains sustainable. There are two issues here, first the idea of responsibility- which implies both company and tourists taking ownership of their actions and the impact of them. With sustainability, emphasis is on the continuation of the overland truck tour form of tourism and of the experience associated with it. In chapter 2 there was a brief mention of the history of overland truck tours and it is apparent that they have changed a great deal. What has not changed is that overland truck tours travel to relatively remote areas with fragile ecosystems and where there may be people who are culturally dissimilar to the tourists.

Before embarking on the collection of data, literature pertaining to sustainable and responsible tourism was examined, to see how these concepts had evolved alongside the development of overland truck tourism. The researcher sought prior research that had relevance to responsible tourism in the context of the focus of the study.

Reference to sustainable tourism has become increasingly visible in a range of tourism texts, while responsible tourism is a more recently popular concept. Both sustainable and responsible tourism link to ethical approaches to the industry; however, though often implied and central to both, the term ethical tourism is less often used in tourism writing and research.

3.1 Tourism

Before focusing on definitions and explanation of, the features of responsible and sustainable tourism, tourism itself needs to be defined in order that it is seen as distinct. It is surprisingly difficult to identify one clear definition of 'tourism',

it can be viewed as an activity or experience, but can also be viewed as a service industry that takes care of visitors when they are away from home (Newsome-Magadza, et al, 2013:11)

Most definitions of activity incorporate elements of duration: away from home for at least one night (Prosser, 1994), for not more than one year (WTO, 1993, in Holloway, 2009), but even these durations vary from definition to definition.

For the purpose of this research, the broad definition of tourism is:

the temporary, short-term movement of people to destinations outside the places where they normally live and work, and activities during their stay at these destinations, it includes movement for all purposes, as well as day visits or excursions (Tourism Society, 1976, quoted in Holloway, 2009:6)

Smith (1989) uses an equation to show the key elements necessary for tourism to take place,

TOURISM = LEISURE TIME + DISCRETIONARY INCOME + POSITIVE LOCAL SANCTIONS

This is useful when applied to recreational tourism such as that of overland truck tours, which are often trips of many weeks. The age composition of tourists on the trucks often reflects availability of adequate leisure time, with the majority of tourists falling into the youthful or retirement age groups. There are a significant pool of people in the economically developed countries who have available excess income after covering core needs (discretionary income) that is available for use for tourism. Positive local sanctions translate into motivation. There are a variety of motivational factors that encourage the tourists to embark on an overland truck tour. These may include the expectation of visiting certain places and seeing certain things, but also the sense of solidarity and safety that the truck provides.

3.2 Sustainable tourism

The concept of sustainable tourism originates within the broader movement towards 'sustainable development' (Swarbrooke, 1999). In the 1960s and early 1970s there was a growing concern regarding impact of the emerging consumer society. Publications such as 'The Limits to Growth in 1972', questioned the impact of ever rising production (Swarbrooke, 1999). In 1987, the World Commission on Environment and Development published the Brundtland Report (Our Common Future). This defined sustainable development as '*development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs*' (WCEO, 1987; Pearce, 2008). This definition has remained the core of definitions used when referencing sustainability. The seminal text 'Caring for the Earth' (1991), rephrases and elaborates on the earlier definition when it defines sustainable development as, '*improving the quality of human life while living within the carrying capacity of supporting ecosystems*' (IUCN/UNEP/WWF, 1991). In these reports, which were the result of international meetings to discuss the future development of our planet amid growing concern about human impacts, economic growth was looked at as a whole.

As a growing global industry linked to socio-cultural, bio-physical and economic aspects of the world, sustainable tourism was, and is, particularly necessary to ensure the continual growth of this form of industry to the long-term benefit of all stakeholders. The move towards a more sustainable approach to development in the 1960s onwards, was triggered by an increase in concerns over growing mass tourism and its possible long-term impacts (Swarbrooke, 1999). Swarbrooke traces this through the concept of 'green tourism' to 'sustainable tourism', which emerged at the beginning of the 1990s (Fig 3.1). Interestingly one of the key texts on the impacts of tourism by Mathieson and Wall, published in 1982 and reprinted into the 1990s, makes no reference to 'green' or 'sustainable tourism', linking clearly to the early concerns that led to the concept development.

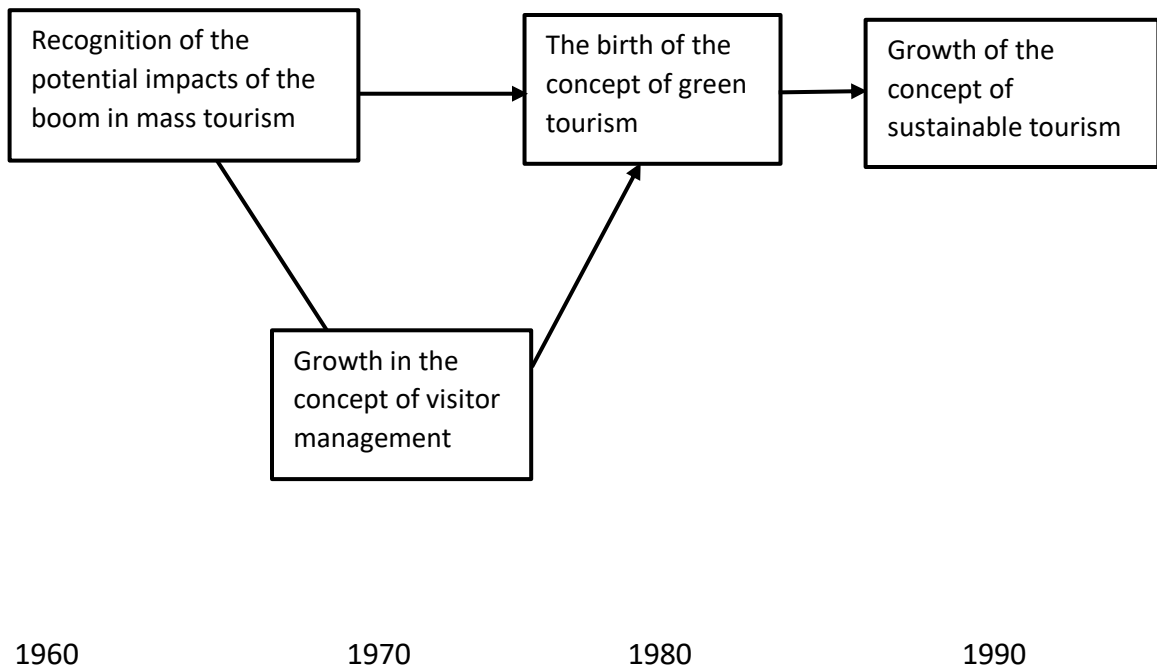


Figure 3.1: The chronological development of the concept of sustainable tourism (Swarbrooke, 1999:8)

These concerns were often particularly focused on the impacts of tourism in less economically developed countries (De Kadt, 1979; Mowforth and Munt, 1998, and later editions; Eber, 1992). Clarke, (1997, cited in Swarbrooke 1999) traces the development of the sustainable tourism concept through four sequential approaches where initially sustainable tourism was viewed as a polar opposite of mass tourism. It subsequently became seen as a continuum, where mass and sustainable forms might merge in the middle. Later, sustainable tourism became a movement, calling for positive action; and finally, sustainable tourism came to be seen as an approach where all forms of tourism could adopt sustainable principles. The founding of organisations such as Tourism Concern in 1988, assisted in spearheading research and campaigns to raise awareness and sustainable practice and is an example of the establishment of movements linked to the sustainable tourism concept. The broadening of sustainable tourism to permeate all forms of tourism today is important to recognise.

Some authors have broken the idea of sustainable tourism into component parts, in an attempt to define the different areas contained within the concept. Carter in 1991, lists three requirements for sustainable tourism, these are; firstly, to meet the needs of the host population in terms of improved living standards both in the long and the short term. Secondly, to satisfy the demands of the tourists and to continue to attract them; and thirdly, to safeguard the environment in order to achieve the first two aims. The emphasis here is on ensuring the long-term survival of the tourism industry for the benefit of all stakeholders. A year later in 1992, Eber, in association with Tourism Concern, published a far more comprehensive definition where sustainable tourism is seen as *'tourism and associated infrastructures that both now and in the future:*

- *Operate within natural capacities for the regeneration and future productivity of natural resources;*
- *Recognise the contribution that people and communities, customs and lifestyles, make to the tourist experience;*
- *Accept that these people must have an equitable share in the economic benefits of tourism, and*
- *Are guided by the wishes of local people and communities in the host areas'* (Eber and Tourism Concern, 1992).

This definition adds depth to Carter's three requirements and notably places local people and communities as central to sustainable tourism, both as providers of experience, and as main players in determining the nature of tourism development. In association with this, emphasis is placed on equitable sharing of benefits derived from the tourist industry. Interestingly, there is no specific mention of the tourist in this definition. Eber and Tourism Concern (1992) go on to give ten Principles of Sustainable Tourism which have been used as a guideline for emerging tourism development and as a framework for selection of sustainable tourism experience by consumers and are still of relevance today.

The common current definition of sustainable tourism is,

tourism which takes full account of its current and future economic, social, and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of the visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities (UNWTO, 2017).

This has much in common with the more general sustainable development definitions in the concern for current and future impacts on the environment, it adds the aspect of specifying the needs of all stakeholders in the industry including the environment itself.

Tresidder (2000) sees sustainable tourism as restrictive and in conflict with the tourist experience. He argues that the essence of the tourist experience lies in liberation linked to the removal of limitations faced in the tourist's day to day life. This means that tourists may suspend some of their more ethical practices and concerns for the period whilst they are on holiday. This viewpoint is interesting but perhaps less valid today seventeen years later, where green and sustainable issues are more central to people's lives. However, research into the tourist responsibility in tourism does reinforce Tresidder's views.

Brauer (2000) argues that the only way to be truly sustainable (to make no negative impact) is to *'stay home and avoid additional resource consumption'* (Brauer, 2000:2). While this may be sustainable on one level, it does not allow for continuation of the industry. He prefers the term and concept of 'responsible tourism', as he believes that this is a more realistic idea. However, believes that a strong state, able to enforce regulations is necessary to create an eco-friendly and transparent environment where responsible practice can happen.

3.3 Responsible tourism

The concept of responsibility in tourism is often credited as originating through the ideas of Krippendorf (1987), who saw the holiday maker as the critical element in ensuring sustainable tourism practice and the need for a more equitable spread of benefits from tourism (Goodwin,2011; Spenceley, 2008, Jenkins et al, 2002). Krippendorf's ideas were generally seen as ahead of their time and opened discussion in this area, acknowledging the need to educate people for travel. Much of the ensuing literature on responsible tourism originates from research and policy initiatives undertaken by Spenceley in South Africa (Spenceley et al 2002, Spenceley (Ed) 2008), and Goodwin (2011) and the Responsible Tourism Movement internationally. The Responsible Tourism Movement became visible

through the 'Cape Town Declaration' of 2002, a document that resulted from a conference organised to link to the World Summit on Sustainable Development, held in Johannesburg in the same year. Earlier in 2002, South Africa had published its National Responsible Tourism Guidelines which set out principles for responsible tourism within the country (Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, South Africa, 2002). Spenceley, et al (2002:8), state that,

Responsible tourism is about providing better holiday experiences for guests and good business opportunities for tourism enterprises. It is about also enabling local communities to enjoy a better quality of life through increased socio-economic benefits and improved natural resource management

Responsible tourism is in fact a process, and can only be described in those terms. The Kerala Declaration of 2008 (Responsible Tourism Movement, 2008:2) emphasises this,

Responsible tourism is not a product; it is an approach and which can be used by travellers and holidaymakers, tour operators, accommodation and transport providers, visitor attraction managers, planning authorities, national, regional/provincial and local government

The link between 'Sustainable' and 'Responsible' tourism is shown by Gao, Huang, and Zhang (2016: 2) when they state that, 'if the sustainability of tourism is a process, responsible tourism is an effective way to carry out that process'. The rather intangible nature of responsible tourism, being sometimes seen as covering all aspects of the tourist industry and involving all stakeholders, can pose some problems when trying to focus on one specific type of tourism and group of tourists. Broadly speaking it implies acceptance of the role of individuals participating in the tourism experience, in ensuring that tourism is beneficial to local communities and that it has minimum impact on the environments visited.

It is generally accepted that responsible tourism involves all players, considering their footprints on all facets of potential tourism impact. Responsibility linked to these impacts is usually divided into three groupings, economic, social and environmental, and guiding principles may be set out for each (Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 2002, Goodwin, 2011). However, principles be they produced by the United Nations,

Governments or sectors of the tourism industry; are broad and often seem removed from the individual tourist embarking on holiday.

Fennell (2006) places responsible tourism within an existential philosophy of free will. In this context, a tourists' responsible behaviour is based on his or her set of values and chosen options. Responsibility does imply moral accountability, however, as this presupposes that a tourist is even aware of the detrimental effects of his or her actions. In addition, most tourists travel as part of groups and often responsibility becomes more of a group than an individual affair. No research was discovered that investigated the degree to which the individual tourist abdicates their individual responsibility to the group and this might be an area that merits further investigation.

3.3.1 Challenges to responsible tourism

There appears to be an increasing demand for 'alternative' options to traditional mass tourism. This is visible in the growing range and diversity of holidays being offered and the increased use of environmentally friendly, green, and responsible rhetoric, within tour brochures and advertising (TearFund, 2001). This implies a willingness to engage in responsibility by the tourist. However, research has shown that levels of responsibility are not consistent even amongst those who consider themselves responsible tourists.

In research linked to volunteer tourism, Sin (2010) views tourist responsibility as a moral obligation, linked to privilege, and based on unequal relationships. While this may be particularly true of volunteer type tourism, it could be applied in varied degrees to most tourism situations, where the tourist, as the consumer, is in a position of relative power. This can instil in the tourist guilt or arrogance, or a mixture of the two; and in a developing world scenario, it may be viewed as a modern form of colonialism (Sin, 2010; Mowforth and Munt, 2003). Sins' research was set in Cambodia, and involved data gathered through convenience and snowballing sample. This may have saved time and ensured that hosts with relevant experiences were selected, but, as the author notes, may have resulted in a skewed relationship. Through semi-structured interviews the researcher collected experiences from local Cambodians, non-governmental organisations and missionaries who had experience in hosting volunteer tourists. Findings suggested a paradox between the

idea of responsibility, linking to a form of universalism and the breaking down of barriers of difference, and at the same time the reinforcing of that very difference, where the volunteer tourist is in effect assuming responsibility for caring for the poorer and less privileged. It could be argued that this element is present in many forms of 'responsible' tourism.

Some of the research that has been undertaken on how the tourist perceives responsibility, was undertaken at two UNESCO world heritage sites in China (Gao, Hwang and Zhang, 2016), which attempted to link norm activation theory (NAT) to the notion of tourist responsibility. This theory links awareness of consequence of action, to self-responsibility, which triggers a personal norm, resulting in positive behaviour. Data gathered from the tourists through interview and questionnaire were used to test conceptual hypotheses related to the model. Findings show that tourists were more willing to accept responsibility for environmental impacts than socio-cultural and economic ones. In addition, Chinese tourists were seen to have two levels of perception of responsibility, 'basic responsibility' which was mostly linked to obedience to regulations, tradition and 'neutral behaviour'; and 'extra responsibility', involving greater financial commitment (monetary contributions), temporal commitment (time spent learning about local customs), and effort (communication with locals). As might be expected the Structural Equation Model (SEM) used to analyse data revealed a greater recognition of basic responsibility than extra responsibility. It is unclear to what extent the individual norms captured are influenced by collective group motivation and this would seem to warrant greater study. The authors conclude that there is a need for full communication with tourists to allow them not only to know the facts, but fully understand how they can make a difference.

To be responsible, a level of motivation towards 'good' practice must be present. Research has exposed a mismatch between responsible attitudes and responsible behaviour (Del Chiappa, Grappi and Romani, 2016). The first step towards responsible tourism is the deliberate selection of a holiday package or responsible type of holiday. Tourists may have multiple motivations for choosing a trip and within the group of tourists participating there may also be multiple plurality (Mody, et al, 2014). In research seeking to apply Dann's typology of push-pull motivations to responsible tourists in India, Mody et al (2014) found

that pull factors were more significant. Travellers actively sought out tourism that provided responsible experience and selected tourism providers on this basis. This may not make them responsible in their own interactions once they have arrived at the tourism destination, and this was not adequately addressed within the limited study. Del Chiappa, Grappi and Romani (2016) undertook a mixed methods research into motivations and practice amongst responsible tourists in Italy. Findings showed responsible tourists to be active rather than passive, however, responsible practice was not exhibited equally between different facets of responsible tourism, with tourists more involved in environmental aspects and less committed to other aspects of economic contribution and socio-cultural awareness confirming findings by Gao, Hwang and Zang (2016) discussed previously. This led the researchers to state that *'an "ideal" tourist does not exist'* and to suggest the need for greater 'communication activities' to educate people about effects of their actions. Both studies focused on tourists who already considered themselves responsible and obtained data from online sources. In the case of Mody et al (2014) this meant identifying the five Indian companies that self-identified as 'responsible', and sending a survey to travellers who had participated on their holidays; in addition, people who had posted positive comments on Facebook pages of two of the companies, were sent invitations to complete the survey. Del Chiappa, Grappi and Romani (2016) used online forums for responsible tourism to request responses. This means that in both cases respondents were likely to be the most motivated, or alternatively, the most active on social media, and the sample may not have been balanced, however, overall sample size is adequate to produce useful findings.

Although responsibility towards the environment seems to emerge as more prevalent amongst tourists, there is still a wide gap between attitude and behaviour. An Australian based study of active environmentalists undertaken by Juvan and Dolnicar (2014) using a theoretical background based on four complementing theories of 'planned behaviour', 'attribution', value-belief-norm theory' and 'cognitive dissonance', exposed ways in which environmentalists sought to rationalise the gap between belief and practice when on holiday. Six beliefs used by tourists to attempt to excuse disparity between their belief systems and their actual behaviour and resulting 'cognitive dissonance', were identified

through in-depth interview. Tourist beliefs ranged from attempts to deny the consequences of their actions, through absolution of responsibility, to making holidays an exception to good practice. Many tourists seemed uncertain of the impacts of specific tourism activities. Even when tourists have deliberately selected a trip with a responsible tourism operator there may be multiple motivations for doing so. Responsible tourism has been defined as involving the undertaking of a personal responsibility (Spenceley, 2002; Goodwin, 2011; Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Fennell, 2006; Swarbrooke, 1999) and this may mean many a wide variety of interpretations of what it means to be responsible in varied environments and contexts. Caruana, et al (2014) discovered multiple narratives present amongst travellers who had booked with responsibletravel.com, one of the foremost and most wide ranging responsible travel agencies. Although the research was confined to a sample of 16 consumers, nine different interpretations of responsible tourism were identified. In addition, they identified four overarching narratives, which they described as 'instrumental opportunism', 'mindful minimising', 'educational empathy', and 'conscious advocating'. These relate to levels of involvement and extrinsic or intrinsic goals. It would have been interesting to discover whether a larger sample would have identified an even greater number of interpretations.

Environmentally responsible behaviour may be linked to a tourists' level of knowledge and respect for a place. Cheng and Wu (2015) term this 'environmental sensitivity' and attempt to construct a *'causal-relationship model of "environmental knowledge-environmental sensitivity-place attachment"'*. Research was conducted in the Penghu Islands of Taiwan and although convenience sampling was used, the high number of questionnaires returned (477), means that study findings are worth noting. Questionnaires contained statements to measure place attachment and behaviour on a Likert scale. While the framing of the statements may sometimes be leading, results indicated that 'high attachment' to a place resulted in active responsible behaviour.

Identified research has exposed a gap between belief, attitude and practice amongst tourists. In most cases, tourists lack awareness of the real consequences of some activities and actions. This has led to moral discomfort, denial and often, multiple interpretations of

the holiday environment and uncertainty over suitable practices to be conducted by themselves as tourists. To address this, tourists need some form of framework to enable them to interpret and behave responsibly in what is often an unknown and confusing new environment. Various research have suggested ways of approaching this through providing and communicating information, and showing alternatives (Juan and Dolnicar, 2014; Del Chiappa, Grappi, and Romani, 2016; Gao, Hwang and Zhang, 2016), recognising different levels and forms of tourist motivation and addressing tourism provision and education mechanisms to cater for each (Buffa, 2015), establishing programmes to promote greater sensitivity to place (Cheng and Wu, 2015), asking tour operators for written codes of conduct (Del Chiappa, Grappi, and Romani, 2016).

3.3.2 'Responsustainable' tourism

As previously mentioned there is strong debate over whether sustainable tourism is possible. There is also discussion over how sustainable and responsible tourism link together (Tressider, 2000). Mihalic (2016) uses the term 'responsustainable' as a way of bringing the sustainable-responsible discourse together.

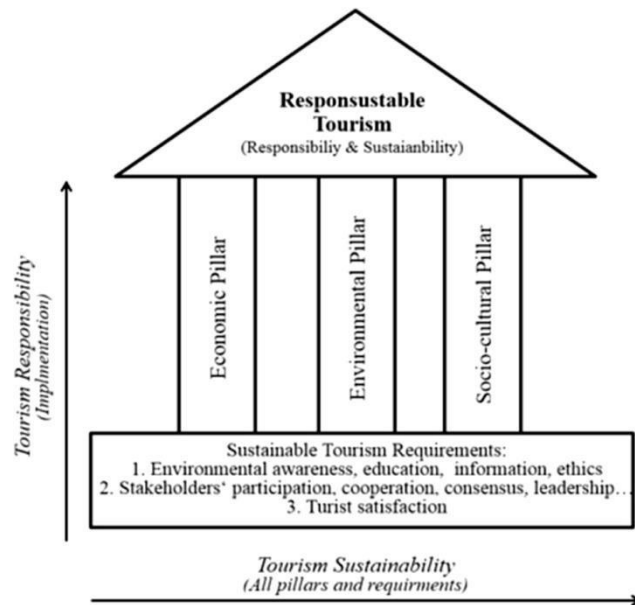


Figure 3.2: Proposed understanding of responsustainable tourism

Source: Mihalic, (2016)

In this model sustainability forms the foundation and provides conditions that are needed to result in responsible tourism. Through responsible implementation of sustainable pillars of economics, environmental and socio-cultural, responsible tourism may be achieved.

As was mentioned in chapter 2, most overland truck companies have a responsible tourism policy on their websites. These can be comprehensive. For instance, Dragoman's policy (Dragoman, 2019) covers local communities, local economy, preservation of the environment, human rights, animal welfare, community projects, reducing carbon emissions and ongoing monitoring of the policy itself. Under each of these headings there are further bullet points and there is also another link to tips on how to be a responsible traveller. Responsible travel is vital on many trips as overland truck tours travel through remote and fragile environments. It is unclear how far tourists bother to read policies online before embarking on the trip. Responsibility on a truck hinges not only on the company but also on individuals on the truck.

For overland truck tourism to remain sustainable, a responsible approach is needed. Responsibility in a group scenario such as on the overland truck is dependent on group coherence and common purpose.

Figure 3.3 below shows the poster displayed within one of the overland trucks. It aims to remind tourists of what responsibility involves in the context of the overland truck tour within Africa,

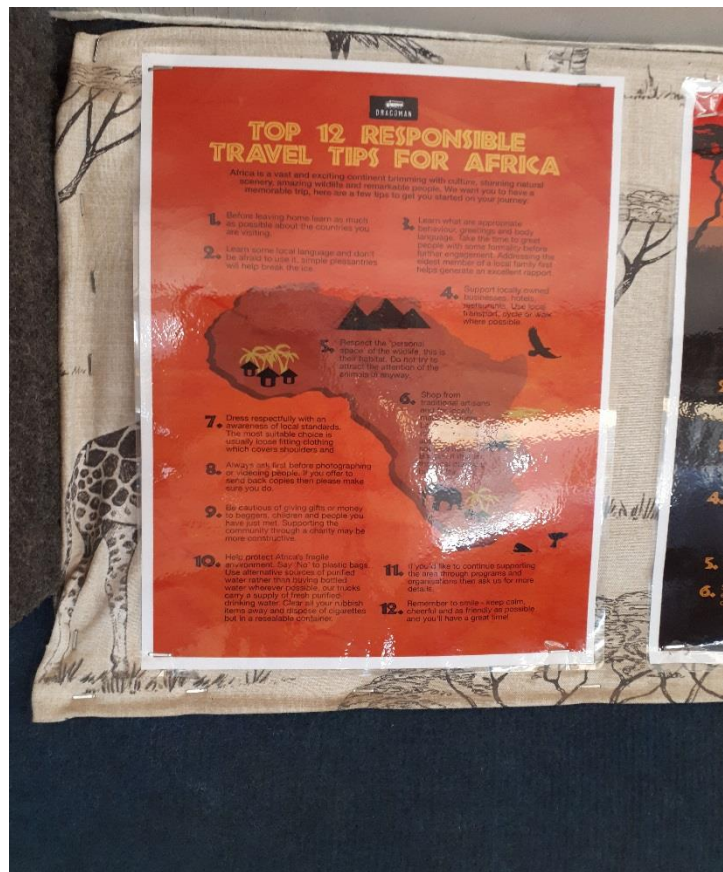


Figure 3.3 Responsible tourism poster displayed within a truck

Source: Dragoman 2018, photo Newsome-Magadza

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the meanings associated with sustainable and responsible tourism and how they complement each other. Overland truck tours have policies that aim to keep tourists responsible and to ensure that the overland truck type of tourism continues to travel to an area. Levels of responsible practice on the tours will vary as the group dynamic will influence practice on each separate tour. Ensuring the sustainability of the tourism product is an ongoing process.

Chapter 4

Literature:

Identity, Constructs and Encounter

4.0 Introduction

In the preceding chapters overland truck tourism was described and its characteristics outlined. Little research has been undertaken to discover the operations of this form of tourism and this needs to be undertaken to identify areas of value and constructs that may enrich the benefits and experiences obtained. Chapter 3 presented a short review of literature on sustainable tourism and applied this to the research, linking the contribution of overland truck tours to the Zimbabwean tourist economy and to the tourist experience.

This systematic literature review sets out to examine literature that looks at tourist and tourism agent's construction and narratives of natural and socio-cultural environments. These link to values that can be attributed to aspects of the tourism product and to personal positioning against varying constructs. There is a dearth of literature applying to the specific type of tourism under study, and therefore, this review seeks applicable theory and application to other scenario of relevance.

4.1 Identity and personal constructs

It is important to examine individual and group identities in order to discover the ways in which people view the world around them, and how they interact with place and people as different stakeholders in the tourist experience. Gardiner and Kosmitziki, 2008 (in Samovar et al, 2013: 206), see identity as *'a person's self-definition as a separate and distinct individual, including behaviours, beliefs and attitudes'*. Identity can be viewed as abstract, complex, dynamic and socially constructed (Samovar, et al, 2013). The dynamic nature of identity is highly relevant in studying the effects of tourism on the individual. New experiences impact on identity and a person's identity is therefore constantly evolving in response to stimuli derived from contact with places, people, ideas and events.

Within social identity there may be sub-identities linked to race, ethnicity, gender, national attachment and allegiance, region and organisation to which an individual belongs. These coalesce to form the social identity of the person. There is also '*personal identity*' that is peculiar to the individual, and is in effect, the essence and uniqueness of the person (Martin and Nakayama, 2014). Martin and Nakayama (2014) discuss aspects of identity, the first being that it is created through communication. This is summed up in Gergen's statement, '*I am linked, therefore I am*' (Gergen, 1985). Different aspects of our identity may come to the fore depending upon who we are interacting with, or moving amongst. Linked to this they acknowledge that each individual develops multiple identities and that some of these may be socially and politically determined and/or assigned by others (Martin and Nakayama, 2014; Samovar, 2013). Identity is created and evolves in spurts, as the individual comes into contact with new groups, happenings and events (Martin and Nakayama, 2014). This has implications on the role of tourism and travel experience in the evolution of identities, of both tourist and host individuals. It also implies that tourism, which brings into contact individuals of very different backgrounds who might not have otherwise met, may have a particularly significant role in the adjusting of identities and adjusting or acquiring new values. Because an individual develops their identity in relation to their culture, different norms may be prevalent, for instance some cultures are more individualistic, while others place family or institution more centrally (Sadri and Flammia, 2011; Martin and Nakayama, 2014). These differences may make it more difficult for individuals of one culture to interpret behaviour and appreciate the values of another culture. Personal constructs are built upon personal identity, experiences and interactions. According to Martin and Nakayama, '*we know who we are based as a result of our communication and our relationships with others*' (2014:95).

According to Kelly's (1955) theory of Constructive Alternativism (1963) an individual's constructions are based on past and present experiences. 'Reality' is relational, as an individual assesses each new experience and encounter based upon previous experiences and encounters. Although this theory was developed through the lens of the psychologist, Kelly's ideas have application whenever we examine people's constructions of their 'world'. He views personal constructs as being relative, and this means that in order to know

something we must position it against that with which it contrasts. These bi-polar constructs may link to tangible happenings or less tangible feelings. The constructs of individual tourists and other stakeholders will each be unique. However, there may be greater similarity between constructs of people who originate from similar backgrounds, places, or who have had similar life experiences.

As Ryan (2002: 4) states, '*touristic experiences might be shared but they are individualistic*'. He argues that this is particularly so, as by removal from the usual '*flow of natural and social processes*' involved in the tourist experience, interaction assumes fresh significance and meaning because it is positioned outside the 'normal'.

4.1.1 Tourist and tourism group identities

Authors such as Boorstin (1977) and MacCannell (2013) view all tourists as a single entity, although the former views tourist experience in a negative light, while MacCannell sees the tourist through a more positive lens. The various typologies of tourist and tourism type that were proposed as sociological tools in study in the 1970s and 1980s, are less used today, being over-simplistic in nature. However, reference to them is useful if only to expose the contradictory nature of overland truck tourism and the tourists engaged in it. Sociological research by Cohen (1979), Plog (1977, in Cooper, et al, 1998) and Smith (1989), involving tourist and tourism typologies can be linked to overlanding, but it is quickly clear that this form of tourism is difficult to classify. Africa is viewed as an extreme allocentric destination by Plog, however, overland truck tourists counter the extreme challenges associated with this, by joining the organised truck group, rather than 'going it alone'. This places them more as mid-centric tourists, presenting a contradiction between the challenge of new and different places visited, and the means used to visit them. Tourists engaged in overland truck tours are willing to 'rough it' to experience new places and experiences, but also have opted to do this within a safety capsule of the truck, amongst the security of a group of other tourists, and divesting organisational responsibility to the company and tour guide. Placing overland truck tourists into Smith's typology linked to adaption to local norms (1989:12), it becomes clear that despite the group nature of overland truck tours, tourists engaged in this type of tourism cannot be viewed as if they all fit into a single type, and may

vary depending upon motivation and character. Some overland truck tourists may fit her off-beat or unusual categories, adapting well, or at least partially to any local norms they encounter, whilst others may adapt less well, or avoid the need to adapt.

Cohen believes the tourist does not exist as a single type (Cohen, 1972, 1979) but can be placed within a typology of four tourist roles. His tourist roles start with the Organised Mass Tourist, who is least adventurous and travels on a package tour, followed by the Individual Mass Tourist, who still uses an agency for most arrangements and remains within 'an environmental bubble'. The Explorer and Drifter are more independent, but the Explorer retains his/her environmental bubble in the background, stepping out and returning to it. The Drifter immerses more fully in the culture and environment of the host and place visited. This type of tourist is flexible and shuns the familiar. Other researchers have adapted these and produced their own typologies, but this simple division by Cohen is adequate here. Organised overland truck tourists cross many tourist typologies, they combine aspirations of Cohen's (1972) 'explorer' category with some of the reassurance expected by the Organised Mass Tourist. Interaction is likely to be limited as the overland truck tour does not remain long enough in one place for any significant interaction to develop over time, in this sense this form of tourist also fits Cohen's 'Explorer'. It is worth noting that tourists may assume an Explorer role on the overland truck only to change to a Drifter role as they continue their travels after it, or may be an individual mass tourist before or after the trip. It is possible that the truck may allow the tourist a 'safe space' to experiment with alternative roles, or to obtain impressions of places that they might return to as a more different form of tourist.

There are a growing group of tourists who reject the 'tourist' label preferring to consider themselves as 'travellers' (Week, 2012; Bell, 2005). Of those in this category, many are solo travellers, backpackers, or private overlanders. These may exhibit similar characteristics to Poon's 'new tourists' (1993, quoted in Shaw and Williams, 2004). *'Travellers are experienced in travel and wish to differentiate themselves from mass tourism'* (Butcher, 2003) and are *'associated with experience and individualism'*. Although travellers may have been the original tourists before package tours and mass tourism, today's travellers may be traced back to the counter cultures of the 1960s (Butcher, 2003) and popularised through

travel guides such as Lonely Planet and Rough Guides. In distinguishing the traveller from the tourist, Butcher (2003) quotes Boorstin (1977) who saw the traveller as active, and engaged in a search for adventure and experience, while the tourist in contrast, was passive, and expected things to be provided, including interesting activities. As a tourism product that is centred on a journey, and where tourists are not always comfortable, and have to contribute to their own travel in the form of erecting tents, preparing meals and undertaking some chores, both the travel company and the tourist may view themselves as travellers. However, increasingly companies provide a relatively prescribed experience. Bowen and Clarke (2009) argue that while *'all tourists are travellers, not all travellers are tourists'*, as travellers may also include other groups such as immigrants. The idea that by designating oneself a traveller rather than a tourist, one somehow places oneself on higher ground ethically and morally (Butcher, 2003; Week, 2012) has been disputed. A key aspect of those wishing to be consider themselves travellers lies in their quest for the authentic, and this has been shown by Week through her research to actually compound problems that travellers raise with the tourism they reject.

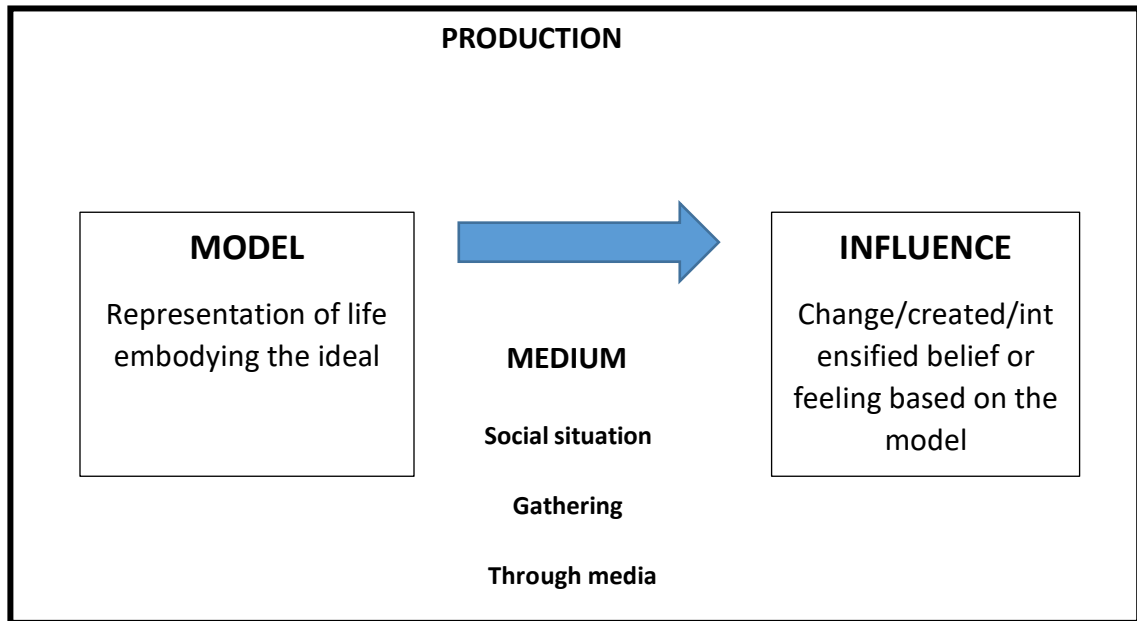
Tourism allows the 'opportunity to suspend connections to the routines and responsibilities of everyday life' (Stein, 2011). Stein studied vacation and identity in a group of volunteer tourists through in-depth interview and participant observation. Tourists were seen to assume new identities, often *'creating boundaries of the self that are less restrictive and more open to enjoyment'* (Stein, 2011). This may happen in many group contexts as tourists take on new roles and persona as they enter new social groups in novel environments. Newman (2015) touches on this in his study of an overland truck journey through West Africa, documenting community creation amongst of a group of tourists, built on shared norms and unusual encounter.

4.2 Formation and influences on group constructs

As individuals within a group or society, we are expected to conform our identity to fit certain norms, in order to be perceived as 'correct' or 'legitimate'. Berger and Luckmann (1966) consider this form of individual subjective identity as precarious, due to its dependence on a person's relations with others. If we travel, we might therefore, be expected to adjust our identities to conform both within the group we travel with, and to fit into the norms of the hosts with whom we come into contact. This may not be possible as conforming to the norms of one group may result in a clash of values with another. It also presupposes that the traveller is aware of the norms prevalent in the host society, and this may only be possible if the tourist remains long enough, and is open minded enough to the new culture, for this to happen. For tourists on tours that involve almost constant movement, there is of necessity a reliance on tour guides to assist in the interpretation of the 'strange', and to encourage the tourist to adapt some practices in order to avoid offence.

Interplay between personal and group identities may lead to a form of dialectical tension (Sadri and Flammia, 2011). This could exist for an individual who is part of a tour group and wishes to conform to the group identity at the same time having a wish for a different form of identity in interaction with the world outside the tour truck.

Group constructs evolve through cultural experiences. MacCannell (2013) sees cultural experience as a 'Production', involving a model and influence that must be combined for an experience to take place. Cultural productions organise the attitudes we have towards life. These may in turn affect how we view new experiences and encounters. All tourist attractions are forms of cultural experience and are likely to impact on, and modify, our existing cultural norms.



Based on MacCannell, 2013.

Figure 4.1: Cultural Experience as seen by MacCannell

The model in MacCannell's cultural production influences the individual or group construct via a medium. A medium may be a face to face individual or group encounter, but may equally be via other means such as the media. Sadri and Flammia (2011) view the mass media as having the greatest influence on culture, however, the role of social media is growing rapidly and has come to play a core role in the formulation of cultural norms and peoples' views of the world. Preconceptions and pre-constructs of place held by tourists are likely to have originated from the media via film, television, news and also off and on-line personal anecdotes and views.

4.3 Travel and tourists: motivation and effects

Travel and tourism, in its present form, can be viewed as a relatively modern phenomenon as Cohen (1972) linked a greater awareness of the wider world to an increase in our wish to travel. Many people are attracted to experience 'difference' in one of its many forms.

However, it is often more comfortable to view that which is novel, from a base of familiarity. Since Cohen first discussed the sociology of the international tourist, the world has become smaller in time related distance, as today images of the 'other' are increasingly beamed into our homes, and three dimensional and virtual realities give an illusion of familiarity to places physically distant (Urry, 2000). However, the majority of tourists do need a sense of security and an element of familiarity to feel secure.

Writing in 1961, Boorstin argued that Americans had a changed attitude to travel, where they no longer sought the unfamiliar, but, through the development of the travel industry relied on contrived experience, expecting '*more strangeness and more familiarity than the world naturally offers*' (Boorstin, 1977:79). He saw the travel agencies as insulators, preventing encounter between the traveller and local people, concluding that

nowadays it costs more and takes greater ingenuity, imagination and enterprise to fabricate travel risks than it once required to avoid them (Boorstin, 1977:117).

This extremely negative view of tourism was countered by authors such as MacCannell (1976, new edition 2013); Cohen, (1988) and Urry (2002).

Cohen (1979) identified five reasons for tourist travel. These were recreational, diversionary, experiential, experimental and existential. It seems likely that for trips such as overland tours through many countries, a number of these reasons may combine to be instrumental in motivating tourists. It could be argued that most tourist experiences have elements of the recreational and diversionary. Overland truck tours are also marketed as experiential, involving the experience of the journey itself as well as events and encounters during the course of the trip.

Goossens (1998, cited in Shaw and Williams, 2004), developed a model which examined the role of push-pull factors in hedonic motivation. When applied to tourism, this shows tourists being pushed by perceived benefits of visiting places and undertaking experiences, services provided by company and destinations pull the tourists to undertake the trip. The overland truck companies market their trips as a mixture of 'exploration', sites and encounter which may appeal to the wishes of the tourists to see and experience. Goossens model would see tourists becoming interested in the trip and gathering information on it. Hedonistic

responses lead the tourists to embark on the trip and to indulge in the experiences it offers. This is followed by motivation to embark on a particular trip or experience.

Tourist motivations to visit Africa may be tied to images held by tourists of Africa as a whole and places within the continent. Africa is often conceptualised in the European imagination as 'wilderness', 'nature' and 'romance' (Knapp and Wiegand, 2014), contrasting with images linked to the so called African 'crisis', linked to chaos, poverty and disaster. The narrative advertised to the tourist is that of '*a historical and unspoilt, colourful and welcoming Africa*' (Knapp and Wiegand, 2014). The European myth of Africa presents the ideal set to encourage tourists to 'present character forming stories of challenge, freaky encounter, and adventure'. Images of the continent provide an idea backdrop for the marketing of the expeditionary nature of the overland truck tour. There is little specific research in this area.

The world is highly inter-connected, and recognition of this has resulted in a new paradigm proposed as a way to interpret social and geographical relations. This is the Mobilities Paradigm first proposed by Sheller and Urry (2006) and this includes the '*observation of how people effect a face-to-face relationship with places, with events, and with people*'. Research into constructs linked to overland truck travel fall under this, and for this reason the paradigm will be discussed further in chapter 5. Urry (2007) mentions two types of mobility and motivation that are relevant to overland truck tours. The first is that of discovery travel, where young people are motivated to go overseas as a form of 'rite of passage'. These tourists are often engaged in seeing the world and amassing cultural capital. Many overland truck companies target these tourists. A further group of tourists engage in post-employment travel, and these are a growing market, with many retirees from affluent countries still fit and having good pensions. Both these groups share a freedom, where they have time and few job or family responsibilities. Both groups are ideal candidates for overland truck tourism as they have fewer time restrictions than working tourists with fixed holiday times. According to Buscher et al (2011) there are 'five interdependent mobilities that produce social life'. These can be viewed as interlinked and in the case of travel may not only be mobility types but also serve as motivators towards a more direct tourism experience. Linking these to the truck tour, the actual tour is a form of corporeal travel. Marketing and purchase of souvenirs involves physical movement, it may also motivate

others who obtain visions of place through the souvenirs brought back and sometimes received as gifts. Imaginative travel is often a strong motivator to travel itself, providing the potential tourists with constructs of place through the anecdotes of others, through film and travel features in literature, guidebooks and magazines. Virtual travel is less significant in motivating truck travel at present, but is likely to become more so. Finally, communicative travel is now a significant motivator for future tourists as friends and family send images of their journeys and tour experiences allowing for vicarious experience which passes on constructs and motivates others towards direct tourism engagement.

Travel is often viewed as an agent of transformation. However, Lean (2012) questions whether *'physical travel acts as an agent of transformation or simply reinforces existing ways of seeing the world'* and uses the Mobilities Paradigm to show that *'transformation through physical travel becomes entwined in a much larger process, the socially mobile de/construction of reality'*. People are motivated to travel in the assumption that there is experience outside one's personal life-space, and that this experience is desirable to access (Cohen, 1979). This often means moving away from the cultural centre of the tourist, into the periphery where new and different experiences and encounters await.

Travel is a significant part of life in current society. Urry (2002) examines the reasons and motivation for corporeal travel and recognises that travel involves co-presence and that this may have three possible bases, *'face-to-face, face-the-place, and face-the-moment'* (Urry, 2002:262). Travel is perceived as necessary in many societies, as it provides a means to social capital necessary for social inclusion. Everyday travel and interactive experience is part of the web of a society. Holiday travel, often linked to long distance travel, may serve to reinforce a person's social status or inclusion as part of a group. In the case of participation in an overland truck tour, elements of both face-to-place and face-to-face may draw individuals onto the tour. While seeing new places directly is an obvious motivator, the experience of being a member of an adventurous social group for the duration of the experience, may also appeal. To be able to say one has participated on this form of 'expedition' through parts of Africa, may make a person appear interesting, and buy them a form of social capital that either includes them in a group, or elevates them above many of their peers. This links to the form of cultural capital described by Bourdieu (Wacquant,

2008) where an individual, in this case the tourist, acquires status through their experiences. So while travel experience may be individualistic as stated earlier (Ryan, 2002), travel itself has social implications and norms. Ryan (2002) recognises that tourism can be a liminoid experience as it often involves a break from usual society of the tourist and allows the tourist to opt out of their normal restrictions, environment and behaviour.

This may manifest itself in a variety of ways. Bowen and Clarke (2009) discuss a Freudian perspective to motivation, where a tourist may purport to be attracted to a particular adventure experience in order to satisfy an interest in game, in culture, or in climbing mountains, while in fact being more motivated by romantic or sexual opportunities presented within the group experience. This may apply to overland truck tourists, particularly in those groups marketed to the younger age range, however, no reference to this can be found in the few articles relating to this form of tourism.

Motivation of tourists to undertake a particular trip is closely tied to preconceptions of what they are likely to see and experience. These are clearly reflective of constructs held prior to the trip. Tourists may subconsciously expect to reinforce these constructs, to build on them or examine them further. Much of tourism is tied to looking on new sights and seeing and experiencing 'the other'. This was described by Urry (1990) as 'the tourist gaze'.

4.4 The Tourist gaze

Identifying changes in attitudes and perceptions may link to the 'tourist gaze'. According to Urry (1990) tourists direct their gaze upon features that are outside their everyday experience.

Gazing at particular sights is conditioned by personal experiences and memories and framed by rules and styles, as well as by circulating images and texts of this and other places (Urry and Larsen 2011:2).

The tourist gaze is therefore, a socially patterned and learnt way of seeing that assists in interpreting the exotic or just unusual. The tourist takes typical objects they gaze upon and contrasts them with elements from 'wider society'. On an overland journey there is a constant bombardment of new visual and potential physical experience. Tourists from

similar backgrounds (country, age, social class, etc.) might therefore, be expected to have a relatively common gaze, as they relate what they see to certain common norms in their home culture, however, there will always be differences. Anticipation over where to direct the gaze is constructed and sustained through print, visual and audio media, which construct and reinforce the gaze. Urry and Larsen associate the gaze with the advent of organised package tours. A distinct gaze is linked to clear difference between the viewed and the normal (for the tourist). This creates a binary division between the ordinary and the extraordinary. The extraordinary could be a unique object; a stereotyped 'sign' associated with the place visited (an African village, for instance); it could be seeing ordinary life in unusual contexts (people washing clothes in the river), or something we are told is extraordinary because of its uniqueness.

Urry and Larsen (2011) mention a multitude of different gazes linked to different discourses. Of these the most relevant to overland truck tours are the spectatorial gaze, the anthropological gaze and the gaze associated with group solidarity. The gaze may also on some occasions be mediated, and the romantic and reverential gazes may occur in some places and circumstances.

How far does each individual tourist therefore have perceptions and narratives that change due to new exposures on the journey? Bruner (2005) coins the term '*questioning gaze*', a term he uses to describe '*an undefined puzzlement about the authenticity and credibility of what they (the tourists) are seeing*'. This is common with MacCannell's (2001) '*second gaze*'. This approach is useful in assisting in the identification of the varying constructs put on the natural and human environments that the tourist is exposed to. In their participatory research both Slocum and Backman (2007) and Bell (2005) observe behaviour amongst tourists on overland truck tours that is insensitive to local conditions and culture, and is contrary to responsible practice. Their statement that tourists often appear unknowledgeable about the they encounter, speaks to the present study, as it confirms the need to examine and understand the basis for their constructs in order to encourage greater sensitivity.

It is hard for the tourist to make navigate their way through the new environment and the experiences it offers. As a result, Ryan (2002:18) says,

the gaze of surveillance is to look up on a confusing and complex world of symbols, chaos and uncertainty. This state can be viewed as negative but also as offering opportunities for affirmation.

Tourists are mainly concerned with the 'other' (Picard, 2002) and focus their gaze on the unfamiliar in opposition to the 'ordinary world' (for the tourist). Hennig (2002) views tourism as belonging to the realm of the imagination. Tourists, he says, '*project their wishes, illusions and fantasies on the regions they visit*' (Hennig, 2002:170). There is research on the consequences of being gazed upon. One way of avoiding the eye of the over-intrusive tourist is through staged authenticity.

Urry's gaze has been variously critiqued and adapted in the years since he first described it. Some of the initial criticism was with the focus on the visual at the expense of others senses. This was defended by Urry in his 1992 paper, on the basis that in our society the visual gaze is the first and dominant sense to be acknowledged. However, in his recent version of the Tourist gaze publication (Tourist Gaze: 3.0, Urry and Larsen, 2011) he does mention other senses and acknowledges the limitations in focusing on vision alone. In the case of overland truck tourism, the visual is particularly apt as much of the tourist experience lies in glimpses of the world through the windows of the truck, where the eye is the main means to experience.

While the tourist tends to be the central focus of much research, Maoz (2006) introduced the idea of a 'Mutual Gaze', arguing that there is also a 'Local Gaze' where local people return the gaze and focus on the tourist. This, he states, leads to a '*more complex two-sided picture, where both the tourist sand local gazes exist, affecting and feeding each other*', (Maoz, 2006:222). He focused on backpacker tourism, a group which has a greater chance to pursue meaningful encounter with local people. He places the mutual gaze in the context of disparate power relationship between tourist and locals. The locals gaze is constructed on previous encounter with tourists. The mutual gaze affects both groups. The local people react with a mixture of cooperation, open or veiled resistance depending upon their dependence on the tourist economically. Although there is less opportunity for mutual gaze

between overland truck tourists and locals than there would be for backpackers, some element of mutual gaze is probably inevitable. It is probable that the truck tourist is mostly left unaware of the local gaze, but possible resistance could emerge and might have a long-term impact on this form of tourism.

The gaze inevitably implies power relationships between the tourist and the local, both of whom focus their gaze on each other. Bandyopadhyay and Ganguly (2015) showed that the appropriation of the surroundings by the tourists was not complete, with the tourists who photographed locals in Goa evoking mixed reactions, but being in the main, tolerated. They point out that in photographing the local, the tourist positions themselves in a place of power behind the camera, however, the camera only captures a superficial and fleeting glance, and does not intrude in the underlying complexities of life that goes on.

Tourists engaged in an overland truck tour spend a great deal of their time journeying from one point to another. During this time, their holiday experience is clearly dependent on interaction with the other tourists within the truck- this leads to an intratourist gaze. Holloway et al (2011) studied this gaze amongst an elderly Australian caravan tour group. It was found that the intratourist gaze led to a disciplinary gaze where tourists critically judged each other. This could have a positive effect on responsible behaviour but in the case of youth on an overland truck, it could equally exert peer group pressure to behave badly. The nature of the group composition and internal dynamics might make it difficult to generalise here. The intratourist gaze does have the potential to be a positive force to be harnessed in encouraging responsible tourism behaviour. Research on the gendering of tourism landscapes have focused on the Male Gaze, tourism marketing was seen to fit into the promotion of the male gaze (Pritchard and Morgan, 2000).

4.5 Encounters between tourist and host

The '*growing interaction and interpenetration between hitherto relatively independent social systems*', as referred to by Cohen in 1972, is even more of a fact today. Different

forms of tourism also involve different types and levels of interaction between people and groups. As Ryan (2002) states,

Much of human experience is concerned with a dialectic of the individual and the collective, the experience of each person and the consensus of sharing with others.

Any form of tourism will involve some level of contact with local residents. In some cases this may be minimal and mainly in a service capacity, in other cases it may be significant and prolonged. Fan et al (2017) believe that tourist-host social contact has not received adequate attention from academics in tourism.

By opting for an overland truck tourism experience, tourists place themselves within what Sarmiento and Henrique (2009) refer to as '*mobile tourism metaspaces*'. A metaspace is as a space transcending ordinary physical space. Sarmiento and Henrique see overland trucks as '*safety bubbles for travellers*'. Newman (nd) studied the dynamics within the 'bubble' of the overland truck when he spent nine weeks of participant observation on an overland tour through West Africa, with twenty- two other tourists. He studies how the tourists' interdependency relationships structured the trip. He observed that the truck '*acts as a space for segregation*' between '*us*' and '*them*'. He states that '*the use of the truck enables a separation of space which maintains a social hierarchy and post-colonial divide whether the travellers want it to or not*'. The bodies and minds that inhabit the truck passed through various states as they absorbed their surroundings and transitioned those impressions onto their past experiences and life. Each person's experience was different but was partly influenced by other members of the group. This means that without some form of common guideline tourists will each construct the environment in their own way and their single and collective responses to it may have little bearing on responsible behaviour.

Encounters raise problems for both hosts and guests, as experience and cultural knowledge may be inadequate for moral dilemmas they may face (Mostafanezhad and Hannam, 2014). It might be assumed that people are more likely to develop positive social contact where tourists have similar backgrounds to hosts. Moufakkir (2011) studied encounters between Dutch hosts and German and East Asian tourists and extracted attitudes towards the two groups through interview with Dutch businesses. It was expected that the Dutch would exhibit a more positive attitude towards the German tourists, however, this was not the

case as they had negative stereotypes of Germans and more positive stereotypes towards the Asians. Moufakkir believes therefore, that stereotypes in general play a critical role in the attitudes of hosts to tourists, and may be more significant than the attitudes based upon immediate tourist-host experience.

No direct study on tourist attitudes towards local people in the area under study, was identified. It is likely that these attitudes would vary significantly depending upon attitudes and pre-constructs linked to a wide range of variables. The nature of overland truck travel is likely to allow for only brief contact, and to rely on tour guides and leaders to bridge the gap between tourists and locals. In a recent study of Hong Kong residents travelling to China, Fan et al (2017) investigated the nature of tourist-host social contact and six dimensions and interrelationships built upon Cohen's theory of social contact (1972). A typology of tourists based on type of tourist-host contact was derived from information collected through in-depth interview with 45 tourist informants. Five types of tourists were distinguished, ranging from Dependents with very limited contact and impact, through Conservatives and Criticisers, who both had limited casual communication, but Criticisers being more critical and knowledgeable though wary about the destination resulting in possible reinforcement of existing prejudice. Explorers and Belonging Seekers explore destinations to a greater depth and in the case of Belonging Seekers attempt to network and share ideas and experiences with the hosts; there is a greater intensity of contact and the greater the intensity the more positive the after-contact attitude exhibited. This sort of typology may be an interesting way to analyse tourist-host contact, but it is confined to the perspective of the tourist. It might be interesting to look at the same relationships from the side of the hosts and in alternate scenario.

Tucker (2014) explains that she has come to question the gap implied by the categories of 'tourist' and 'other', as globalisation blurs the division, and emotions become a more significant element within encounter. While encounter may reflect preconceptions of groups about each other, at other times complex interactions may result. She talks of emotion acting as a 'mediating space' and shame which may result from an acknowledgement of historic injustice or an ethical awareness, acting to change the nature of the encounter and it's dynamic.

4.6 Meaningful experience

Tourism experience is tied closely to expectations which in turn link to type of tourist and their motivations (Cohen, 1979). Research undertaken by Tung and Richie (2011) linking experience to memory making identifies four dimensions that make experiences memorable. These are '*affect, expectations, consequentiality and recollection*'. These dimensions have relevance to confirmation or adjustment of constructs, as indicated in the adaption in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Dimensions of memorable experience

DIMENSION		
Affect	Emotions linked to experience	Positive constructs like happiness or excitement, or Negative constructs like frustration or anger
Expectations	Fulfilment of intention, or surprise at unexpected	Reinforcement of prior construct Formation of new construct
Consequentiality Social development Intellectual development Self-discovery Overcoming physical challenge	New or improved friendships New knowledge or constructs Changes in state of mind Developing skills and expertise	Bonding Eye opening, learning New constructs New physical abilities in adventure sport, etc.
Recollection	Conscious memory	Narratives, photo memory, souvenir

Adapted from: Tung and Richie, 2011

4.7 Quest for authenticity

Bruner (2005:6) contrasts the romantic tourism narrative of Africa of *'animals, tribes and nature'* with the tragic narrative popularised by the popular media of *'poverty, war, corruption and disease'*. These narratives are likely to create different, and sometimes conflicting, expectations from tourists as to what they might see and experience on their journey.

Marketing of travel and particular holiday experience presents an image of an 'authentic', often positioned by the travel company to reinforce preconceived constructs or present exotic new ones. The romantic narrative of Africa presented by Bruner (2005) is the one most prevalent in tourism marketing. As Knapp and Wiegand (2014:158) state,

'the myth of a romantic and authentic Africa is most present in tourism discourses and is actively used in travel agencies'

The quest for authenticity is often expressed with almost religious fervour, *'the tourist is a modern pilgrim, seeking authentic existence and meaning to modern life's artifice'* (Jamal and Hill, 2002). Authentic is in itself a subjective concept and as such studies on the authentic may be difficult to undertake. Moreover, it is difficult to find a clear and all-encompassing definition of authenticity as it is used in tourism and most authors confine themselves to defining types of authenticity. Tourists embarking on 'explorer' type travel experiences are usually engaged, at least partly, in a quest for the authentic. By the early 1960s, Boorstin viewed the American travel experience as being primarily inauthentic (Boorstin, 1977). Wang (1998, in Shaw and Williams, 2004) identifies three main types of authenticity in tourist experience, these are objective, constructive and existential authenticity. There is undoubtedly constructive authenticity in the overland truck tourist's views of what they see and expect to see, it is existential authenticity that will be the main focus of research to come. Existential authenticity involves a *'state of being that is to be activated by tourist activities'* (Wang, 1998, in Shaw and Williams).

MacCannell (2013) views the truth of things as having been eroded, so much of what we see is staged authenticity. He describes a six-stage front to back model of authenticity:

1. FRONT Region – social space presented to tourist
2. Front region – with added atmosphere, decorated as idealised version of back region.
3. Front region – organised to look like the back region, simulation.
4. Back region – open to outsiders.
5. Back region – cleaned up, sanitised space.
6. BACK region

Tourists are likely to lack the tools to really tell how authentic what they encounter is and whose authentic they are experiencing. However 'authentic', their view of reality will be different to those who live it. MacCannell does not address this aspect of authenticity. *'Authentic local life is often romanticized'* (Van Egmond, 2007), the image of the 'poor, but happy' local is strong in many tourist's minds and is linked to associations with 'innocence', 'simplicity', and being 'unspoilt'.

Tourists approach the unfamiliar 'other' through 'thematic pigeon-holes' (Picard, 2002) taken from their own social world. These may be themes such as history, art, and family. These will immediately create their own emphasis and interpretation of destination.

In a study of adventure tourism in a mountaineering context, using tourist blogs as a main source of data, Kane (2012) showed that legacies and myths of past adventure accounts provide a framework for what is seen as legitimate experience. This encourages consumers to buy into the experience through embarking on a packaged adventure. Perceived authenticity is viewed as a draw for tourists despite authenticity being a *'contested and ambiguous concept'*. This has similarities with the perceived adventure authenticity of the overland truck tour.

No research has been found investigating how authentic the hosts' view of the tourist and his or her world might be.

4.8 Interpreting place: the tour-guides

Tourists do have preconceived constructs and narratives that they carry with them as individuals and groups (Meethan, 2006). When they arrive at a place they draw on those

prior constructs, and guides step in to assist in making practical sense of what is encountered (Suvantola, 2002). Tourists on organised tours rely on tour guides to assist in interpreting the physical and human landscape to make it accessible to them. Scherle and Nonnenmann (2008) maintain that guides play *'a subtle and crucial role in unfolding travel experiences differently from the routine view'*. Cohen (1985) identifies two main roles of the tour guide, the first as a 'leader', who helps the tourist navigate their way through unknown territory, providing physical and cognitive access; and the second, the 'mediator' who acts as a cultural broker and draws the tourists attention to things of interest. According to Cohen original guides are often 'marginalised natives', who are found in areas in early stages of tourist development. As tourism develops, professional guides emerge, these are outsiders to an area and they tend to act as mediators rather than leaders. In Southern Africa this form of guide is evident in the form of safari guides who may also provide historical and some cultural details of place and often come from a different sector of the population to the local people in an area.

Guides may be viewed as *'intercultural mediators'* (Scherle and Nonnenmann, 2008) and it is likely that these authors were most focused on the socio-cultural aspects of place linked to the human environment. However, it is possible to also view them as mediators between the human world and the natural world of landscape and wildlife. The tour guides considered by these researchers were those who came from outside the country visited, and are often associated with package tours, while guides found in parts of Southern Africa are essentially different. Many of these guides are citizens of the countries that the tourist visits, however, there is often a dominance of guides who have European ancestry and are therefore able to bridge the gap between tourist and place, while interpreting in such a way as being identifiable to the tourist. Research by Salazar (2006) show how tour guides use *'normative genres and strategies'* to enable tourists to feel at home. Salazar points out that,

By reproducing globally popular ways of selling heritage and culture, tourists assume the local authenticity of guides' narratives and knowledge (2008:841).

Guides may act as informers but also as buffers between the tourist and the realities of place. Building on earlier points, Suvantola states that,

'Guides on one hand integrate the visitors into the visited setting, and on the other hand insulate them from it' (2002:142)

Guides become important in relation to tour travel as the tourist encounters new experience and place at each stop. They lack time to familiarize themselves with places or to search for meaningful encounter so they have to rely on guides to add to their existing constructs and narratives (Suvantola, 2002; Scherle and Nonnenmann, 2008). Guides direct tourists towards particular sights and interpret them, they do this through a combination of giving tourists what they think they want (reinforcing existing narrative) and directing tourists to what they want them to see (Suvantola, 2002). Thus tourists remain unaware of certain aspects of place and often retain single narratives.

4.9 Influence of culture on travel behaviour

There has been little discussion on the influence of culture on travel and behaviour of tourists (Reisinger, 2009). Models such as that by Mayo and Jarvis, 1981 (in Bowen and Clarke, 2009) attempt to distinguish cultural and other influences on tourist decision making and help provide insight into how tourists select tourism provision and experience. Influences identified such as social class, culture and sub-culture, reference groups and family influence, may also influence tourist perception of place during travel. Hofstede's research into cultural values (Hofstede, 2011) identified cross-cultural dimensions which were initially applied more within a business scenario, although some researchers have attempted to use his cultural dimensions to examine the influence of national cultural values on visitor behaviour, and to interpret tourist choice and response to place (Reisinger and Crofts, 2010; Woodside, Hsu and Marshall, 2011). His research acknowledges that different national characteristics determine attitude to risk, and applied to tourism this may also determine type of holiday and destination choice. Most research applying Hofstede to tourism appears to focus on differences between countries, but there is room to apply his research in a more flexible manner. Hofstede's research does have limitations, as it is over simplistic and takes a U.S.A. focus in its interpretation of culture. Reisinger and Crofts (2010) show that although Hofstede's dimensions are a useful measure of central tendencies of visitors from different countries, 'between-nation differences are relatively small when

compared to the within nation variability'. This is of relevance to the current study, as cultural variability between stakeholders may lead to different personal constructs.

4.10 Bridging the construct gap

Bridging the gap between the 'life-worlds' of tourism hosts and guests requires 'mutual personal investment' (Van Egmond, 2007). He points out that in-depth social interaction between tourist and locals is not possible on organised trips. To effectively bridge the gap in 'life-worlds of hosts and guests', certain conditions must be met. He suggests conditions that are needed to allow effective bridging of the gap. Critical is the availability of time for true interaction and the ability to interact effectively through common language. Guests and hosts have to see each other as equals and there should be no exploitation. Hosts must also be in control of their own situation. Van Egmond (2007) acknowledges that few if any of these conditions are usually met. However well intentioned, and well guided, these conditions will not be met on an overland truck tour. There is little time for interaction, as the truck seldom spends longer than a night or two at any point along the route. The possibility of interaction as equals is unlikely, trucks go through many relatively undeveloped areas where tourists will be seen as wealthy strangers with potential purchasing power. Language may be a barrier and if leader/guides are able to interpret chances for meaningful discussion will be limited. Tours are marketed as 'epic journeys' (Dragoman, 2018) and groups are of up to 22 people (Dragoman, 2018) to 24 (Oasis Overland, 2018), small by tourism standards, but larger than the maximum for effective interaction, which is viewed as up to 12 in social psychology (Van Egmond, 2007).

The enclosed nature of the overland truck and the level to which its occupants are thrown together, camping, preparing meals and dealing with the 'hardships' of the adventure, is ideal for bonding and formation of intra-group constructs and is a key part of this type of tourism experience, but does not allow much room for formation of new constructs derived from interactions external to the truck (Mowforth and Munt, 2016;

4.11 Problems that may arise linked to variable constructs and narratives between those involved in tourism

Our identities have been seen to be dynamic and multiple (Martin and Nakayama, 2014; Samovar et al, 2013). Our identities are often culturally linked and we may interpret others identities through the lens of our own cultural identity, a conscious or unconscious form of ethnocentrism. This has the potential to lead to prejudice and associated racism. If true communication is lacking, then major misinterpretation may result as, 'conflicts can arise when there are sharp differences between who we think we are and who others think we are' (Martin and Nakayama, 2014:94). This is particularly true in tourism scenario where the multiple identities of tourists from different social and cultural origins, come into contact with people whose identities are built, on, or through, different cultural norms and societal conditions.

Tourists may adopt new identities whilst on holiday, but these identities are still built upon past constructions, linked to exposure from, and to, multiple sources of experience and information. Part of the tourist experience is to enable the tourist to create new narratives that perpetuate the images of the explorer (Knapp and Wiegand, 2014).

4.12 Conclusion

This chapter has identified literature that examines the role of tourist identity in constructing a narrative of place. It proceeds to look at the formation of group constructs. Various tourist typologies can be used to explain the interaction between place and tourist. Urry's tourist gaze is of clear relevance to the overland truck experience and Bruner's Levels of authenticity provide an interesting take on how tourists perceive the environment around them. Tourists are seen to co-create constructs and experience within tourist groups.

Section C:

Approaches to research of the journey

Chapter 5

Framing of the research

5.0 Introduction

In chapters 3 and 4, the researcher examined literature capturing information and research that is of relevance to this study. It was seen that there was very little literature directly reflecting prior research into the overland truck form of tourism. Literature pertaining to identity and constructs of place and narrative related to tourism more generally, was available through the works of authors such as Urry (1992). Research situated within the 'mobilities paradigm' has relevance to the current study, however no one appears to have conducted research into overland truck tours within that frame either.

This chapter begins with a simple conceptual framework for the research based upon prior research reflected in the literature previously explored. It then examines the rationale for choice of methodological approach used for the research. It justifies the choice of a qualitative, interpretivist research for the extraction of in-depth narrative from tourists and local stakeholders involved in overland truck tourism. The use of a multi-sited ethnography as a method of data collection and its strengths and challenges are discussed. The relating of the research to Kelly's theory of Constructive Alternativism positions it not only as interpretivist, but also within a novel frame.

5.1 Conceptual framework

From prior study of overland truck operations and from consulting research undertaken into how individuals and groups of tourists construct narratives and place value on tourist experiences, a simple conceptual framework was produced as seen in figure 5.1 below.

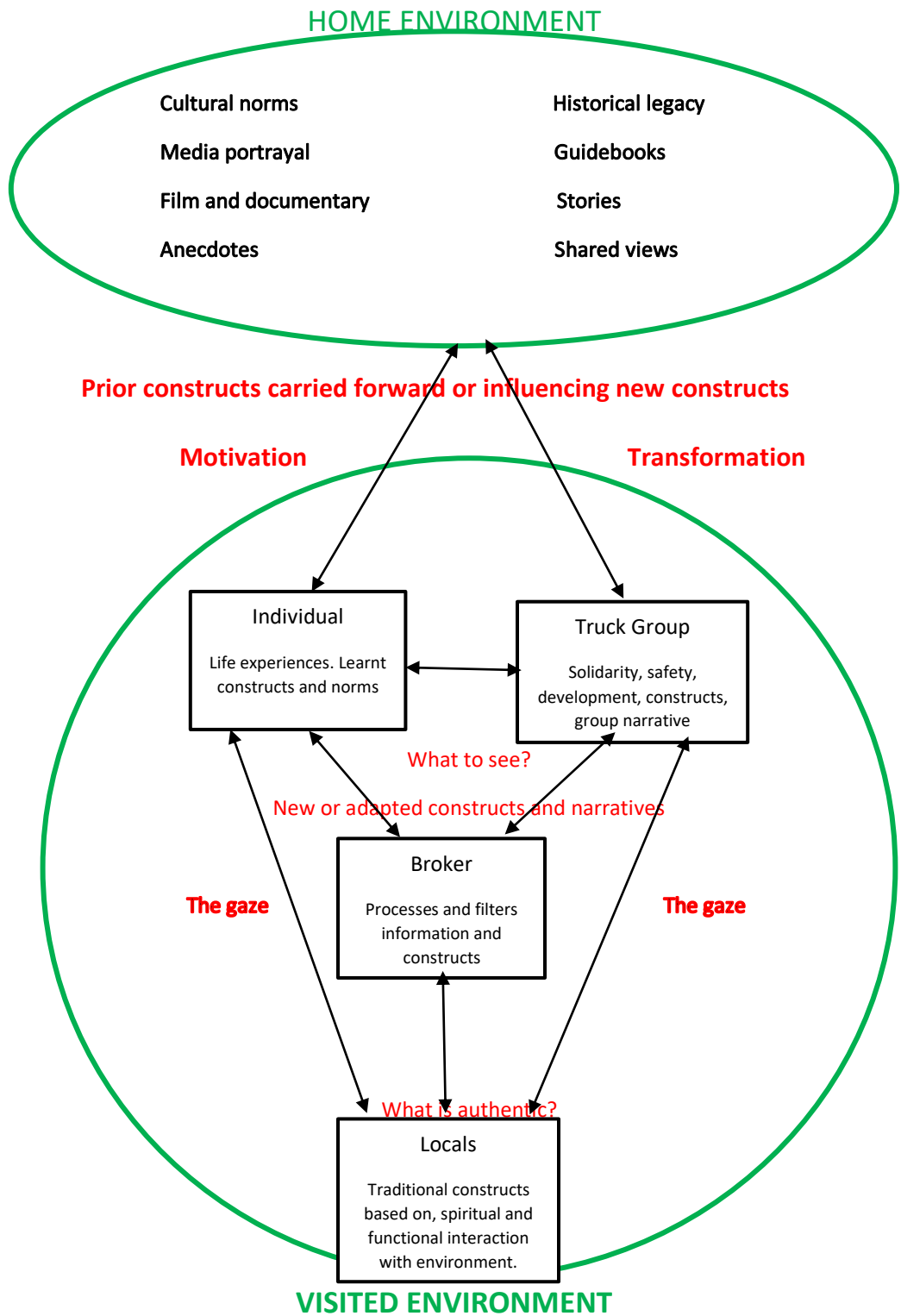


Figure 5.1 Conceptual framework

Tourists carry influences from their home environment with them and amongst these are prior constructs of what they will see within the visited environment. Each tourist has their

own identity (Boorstin, 1977; Samovar et al,2013) linked to their life experiences to date and the interaction of who they are with where and how they have become what they are (Martin and Nakayama, 2014). When viewing the new visited environment they will draw on these existing constructs and use them to position and interpret what they encounter. On embarking on an overland truck tour the tourist becomes part of a group of tourists each carrying their own prior constructs. These combine to form group constructs that are also adapted as the trip progresses and new places are seen and people encountered. Group constructs feed-back to create new individual constructs in the individuals who form the group. There may be coherence and tension between the individuals within the group and the group identity itself (Sadri and Flammia, 2011).

The broker is central to the tourist experience and to the reinforcement and/or readjustment of constructs of the visited environment. The broker selects what is to be visited (partially in response to tourist demand) and interprets it for the tourist. They act as an intermediary between local people and tourist (Scherle and Nonnenmann, 2018) and have a great impact on the narrative the tourist goes away with and takes back to their home environment (Suvantola, 2002; Cohen, 1985). The broker may influence what the tourist views as authentic or inauthentic. In doing this they also liaise with local people who provide performance or transactional functions within the tourist experience.

The tourist gazes on the local environment and its people through the window of the truck and during occasional stopping points. The gaze may happen in multiple forms (Urry and Larsen, 2011) and may be individualistic or form a facet of group solidarity. The frequent questioning gaze (Bruner, 2005) of the tourist may be clarified by the broker (thus providing his/her constructs to the tourist). However, local people also gaze on the tourist resulting in a local gaze that may become a mutual gaze (Maoz, 2006).

The tour experience may result in consolidation or transformation of constructs initially held. These feed back into the home environment to influence common narrative.

5.2 Approach and framework

To explore stakeholder narratives in overland truck tourism, it is necessary to take an unstructured and fluid approach to research. Qualitative approaches and method lend themselves best to this. To allow tourists and local stakeholders to 'speak for themselves' and reveal their constructions of place and socio-cultural world necessitates recognition of a wide variety of views and interpretations. These are dynamic and may change over time and place, and the research methodology chosen must reflect and capture this. For this reason, the philosophical approach underpinning this research is interpretivist. Research is not about gathering facts, but rather in identifying constructed meanings, which may be fluid and not entirely tangible (Myers, 2013). The research involves two very different groups: tourists and agents (themselves divided into further groups of brokers and locals), and within these groups, there are significant variations. The researcher is also a distinct presence within the research. As a result, the methods used to undertake research do not fit perfectly within any given typology (Hood, 2006 in Robson, 2011).

Research using an interpretivist framework, acknowledges that '*the social world is already interpreted before*' the researcher arrives (Blaikie, 1993:36) and that social life is '*produced by its actors*' (Giddens, 1974:79, in Blaikie, 1993). Interpretivist research is based upon critical reflection, and recognition of '*possible contradictions between theoretical preconceptions guiding the research design and actual findings*' (Myers, 2013:42). Acceptance of multiple narratives and interpretations of the world, and events taking place within it, are central to the interpretive framework (Myers, 2013; Saunders, et al, 2012). Social reality is made up of assumptions and shared meanings between individuals, groups, and the researcher (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). For the purpose of this research, whose focus is to identify varying social constructs and values of participants in and around a tourism experience, research needs to be subjective. The research experience necessitates a transactional approach, where findings are co-created between the various participants in the research (including the researcher) (Lincoln, et al, 2011).

Interpretivism is a broad epistemological stance from which to view the nature of the knowledge to be discovered. A more particular positional framework is needed, from within

which, effective research can be undertaken. Social constructionism is an appropriate position through which to base research on sociological aspects of tourism. While some authors attempt to distinguish social construction from constructivism with their slightly different levels of emphasis between the social and the psychological (Gerber, 2009), this distinction is not very pronounced and is not considered significant in this research design.

5.2.1 Social Construction

Social constructionism is based on the idea that there are multiple realities that may be captured by the researcher. Guba, (1990:27 in Lincoln et al 2011:107) states,

Realities are taken to exist in the form of multiple mental constructions that are socially and experientially based, local and specific, and dependent for their form and content on the persons who hold them.

This means that there are no correct realities, only 'constructs' that will vary from person to person, group to group, and be interpreted differently by different researchers. The researcher uses a broadly social constructionist stance, to allow for the collection of data from both tourists and local stakeholders, and to identify multiple meanings and constructs.

Tourism is usually an interactive experience. Gergen (2009:4) says that '*as we communicate with each other we construct the world in which we live*'. Tourism is a social affair, in that the tourist experience does not involve isolation, the tourist may be part of a group 'packaged' to undertake activities together, or a solo tourist backpacking the world, but in each case the tourist will interact along the journey. For this research, the tourists in the overland truck are a distinct group but come from a variety of backgrounds, and they construct their own encapsulated world within the truck. Interaction may be with other tourists or local stakeholders, and in a more formalised or less formalised context, but whatever its nature, it inevitably involves sharing experiences and constructing new world-views. Tourists create their own experiences and input into the group experiences they engage in. Social relations therefore, take an intersubjective form. This process is not static but ongoing, so research findings are acknowledged as only a snapshot in time.

In placing research within the framework of the social constructionist, the researcher is immersed in the data gathering process, and thus is a central participant in it. This means

that in this form of research *'we are studying ourselves, studying ourselves and others'* (Preissle, 2006:691, quoted in Lincoln, et al, 2011:104). Research cannot be carried out unless there is equal, or co-equal, control of it by all participants.

While past approaches to social research have tended to focus on the visual and the spoken, other senses are also important in our construction of meaning and this is particularly true in tourism where often unconsciously our experiences construct worlds based on all senses. The researcher as a participant has more chance of capturing all these elements through immersive approaches to research.

Another important aspect of social constructionist philosophical position lies in the reflective and reflexive nature of this approach (Gergen, 2009), where the researcher includes herself as an object of study. This may be necessary in social research in tourism, as the very presence of the researcher will affect the dynamic within the group of tourists (in this case within the overland truck) and the behaviour of local communities.

To focus this approach and to provide a framework for viewing the ways in which tourists and agents see the world, the researcher selected Kelly's approach to personal constructs.

5.2.2 Choice of central frame for research

When embarking on this research two possible frameworks were identified and considered through which to study the constructs and values held by tourists and other stakeholders and resulting from the tourism experience. Firstly, Bourdieu's Habitus and in particular ideas surrounding cultural capital had clear relevance to the research. Bourdieu believes that,

'our social positions are only modified by our cultural tastes in as much as the cultural system assigns more value to some tastes than others' (Robbins, 2000:32)

Cultural capital is amassed by tourists when seeing new places or experiencing new things and places them in a relatively superior position to others who have not done so. Cultural capital did present a possible relevant and valid lens through which to undertake the research. The checklist nature of the tour itinerary linked to the demands by tourists for sightings and experiences that would enable them to claim cultural capital on return to their

home locations, did reflect the narratives already in existence at points of tourist origin. In this way 'capacity to differentiate and appreciate practices and products' (van Egmond, 2007) can be partially replaced by packaging to fit the client rather than the client needing the ability to appreciate them. Bourdieu recognises that people 'possess an inherited concept of society which they modify generating a new concept which is apt' (Robbins, 2000).

The other framework involved the use of Kelly's Constructive Alternativism which uses a psychological approach to examining the means by which an individual arrives at constructs and modifies them. Kelly, focuses more strongly on the process by which new constructs are derived.

The researcher felt that combining Cultural Capital and Constructive Alternativism approaches to the research might 'muddy the water' in a piece of research which was already fairly broad. Kelly's Constructive Alternativism was chosen as the main approach to undertake the research due to its direct focus on formation of the constructs themselves, and the repertory grid instrument suggested as a way to identify these. This presented a practical tool around which to gather data and a way to examine how tourist stakeholders interpreted the environments they encountered.

5.2.3 Kelly's theory of Constructive Alternativism

Although Kelly (1963) applied his 'Theory of Personality' within psychology, his focus on a person's interpretation of things and events around them is relevant to this form of tourism research. Kelly begins with the observation that when people look at the world they use, '*patterns or templates*', which they create and '*attempt to fit over the realities of which the world is composed*'. He sees these patterns as necessary, because without them the world would appear homogenous and it would be impossible to discern a sensible pattern. These patterns are what Kelly calls 'constructs' and form the centre of his theory. He states that the basic nature of a construct is that it '*is a way in which some things are construed as being alike and yet different from others*'. He views personal constructs as being relative, and this means that to know something we must position it against that with which it contrasts. These bi-polar constructs may link to tangible things or less tangible feelings. The

constructs of individual tourists and other stakeholders will each be unique. However, there may be greater similarity between constructs of people who originate from similar backgrounds, places, or who have had similar life experiences.

Because constructs are peculiar to the individual they are sometimes difficult to share and can appear misleading. It is worth noting that Kelly recognises that there are cases where,

Even the elements which are construed may have no verbal handles by which they can be manipulated, and the person finds himself responding to them with speechless impulse (1963:16)

and that we must therefore consider 'subverbal patterns of representation'. In this research, this has implications for the choice of method to be used, as it implies the need to be in a situation where one can closely observe all forms of response to place and situations. We may also dismiss people's behaviour if they fail to communicate their construct in a way that makes sense to us (Kelly 1963:127). This may make the interpretation of a person's constructs a relatively sensitive issue.

A person has certain constructs in place when they anticipate a thing or event. If the event happens then their prior construction is validated, if it does not anticipation is invalidated. Thus, compatibility or incompatibility determine validity. Kelly clearly distinguishes between validation and reinforcement, seeing the latter as, 'satisfaction' or 'gratification', while validation is mere 'verification' and can be pleasant or unpleasant.

Kelly observes that for existing constructs to be changed certain conditions must occur, there may be fresh elements, experimentation may occur, and validating data may be available. However, new constructs may not occur if the elements out of which it might develop pose a 'threat'. This may occur in a tourism context when tourists have arrived with rather fixed constructs and are threatened by the unfamiliar. If there is a 'preoccupation with old material' a person may fail to be open to new constructs. Lastly, Kelly says new constructs may not form if there is no laboratory situation that might allow for reformulation through experimentation.

Kelly's theory presents an interesting way to view constructs of tourists and other stakeholders. It has been mainly used as an interpretive framework within psychology and

the clinical fields. In tourism it has been little applied (with the assistance of his repertory grid practical technique for eliciting constructs) and mainly in the area of tourist perception of places and particularly used to research tourist perceptions of place for marketing purposes (Pike, 2017). This researcher failed to find evidence of the theory being applied to construct formulation and adaption within journey tourism.

5.2.4 Limitations and challenges presented by social construction

It can be argued that social constructionists present us with a conundrum, as under this philosophical stance social constructionism itself must be contingent, and that if we place social construction as exempt, then it could be regarded as objective (Fopp, nd). This is the same argument as Plato's on scepticism, where he says true scepticism means being sceptic about the existence of the sceptic, quoted by Gergen (2009:166). Gergen argues that constructionist ideas are tools or 'resources' within which to study the world rather than absolute strictures. Therefore, it is easier to take a more cautious less purist, form of constructivism which distinguishes between socially constructed ideas and concepts and processes that might be viewed as having material existence.

Because by its nature research data gathered through a social constructionist approach can only be considered valid for the moment in which it is collected, it is difficult to draw transferable theory based upon it. Data gathered will vary depending upon the researcher and this makes it difficult for researchers to act as teams or for one researcher to take over from another. This can pose limitations if attempting to extend the research to new places and contexts, or to compare with other research that might be undertaken by others. In the case of this research each overland truck journey is a distinct internal and external experience, however, there were certain common elements such as the route taken by the truck and the major stopping points.

The time element cannot be fully researched, and the research can of necessity, only capture a short period of time. This is particularly true in organised journey tourism which has a fixed length and prior agreed starting and ending time. Therefore, the research will not be able to conclude with static theory, but rather with a snapshot of time from which construct will be deduced.

5.3 Method

Here the method used in the research is explained.

5.3.1 How approach determines methods

The qualitative, interpretivist approach presents a variety of options to gather data. Of these, a multi-sited form of ethnography was selected as the most suitable method for effectively gathering and analysing data. This method enabled the researcher to obtain varied and rich data needed to distinguish dominant social constructs from multiple individual interpretations of the world along the route travelled. The method accommodated the presence of the researcher within the research and allowed for purposive sampling. Ethnography enables the research to capture thick description in narrative form and some visual imagery during participatory stages, and for further data using in depth interview and focus groups. Data from both was coded, to enable patterns and theory to emerge.

5.3.2 Ethnography

Ethnography as a method was originally associated with anthropology (Saunders et al, 2015; Collis and Hussey, 2014; Myers, 2013; Robson, 2011), has been used extensively in sociological research (Saunders et al, 2015), and in some organisational studies (Cunliffe, 2010). Literally, ethnography means the description of groups of people within their environments. This methodological approach is often defined through its methods of gathering data and is most commonly associated with participant observation (Myers, 1999; Robson, 2011). It *'provides description and interpretation of the culture and social structure of a social group'* (Robson, 2011:142).

Ethnography may be informed from several possible stances. Saunders, et al (2015) identify three, based on contrasting epistemologies. For this research, the realist ethnography stance is rejected in favour of interpretive ethnography, which is more subjective and recognises the existence of multiple possible meanings, which need to be understood by the researcher in the context of the culture under study. An element of critical ethnography,

which introduces the idea of power and authority in the interpretation of social relations (Myers, 2013:96, Saunders et al, 2015) and may lead to advocacy, was also used.

According to Hammersley and Atkinson (2007:3), ethnography has five main features. People and their behaviour and interactions are studied in the field in their 'everyday context'. Most data is gathered through participant observation and informal interaction. There is little initial structure involved when gathering data, with no fixed research design. In-depth research is undertaken, which necessitates restricting data gathering to one or a few cases and to small groups of people. Finally, analysis involves interpretation and there is little quantitative data. Resultant data is usually presented in narrative form.

Ethnographic works by anthropologists are particularly noteworthy for paying attention to asymmetries in terms of power between hosts and guests and analysing they impacts each have on each other (Blesky, 2004:275)

This is just what this research hopes to achieve.

Research such as that on constructs of encountered places and people held by overland truck tourists, cannot take a traditional ethnographic approach. The group is of a temporary nature, formed and dissolved within the 24-day duration of the trip. In addition, there are multiple points, where the tourist(s) intersect and interact with the physical and human environments encountered along the journey. There are clearly problems in '*delineating the field of ethnographic study*' (Nadai, E. and Maeder, C., 2005) and this must be constructed by the researcher. In this study, the social world of the truck itself, and the social worlds created when the tourists leave the truck and engage in activities and interactions, are under research.

The field for much of this research was the truck itself, however, other fields were briefly entered as tourists left the truck and entered the outside world extending their space into the 'other'. In addition, persons in the places visited are at times incorporated into the research. Therefore, this research uses a multi-sited form of ethnography as described by Marcus (1995:106), where the researcher 'follows the people'. As described by Nadai and Maeder (2005:5), '*in multi-sited ethnographic research the object of research is inherently fragmented and multiply situated*'. Traditional ethnography is not a widely used approach in tourism research due to its time-consuming nature. However, multi-sited ethnography

lends itself to journey based studies concerned with study of individual and group constructs. Undertaking a '*multi-sited, multi-sided ethnography*' as described by Toanner (2012:570), when she undertook research on tourist-local 'interactive encounters' between tourists and indigenous Australians, enables the researcher to look at interactions between tourists and local stakeholders in a variety of places. An effective use of multi-sited ethnography was undertaken by Fletcher (2010) studying tourists' constructions of safety and risk in adventure tourism with focus on white-water trips and there are some elements of similarity to this research. Fletcher involves himself as a raft guide rather than a tourist but engages in research on a form '*safe adventure*' (Holyfield, 1999 quoted by Fletcher, 2010), where he interacted closely with research subjects. The possible inequity between economically empowered tourists and less affluent local community stakeholders may result in this research taking a critical ethnography approach, which not only recognises the existence of multiple possible meanings, but also introduces the idea of power and authority in the interpretation of social relations (Saunders et al, 2012; Myers, 2013).

Ethnographers aim '*to interpret the social world in the same way as members of that particular world do*' (Collis and Hussey, 2014:64). This involves immersing oneself into the group and environment under study. From a practical point of view this means '*intensive fieldwork*' (Myers, 2013:94) and placing the researcher in a '*learning situation*'. An effective ethnological research explores culture within the context of peoples' natural environments and time, and through examining the social interactions taking place (Cunliffe, 2010). As a result, 'rich data' is collected.

Ethnographical research is an intense experience and requires trust and involvement on the part of the researcher. Initially, strong contacts must be developed, and a way to access the group, may involve the identification and gaining the acceptance of one or more 'gatekeepers', who may help the researcher enter the group and/or institution (Collis and Hussey, 2014; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007:49). Data is gathered holistically, from many sources and using a variety of methods. Ethnography is often associated with participatory observation, but informal interviews (conducted from the interviewees standpoint, Yu and Lee, 2014; Spradley, 1979) and discussion, also takes place, attending of meetings, and other methods such as the use of photographs and net based material ('netnography',

Mkono, 2013). Sampling is purposive and therefore can obtain the most meaningful data through selection of most suitable persons to interview. Usually 'participants' views of experiences' are captured 'in their own words' (Collis and Hussey, 2014:65). It is necessary to write up field notes frequently and to be as descriptive as possible, researchers record their own experiences and include these in the research findings.

Ethnographic research results in a huge volume of material collected in the field. Initially it is difficult for the researcher to know what is relevant or not, so copious field notes and other materials must be collected. This results in '*a multiplicity of complex conceptual structures*' (Geertz, 1973:10) which may be referred to as 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973; Fetterman, 2010). Not only the words, but also the contexts within which they were recorded, must be kept.

Successful 'immersion and translation' results in the researcher '*telling a convincing story*' (Cunliffe, 2010). A valid ethnographic account should be credible, authentic and '*conveying a sense of the ethnographer being there and grasping the intricacies of life in that setting*' (Cunliffe, 2010:231).

5.3.3 Strengths and weaknesses of Ethnography for investigating the research problem

Ethnography has strengths and weaknesses for the undertaking of social research. Strengths lie partly in the wealth and depth of data collected. While other research methods involve broad data capture and analysis, ethnography allows the researcher to gather rich material from 'inside' the group or organisation. This lends itself well to the type of social tourism research being undertaken. Data gathered from 'first-hand' experience (Collis and Hussey, 2014) assists in ensuring that interpretation is in context. Full immersion through participation, helps to expose dynamics and concerns that are often overlooked when data is gathered through more superficial, transitory methods. Successful ethnographical study results in the researcher gaining the trust of the group and contributing to its internal dynamics. Thus the researcher could in some way change events and interactions and must bear this in mind as research progresses.

This methodology presents a number of challenges. Some of these are the direct result of its strengths as a method. There are challenges faced in gaining access to the group under

study (Collis and Hussey, 2014). Ethnographic studies demand a significant time, and the researchers' 'other' life must be suspended, or adapted, to accommodate this.

The in-depth nature of the research can only generate data in one instance, group, or institution, or in a few cases in a small number of group experiences. This makes it difficult to apply breadth or to make any form of generalisations to the wider community or organisational context. In addition, this methodology raises many ethical issues associated with disclosure, and where the researcher needs to act in a covert manner (David and Sutton, 2004:104).

Geertz, (1973:24) states that interpretive approaches '*tend to resist, or be permitted to resist, conceptual articulation and thus to escape systematic modes of assessment*'. This can be a problem as interpreting the flow of social discourse '*involves trying to rescue the "said" of such discourse*' and '*fixing it in perusable terms*' (Geertz, 1973:20). It is quite difficult to translate thick descriptive data into clear useful research accounts.

Ethnographic research can generate a huge volume of data and thick description and this can be difficult to process and present.

The use of participatory observation and informal interviews and discussions are useful methods to assist in the construction of travellers' tales and in capturing constructs. It is possible to become part of the group in the overland truck and to immerse in the travelling experience along with 'other' tourists. This allows for the contribution to, and recording of, group narratives, reflective of the meanings placed on the environments through which the truck travels. There is always a dilemma over whether to assume a covert or overt presence within the group. Torres (2015) adopted a covert approach to her presence within a tour group experience. This researcher believes, however, that it is ethically necessary to disclose the dual nature of her presence, both as a tourist and as an observer, recorder and interpreter. This might affect the behaviour of participants, however, the effect is likely to be insignificant as Slocum and Backman (2011) observed that fellow tourists on the overland truck tour they participated in, soon appeared to forget or accept their observer role. It was expected that age might be a factor to distinguish the researcher from the majority of tourists in the truck as the researcher expects participants to be younger than

herself. However, in prior observation of some tours that the researcher she discovered that while she would be in the older sector of participants, there were likely to be others considerably older. The possibilities of undertaking '*multi-sited, multi-sided ethnography*' as described by Toanner (2012:570), when she undertook research on tourist-local '*interactive encounters*' between tourists and indigenous Australians, presented a possibility for the researcher to look at interactions between tourists and local stakeholders at a number of places. However, this might have result in inadequate duration to fully capture divergent constructions between groups. The power inequity inherent in the overland truck setting drew the research closer to critical ethnography, a standpoint that is adopted in this research. Photo ethnography could also provide a useful method of gathering and capturing additional information. Bandyopadhyay (2010) used photo ethnography to assist in understanding the '*relationship between visuality, tourism and neo-colonialism*' in Goa, and similar valuable visual stories could be captured in this research, at points where tourists and local communities come into contact. Ethnographic interpretation of these images would allow the possibility to intensify, supplement, or contextualise non-visual data that might reflect varying social constructs.

As this research involves, not only discovering the social constructs of tourists but also of local stakeholders, this might be considered a rather extensive study to undertake using ethnography. The time element and that of ethical approach had the potential to cause problems in completing the study. There was also a concern over the researcher's lack of knowledge of indigenous languages in the area, as this necessitated the use of a research assistant/interpreter for some discussions, and this would immediately stand in the way of a true ethnographic research, placing a barrier between myself, and local people or groups being interviewed.

5.4 Into the field

The techniques used for gathering data in the field were chosen in response to the ideological framing and methodological choice. The practical aspects and challenges faced in using these are discussed in more detail in chapter 6.

5.4.1 Participant observation

Ethnography frequently uses participatory observation as a core method of data collection. Participant observation places the researcher within the group that is being observed. This will inevitably happen if the researcher joins the overland truck tour along part of the journey. Participating in the tour will involve being part of the group twenty-four hours each day, as the truck travels through the area and participants camp along the way. This means that the researcher will have very little chance to 'stand back' from the research. It does place the researcher in an ideal position to collect data and experience the group constructs within the truck tour group.

Ethnographic works by anthropologists are particularly noteworthy for paying attention to asymmetries in terms of power between hosts and guests and analysing they impacts each have on each other (Blesky, 2004:275).

5.4.2 In-depth interview

In addition to, and within, participant observation interviews will be used to obtain insight into the ways in which participants view and value the places visited, and the experiences associated with the trip. As this research takes an interpretivist approach interviews will be deliberately fluid in nature, seeking to encourage participants to talk about their experiences and feelings associated with the trip and the places visited along the route under study.

5.4.3 Repertory grid use

Kelly (1963) designed and utilised a repertory grid technique in order to extract constructs and values of place from research subjects. This is a '*technique for assessing the ways in which a person interprets the things in his or her world (or part thereof)*' (Bell, 2017: conference presentation). Grids are designed to have elements along a horizontal axis and constructs relating to those elements on the vertical axis. In some cases both elements and constructs may be provided by the individual under study. However, in other cases one or even both may be provided by the researcher. For this research a ratings grid was used (Centre for Personal Construct Psychology, accessed 2017) and fixed elements provided.

The research subject provided constructs relating to how they compared places visited and rated each place against the construct on a scale of one to five.

This technique was used as a focus within the interview. Constructs were analysed in a qualitative rather than numerical fashion, with descriptive statistics being used to identify common constructions or groups of constructions.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has explained the approach and methods used for this research. A simple diagram of the conceptual framework for the study interpreting how tourists and other stakeholders construct and value the environments along the stretch of journey under study, lends itself to an interpretivist approach. The research is framed with social constructivism and adopts Kelly's (1963) theory of Constructive Alternativism as a lens through which to view the formation of constructs of place by the research subjects. In the field participatory observation, in-depth interview and repertory grids will be used in order to access constructs and values held by research subjects, these are discussed further in the next chapter.

Chapter 6

Methodology and data collection in the field

6.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the conceptual framework used in the research was explained, and its choice justified in the light of the research aims. The interpretivist and constructivist approach to the research led to a choice of multi-sited ethnography combined with the use of Kelly's Constructive Alternativism and repertory grid instrument to provide a way to gather data. This chapter focuses on the practical aspects of the research and focuses on the methods used to gather information, challenges faced, and reflections on the field research process.

6.1 Focus of research

Responsible practice has to be based upon understanding of people and places in the areas visited (Goodwin, 2016). In order to ensure understanding, it is necessary to identify personal and group narratives of socio-cultural and natural environments constructed by tourists on overland truck tours, the values attached to them, and to compare them to those of other stakeholders, living and working within an area along a section of journey. Through this, it should be possible to compare the resulting ethical constructs of different stakeholders and to suggest ways in which variances can be addressed to optimise the value of overland truck tourism in Zimbabwe and to ensure its sustainable future.

This research links to work on the tourist gaze by Urry (1990, 2011, 2012) and subsequent interpretations and adaptations of his work to focus on the host (Moufakkir, 2011) and both tourist and host (Maoz, 2006) discussed in chapter four. However, it adapts and reframes their approach by utilising Kelly's theory of Constructive Alternativism.

6.2 Overview of field research

Initial focus was on the tourist and the tourism experience. The first phase of the field research involved participating as a tourist, in the six-day stretch of journey, which formed the focus for research. From this, it was possible to get a feel of the dynamics of this form of tourism and identify the key stakeholders contributing to the tourist experience. It was also an opportunity to discover the challenges to be faced in trying to conduct this form of research on this type of tourism.

6.3 The role of the researcher

The researcher was positioned in a unique space with regards to this research. She was based as a resident in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe before undertaking the research, and was relatively familiar with the route and places under study. However, the researcher is not Zimbabwean, and does not represent either the black indigenous majority of the population, or the white Euro-Zimbabwean population who descended from colonial settlers. As a member of the truck, she became a tourist and there was no real division between her and her research tourist population. Having said that, her prior knowledge and visits to the Zimbabwe leg of the journey, which she could not hide, placed her as a source of knowledge, and fellow tourists tended to use her to give background information, and to assist in their interpretation of things they saw.

To most local Zimbabwean stakeholders, the researcher would be indistinguishable from the other tourists on the truck, but she was a previous acquaintance of the main safari operator. Where the researcher approached local community stakeholders, she used her links to the local Zimbabwe Open University and in some cases also accessed through gatekeepers. If introduced using her surname (Zimbabweans are quite formal in this respect), she would be immediately identifiable as having Zimbabwean connections.

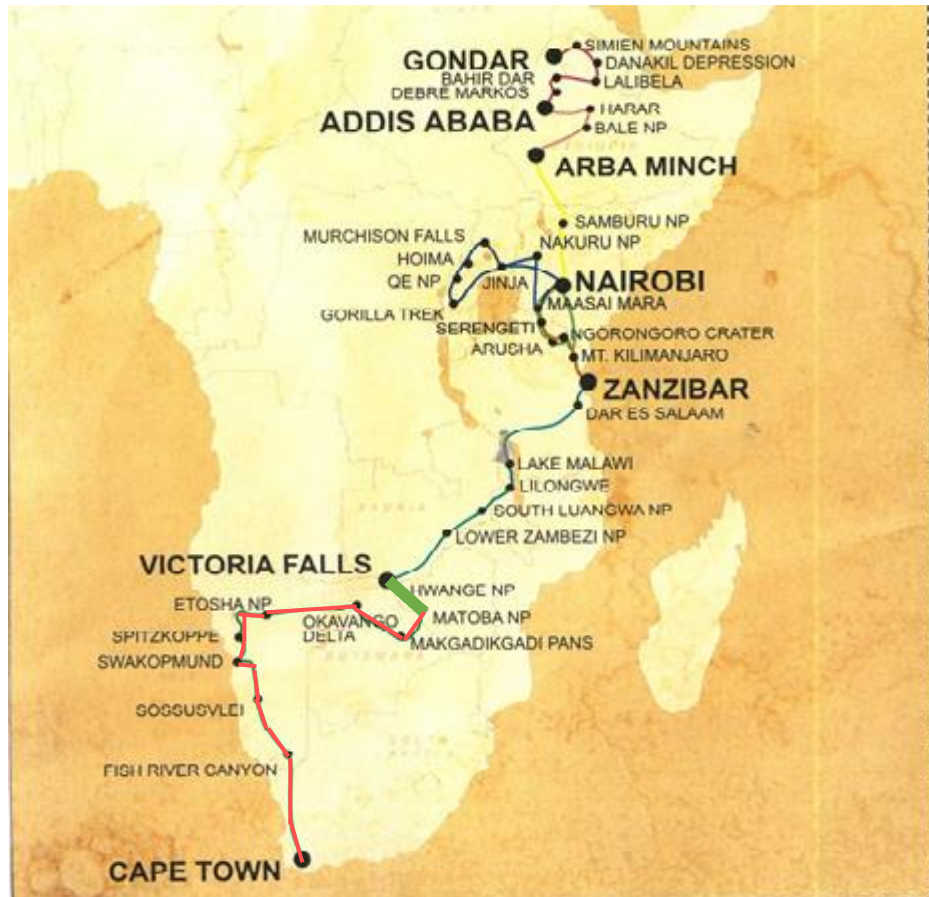
The constructs of place held by the researcher for the Zimbabwean leg of the journey were the result of a sequence of journeys over the space of thirty-five years. However, none of her journeys or visits to place were based from within the context of an overland truck.

6.4 Choice of route

In an ideal situation, the research would have studied the constructs of tourists and stakeholders over the entire route of an overland truck tour. However, this proved logistically impractical. The nature of overland truck tours is that they cover a number of countries in one tour and they take many days to complete (Between 142 and 14 in the case of one operator in East and Southern Africa). Gathering information from tourists along the whole length of a journey was feasible, but to interview other stakeholders would have meant returning to revisit people along the whole route, which would have been a mammoth task. In addition, even for the twenty-four day trip chosen, permission to undertake research would have been required within each of the four countries through which the tour travelled, each of whom have different Government structures and applications required to do this. The research therefore, focused on part of one journey, covering the first six days of a twenty-four day tour. The section under research fell entirely within Zimbabwe and was chosen primarily for convenience as the researcher has been resident in Bulawayo (the terminal point of the six-day stretch) and has worked with the Zimbabwe Open University for many years, which allowed for ease of research access within Zimbabwe. The stretch of journey under study was also chosen as it is the route most commonly travelled by overland trucks within Zimbabwe. The researcher, however, did participate on a whole twenty-four day tour, in order to enable her to interview tourists regarding the first six days and also so that she could observe to general ongoing and evolving dynamics of the tourist group as the whole tour progressed.

6.5 Description of route

Most overland Truck tour companies allow the tourist to build their tour from a series of interlinking stages. This meant that within any tour there are tourists who have joined from previous stages of journey, as well as those who are starting their journey. This provides for a mix of prior narrative. In the case of the stretch of journey chosen, almost half the participants in both groups A and B had arrived at Victoria Falls from Zanzibar and some had been on other journeys prior to that.



- Six-day research focus
- Twenty-four day entire journey

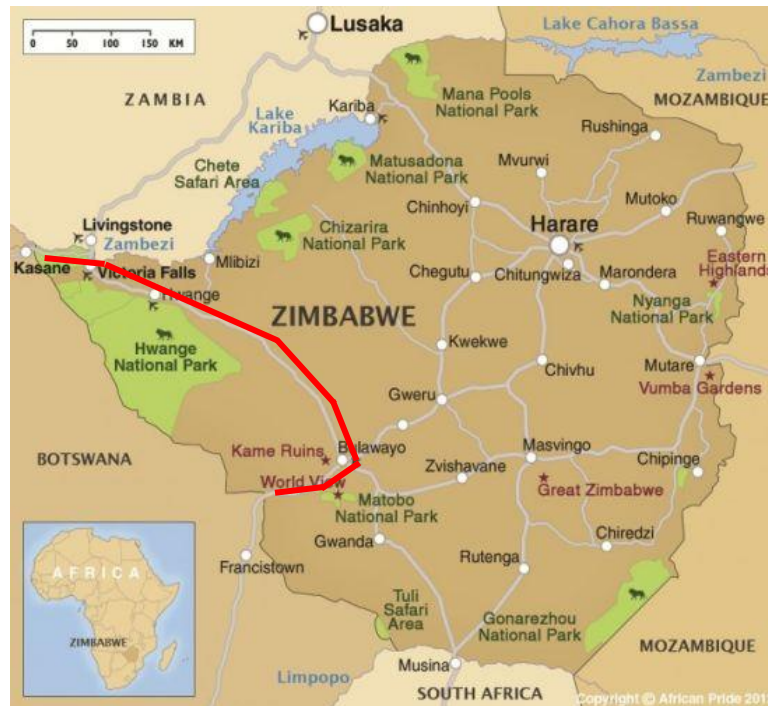
Figure 6.1: Ethiopia, East and Southern Africa Tours with one company

Source: Dragoman, (2019)

The focus of the six-day stretch under study for most tourists, and as marketed by the companies, is primarily on game viewing, however, this does not mean that they do not pass through local community areas and there were a number of local stakeholders who interacted with the tourists, and provided services to the tour.

A number of different overland truck companies undertake this tour, all stopping at the same main points. This means that trucks belonging to different companies that depart

around the same time, often meet at campsites along the route. However, companies do vary field centres visited and activities done.



Six-day stretch of journey

Figure 6.2: The journey undertaken: Between Victoria Falls and Matopos National Park.

Source: adapted by Newsome-Magadza (2019)

The six-day journey started with two days at Victoria Falls where tourists visited the falls themselves, and engaged in a variety of activities. These ranged from afternoon tea at the colonial Victoria Falls hotel, taking a sundowner cruise on the Zambezi River, and visiting the gift shops, to white water rafting, bungee jumping, zip wiring and helicopter rides. From the Victoria Falls, the truck crossed into Botswana for one night camping at a luxury safari lodge on the banks of the Chobe River, where a two-hour game viewing cruise was included. After crossing back into Zimbabwe the next day, the trip drove just over 200km to Hwange National Park, stopping at the Wild Dog Centre just before entering the National Park. At

the park, tourists had three game drives, one the afternoon they arrived, one-night drive, and another an early morning drive, before packing the truck and proceeding to Bulawayo. This meant a very packed schedule. After driving through Bulawayo and stopping at an upmarket shopping centre, the truck arrived at a campsite on the affluent Eastern edge of the city. Two nights were spent in Bulawayo to enable tourists to spend a full day in Matopos National Park, about 40km from the city. During this time, safari guides took tourists around the park. The landscape itself was an attraction; the history (San paintings, Rhodes grave) was also part of the focus of the trip. Walking in the bush to get up close to rhino was the activity most tourists were most excited about and this formed the highlight of this leg of tour.

Table 6.1: Itinerary of six-day trip through Zimbabwe

Day	Place	Activity
1	Victoria Falls	Truck briefing. Meeting at activity operator to select activities. Visit to Falls themselves. Activities.
2	Victoria Falls	Wandering. Activities.
3	Chobe	Drive Evening game viewing on river.
4	Journey	On truck with brief stop for conveniences
	Visit to Wild Dog Centre	Visit to exhibition centre. Viewing dogs if some are in centre and can be seen.
	Hwange National Park	Afternoon game drive. Night game drive.
5	Hwange National Park	Morning game drive.
	Journey	On truck.
	Bulawayo	Drive through city. Shopping for food supplies at upmarket complex.
6	Matopos	All day drive. Visiting historic attractions. Walking to visit rhino.
7	Leave for Botswana	Journey

Source: researcher and itinerary provided by Tour Company.

Activities arranged by company, payment included in trip.

Activities that depend on tourist selection and payment.

Source: Newsome- Magadza (compiled from trip notes, 2018).

6.6 Preparation and background

Before embarking on collection of narrative data in the field, there was a need to lay a strong foundation for the research and to prepare in several ways, both logistically and physically. There was also a need to allow for flexibility and to provide room for adjustments and addition as the research proceeded (Mason, 2002).

6.6.1 Clearance to undertake research from Zimbabwe

Arranging to undertake research in Zimbabwe while based in Britain meant certain delays, and necessitated obtaining clarity over the clearance needed to undertake the research. As the researcher had lived in Zimbabwe for many years and has a family home in Bulawayo, preparations were easier than they might have been. The normal procedure for obtaining research approval in Zimbabwe involves clearance from the Research Council of Zimbabwe, who are empowered by the Government (through the Zimbabwe Research Act, 2002) to oversee all public domain research taking place within the country (Research Council of Zimbabwe RCZ, 2018). This ensures that there is a record of research taking place in Zimbabwe, and that there are 'ethical, safe and valid research practices' (RCZ, 2018). Part of the process involves working with a local university or research institute. As the researcher has worked with the Zimbabwe Open University (ZOU) for many years and is a permanent Zimbabwe resident, it was relatively straightforward to fulfil these requirements. However, the Research Council were contacted to ensure compliance and transparency and the issue was discussed with the Zimbabwe Open University Human Resources Director, and with the Director of the local Regional Campus (Bulawayo). Both indicated that they would assist in proving researcher credentials if it became necessary. With this assurance and business cards and letters from both Manchester Metropolitan University and ZOU, the researcher felt confident to embark on the field research. No problems relating to authorisation were experienced while in the field.

6.5.2 Negotiate with tour operators.

Tourism is a client-based industry and companies were reluctant to subject clients to any exposure that might inhibit their experience. Obtaining consent to undertake this research

was a challenge. As the overland truck industry is dominated by privately owned companies, based in a number of locations around the world, making contact was difficult. Trying to convince tour operators to allow a researcher to be part of the tour through e-mail and phone communications was not productive. After spending time making contact through email and in some cases following up by phone calls across the world, it was realised that direct contact was needed, to fully explain and demystify the research that the researcher wished to undertake. Direct contact through appointments for face-to-face discussion allowed the researcher to fully explain the nature of the research and to emphasise the unobtrusive nature of the participatory phase. This effectively limited the possible operators to a small number with origins and main base within Britain. Time and financial concerns also limited both the number of journeys taken and the journey chosen.

The researcher initially underestimated the difficulties in getting co-operation from companies. The frequent reaction was 'our tourists wouldn't like it'. The timing of data collection contributed to this, as the European Data Protection Act had just come into force, and there was a general uncertainty and worry as to how it might impact on company-client relations. In fact, when in the field the researcher encountered tourists from one of the companies who had denied access, as she was observing a different tour offered by the safari operator. She was careful not to use these tourists as direct research subjects. However, tourists asked her about her presence, and some seemed quite disappointed not to be asked to participate.

Companies appear to operate on low profit margins and for this and other reasons the researcher avoided asking for free trips. This had the merit of keeping the researcher neutral, and of reinforcing the tourist nature of her participation. The company was also able to see that the researcher was serious about her research and not just using it as an excuse for a free trip. However, it also limited how many trips were taken. Because of cost, time, and permission issues, the researcher focused on one well-established company. This company was chosen because of their willingness to allow the research, their long history of conducting trips in the region, and that they operate a 'traditional' model of overland trucking.

A single tour limited to the stretch of journey under study was booked to take place at the beginning of the data-gathering phase. This was possible as the tour was not full for that trip. This is referred to as Trip A in the research and also served as a pilot study.

After this initial trip, it became obvious that it would not be possible to gather adequate data through interview if participation was confined to the first six-day section of the trip. Problems faced linked to the need to talk to tourists after they had completed the section (day 6) when there were only a few hours available between a day tour in Matobo and an early night ready for a very early start the next morning when the trip crossed into Botswana. Therefore, a further full 24-day trip (the whole trip), referred to in this study as trip B was taken two months later. This not only allowed time to talk to individual tourists about their impressions of elements of the first six days, but also meant that group dynamics, attitudes, and conflicts were captured more fully. By the latter parts of the trip, people were more relaxed, discussions within the group, focused on impressions of place, and country, grew more open, and in some cases more heated as underlying attitudes emerged.

6.6.3 Ethics considerations and approval

As most of this research centred around people, and as the researcher intended to participate alongside them, there were ethical concerns regarding privacy and consent. This was mitigated by the researcher being part of the group thus demystifying her presence. Everyone participating in the trip was assured that names would not be used and those being interviewed filled consent forms after reading an information sheet. Brokers also received information and signed their consent. The research proposal and logistics were extensively scrutinised by the Manchester Metropolitan University Ethics Committee. This assisted in making the researcher consider ethical issues and logistics more fully. It was a challenge as the Ethics instrument and scrutineers at times seemed to find it difficult to envisage the environment in which the research was to take place. For instance, lack of adequate internet access inhibited cloud storage, and power issues limited the ability to work on the computer, something far removed from undertaking research in Europe.

Ethical concerns and political developments in Zimbabwe (November 2017 forced resignation of President Mugabe; July 2018 elections) delayed the commencement of the field research.

6.6.4 Insurance

At the time of research (mid to late 2018) Zimbabwe was a sanctioned country (and still is at the point of writing), and this meant satisfying the university insurers that the research would not involve activities, or gather data, that would break sanctions conditions. This did not prove a problem as it was easy to prove that the research was undertaken for personal and academic purposes. Tourism was also not a controversial area of study in this respect.

Both the British Government and the Insurers rated Zimbabwe as high risk (red). Risk was seen as high in the areas of 'Corruption and Civil disturbance' as well as 'infrastructure'. This meant that a detailed risk assessment had to be submitted when applying for insurance. This was signed by the Head of Department and then submitted to the insurance office.

6.6.5 Risk

The African continent is often viewed as a risky whole when regarded from a distance. As a very vast and diverse continent, this can cause misleading perceptions, and these were faced in the early part of research preparation. Even within Zimbabwe, there is a great variation in physical and political conditions. The research took place in the relatively lowly populated North West of the country, far from the capital city of Harare, where any political tensions were most likely to surface.

Zimbabwe has comparatively good infrastructure (although this has deteriorated somewhat over the last twenty years of economic decline) and the main road, which formed the core of the journey, is tarred and has regular traffic. It seems probable that infrastructure was rated high risk by insurers as there is increased risk of claims for vehicle damage, due to the presence of potholes and some physical development is in poor repair. Few areas along the journey lacked basic phone connectivity, so it was possible to contact back up in the case of breakdown.

British government assessment at the time of research also placed Zimbabwe high risk in the areas of corruption and civil disturbance. Corruption may be high in certain sectors but was not expected to impact on this research. The use of a Zimbabwean institution as an identifier also mitigated against this. The research took place just after a national election (30 July, 2018), the first after the forced resignation of the former president R.G. Mugabe. The new political dispensation was far more open to free political campaign than formerly, but uncertainty in this regard probably explained the high-risk civil disturbance classification. The poor economic state of the country also laid it open to protests. To avoid being misinterpreted, or receiving inhibited responses from community stakeholders, most of the data gathering process was planned for after the election period.

Health risk could not be discounted, but was in the main, minimal. This is a malarial area, but research took place during the end of Zimbabwe's winter and the period just prior to the rains, when risk of malaria is low. Risks of snakebite and attack by other wildlife, were possible but highly unlikely. Risk of general accident was not particularly great. The researcher was a member of a local medical aid scheme, and covered for Medical Air Rescue should it have proved necessary. She also had further travel insurance from the UK. There was a cholera outbreak in a few areas of the country, just before the longer trip. The area under study was not affected, but the researcher underwent Cholera inoculations as a precautionary measure.

Completing the risk assessment and ethics forms exposed differences in perceptions between the researcher and establishments within the United Kingdom (MMU and Chubb Insurers), based upon British Government risk assessments and other sources. Having lived in Zimbabwe through times of economic and political difficulty, and having travelled to places along the route on a number of prior occasions, the researcher did not perceive many elements of risk. Constructs of people in the UK, and even of governments, are rather different to risks perceived by those who live in a country. Those who have not been in a country base their constructs of risk on media reports and documentaries, the first highlighting the bad (the news reports usually focus on the negative), the second on the wild element (dangerous animals, snakes, and landscapes). Possibly the researcher mentally underplayed risk and the British establishments overplayed the risk. The unknown normally

appears more frightening than the known. In order to satisfy risk assessment requirements, it was necessary for the researcher to address constructs of place and country that are commonly held by those outside Zimbabwe, and imagine the negative events and occurrences that they might expect to conceivably occur. This was an interesting exercise in itself, as it forced the researcher to consider what others might perceive as risk, and in doing so imagine possible alternate constructs to her own.

6.6.6 Prepare information and consent forms

Information forms to explain the nature and purpose of the research to participants were designed and translated in Zimbabwe where needed. After participating on the initial tour (A) it became apparent that these would be needed in Isindebele and Nambya. Consent forms were designed, to ensure that participants (tourist, brokers and locals) consented to participate in focus discussion and/or interview and to have information gathered in these ways used within the research. These were translated initially into Isindebele and later also into Nambya.

6.6.7 Preparing hardware

An audio recording device was sourced to enable easy record of discussions. Audio recording was considered desirable as this freed the researcher to listen, respond and prompt, where note taking would have deflected her focus. A Sony ICD-UX560 Digital stereo micro voice recorder was used. This had ample storage for the recordings made on the journey, was light and compact and ideal for the purpose. Notebooks to enable written record in diary form during participation as a tourist, and to record interviews in written form where more appropriate, or preferred by respondents, were made ready. Pre encrypted recording devices were found to be very expensive, so instead a university computer with encryption software and an encrypted memory stick were sourced on which to store recorded discussion and interviews. During the journey itself the researcher did not carry a computer as it would have been impractical and have formed more of a security concern than an asset. However, interviews were downloaded from audio recorder to computer at the research base in Bulawayo (the researcher's family home). Although the stretch of journey in Zimbabwe was not truly remote, there were times when internet was

unavailable or patchy and the prospect of load-shedding or electrical fault was ever present, this was mitigated by carrying a power bank device and vehicle charger.

6.6.8 Vehicle

During the participatory phases of the research, the researcher was on the truck and so transport was covered as part of the tourism experience. When returning along the route to visit local community stakeholders the researcher used her own car and had a further vehicle as back up. Fuel posed a problem, as there were fuel shortages throughout the periods of data gathering. However, at that point there were some fuel providers who were licenced to sell fuel in foreign hard currencies (U.S. Dollars or South African Rand) and these had more reliable stocks. Jerry cans were carried when away from Bulawayo, to cater for all eventualities.

Fuel concerns did inhibit travel, and the researcher had to rationalise and condense journeys into shorter durations and distances. This had some effect on the quantity of data collected and partially influenced the choice of interviewees. The researcher abandoned the idea of interviewing a wide variety of local people and confined herself to a few who were identified as cultural experts, located in areas readily accessible in town or adjacent to the main road.

6.6.9 Initial participation

The nature of the research meant that the first journey (Trip A) when the researcher was a tourist on the truck, also became part of the preparation for the later stages. This was because during this stage it was possible to identify possible local community stakeholders to later approach for possible participation through interview. Some possible areas of narrative and ethical construct also presented themselves.

6.6.10 Contacting tourists, brokers, and community stakeholders

Tourists were told of the research at the end of the six-day stretch of the trip, and were asked if they were willing to participate in interview or discussion for approximately an hour. This took place at the campsite in the evening after the final (sixth day) day's activities. The voluntary nature of participation was stressed throughout. The researcher did not

deliberately hide her dual role on the trip until this time; however, she did not volunteer it or discuss it in any detail. In prior discussion with the company, they felt that this was the appropriate time for explaining her research role to the tourists. The timing of the explanation about the research to fellow tourists worked well, as the researcher was already an established member of the tourist group. The tour leader was made aware of the researcher by the company prior to the trip, and was asked to lend assistance where possible. The decision of when to disclose the dual purpose (Tourist and researcher) of the researcher's presence was tricky. Some tourists, particularly on Trip A, felt that they might have given more useful responses if they had been told of the research at the commencement of the trip. However, this was just what the researcher did not want, as if this had happened, responses would have been contrived and over conscious. It might also have put a constraint on the early bonding of the group. No one in either group objected to the researcher's presence, nor was there any hostility exhibited towards her wish to conduct interviews. Some tourists were more open to participation than others, and the researcher only directly involved those who expressed willingness, and in some cases eagerness, to participate. Slocum and Backman mention that in their research, fellow members of the tour group soon become used to the researchers dual role and were not self-conscious in their presence. This was also the experience of this researcher. In contrast, Curtin (2008) in her research with a wildlife tour to Andalucía took an overt approach from the start, informing the tourists of the research prior to the trip which resulted in her encountering hostility and resistance from some of the group she had joined and wished to interview. Tourists did not see her as part of the group.

Most community stakeholders were identified during the journey stage of Trip A, and contact requesting participation was made after this. A few community stakeholders who had little direct contact with tourists were identified through contacts and gatekeepers known by the researcher. In many cases, this meant physically visiting the area by vehicle and either arranging a future interview or conducting one on the spot. Interviews with key stakeholders such as parks officers took place in their offices, in other cases such as with curio sellers or community members, discussion took place at a convenient spot close by. Contacting some interviewees weeks prior to interview, as might have been done in a

European context, was often impractical here because of difficulties in reaching them. This was particularly true for members of the Nambya community, where contact was through visiting their homestead. All those requested for interview agreed and were highly cooperative and interested in the research. In this sense the researcher was lucky in her research subjects. Cooperation from the locals who were interviewed was probably forthcoming because they were either used to being interviewed and part of research (Pathisa Nyathi, who undertakes research himself) or were introduced by trusted gatekeepers (Nambya interviewees). The curio sellers in Matopos national park are used to dealing with tourists, but often sit waiting for customers for quite long periods. They were happy to talk with the aid of the young interpreter who accompanied the researcher, cold drinks and biscuits were brought along and helped the group relax as they entered into discussion.

6.6.11 Designing instruments

Interview and focus guides were pre-designed in advance of the research, and questions designed to provide information to satisfy the research questions previously mentioned. The repertory grid template was taken from Jankowicz, (2004). Elements were arrived at in collaboration with the tour leader on Trip A. Interview questions for tourists were deliberately very open ended to allow for a flow of discussion around and beyond the construct grid.

6.6.12 Challenges faced and how they were overcome

Challenges faced during the preparation stage did present opportunities. Some of these are shown in table 6.2 below,

Table 6.2: Challenges faced prior to entering the field

Challenge	Situation	Response	Opportunities/Solutions
Statistics unavailable	There is no official record of volume of overland truck tour traffic through borders.	It was possible to identify most companies who passed through Bulawayo from information given by safari company, however frequencies varied and a precise calculation of volume was still not possible.	A clearer picture of role and volume began to emerge.
Obtaining company co-operation	Companies uncertain how the presence of the researcher would impact on client relations and data protection.	Visited company personally to explain nature of research	This served to develop a more personal relationship with the company
Logistical	Journeys are long and cross country boundaries.	A relatively short section of a longer journey was selected for main focus of the research.	Further research can be undertaken in future on other stretches of journey, to test more general applicability of findings.
	Multiple stakeholder individuals and groups needed to be identified.	Initial participation on trip A helped to identify who is most suitable for inclusion,	A variety of previously undocumented stakeholders were identified. It became apparent how little direct contact tourists had with people outside the truck.
	In-country clearance may be needed for research.	Contacted Research Council of Zimbabwe. Used contacts from ZOU. Transparency.	Obtained clearance. Process assisted in networking.
	Fuel shortages	Bought at U.S.dollar suppliers, carried jerry cans.	
Social/cultural	A variety of different languages and cultures amongst stakeholders.	Used interpreters from local community when necessary	Further networking. Used Z.O.U. connections.
Political	There has been a level of political instability in Zimbabwe that has led to distrust of the agenda of researchers	Transparency: involved stakeholders at all levels. Stressed local affiliation and applicability of research.	Led to greater awareness of transparency issues, greater thought and all-sector involvement.
	Elections scheduled for late July	Adjusted research dates so data was collected after the elections.	Determined dates of research data collection.
	Risk assessment by university insurers.	Had to apply and work to convince of non-controversial nature of the research.	Helped refine and define research and assisted in identification of others constructs.

6.7 Methods used to gather data

The constructivist approach underpinning this research lent itself to certain methods of obtaining information. Some of these have been discussed in the previous chapter. Perhaps the most obvious of these was that of participatory observation on the truck, which helped the researcher obtain a feel of the tourist experience and gain an insight into this rather unique form of tourism. Information from the group and individual tourists was obtained through discussion (group), and in-depth interview (individuals). In line with the social construction approach to the research, repertory grids were used as a way to focus discussion, and as an aid to the extraction of group and individual constructs from the tourists. When returning along the route to talk to stakeholders, individual, or a group discussion was used to discuss constructs of their physical and socio-cultural environment and in some cases the tourists within it.

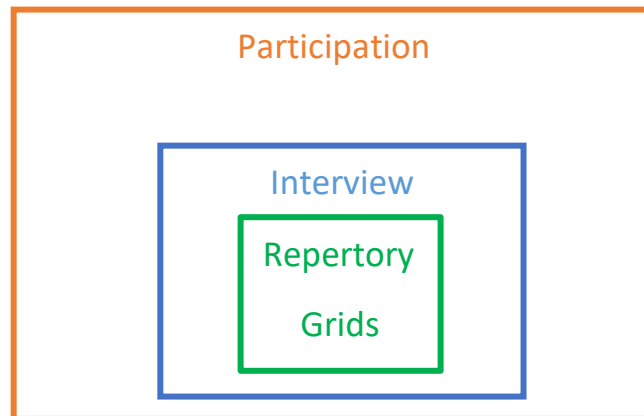


Figure 6.3: Collection of data from tourists (S. Newsome-Magadza)

Figure 6.3 illustrates the three sources of data collected concerning tourists constructs. Each is embedded in the other with the researcher's participation in the truck tour being both the setting and the overall source of information. While participating as a member of the tourist group the researcher conducted interviews and within those interviews, repertory grids were used to extract core constructs.

6.7.1 Participant observation

The most obvious method of collecting data from tourists was to conduct participatory observation of overland truck tourism, by becoming a tourist. This allowed for the researcher to immerse herself in the whole tourist experience and discover reactions to the tourism and place experience through not only words but all senses experience and not only as individuals but also as a group. In order to fully understand this very distinct form of tourism participation was inevitable.

Participant observation is traditionally used for prolonged in-depth anthropological study. This does not lend itself so well to tourism research where there is normally a relatively short and fixed beginning and end to the group experience. However, it is possible to join a tourist group for the duration of their holiday and the growing use of a multi-sited ethnography fits well with a variety of tourist research. Participant observation is based upon the idea that,

it is only possible to understand the reality of a situation by looking at the ways the participants construct and give meaning to that reality for themselves
(Brotherton, 2008)

In order to do this in the tourism context, it becomes necessary to become a tourist and participate as part of the group. Participant observation '*may appear oxymoronic*' (Davies, 1999; O'Reilly, 2009) as participating and observing are difficult to do simultaneously. Davies references four roles within the participant-observation scale, citing Gold (1958, in Davies, 1999; David and Sutton, 2004)) who refers to '*complete observer; observer-as-participant; participant-as-observer; complete participant*'. Deciding where to fit on an observation-participation continuum is rather an abstract exercise, as realistically it may be necessary to be assuming different roles at different stages of the research (Mason, 2002; O'Reilly, 2009). During the overland truck focus stage in the field, the researcher was primarily a complete participant, however, there were points during the journey when the researcher stepped back and became more of the participant-observer for a short time, such as at the Rhodes grave site in Matopos. There were also points at which, while participating in a sub-group within the tourist whole, it was also possible to observe other

sub-groups. Thus, the researcher could be reflexive about her position (as suggested by Coffey, 1999, cited in Mason, 2002).

Mid-way through the research preparation, it became apparent that a primarily observer form of participatory research was likely to put off both operators, who were protective of the client experience, and tourists, who might become inhibited. While Slocum and Backman (2011) found that tourists tended to forget the researcher element of their presence, Curtin (2008) in a research scenario focused on wildlife tours, found that her presence created tension. It was clear from the responses of the first operators who were approached, that they viewed the idea of observer-dominated presence negatively. It was therefore decided to adjust the planned research to make the first phase of the research an almost completely participant role, with observations being focused on the journey and general truck experience, rather than on the individual tourists themselves. The nature of overland truck tourism precludes a role other than highly participatory, as joining the truck necessitates participation in core activities that allow the truck community to operate (cooking, erecting tents, and many other chores). This meant that at this stage the researcher was primarily a tourist, and any observation made was done in that capacity (as discussed by Curtin, 2008). The researcher was central in this process, as she selected what was relevant and how to express it. This phase was, therefore, focused by the constructs of the researcher and what she deemed most interesting and relevant, and how she constructed it in terms of language and other narrative device when keeping a record of the tour experience (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2018)

This research used participatory observation for a variety of purposes:

- To obtain a general overview of the overland truck tourism experience

As a tourist member of the group it was possible to:

- Identify points where tourists (including the researcher) left the truck and engaged with the physical and /or socio-cultural environment outside
- To see with whom the tourists interacted and how.
- Observe and note constructs used by the tourists to interpret what they saw.

- Gain an insight into views and narratives expressed by the tourists in general terms.
- Experience the group dynamics within the truck and observe how they influenced group and individual experiences.

Through participation in the experience of being a tourist on the overland truck the researcher was also able to observe the interactions and influences of the crew on the tourists (tour leader, driver and cook).

6.7.1.1 Advantages of this research

Through participatory methods, the researcher was able to gain insight into the truck tourism experience which provided insight that helped in the interpretation of tourist responses and notes that were placed alongside data from group and individual interviews. It was then possible to identify areas of divergence and to deduce potential areas of conflict.

Participation in the overland truck experience laid a foundation for collection of data through other methods, at the same time providing rich observational data that was highly relevant for this form of research. It allowed for the identification of significant places and key stakeholders encountered on the journey. While each tour and journey had common elements with others arranged on the same route by a company, there were also real differences linked to the multiple variations that related to anything from climate to group dynamic. As such, no two journeys will be alike and to experience the journey alongside the tourist subjects allowed for a real insight. This led to identification of real group experience that was often peculiar to one individual tour. Being part of the group led to tourists being open in discussion in subsequent interviews, as, not only had the researcher been present during the encounter with a place, but also, she was a familiar face. At times because of her role as part of the group, the researcher was effectively observing herself.

From a practical point of view face to face interview of tourists on the overland truck would have been difficult to arrange without participation, as the truck did not stay long enough at any one place for this to be done. Arranging interviews at the terminal point of the whole trip would have been difficult as tourists dispersed after one night in Cape Town and were all excited to have arrived and wished to go off and participate in the many activities the

city had to offer. It might have been a little easier with tourists going in the other direction when they arrived at Victoria Falls, but again tourists would be excited to engage in activities or would have been flying out. There would have been a very different dynamic if the researcher conducted interviews without having participated on the truck. The researcher would have been the outsider and not be a party to undertones that linked to the group dynamic, and would also have been less able to probe for further details of tourists constructs of what they had seen as she would not have known the details which varied from trip to trip.

According to Davis (1999:71) '*ethnographers virtually always develop key informants*', this was true in this research where tourist B1 (and to a lesser extent B11) contributed a disproportional input to the study and helped provide an insight into aspects of constructs and values in the truck setting. The contribution of tourist B1 to this research was invaluable providing another perspective on place constructs and people relations, and at times informing the researcher of incidents that had taken place in her absence. This contribution extended beyond the time spent on the trip as this tourist was genuinely interested in the research and kept in touch with the researcher, sometimes phoning and reminiscing over occurrences on the trip and the socio-political dynamics of the group and tourism situation in Zimbabwe. Tourist B11 contacted the tourist after the trip to send some articles that he felt were interesting insights into tourism in Africa.

6.7.1.2 Challenges

Reliance on participatory observation as a central method of data collection raised a number of issues and concerns:

Deciding on a point to disclose the researcher's dual role was problematic. As has been mentioned previously, the researcher disclosed her research role at the end of the six days of the trip. This was the point at which the tour company was happy for the researcher to explain the nature and purpose of her research and to ask for tourists who would be happy to be interviewed for the study. Disclosure of the researcher's role at the first meeting of the trip before the journey commenced might have caused resentment from tourists against the company or the researcher. Through disclosing her research role later, problems

that might have resulted were avoided. On both trips the tour leader made an announcement over dinner, explaining what the researcher was doing and that the company was aware of it. The researcher then went on to describe the research she was undertaking and to ask for volunteers who might be willing to be interviewed. There was time for tourists to ask questions. The researcher stressed that she was primarily a tourist, and explained what had led her to undertake the research. On both trips this covert followed by overt approach (O'Reilly, 2009) drew a positive response from the tourists, and no resentment was experienced regarding her presence. In this regard the experience of the researcher was similar to that experienced by Slocum and Backman (2011) and Newman (nd) where tourists quickly ceased to be conscious of observation, the participatory element being to the fore.

Problems of obtaining consent for participation from the company have been discussed earlier. This was one of the main challenges in undertaking the research and threatened it before it had begun.

Participative data is highly subjective (Gobo, 2011) and there was inevitably observer bias linked to the researcher's own perceptions. The researcher tried to remain aware of this and acknowledge it where possible. The prior exposure to the section of journey under study was both an advantage and a disadvantage here, as it meant that the researcher had preconceptions and knew some of the brokers prior to the study. It was necessary to see the experience and place through assuming new eyes in the role of tourist.

There were also potential challenges in that personality clashes between tourist participants and the researcher might have emerged after prolonged contact. No serious clashes did emerge during the two phases of participatory data collection. However, there were definitely and naturally people who the researcher identified with more greatly, and those who she identified with less. A few of those identified with became key informants (tourist B1 for instance) within the group and filled in gaps in the researchers observations with reflexions of their own (Davies, 1999). On occasions if the researcher was not present when some internal conflict or incident took place, she heard about it from other tourists. Differing views and political leanings between individuals within the group resulted in the

researcher gravitating more to those of similar world-views. Keeping a distance between research subjects and researcher was impossible as the division between them became in many ways non-existent. The impact of the researcher herself on her findings was an important element to be considered, and was acknowledged by tourist subjects. In some cases the tourists voiced comments on the impact of the researcher, *'I think I learnt most about Zimbabwe from you'*, Tourist A1, September 2018.

6.7.1.3 Recording observations

The researcher recorded daily observations of life on the truck and of events of the day and reactions to them in a diary. Slocum and Backman (2011) note that they did this twice a day. This researcher made entries once a day, either on the truck or in the evening after supper. On occasions further observations were recorded when something significant happened or on a theme.

6.7.2 In-depth interview

This is a common method used in qualitative research. Research subjects are asked pre-prepared questions and record answers. In qualitative research this can often take the form of a discussion between researcher and research subject and the interviewer may contribute their own thoughts and feelings to the interview which may then be more of a discussion than a formalised procedure. Therefore, this form of interview is an interactive process (Mannik and McGarry, 2017; O'Reilly, 2009). It provides the chance for researchers to obtain information from research subjects often through open discussion, providing narrative data that can be analysed for underlying constructs, themes and inference. By conducting an interview face-to-face with a research subject, it is also possible to pay attention to facial expression and body language which might allow the researcher to deduce feelings beyond the words (Mannik and McGarry, 2017).

The in-depth interview is a useful technique as it allows the researcher some flexibility and the chance to direct the interview as it progresses. Interesting points raised can be probed further. The wealth of rich data can be arduous to transcribe and code, however, it does allow the researcher to extract what is of interest to the research focus. In-depth interviews

are generally conducted with a small number of subjects (Veal, 2011), in this case, eleven out of twenty tourists.

For this research the following areas of questioning were covered when collecting information from tourists:

Background

Why did you choose to take this trip? [Motivation]

Through Southern Africa?

Using overland truck tourism?

With this company?

Prior perceptions? [Pre-constructs/values]

Of Zimbabwe?

Of what might be seen?

Of the trip?

Sources of prior constructs?

Core

Values attached to places visited? [Constructs]

Use of repertory grid

Responsibility

Responsibility in tourism?

Definition of responsible tourism?

Responsibility on truck?

Responsibility of company and policies?

Values of responsibility?

Changes in values and constructs after visit

Have your perceptions changed?

In what way?

What caused changes?

What (if anything) do you wish had been different or would you have changed about the trip?

There were slight variations from interview to interview, with the researcher using deliberately open questions and allowing for wide discussion. The repertory grid technique was used within the interview and provided focus to a central part of the whole.

Most authors mention that ideal conditions for interview are a quiet, undisturbed place where the interviewer and interviewee can discuss freely, *'it works best if there is time and space, somewhere relaxed and comfortable, for a frank exchange'* (O'Reilly, 2009:129). This was not possible in this research, as the only free times tended to be in the evenings after supper, when people were tired, and which was their only chance to unwind, possibly have a drink, or read, or socialise, or in the case of some members in some locations, to climb things. To conduct interviews at this time would have been resented, as this was the most valued part of the day, and if the researcher had attempted to interview at this time interviewees would have tried to rush through in order to be able to re-join others, or engage in other activities. On trip B, the researcher asked when and where those who agreed to be interviewed felt interviews should take place; this conforms to O'Reilly's suggestion that participants should be asked to choose a time and place (2007:129). The overwhelming consensus was that interviews should take place in the truck on the long journeys between places. Although this was not the ideal place, being noisy, and relatively public, this was where interviews were conducted. This made later transcription a hard task, as audio recordings often contain a high level of background noise, with the truck engine, the vibration of travel over striated dirt roads, people talking, and on occasions singing happy birthday along to Stevie Wonder (when tourists had birthdays). If journeys started very early in the day (sometimes as early as 0430) tourists slept during the first few hours on the truck and interviews could not take place, at other times there were stops for

provisions, or other disruptions. This meant that conditions in which interviews took place were challenging, however, they were accomplished.

Interviews with brokers took place in offices of the interviewees. The safari operator agreed to an interview in his home office, the parks ranger was at the rest camp office, and the wild dog centre manager was also in his office. These were relatively quiet, undisturbed venues and ideal for interviews.

The curio sellers were interviewed at the market place where they sell curios. This group interview was in some ways typical of the interviews conducted with locals. The researcher and translator visited the curio market, with the view to making an appointment to conduct a group interview at a later date, but ended up conducting a discussion immediately. This was typical of the situation when interviewing locals, who in each case expressed willingness to do the interview immediately. Initially the curio sellers expressed a willingness with the proviso that it would have to be quick, in case any people came to buy. In fact, it was a quiet weekday with no visitors, and the interview took around an hour with no interruptions from people wanting to buy curios. The group relaxed, and cold soft drinks and biscuits brought by the researcher, assisted in making the occasion more enjoyable. It was a hot day, and there is no facility to obtain cool water or drinks at the site, so this was a treat especially for some of the old women in the group who expressed delight. The provision of refreshments in such an occasion is culturally correct, ideally tea and bread, but in this event the drinks and biscuits allowed the researcher to show her appreciation for their time and input. After the interview one of the elderly women gave the researcher and translator small baskets as gifts, to show her appreciation in return. A real rapport was developed with this group and when the researcher returned as a visitor on a personal trip to the park and stopped to buy a few curios, she was immediately recognised by members of the group who had been present and asked how the research was progressing.

Local cultural experts were interviewed in a variety of settings. Pathisa Nyathi met with the researcher in the café at the national gallery in Bulawayo and spent more than two hours in discussion with the researcher, breaking for lunch in the middle. One Nambya expert was interviewed in the government office where he worked, and another in their communal

work office. The Nambya elder was interviewed in a section of his chicken run (not currently inhabited by chickens) perched on boxes and with a series of interruptions from neighbours appearing for various reasons. The variety of interview settings illustrate the reality of conducting field research in Zimbabwe, and despite the lack of ideal textbook conditions in some cases, interview data was successfully collected.

6.7.3 Repertory grids

Repertory grids are a technique designed by Kelly (1963) to provide a practical way to extract constructs held by research subjects on a particular subject. Initially used in psychology and clinical fields, it has been adapted for use in other fields. In tourism the application of repertory grids has been mostly within place marketing, where the grid is used to extract tourists' feelings and associations, relevant to place attraction (Pike, 2003; Pike, 2007; Pike and Kotsi, 2016). This overlapped with the present research, but the end purpose was different, and application within the overland truck context had never been attempted.

The repertory grid is a frame where elements are placed on the horizontal axis and constructs on the vertical. Grids have four components, a topic, elements, constructs and ratings (Jankowicz, 2004).

The researcher attended a repertory grid workshop led by Dr. Richard Bell, and hosted by the Personal Construct Psychology Association in London on 17 November 2017. This gave an insight into the use of the technique and exposed her to some of its applications. Most attendees were from the clinical psychology field and no one from social science research and tourism was present.

For this research the grid was used with pre-determined elements supplied to all tourists. These elements were main places along the journey under study. The division of the route into elements was created with the assistance of the tour leader for trip A, who was the first person to be interviewed for the research. As Matopos was the greatest attraction of the six days of trip under study, it was divided further into three elements of 'history', 'rhino' and 'general'. The research needed to know the constructs that tourists put on these place

elements and therefore these were extracted from the tourists, with each tourist arriving at a different construct set.

The researcher decided to use repertory grids as part of the interview procedure as they were able to assist in focusing tourists in their comparison of places visited and the ways in which they compared and valued them. They are relational in that the constructs of place were related to each place element and ranked comparatively. The constructs derived from the grids could be compared between tourists and common or similar constructs extracted.

The use of the grid with tourists exposed variations in how tourists reacted to the technique, with some tourists producing constructs and scores, but failing to expand on them or engage in much discussion around them. Other tourists engaged in lengthy discussion and fewer constructs, wishing to expand on each construct elicited, and to discuss issues related to it at length. This meant depth and interest varied significantly from tourist to tourist. The use of the grid technique with a group of tourists (Group A) worked well, with tourists discussing together to arrive at constructs and to rate elements (in this case places). The researcher would wish to use this technique again in further tourism research with groups.

In this research, repertory grids were not used as part of interviews with brokers or locals. Initial attempts to do so were found to inhibit discussion and respondents were confused and unreceptive to the technique. It was, therefore, decided to abandon attempts to use this with these groups and to confine data collection to in-depth interview alone. Only one piece of research was identified where locals' attitudes towards tourist development were evaluated through repertory grid. This research focused on tourism development stages within the context of Israel (Mansfield and Ginosar, 1994). The technique appeared contrived in the interview situations experienced within the local African setting. However, with more time and in cases where multiple interviews might have been possible, repertory grids could have been used.

The repertory grid technique was successfully used in interviews with tour leaders. Differences in how individuals related to the grid was apparent here, as the trip A leader appeared to really relate to the technique and enjoyed coming up with constructs, while the tour leader for trip B laboured over constructs and did not appear to enjoy the

experience. The truck driver from Kenya and cook from Zimbabwe, did not relate to the technique at all, and it was quickly abandoned when the researcher realised that it was holding back free discussion.

6.7.4 Focus group discussion

Focus group discussions are a method to capture group narrative, not just as a collection of individual narratives, but as a narrative in itself. They allow for a discussion that might assist in revealing variations of interpretation amongst the group. The advantage of group discussion is that it allows members of the group to bounce ideas off each other and ensuing discussion can extract ideas that might not emerge during individual interview.

When planning the research, the initial idea was to interview locals in groups in order to obtain common and disparate community constructs of place. However, problems in the logistics of arranging groups for discussion meant that the researcher failed to use this method. As previously mentioned, the fuel situation at the time of research inhibited travel and communication with people in the areas targeted for research was difficult by phone. In addition, arranging gatherings in rural Zimbabwe, as an outside researcher, can easily be misinterpreted and involves gaining not only formal clearance with national research council but also informing local regional or local political structures. This, even with the assistance of gatekeepers, would have taken too long. Therefore, the researcher reluctantly opted to abandon the idea of group discussion and use interviews with identified key local cultural informants instead.

Group discussion was used with tourists from trip A. This was done when it became apparent that there was no time to interview individual tourists on day six of the trip. Half the group (four tourists) participated in a group discussion which included the use of a repertory grid. This worked well, with tourists coming up with constructs together and each expanding upon them.

6.8 Logistics of collection of data

6.8.1 Stages of research and data collection

Data was collected in two main phases. Initial collection of data from tourists involved the participation and general documentation of the journey, followed by Focus discussion with willing tourists after the section of the journey was completed. The second stage of data collection involved identified local community stakeholders in either open interview or focus discussion. Where appropriate, a research assistant translator was employed to aid in the explaining and capturing of data from less-formally educated groups.

The phases of data collection, and what they involve, are presented in the table below.

Table 6.3: Planning the field collection

DATE	STAGE	PLACE	ACTIVITY/METHOD	GROUPS	INFORMATION TO BE COLLECTED	RECORDING	TIME NEEDED	EQUIPMENT AND OTHER RESOURCES
August 2018	First Phase Stage 1 I Trip A	Journey by truck V. Falls to Matopos	Participatory observation	Tourists and tour guides	Narratives and interactions of tourists within the truck and between tourists and people and biophysical world they encounter outside the truck. Observed in a general rather than a personal form Identification of points of intersection/encounter between tourists and people and place.	researcher diary Photographic data (not of identifiable people) Note taking Photographic data	One six day section of longer trip	Note books Camera Note book Camera

	II	Camp site in Bulawayo	Focus discussion With repertory grid	Willing tourists (as group)	Impressions of human and biophysical landscape that have been encountered. Sources of impressions.	Audio recording. Grid and notes.	1-2 hours	Digital voice recorder. Rep grid template
		Camp site or on journey	In-depth interview With repertory grid	tour leader	Prevalent narratives. Narratives imparted to tourists.	Audio recording/ Hand taken notes	1 hour	Digital voice recorder. Rep grid template
August/September 2018	Stage 2	Various venues between V. Falls to Matopos	Focus group	Zimbabwe stakeholder group (curio sellers)	Discussions on nature and importance of aspects of environment and culture. Views on tourists.	Audio recording Photographic data	1-2 hours	Digital voice recorder Camera Translator & co-moderator.?

			In-depth interviews Using repertory grids where they can assist	Identified key informants	Discussions on nature and importance of aspects of environment and culture. Views on tourist	Audio recording	1 hour	Basic food and drink Digital voice recorder
November 2018	Second Phase Stage 3 I Trip B	Journey by truck V. Falls to Cape Town	Participatory observation	Tourists and tour guides	Narratives and interactions of tourists within the truck and between tourists and people and biophysical world they encounter outside the truck. Observed in a general rather than a personal form.	researcher diary Photographic data (not of identifiable people) Note taking	Full participation in 24 day tour.	Note books Camera Note book Camera

					Identification of any further points of intersection/encounter between tourists and people and place.	Photographic data		
	II	When possible along journey or at places where two day stops Camp site or on journey	In-depth interview with use of repertory grids In-depth interview With repertory grid	Willing tourists Tour guide(s)	Impressions of human and biophysical landscape that has been encountered. Sources of impressions. Prevalent narratives. Narratives imparted to tourists.	Audio recording. Grid and notes Audio recording/ Hand taken notes	1-2 Hours	Note books Digital voice recorder Camera Note book Camera

December 2018 January 2019	Stage 4	Various venues between V. Falls to Matopos	In-depth interviews	Identified key informants	Discussions on nature and importance of aspects of environment and culture. Views on tourist	Audio recording	1 hour	Translator & co-moderator.? Basic food and drink Digital voice recorder
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6.8.2 Selection of research subjects/participants

While some participants in this research were easy to identify prior to the gathering of narrative data, others only emerged during the early stages of data collection. It was at this early stage, when the researcher participated in the truck journey (Trip A), that points of contact could be fully identified, and individual and group local stakeholders selected for study.

Although fleeting nature of contact between the tourist and the natural and socio-cultural environments they pass through was one of the impressions that drove the researcher to focus on this form of tourism, the researcher expected to observe a greater degree of contact than was actually the case. Direct contact was confined to a very few stakeholders who directly provided services. However, it was felt that this in itself meant that it was important to talk to members of the communities in the areas where tourism was taking place, to discover how they viewed their own environments and what impressions they had of the trucks and the tourists on them.

This meant that after initial participation three tiers of involvement were identified.

Tier 1: Tourist Participants

Tier 2: Main stakeholders such as safari guides, Parks officials, curio sellers. These are referred to as 'brokers'. Tour leaders and staff belonging to the overland truck company also fall within this tier, but occupy a distinct space within it as they mover with the tour unlike other stakeholders.

Tier 3: Villagers and community members who have little direct contact with tourists, but who have very strong traditional constructs of local environment, may receive positive or negative consequences of tourism indirectly. These are referred to in the research as 'locals'.

Table 6.4: Broad categories of stakeholders from whom data was collected

Stakeholder	Tourism involvement	Comments
Tourists	Tourism core	Starting point for research
Direct stakeholders: Brokers	Work wholly or partly in tourism or linked to it	Those with which the tourists have direct contact and interaction
Community stakeholders: Locals	People who live and/or work in areas the tourist passes through.	Have little to no direct contact with tourists but may presently or in the future be impacted by tourism

6.8.3 How subjects were chosen (sampling)

Unlike quantitative research that aims at generalizable data, qualitative research of this nature is generally purposive and aims for depth of insight and understanding of the particular (Braun and Clarke, 2013). The focus of this research is, by its nature, on people as individuals, groups or collectivities (Mason, 2002). In this case research sought to gather rich, narrative based, data from a varied selection of stakeholders.

In the first phase of data collection, which involved journey along the route by truck (Trip A), volunteers were asked for to engage in a group interview on the evening of day six of the trip. On Trip B, participants were selected for individual interview based on willingness to participate. Interestingly, this taken in each case resulted in capturing constructs of just over half the members of the trip. Those interviewed also proved representative, with half having joined the trip at Victoria Falls and the other half having come from Zanzibar. Male to female ratios were representative, with only one male in group discussion on trip A (where the bulk of participants were female) and being half of those interviewed on trip B.

Purposive selection of non-tourist participants to be interviewed took place prior to, and during, the research process. Participants were selected on the basis of being brokers with direct contact with this form of tourism, or locals with cultural expertise and direct and prolonged contact with a local area along the route of the tour. Inclusion criteria were linked primarily to contact with tourists at points along the route, but also to length of time in place or post, in areas along the tour route. Neither diversity nor homogeneity

of perspective was aimed at, but rather something in between (Patton, 2002). The levels of homogeneity emerged from the research, rather than being sought. Willingness to participate was also a critical selection criteria. The majority of brokers and locals interviewed were male. This was because males formed the majority of brokers who were in key positions in contact with tourists. Local stakeholders were entirely male. This is a weakness in the research and can be explained by the dominance of men in representative roles in the communities. It might also have been because main gatekeepers used were men. A more prolonged contact with the communities would have been needed in order to gain access to women. Sadly, this was not possible during the time frame available for this stage of the research. It can be noted that even when engaged in group discussion with group of curio sellers, who were composed of almost equal numbers of men and women, the males in the group assumed the role of spokespersons.

Due to the range of stakeholders identified even within this short stretch of journey, it was impractical to include too many individuals with similar jobs or designations. A form of strategic sampling was used, where the aim was to produce 'a relevant range of contexts to allow for cross-contextual comparison' (Mason, 2002:124) of narratives constructed. Participants were therefore, chosen because they represented a particular group who either interacted with tourists along the route under study, or were local residents within the areas passed through who viewed the tourist experience from a distance.

6.8.4 Accessing local stakeholders

6.8.4.1 Gatekeepers

Gatekeepers were needed in order to access local communities. Some gatekeepers were identified prior to the commencement of the research, and contacted on arrival in Zimbabwe. Access to the Nambya was through a colleague at the Bulawayo regional campus of ZOU and a further colleague at the Hwange campus of the Zimbabwe Open University. Assistance was also given by the Matebeleland North Regional Director who is a former colleague of the researcher. These were used to assist in negotiating access and in obtaining introductions to key members of the local community, to inform them of the research (even if they were not participants).

6.8.4.2 Translators, interpreters, and research assistants

Translators and interpreters were identified on arrival in Zimbabwe from contacts of work colleagues at ZOU and in one case the niece of a colleague. A translator/assistant was only required where data was being collected from the grassroots community members. Translation of participant information sheets and consent forms into Isindebele for Matobo curio sellers took place after the researcher had ascertained that this was their preferred language of communication (this being an area where some villages speak Isindebele and some Kalanga). Translation was undertaken by a ZOU colleague, who is an Isindebele expert, and has done translation previously. Her niece, who had recently graduated from the University of Zimbabwe, accompanied the researcher to Matopos and acted as translator. Nambya translation was undertaken by the Hwange court translator, who was also a member of the Nambya Cultural Association. Access to this translator came via another university colleague who grew up in the Hwange area. A further colleague who is a member of the Nambya community, and works in the Matabeleland North ZOU Regional Campus, helped identify a further interviewee and acted as translator in the interview.

Using an interpreter has advantages beyond the words translated as the interpreter can sometimes act as a gatekeeper and may be in a position to interpret the meaning behind the words. In the case of the young interpreter used when interviewing the Matobo curio sellers, it was interesting to observe that while she had the language and basic cultural background to communicate with the interviewees, her young age, education and urban upbringing meant that some of what they described was new to her. Cultural practices specific to the immediate locale of Matopos were unfamiliar. Disadvantages of using an interpreter are implicit in the indirect reception of information, the danger that the interpreter may 'filter' out information (Scheyvens, 2014) and the loss of nuance that happens when having to use the words of another language.

This researcher only used formal research assistant where translation or immersion was needed in a local environment outside the truck. In their paper situated within field research in Tanzania and Mozambique Deane and Stevano (2016) observe that research assistants provide a mediating role but that there is also a complex power dynamic in their position between researcher and the research subject. This was not as strongly present in this research as assistants were only used on single days and were also used

in a situation where the researcher was also present. However, the presence of assistants should be acknowledged as an influencing factor in choice of respondents (Nambya situation) and interpretative dynamics (Matopos).

6.9 Data collection

Data was collected in two main periods between early August 2018 and mid-January 2019. Table 6.5 below summarises the data collection process.

Table 6.5: Data Collected from participants, mid-2018 to January 2019

Stage	Location	Activity	Participants	Data collected	Record
Pilot participation: August 2018	First six days of journey.	Participatory observation	researcher (whole group)	Observations and impressions	Diary and notes by researcher
	Hwange National Park	Participatory observation	researcher (and group) On tour with safari operator	Observations and impressions	Diary and notes by researcher
	Matopos National Park	Participatory observation	researcher (and group) On tour with safari operator	Observations and impressions	Diary and notes by researcher
	End of first six days. Bulawayo	Group focus discussion	Four tourists from group of 8 (that included researcher) (Dragoman)	Discussion minutes. Repertory grid.	Minutes. Repertory grid. Recorded on audio device.
	During first six days of trip (on truck)	Discussion	tour leader (Dragoman)	Discussion notes. Repertory grid	Manual written record

Stakeholder data. August/ Sept 2018					
	Matopos National Park	Group discussion	Six curio sellers (from villages adjacent to National park). Translator/facilitator	Minutes of discussion	Recorded on audio device
	Matopos National Park	Interview/discussion	Senior parks ranger	Minutes of discussion	Manual written record
	Hwange Wild Dog Centre	Interview/discussion	Manager at Centre	Discussion notes. Repertory grid	Recorded on audio device
Main participation: November 2018	Full 24 day journey	Participatory observation	researcher (whole group)	Observations and impressions	Diary and notes by researcher
	Hwange National Park	Participatory observation	researcher (and group) On tour with safari operator	Observations and impressions	Diary and notes by researcher
	Matopos National Park	Participatory observation	researcher (and group) On tour with safari operator	Observations and impressions	Diary and notes by researcher

	Over days following first six (days 7 to 23)	Individual discussion/ interviews	Individual tourists (11 individuals interviewed separately).	Discussion notes. Repertory grid	Repertory grid. Recorded on audio device.
	Campsite Orange river	Individual discussion/ interviews	Assistant tour leader/driver Cook	Discussion notes. Discussion notes.	Recorded on audio device. Recorded on audio device.
	Truck day 23	Interview/discussion	tour leader	Discussion notes. Repertory grid	Recorded on audio device.
Stakeholder data. December/January 2018/2019	Operator office, Bulawayo	Interview/discussion	Safari operator (sub-contracted for game drives in Hwange and Matobo)	Discussion notes.	Recorded on audio device.

	Matopos national park and area surrounding	Participatory observation	researcher (other tour group) On tour with safari operator	Observations and impressions	Diary and notes by researcher
	Hwange (magistrates court)	Interview/discussion	Nambya representative (translator and ex-chair of cultural association)	Discussion notes.	Recorded on audio device.
	Hwange rural	Interview/discussion	Nambya representative (elder and ex-teacher)	Discussion notes.	Recorded on audio device.
	Hwange	Interview/discussion	Nambya (community member and ex-national parks employee)	Discussion notes.	Recorded on audio device.
	Bulawayo	Interview/discussion	Pathisa Nyathi Zimbabwean History and cultural expert and author. Founder of Amagugu cultural centre Matopos rural.	Discussion notes.	Recorded on audio device. (also books)

6.10 After data gathering

All interviews were transcribed by the researcher, with the exception of group discussion with the curio sellers, which had to be transcribed in Isindebele by the translator/research assistant and translated into English.

Transcription was a very time consuming process, made more difficult by the conditions in which recordings were made. Tourist interviews took place on the moving truck and this meant a high level of background noise as the truck moved over rough roads, and other tourists talked, and music was sometimes played. Background noise, and in other cases local accents, made the use of a transcription programme impractical. Interviews with locals tended to be either very long and involved, or fragmentary and disturbed. One elder kept changing languages and digressing. In this case it was necessary to extract the relevant from the totally irrelevant, this in itself needed some judgement by the researcher and was subjective.

Notes made by the researcher were stored in some instances expanded or clarified observations were attached to them to remind the researcher of further points she had noted during the course of the journey.

6.11 Data analysis

In grid interviews meaning is expressed both through words and numbers (Jankowicz, 2004). The researcher looked for relationships between the elements and constructs. For some people the use of the grid sparked a long discussion or debate. Here the grid was just a trigger and therefore complexity was not so much about the grid itself, as about the cognitive process and discussion that preceded and post-ceded the extraction of a construct. Analysis was done manually through basic and then secondary coding. Repertory grids can be analysed numerically or descriptively, in this research any numerical values used were to aid description and expose values of elements relative to each other. Descriptive statistics were used when examining grid patterns within the group, however,

analysis was primarily through verbal expressions of constructs reflected in grids and in how they related to the place elements. Constructs used were noted for each respondent and these were then compiled into a list for the whole group. From this list constructs were grouped under themes and the number of constructs falling under each theme gave an indication of its importance for the larger group. Strength of theme constructs for elements of place were then noted. This gave an indication of relative importance of places visited under the constructs and themes that had emerged. Discussion around the grids and during the extraction of constructs was analysed and coded to relate to the themes emerging from the grid and to extract deeper meanings that went beyond or underlay the grid constructs themselves.

After experimenting with NVIVO, the researcher found manual coding an easier way to interact with the data as it felt more personal. Significant quotes that exemplified constructs and feelings of the tourists were noted. Initial eyeballing of the data took place to extract patterns and themes. A more in-depth analysis of spoken discussion was undertaken to extract meanings. Initial descriptive coding noted was supplemented with value coding with the more in-depth interviews. It was found that trying to fit coding into one of the wealth of coding types (Saldana, 2016) proved restrictive as different interviewees and groups produced very different interview data. The researcher ended up using a more instinctive approach, where meaning was extracted from themes that emerged and recurrent references to aspects of place significance.

The researcher initially envisaged doing a word analysis from interviews. This however, was not found to be useful as the repertory grid interfered with the free form of interview with the tourists and in fact, exposed words itself.

6.12 Conclusion

This chapter explained the fieldwork stages of the research. It discussed the selection of journey and company within which to situate the research and the reasons for their selection. It went on to look at the necessary preparation needed to embark on this

research, in the context of Zimbabwe. Use of participatory methods on the truck and interview combined with repertory grid are explained. The novel nature of the research posed some obstacles, especially in the use of repertory grids, which resulted in their use being confined to tourist participants. Because there has been very little research into overland truck tourism the process described in this chapter was particularly challenging, as there was no prior research whose experiences could be learnt from, or drawn on.

Section D:

Tourist and stakeholders views of place

Chapter 7

Tourist Constructs of place and journey: data collected from tourist stakeholders

7.0 Introduction

Previous chapters have explained the nature of overland truck tourism and of how it is positioned within tourism in Zimbabwe. This form of tourism is not distinct within tourism statistics in Zimbabwe and nothing is documented about it. This research seeks to expose tourist and other stakeholder constructs and values with a view to adding knowledge and releasing value potential through this adventure tourism product.

This chapter focuses on the constructs and values held by tourists participating in the overland truck journey. To understand constructs of places visited it is necessary to identify the motivations of tourists, which have led them to choose to visit Southern Africa, and their reasons for using the overland truck form of tourism as a way of doing so. The identification of pre-perceptions and their sources enabled the researcher to establish a clear picture of where tourists are starting from, both in terms of their past experience, and conceptually.

Constructs are derived from place comparison, extracted through interview, and with the use of the repertory grid as a tool to focus discussion. Tourist narratives obtained in interview discussion are coded, and underlying attitudes extracted are presented. These add to the repertory grid derived values presented.

The chapter concludes with data on tourist's beliefs of how their perceptions have changed as a result of taking the trip.

The prime focus of this research is the journey through Zimbabwe in the first six days of the twenty-four-day journey from Victoria Falls to Cape Town. However, it was found that there were many instances when to get a true picture of tourist motivation, or social and political

dynamics within the truck, reference had to be made to the whole journey. For this reason, the data presented moves between the whole journey context, and constructs linked to places visited within the Zimbabwean leg.

7.1 The Tourists: participant profiles

Data on tourist constructs of place came from two main groups of tourists. Firstly, data gathered by the researcher for the first six days of the journey under study, through participation on one truck for that six days, leaving the group when they moved on to Botswana. Secondly, data obtained from tourists on a trip with the same itinerary as the first, but in this case the researcher participated in the entire twenty-four-day trip.

Trip A, August 2018

This was a small group of tourists, totalling eight including the researcher. Tourist profiles are summed up in Table 7.1 below,

Table 7.1: Profiles of Tourists on Trip A

Tourist A	Age	Sex	Employment	Origin	Started Victoria Falls/Started previous leg
1	30-39	F	Employed	E.U.	Nairobi
2	under20	F	Student	E.U.	Victoria Falls
3	30-39	F	Employed	U.K.	Zanzibar
4	30-39	M	Employed	U.K.	Victoria Falls
5	under20	F	Employed	U.K.	Zanzibar
6	60-69	F	Retired	U.K.	Victoria Falls
7	60-69	M	Retired	New Zealand	Zanzibar
8	50-59	F	Researcher	U.K.	Victoria Falls

This group was made up of relatively mature tourists with the lowest age twenty-four and the highest sixty-eight. One member had a PhD and another two were working towards one, one of whom was the researcher. Two further tourists had Masters level qualifications and were working professionals. The remaining tourists were in diverse but professional employment. Professions included Human Resource Management, Script writing, law

enforcement, Farming, Banking, Property investment, and members in the Health fields. This was therefore, a highly educated group, who brought a variety of experience and backgrounds with them. All members of the group were travelling as individuals.

Participatory observation took place as the researcher participated as a tourist. A group discussion with tourists A1 to A4 (in blue) involved general discussion and use of simple repertory grid. This discussion took place at the end of a long day in the National Park and those participating were those who still had the energy to volunteer to do so; as a result, the discussion group was made up of the younger tourists. As the researcher had to leave the trip at this point there was no opportunity to compare constructs derived from this group with those of older tourists, however, this was rectified by participating on the whole twenty four day trip with a further group of tourists, allowing time to interview a variety of tourists individually.

Trip B, November 2018

Group B was at full capacity with twenty tourists. It was of a rather different profile to group A, with far more young people and a greater age range. Apart from one member of the group who was in her forties, the rest of the group divided clearly into a youthful thirty or below grouping, and a mid-fifties to late sixties group. Of the younger group there included six below twenty, with two having their eighteenth birthdays during the journey on the truck. This was very different from trip A, and while people mixed well on the trip, the youth element resulted in far more physical activity whenever the truck stopped, with young tourists throwing a ball around, climbing hills and working off energy. In contrast the older members tended to sit and talk, or stroll around at the stopping point. There were three male-female couples on the truck and a further four tourists who were travelling in friendship pairs. Travelling with a spouse or friend adds a further dimension to the travel experience as constructs may be shared more closely, and ideas of place shared before during and after the space-place encounter. Couples may also tend to assume some of the same socio-political attitudes; however, this did not appear to apply within age groups as amongst tourists in the upper age ranges was observed to be considerable divergence in socio-political values.

The researcher participated in trip B in its entirety and was able to observe more fully the group dynamics of the truck, reactions to place and encounter, and attitudes that emerged as the trip progressed. Individual interview discussion and use of the repertory grid took place with eleven of the tourists (in blue) at different points along the journey.

Table 7.2: Profiles of Tourists on Trip B

Tourist B	Age	Sex	Employment	Origin	Couples And Friends	Started at Victoria Falls/ Started Previous leg(s)
1	60-69	F	Retired	U.K.		Victoria Falls
2	17-19	M	Gap Year	U.K.		Victoria Falls
3	50-59	F	Employed	U.K.	C	Victoria Falls
4	17-19	M	Gap Year	U.K.	F	Victoria Falls
5	40-49	F	Employed	U.K.		Victoria Falls
6	20-29	M	Employed	U.K.	C	Zanzibar
7	20-29	F	Employed	U.K.	C	Zanzibar
8	30-39	M	Employed	Europe		Nairobi
9	20-29	M	Employed	Europe		Victoria Falls
10	20-29	M	Gap Year	Europe	F	Zanzibar
11	60-69	M	Retired	Europe		Zanzibar
12	60-69	M	Retired	U.K.	C	Victoria Falls
13	17-19	F	Gap Year	Europe		Victoria Falls
14	17-19	M	Gap Year	U.K.	F	Victoria Falls
15	60-69	M	Retired	Europe	C	Zanzibar
16	60-69	F	Retired	Europe	C	Zanzibar
17	17-19	F	Gap Year	Europe		Zanzibar
18	17-19	M	Gap Year	Europe	F	Zanzibar
19	50-59	M	Employed	N. America		Zanzibar
20	50-59	F	Researcher	U.K.		U.K.

7.2 Background prior to trip

This background information assists in exposing prior motivations and constructs, and in explaining the meaning tourists place on what they see.

7.2.1 Tourists' motivation to travel by truck through Southern Africa

Embarking on twenty-four days of almost constant travel through four countries with a group of people, mostly or entirely strangers before the trip, is not for everybody. It is

interesting to examine tourists' decision to travel to Southern Africa and why they chose this method of tourism. Tourists were asked what motivated them to come to visit this region and their responses are presented in the following table.

Table 7.3: Reasons for coming to Southern Africa

Motivation to visit	Comments, observations and quotes
To see wildlife	Big five. Check off a bucket list.
To go on 'Safaris'	'Safaris' are a thing
Getting close to nature	A grounding experience
To see different landscapes	
To see different cultures	The 'Other'
To 'do Africa'	The 'grand adventure' 'To see everything that was on TV'
Adventure stuff	Survival and wild camping
The next part of a longer trip	Cairo to Cape, or stages in between
Sharing a previous experience with a partner	To co-create narrative and memories
To visit Namibia	Other family members had visited
To revisit Zimbabwe	Been before years ago

Source: interviews (Group B) and group discussion (Group A), 2018

There are obvious overlaps between many of these reasons and most tourists acknowledged a variety of things that motivated their travel. Viewing wildlife was the reason most often given for taking the trip,

I think the main reason my friend and I went to Africa was to see game. I think the wildlife, and not only the wildlife but bush life as well, just trying to be a little closer to nature than we are at home (Tourist B10)

The endangered aspect of African wildlife acted as a particular draw,

We felt we definitely need to go [to Africa] before some of the animals disappear. I think all the problems mean that it is more urgent (Tourist B3)

Overland Truck companies marketing this route place their main focus on wildlife, and the itinerary revolves closely around game viewing, game parks and landscape, with far less emphasis placed on the human and cultural aspects of place. There is an obvious overlap between seeing wildlife and going on safari. A safari is frequently the means to view game; however, in the eyes of the tourists it seemed far more than that. 'Going on safari' appeared to have an exotic appeal and was given as a reason for travel in itself, an activity that seemed to have a value far beyond the mere observation of animal species. A safari has historical connotations and a certain glamour, associated with African adventure through film, documentaries and historic texts. These constructs that are framed through colonial imagery are discussed further in chapter 10.

The quest for 'difference' drives many tourists who embark on trips to Africa, and particularly through this form of tourism,

'I just loved Africa in general, just how different it was, completely different', Tourist B7 (who was on a second trip).

'Africa' was sometimes referred to as a single entity, and 'doing Africa' was a reason for coming even though they were only visiting a small part of the continent,

'I wanted to do Africa', Tourist B5.

'To do Africa! I was going to do as much of it as I possibly could', Tourist A1.

Tourist A1 had spent many months on the road and had undertaken four legs of a potential ten leg overland Cairo to Cape Town journey, of which the route under research was the final leg. This meant that she had passed through the Eastern side of Africa, travelling from Nairobi. The East and Southern Africa regions of the continent are perhaps the best known of sub-Saharan Africa, and the most widely covered in film and documentary but are only a very small part of the continent. The same tourist indirectly acknowledged the prominence of East and Southern Africa in people's views of what forms sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, when she went on to say,

'I wanted to see everything that was on TV, and have pretty much achieved ninety-five percent of it', Tourist A1.

'Doing Africa' also links to a bucket-list type attitude to travel,

'One of the last continents I haven't been to and it has always been the grand adventure for me', Tourist A2.

Half of the tourists interviewed had participated in an earlier leg of overland truck tour (with the same company) from Zanzibar to Victoria Falls, joining the trip under research, in the Victoria Falls, to continue for the further twenty-four days to Cape Town. Some had participated on other legs previously,

I chose to take this trip because it is the third part of the trip Cairo to Cape Town. I did already the first part, Cairo to Addis Ababa, second was Addis Ababa to Zanzibar, the third is now Zanzibar to Cape Town, so it's a certain logic in the whole (Tourist B11)

This tourist had divided the ten-leg trip offered by the company into three parts, each made up of a series of legs. This meant that over the course of a few years he had been able to travel the full length of the Cape to Cairo journey (142 days, or 187 days if some further optional loops, for instance to see Gorillas, were also included)

'Doing Africa' appealed to a wide age range, but some younger tourists were particularly attracted to the 'adventure' element. While these tourists were observed to participate in the more extreme optional activities on offer, Rafting and Bungie Jumping at Victoria Falls, Sky Diving and Sand Boarding at Swakopmund, they were also particularly motivated by the prospect of 'real adventure',

'The real adventure stuff, that's what I like', Tourist B4.

Most of the group seemed to like the idea of adventure, but for many in a safe enclosed form with the safe haven of the truck and the safety of the organised itinerary. However, Tourist B4, and the friend travelling with him, craved a far more adventurous experience and the 'wild camping' and walking with rhino were the elements of the trip that pulled them in. These were some of the youngest tourists, and they were looking for more of a raw, untamed, African experience, reminiscent of the earlier explorer type trips mentioned previously in chapter 2.

7.2.2 Joining an Overland Truck Tour

Just over half the tourists who took part in the research had participated in overland truck travel before, and of those, the majority had taken trips with the same company.

Reasons for taking an overland truck tour type of holiday varied but reflected a common underlying desire to see as much as they could of the region without the challenges associated with organising a trip.

One older participant talked of the days when he used to travel solo,

Years ago I did it myself, and last time I was in Mali when I first saw this overland truck, and then it was that I realised that I spent half a day normally to find out about buses, about timetables, about hotels, and when I arrive in a place it is full, and I have to sleep on the roof and it is so complicated (Tourist B11)

He went on to tell of how he was in a bus waiting to travel from a small town to Mopti (in Mali) and that as in many places in Africa, the bus would not leave until it was full, and so they waited a long time. Looking out of the window, he watched an overland truck just set off and this gave him the incentive to try an overland truck trip when he next wished to travel.

Table 7.4: Reasons given for taking this form of holiday

Reason	Comments, observations and quotes
Easier than organising the trip by oneself	This was by far the mostly commonly given reason
Easier for the single traveller No single supplements	More than half the participants were solo travellers
Cost effective	
Safer 'peace of mind'	Safety within the truck
To do something different A sense of adventure Fun	
Independence of the truck (can get anywhere, camp anywhere). Luggage on the truck	
See how landscape peoples and cultures change as journeying	The journey aspect
Social aspect Participatory Develop friendships Be with people of a similar mind-set	Social

Source: interviews (Group B) and group discussion (Group A), 2018

Savings of cost and time seemed to be of prime concern to these tourists. When organised overland truck trips started through Africa in the 1960s, the length of the trips were rather uncertain. Today most tourists expect to achieve certain goals in terms of what they would see and do within a fixed time framework. Members of both tourist groups had all made plans for the immediate days after the end of the trip, some booking flights to fly home, some trips within South Africa, some to fly on to other continents. Tourists felt they could optimise what they could do and experience by engaging in this form of tourism experience,

It's the way they can sort out the travelling, whereas for us it might take a year for us to go where we go, and see what we would see, whereas we can do it in a month (Tourist A3)

Many respondents mentioned the social nature of the overland truck holiday experience. The younger tourists spent much time on the truck playing games, throwing a ball at stopping places and climbing rocks and engaging in friendly challenges. Older members chatted and shared stories and life experiences.

The appeal of the prepared itinerary and organisational logistics encourage the tourists to go on a truck tour type of holiday, and the company ethos, and the impact of tour leader and crew on the tourist promote certain constructs and values. Where they go, what they see there, and to some extent, who they meet, are all in the main predetermined. The social element of the travel experience also means that tourists are likely to share information, ideas and constructs of place.

7.2.3 Preconceptions of the country and places

Prior knowledge and preconceptions of the places to be visited, and of the region, formed a base for the tourist's motivations to travel, and for what they expected to encounter.

Table 7.5: Prior knowledge and perception of Zimbabwe (as mentioned in interview discussion) Trip B.

Tourist B	Politics	Mugabe	History	Economic crisis	Cities	Game	Scenery	Victoria Falls
1	Red	Red	Red	Red		Red		
2					Red			Red
3						Red	Red	
4								
5	Red			Red		Red		Red
6	Red	Red		Red				
7				Red				
8			Red			Red		Red
9						Red	Red	Red
10						Red		
11	Red		Red					

Source: interviews (Group B) 2018

Table 7.5 above, shows prior perceptions as stated in interview, however in general informal discussion it was clear that some tourists had other knowledge not stated when questioned. In general, those of older ages had a broader range of prior knowledge stated, and a greater pre-awareness of politics and history. The 17-19 age group had least prior awareness of politics and historical aspects of place. The two oldest members of the group were also the most aware of history and politics of the Southern Africa region, with mentions of ‘apartheid’ history, ‘Mandela’ and the townships.

Oh apartheid, I think, Nelson Mandela, the news footage of that..... it was mostly coloured by what I had heard about Southern Africa and townships and things like that (Tourist B1)

I had some previous perceptions, yes, of course, apartheid was the topic, I read lots of books about it.... (Tourist B11)

This tourist had friends working in solidarity movements at the time and had attended talks and encountered and participated in events held by the anti-apartheid movement and liberation action.

Both these tourists were old enough to remember the news coverage and publicity surrounding the struggle against apartheid in the 1970s and 1980s and to have witnessed at a distance, events key to the colonial history of the region. Younger tourists were understandably less aware of events that took place before they were born, or when they were still in their infancy. One of the older under forties group was more political and had a broader view, *'I know these were like colonised before, and then partially, not anymore'*, Tourist B8.

It is difficult to understand the social, economic and political situation in Southern Africa today without an understanding of its colonial history. As most tourists lacked a knowledge of the past in the areas they were to travel through, they were unlikely to be able to effectively interpret and evaluate what they saw. Southern Africa still embodies a strong reflection of its past both physically through its architecture and land ownership patterns, and socially in its racial composition and population distribution. In addition, the economic and political situations faced today in countries such as Zimbabwe, have their origins in what has gone before.

Some superficial pre-knowledge of the current political situation in Zimbabwe was mentioned in discussion by three out of four of the Trip A tourists. This was probably because Trip A took place in August 2018, less than a month after elections were held in the country. Therefore, tourists had heard something of the situation prior to, and during elections, in the European media. However, focus was more on possibilities of civil unrest and security issues that might impact on their trip, and less on the political background to the elections or of the political history that came before.

Just before I set off the whole thing with the election was in the news, so yes, worrying about the safety of it then (Tourist A3)

I did hear negative press, I was told, "you are going to Zimbabwe, be careful, there is fighting going on (Tourist A1)

Given the prominence President Robert Mugabe had in Western media and his removal from leadership almost exactly a year previously, it is not surprising that some tourists mentioned him when discussing prior perceptions of Zimbabwe.

I think it was all about Mugabe from the news... Mugabe going in and killing people and flattening the areas that they lived and all of this, and a despot and let's get rid of him (Tourist B1)

Reference here is to Operation Murambatsvina (Restore Order), which took place in 2005, where the Zimbabwean government attempted to eradicate informal housing and trade, through mass demolitions of structures and destruction of vending sites. This was widely reported in the Western media at the time and was still being referenced years later and associated personally with President Mugabe. This tourist had also had personal connection to Zimbabweans who were resident in Britain and who may have referred to this in conversation. Another tourist mentioned ex-President Mugabe but held a healthy cynicism regarding the reporting of the situation in the country,

Quite negative connotations about Robert Mugabe and the political and economic situation (I guess it's almost propaganda to some extent) (Tourist B6)

Some tourists mentioned prior awareness of the economic situation in Zimbabwe. Again, this mostly linked to rather negative reports of Zimbabwe, but was not taken very seriously by the tourists.

I knew the currency is absolutely worthless and I knew a little bit about banks not having money and not being able to get money out (Tourist B5)

In fact, the economic situation in Zimbabwe, leading up to, and during, the time of travel, was rather complex. Zimbabwe was using a basket of international currencies with the U.S. dollar dominating. As the tourist stated, there was little actual paper currency circulating, and most transactions were being done through plastic or on-line transfer.

One tourist had visited during the previous time of economic crisis (around 2008) and therefore missed the better times in between visits,

'The first time I came to Zimbabwe was in the midst of economic recession', Tourist B7. This had not put her off visiting again.

Although there was some negative political and economic coverage of Zimbabwe in the media in the time leading up to the trip, most tourists were not really bothered about it.

There was a feeling expressed by several tourists that as they were doing a trip arranged by an experienced company, and as they were only passing through Zimbabwe for a few days there was no need to bother much about these aspects.

I have heard stuff in the news politically speaking, but no, because I am not going to be living there, I was just mostly concerned with the main tourist attractions
(Tourist B5)

One respondent mentioned dominant preconceptions based upon, as he put it, '*you get, especially from the West, this preconception of Africa...it is a place where people are very poor and there is not a lot of civilisation*', Tourist B10. This is likely to be a general perception of Africa held by many, although it was not explicitly mentioned during discussion.

As noted earlier the prime motivators for most tourists to take the trip were wildlife, landscape and nature. The route through South Western Zimbabwe reinforced a landscape and wildlife focus. Tourists' preconceptions linked to game, scenery and the Victoria Falls, with the greatest focus being on game. Preconceptions linked to the viewing and presence of game were mentioned by more than half the group and by members of all ages.

Although Victoria Falls was probably the best-known place visited within Zimbabwe and was the starting point for this leg of the trip, it was not mentioned much by tourists when talking of preconceptions. One tourist said that she had avoided looking at pictures of it before the trip, as she wanted to avoid preconceived images and see it as a fresh experience. Two members of the group had visited Victoria Falls previously.

7.2.4 Sources of prior perceptions and information

Preconceptions held by tourists were in the main a product of prior exposure to place and image. Building a mental image of places to be seen, and the animal and human inhabitants of those places, is dependent on what has been seen, read, or heard about the places before the visit. On questioning many of the tourists interviewed revealed that they had done little pre-research about the places to be visited. This was reinforced through researcher observation, with regard to use of guidebooks and reading while on the truck.

Table 7.6: Sources of prior information mentioned by tourists

Source of information/preconception	Numbers of mentions	
	Group A (n=4)	Group B (n=11)
Trip notes/itinerary details on company website		5
Current/recent news	2	4
Lonely Planet		4
Parents, relatives, friends, people at work.	1	4
On-line		3
Wildlife documentaries/ Natural history programmes	3	2
Past experiences		2
Past news/history reports		2
Blogs		1
Previous activism/contacts with activism		1

Source: interviews (Group B) and group discussion (Group A), 2018

Dominance of company trip notes as a source of information means that the company has a great influence on tourist perceptions of place, not only during the trip, but also prior to it. During interviews, trip notes were mentioned by many as their prime source of information prior to embarking on the trip. Further information sheets were available on the truck as reference, before arriving at a destination. It was observed that while these were available on both trips, they were read far more by tourists on Trip A, mainly because the tour leader circulated them prior to arrival at each destination. They were less visible on Trip B, where tourists were left to consult them more through their own initiative. The difference was partly due to the different leadership styles of tour leaders, but also due to the difference in numbers of tourists between Trip A and Trip B. Because Trip A had a small number, there were more opportunities for easy movement around the truck during the journey stages. The influence of the company on tourist construct and narrative is important to note and recognise as it has a clear impact on the impressions tourists receive and take away with them.

Lonely Planet was the only guidebook specifically mentioned. This was consulted by some, both before and during the trip. There were Lonely Planet and other more specific guides (to wildlife species, etc.) present in a library on the truck and some tourists on Trip B were observed reading these. Tourists were observed reading Lonely Planet for Southern Africa and for Africa as a whole. However, on Trip A, tourists were more visibly preparing for their

time after the trip, when they reached Cape Town and had to take their own responsibility for the days that followed (reading Lonely Planet 'Cape Town and the Garden Route').

The news (primarily visual and print media) did have some impact on tourist ideas of place prior to arrival, particularly influencing perceptions of the political and economic state of the country. In this respect the news was wholly being reported from a western perspective, given that it was being viewed in tourist's home countries. In addition, the news being reported was largely negative, as sadly, bad news makes headlines. As such pre-constructs derived from news reports tended to dwell on Zimbabwe's collapsing economy, and political unrest.

The impact of friends and relatives was mainly anecdotal. Two members of Trip B had parents who had travelled through, or previously worked in, the region. There was also mention of friends and people at their workplace, who, having heard news reports, expressed worry at their embarking on the trip.

The sourcing of information through blogs is of interest. While only one of those interviewed mentioned blogs, it was observed that information from a blog was being actively read and shared amongst some of those on trip B. This blog was written in German by a German tourist who had participated on the same trip some time earlier. Four members of the group on Trip B were German speakers and one had printed out the blog, which took the form of a journal diary of the trip. Pages were shared before the arrival at a place and were actively read to gain impressions of the places to come.

Although not everyone mentioned wildlife documentaries, it was clear through observation on both trips, that these had played a major role in shaping tourists' expectations and background knowledge of species siting and behaviour. Tourists had clear ideas about species they wished to see (dominated by the 'Big Five' and cat species). In addition, popular animated films such as the Lion King had a great impact in how tourists related to what they saw. Attempts to identify animals through characters in the Lion King, was seen particularly amongst Trip A tourists, and this was confirmed as a common trend by tour leaders from other companies during informal discussions with the researcher (Burkes Paradise campsite, Bulawayo, September 2018).

7.2.5 Summing up of prior constructs and sources of information

More than half the tourists who were interviewed mentioned game within their prior-perceptions of Zimbabwe, this is not surprising as the trip through Zimbabwe had a wildlife focus. The politics of Zimbabwe and the economic crisis it had experienced were also referenced but more by the older tourists. The notes provided on the company website were a source of information for the greatest number of tourists, the media in the form of news reports also had an influence. Of note is the importance of wildlife documentaries as a source of prior information, especially amongst tourists on trip A.

7.3 Constructs of the Zimbabwe six-day section of the journey after visit

The central focus of this research was on the first six days of the trip, during which the truck travelled through a stretch of Western Zimbabwe. Tourists were interviewed during the days that followed the completion of the Zimbabwe section of the trip. The interviews took place on the truck while journeying from one stop to another. This meant that some tourists were interviewed soon after leaving Zimbabwe and others far further 'down the road'. Recollections of tourists interviewed later are less immediate and so less clear. However, while differences in tourist recollection due to this, need to be acknowledged, it could be argued that interviews some days, or even weeks, after the visit, also serve to extract the constructs and narratives that will remain well after the trip, and remove those that make less impression.

Use of a simple repertory grid as a focus during interview, exposed constructs, which were then discussed further during open interview with the respondent. The grid also allowed for basic comparison of the ten elements obtained by dividing the journey into places. Tourist respondents came up with a wide variety of constructs. These are shown in the right-hand column of Table 7.7 below. To derive greater patterns of meaning from these constructs, the researcher grouped them into broader categories shown in the left-hand column.

Table 7.7: Categories of constructs of places visited (obtained through repertory grid)

Category <i>Derived by researcher</i> (in order of frequency)	Constructs (within category) <i>Given by Tourist respondents</i> Levels of:
Emotional response	Interest, enjoyment, emotional response, memory, excitement, happiness, distress.
Characteristics of place	Beauty, authenticity, diversity, originality.
Local people and culture	Interaction with external stakeholders, cultural component, friendliness of locals, indigenous power.
Wildlife and conservation	Wildlife focus, wildlife richness, conservation, responsible management.
Education	Educative value, guide quality, local knowledge imparted.
Facilities	Cost, maintenance, quality.
Group interaction	Interaction
Risk	Level of risk

Source: grids obtained through interviews (Group B) and group discussion (Group A), 2018

All constructs may be seen through the cultural lenses held by the tourists as individuals and as a group. Although all tourists came from similar cultural backgrounds, each tourist saw the journey and encounters within it through their own unique eyes. This meant that while tourists came up with similar constructs, they did not necessarily view them in the same way. Even when tourists came up with identical construct labels, they did not always mean the same thing by them. This emerged during the discussion surrounding the production of grid constructs. Further coding of the discussions attempts to capture these differences and to examine variations in attitudes, attributes and beliefs held within the group.

Patterns of construct categories derived from individual tourists shown in the table below, make it clear that while most tourists came up with at least one construct focused around people, as well as at least one linked to nature, there were a few tourists who were totally focused on either nature or people. These tourists did present a more balanced narrative during discussion, however, their obvious interests revolved around either, the human or the natural worlds encountered along the journey. Tourist B1 came up with few grid constructs but an extremely rich discussion narrative and although her constructs were

focused on social and political aspects of the trip, she was very enthusiastic about viewing of game which in general discussion proved the main reason for her taking the trip.

Constructs given that fall into a category are shown through a tick. Where an individual gives more than one construct that falls into a category, the number of constructs given are also indicated.

Given that respondents are tourists on what is perceived by many, and marketed as an exploratory journey, it is not surprising that the dominant constructs link to emotional response to places and events. Focus is on the self, and on his or her own feelings aroused through the encounter.

Table 7.8: Grid constructs suggested by tourists

TOURIST	Emotional Response	Characteristics of Place	Local people and culture	Wildlife and Conservation	Educational	Facilities	Group Interaction	Relaxation/downtime
B1			✓				✓	
B2	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	
B3		✓	✓	✓	✓ 2	✓		
B4	✓ 2	✓		✓				
B5	✓			✓ 2	✓			
B6	✓ 2		✓		✓			
B7	✓ 2	✓						
B8	✓ 2	✓ 3	✓	✓				
B9	✓	✓			✓			
B10	✓	✓	✓	✓				
B11	✓	✓ 2	✓					
Total B Number of Tourists								
Number of Constructs	9 13	7 10	7 7	7 7	4 5	2 2	2 2	
Group A				✓	✓		✓	✓

Source: grids obtained through interviews (Group B) and group discussion (Group A), 2018

	People focus
	Nature focus
	Mixed focus

7.3.1 Emotional response

Many tourists viewed places in relation to emotions that the place evoked in them. Eight out of eleven respondents mentioned at least one grid construct linked to emotional response. This is unsurprising as tourism is a hedonistic activity, and tourists are usually in the pursuit of experience in some form, usually pleasurable.

Strongest emotions were associated with the rhino walk in Matobo. Perhaps understandably, this experience of getting up close to endangered white rhino in a bush setting, was viewed as highly exciting, interesting and enjoyable. This was the highlight of the trip for several of the tourists and was an experience that created strong memories in many. Because of the threat to the rhino's existence, and endangered status, it was also seen as a distressing experience by one tourist, and one that evoked some sadness. The safari guide who led the experience gave a powerful talk on the realities of the future of rhino and this was a strong memory for some tourists. Matopos in general also scored highly for positive emotional response, its stunning and unique scenery and historic legacy combined to make it stand out in tourists' minds.

Although Victoria Falls is a 'wonder of the world' and probably the best-known feature visited, it did not evoke as high an emotional response from tourists as Matopos. Most tourists visited the Victoria Falls themselves only once, and the impact appears to have been overshadowed by the other activities engaged during the two days spent there. However, as a place, it made an above average impact, scoring highest by two tourists who scored it as maximum for being exciting.

In contrast, Chobe received an average to weak emotional response as a destination by many respondents. This seemed to be because the visit really revolved around a single boat trip experience. Many tourists needed to be reminded where Chobe was and of the activities that happened there, as by the time they were interviewed other more memorable activities and places had filled their minds.

Table 7.9: Emotional response constructs from repertory grids

Tourist	Interest	Enjoyment	Excitement	Happiness	Fun feelings	Emotion	Distress	Memory	Further visits
B1									
B2	✓								
B3									
B4	✓	✓							
B5							✓		
B6						✓		✓	
B7			✓					✓	
B8				✓	✓				
B9						✓			
B10		✓							
B11									✓
Total	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	1

Source: grids obtained through interviews (Group B) and group discussion (Group A), 2018

Journeys and Bulawayo city had least emotional impact. Journeys were considered ‘downtime’, and tourists were observed sleeping or playing games. The long stretches of journey from Victoria Falls to Hwange National Park and then on to Bulawayo are not very visually exciting and tourists had no tools to interpret what they might see. These journeys were viewed as of little interest, boring and evoking little emotional response. Tourists had vague recall of them.

When discussing emotional response, it was clear that this often linked to new, or perceived unique, experience. Repetition tended to weaken response, so those who had travelled on the previous stage of the journey and seen much game in East Africa, tended to be more inured to game experience. Emotional response was enriched through action, so walking with rhino scored highest as this brought the tourist physically into the rhino’s immediate environment without barriers. Excitement links to seeing and doing. Journeys, being passive experiences, did not excite, or evoke strong responses. However, they were considered enjoyable by some tourists as ‘*you get to talk to people and relax*’ (B10). In several cases experiences evoked a mixture of happiness and sadness (Tourists B8, B5). These conflicting emotions resulted from encountering endangered or threatened species. Viewing or even coming into close contact with these, was recognised as potentially ‘once in a lifetime experience’, however, the realisation that these species were under serious threat also saddened

most tourists. Education through the guides enforced this message. The wild dog centre display and guide explanation also enforced this, but emotional reaction was less strong as there was not such a close encounter with the species. Tourist B5 was particularly emotionally affected by upsetting wildlife narratives and was also worried by prospects of seeing a kill (where other tourists such as B3 wished to see one). Some felt that experience was enriched by experiencing as part of a group (B6) and it was generally felt that the added input from the guides, made experiences more meaningful.

Matopos was particularly enjoyable as it was *'closer to nature, because of the narrow road and seat up front, closer to everything'*, (B10).

There was also emotional response to historical events and sites. Tourist B9 stated, *'hearing about the persecution of the San people was quite depressing'*, in this case the guides transferred the emotion to the tourist through their narrative. Tourist B8 found the cave paintings in Matopos *'amazing'* but worried about their protection. This tourist came from a country where a single similar site was highly protected, with viewing subject to bookings years in advance, and finding these caves open and without attendant protection disturbed him.

7.3.2 Characteristics of place

More than half the tourist respondents came up with at least one construct on their grid that dealt with attributes of place. Attributes such as beauty, and scenic might link to how these are viewed culturally. Authenticity, diversity, and uniqueness are quite subjective, and values ascribed will relate back to what tourists expect and perceive.

Table 7.10: Characteristics of place constructs from repertory grids

Tourist	How scenic	Beauty (natural)	Diversity	Uniqueness	Originality	Authenticity
B1						
B2						
B3	✓					
B4					✓	✓
B5						
B6						
B7		✓				
B8		✓	✓	✓		
B9					✓	
B10						✓
B11		✓	✓			
Totals	1	3	2	1	2	2

It was clear from many responses that tourists sought what they perceived as the unspoilt, or untouched. This meant that National Parks were relatively highly ranked and landscapes containing human activity (outside tourism), tended to be seen negatively. There were exceptions to this, as in discussion two tourists in group B felt strongly about the lack of a wider historical and social context (B8 and B11).

Beauty is associated with nature by most tourists. One tourist does mention beauty in the context of the built environment, when he says with reference to Bulawayo, *'I could not see anything, only from the truck, but it looked a beautiful city'* (B8). Tourist B11 recognises the historical elements of Victoria Falls and says that it is not just beauty in the context of a waterfall, but also with the colonial architecture and steam train.

Wildlife activities and culture appear to frame tourist B8's view of diversity. Diversity is a multi-focus tourism experience and is perceived as being good for tourism. Of all the places visited in Zimbabwe, Matobo stands out in this respect.

Tourist B8 showed an awareness of uniqueness in various respects namely, uniqueness of landscape (Victoria Falls), uniqueness of species (wild Dog, Sable, Rhino), and uniqueness of place (caves). These together could be seen as a package.

Although only two tourists directly gave 'authenticity' as a grid construct, the idea of the real and authentic was a strong thread that ran through discussion and often overlapped with views on culture (discussed later). It was clear that there were a variety of interpretations of what being authentic really meant. This may have been further complicated by English not being the first language of some respondents, but this does not appear particularly significant in interpretations. Authentic seems to be associated with the untouched wild, nature (B10), the primitive, exotic, native (B9), artefacts and historical features (B4). This placed tourism centres and facilities such as Victoria Falls as an inauthentic whole. Taken further, tourist B10 said that he did not view the Wild Dog Centre as authentic because, *'we had this presentation from this woman and it sounded like she had gone over it lots of times'*, so it was *'like a show'*. In effect the tourist viewed what was a designed educational display and associated talk, as being like a staged performance. The same tourist felt that the viewing platform at Nyamandhlovu pan in Hwange National Park detracted from the authenticity of the

park, as it was a built structure. Tourist B9, discussing authenticity in the context of experiences in Namibia, later in the journey, stated that he felt that people in the township wearing jeans were no longer authentic and the San in contrast were fully authentic. In this case authenticity seems to be firmly linked to image of the traditional tribesperson in western documentary. Authenticity is questioned by tourist B4 when he voiced the question of how authenticity might be verified in the case of cave paintings, *'There were times I thought it could have been redone twenty-five years ago, and we wouldn't know'*.

Characteristics of place link strongly to emotional responses as it is these perceived characteristics that trigger reactions and to a large extent, determine depth of response.

It is worth noting that characteristics of place may be viewed differently at different times. Tourist B7 mentions how arid she found the Zimbabwe landscape in contrast to her previous visit, which was in April some years before. In November when the trip under study took place, the ground is often quite dry, and the Victoria Falls has relatively low levels of water. In contrast, in April at the end of the rains the land is green, and the river and falls are at peak flow. Game viewing may also be affected by the seasons with game far more visible at the watering holes during the dry season.

This is further exemplified in the changes within the short space of time between trip A in August and trip B in early November. The researcher was overwhelmed by the seemingly unique game viewing experience at Chobe in late August. This was somewhere she had not previously visited. Game viewing on the river was a magical experience, with many male elephants in the water and on the islands of the Chobe River. The experience in November was a flat, dull, contrast, with none of the excitement of the previous trip. The only elephant seen was one dead one, lying decaying on an island. Tourists on trip B were generally not impressed with Chobe and questioned its inclusion in the trip, as it necessitated crossing the border into Botswana and back again. Many felt the day would have been better spent elsewhere.

The weather of the moment and even the time of day may further influence how place is seen. In addition, previous experience will colour present perspective and first experiences of place usually stand out most clearly. Tourist B7 states that *'I will always remember the first time'* (seeing wild dogs hunting at night), and even if this extremely

rare experience were to repeat itself, she would have been unlikely to find it so impressive. In the same vein tourists who had participated in the previous Zanzibar to Victoria Falls trip seemed harder to impress than those who had just joined the trip.

7.3.3 Local people and culture

Table 7.11: Local people and culture constructs from repertory grids

Tourist	Level of interaction with external stakeholders	How friendly are locals	Level of cultural component	Cultural richness	Level of perceived indigenous power/control
B1	✓				✓
B2	✓				
B3		✓	✓		
B4					
B5					
B6			✓		
B7					
B8				✓	
B9					
B10	✓				
B11	✓				
Total	4	1	2	1	1

Repertory grid constructs here covered level of interaction and visible and acknowledged culture that was encountered or observed during the trip. Opportunity for interaction was limited given the nature of places visited and location of campsites in all but Victoria Falls. Inclusion of these in tourist grids shows that many tourists did acknowledge the ‘people’ aspect of the places they travelled through, but further discussion exposed just how limited contact was.

For many tourists, interaction was mainly with the sub-contracted guides who took the group around Hwange National park and Matopos. In addition, there was limited contact with curio sellers at Victoria Falls and Matopos. Tourists had a variety of personal encounters of different forms, and information on some of these emerged during discussion. Most personal encounter seems to have happened while at Victoria Falls. Conditions for encounter were more conducive at this location because the camp site was in the middle of the town. In addition, members of the group were more open at this point, as it was prior to truck departure and people were only starting to get to know

each other. This meant less insularity and more individual and smaller group experience, which presented easier conditions for encounter. Some tourists got talking to locals at the campsite and were invited to join them, in the case of tourist B2 to visit the Zambezi Boat Club by invitation from the camp owner, and in the case of tourist B10 to play volleyball with people he met at the bar. In both these cases it is believed by the researcher that these local connections were with local people of European ancestry (Euro-Zimbabweans). These would be easy for tourists to relate to.

The people who worked at the bar in the campsite in Victoria Falls were mentioned as being friendly (B10). The traditional dancers who performed every night next to the restaurant were also mentioned by one tourist (B10), although it was acknowledged that these were *'kind of a set up'*.

Local people were considered *'friendly and helpful'* by some (B1, B2). Contact was acknowledged to be limited and superficial by others (B9, B10). Tourist B3 said that people were friendlier than expected, and then reflected for a moment and said, *'it's interesting because now I am thinking, who did we meet?'*

Contact with many local people tended to be transactional and not therefore conducive to real discussion. In some cases, this transactional relationship degenerated into pestering and harassment and tainted the tourist view on the possibilities of interaction. Tourist B6 was sceptical about talking to locals, *'every time I have talked to a local they have wanted something from you, as opposed to just having a conversation'*. Tourist B4 told the researcher that he and his friend were harassed by a drunk vendor trying to sell them a curio. In these cases, local people may be perceived as a potential threat.

It was observed that many tourists did not know how to relax into a conversation with locals and because of the insularity of the truck, limited opportunities for local contact, and fear of being hassled; they did not bother to make the attempt. Frequent journeys often limit contact to waving through the window (B1, B10). In fact, *'you only ever see it driving past their villages on the road, snapshot, and then you are gone'* (B7). Tourist B1 discussed the uncomfortable nature of interaction through a moving truck window. She acknowledged the dilemma posed by the separation imposed both by the truck walls and by the nature of being *'a load of white people on a truck'*. Waving seemed patronising *'I feel a bit uncomfortable waving like a queen out of the window'*, but not

waving back when someone waves at you would be rude. She said, *'I think I would be different if there was a make-up more diverse colour wise on the truck'*, but she goes on to acknowledge that most of the people of colour that she knows in Britain would not be attracted to this kind of holiday.

Tourist B1, B5 and the researcher decided to walk to the gorge bar at Victoria Falls. They were stopped as they walked along the track because there were elephant on the path. While they waited for minibus transportation they engaged in a pleasant, interesting and friendly conversation with the local tour operator employees who had told them not to proceed. Having finally reached the bar they missed the last bus and were told that it was too dangerous to walk alone through the bush because of aggressive elephants. The bar employees asked that employees from the local hotel who were taking the path through the bush to their workplace let them walk together. Again, the rapid walk at dusk through the area was without problem and they were helped to take a short cut through the hotel. These encounters were normal, effortless interactions. It appears that some tourists find it difficult to make these connections, possibly because they expect trouble, or that they cannot relate naturally.

The lack of contact with a range of local indigenous people may lead the tourist to coming away with a very limited local narrative. Often any narrative obtained is derived from guides or those operating tourist facilities. In Southern Africa the tourist industry tends to be in the hands of those of European ancestry and these are easy for the tourist to relate to. However, this removes the incentive to discover alternate narratives of the more grassroots local populations and can result in reinforcing of prejudice.

Tourist B3 says *'they seem more happy here than in the west'*. It is unclear what she bases this on. A stereotype of the 'happy native' seems to be adopted.

Culture is distinct from interaction, although interaction may give some insight into local culture. Culture was acknowledged as linking to non-tourism aspects of life (B8). Therefore, Victoria Falls was viewed as having, *'absolutely no culture, it is a town for tourists, there is nothing only souvenir shops'* (B8). In fact, the bulk of Victoria Falls population is hidden in Chinotimba, a township area invisible to the tourist, and of a very different nature to the souvenir shops of the tourist centre. None of the tourists had any idea of this.

As one tourist said, there were *'no cultural awakenings'* (B5). She went on to acknowledge that, *'I couldn't see how they live locally from what we did'*. But she felt that game and the Parks were the main draw for tourists to Zimbabwe and that the lack of cultural element was not of concern. This was echoed by other tourists (B2). Another tourist felt that a trip to the village should be part of the tour experience. She said it would be good to stop on route and see local life but said *'I am not going to pay \$35 to go to the village, but if it is there and we are just stopping on route and it breaks up the journey'* (B3). This does not imply a two-way interaction and sounds presumptive. The village seems to be viewed as just another tourist attraction to be viewed at will. No genuine exchange appears to be envisaged by the tourist.

7.4.3.1 Use of San as cultural experience and to create a narrative.

In presenting the history of Matopos and the cave paintings, the safari guides focus on the San people. The San are portrayed as the ideal primitive people, at one with their environment. The narrative used by guides to present the history of the San serves to downplay colonisation. The San are presented as the original inhabitants of the area who were forced out by African tribes who presently occupy the place. While this may be true, it is highly simplistic and effectively challenges the legitimacy of the current indigenous people of the area and by inference deflects from the injustices of colonisation. There is an implied justification for the taking of land, as the people who were colonised were not really the original owners of the land anyway. This raises the question of who has rights to own the country?

The overland truck company continues emphasis on the San when they include a visit to the Living Museum occupied by a group of San people in Namibia. This interesting visit – though there is some controversy over whether a Living Museum is a good thing- is seen by some of the tourists as their visit to local people. Tourist B5 argues that *'parks are what you would come to Zimbabwe for'*, and goes on to say that the lack of interaction with local people *'doesn't bother me...because we have seen it later on with the San'*. Focus on the San without a greater exposure to other contact with local people and a counter picture of the 'modern' African, allow the tourist to take away an image of the noble savage. It also serves to allow a clear divide between the tourist and local people.

7.3.4 Wildlife and conservation

Table 7.12: Wildlife focus and conservation constructs from repertory grids

Tourist	Richness of wildlife	Level of wildlife focus/experience	Level of conservation	Degree of responsible management
B1				
B2		✓		
B3		✓		
B4			✓	
B5		✓		✓
B6				
B7				
B8	✓			
B9				
B10			✓	
B11				
Total	1	3	2	1

Wildlife was observed to be the prime focus for the majority of tourists on the trip. However, wildlife itself was not one of the most mentioned grid constructs. This is because emotional response to place was most often a response to wildlife encounter. Wildlife richness combines diversity and scarceness.

7.3.5 Educating the visitor

The tour leader on the truck played a minor role in educating the group about place. In the Zimbabwe leg of the journey, the safari guides played a prominent role and had a great influence on the tourists.

7.3.5.1 Guides

In Zimbabwe, trucks cannot enter the Parks and sub-contracted safari operators with Jeeps converted for game viewing are used. The safari operators that are used, cater for a large section of the overland truck market, and are very highly rated by sites such as Trip Advisor, and by the Companies and tourists that use them. This safari company has had a close relationship with the truck company's Directors for very many years.

Guides were only included directly on one tourist's repertory grid. This is understandable as because the same guides took tourists game viewing in Hwange National Park and in Matopos, there would be little to differentiate elements.

Almost all tourists mentioned the tour guides during discussion. Tourists were largely very positive about them, especially in relation to their knowledge of flora and fauna and their enthusiasm and advocacy in the fight to save the rhino. Tourists appeared to value the guides more because they were Euro-Zimbabwean, as what was deemed an appropriate tip seemed high, and more questions were asked than to the black local guide at the Wild Dog Centre or to black guides later in the trip.

One tourist voiced her concern to the researcher regarding the role played by the guides in narrative creation and consolidation. She observed that because the guides were of Euro-Zimbabwean (pioneer stock) and the tourists found them easy to relate to, they felt able to air attitudes and views that would have been unacceptable elsewhere. Tourists felt that they had a licence to talk about things they would not have spoken about to black Zimbabweans. *'It brought out in the guests some deep feelings about colour* (B1) There was permitted racism and bias, and tourists felt they had a safe space to air racist views.

Because guides came from a privileged position, they appeared to have power and influence. The tour leader, who really built up the profile of the guides before tourists went out on safari, reinforced this. This resulted in one tourist believing that the Matopos National Park was a private rhino sanctuary owned by the safari company boss. This is not entirely surprising, as little was said about the nature of the National Park, despite it being a World Heritage site. Parks employees were not visible to the tourists. This effective appropriation of the National Park in tourist understanding, is of serious concern. It has the potential to further enforce a narrative that conservation in Africa is entirely in the hands of, and is the sole concern of, the section of the population of European ancestry. In doing this, it nullifies efforts undertaken by hard working ordinary indigenous Zimbabweans working within the parks system.

Because the tourists can easily identify with the white guides they elevate them above more indigenous guides/educators they might come across. In this case the guide/educator who took tourists around the Wild Dog Centre was equally enthused about the survival of wild dogs as the white safari guide was about rhino, however, the tourists had more mixed views about her.

7.3.5.2 Inadequate historical narrative

Some tourists were upset about lack of exposure to a pre-colonial narrative. Tourist B8 and B11 both expressed disappointment at a lack of information in this respect and at the failure of the trip to provide room for a visit to Khami ruins outside Bulawayo.

'I would love to go in Bulawayo to the Great Zimbabwe, or like the ruins that are quite close to there' (B8).

The safari guides omitted to go up to Rhodes Grave with the tourists (they usually go up) and the only information that they tourists saw was that provided by the Zimbabwe Museums and Monuments, which is a very ancient display of old photos of Rhodes. Tourist B8, who had a better knowledge of the politics and history associated with Zimbabwe than many of the tourists was not impressed at the continued prominence of Rhodes to the site,

I don't know why they like him, because he is the owner of the diamond company in South Africa, he is basically one of the main slavery in the world...I might keep Rhodes, but I would change the perspective they are showing of Rhodes. They are showing Rhodes as positive. I would put Rhodes with Smith as the worst things that happened to the country

The lack of available narrative on the traditional local significance of the site meant that the researcher tried to let a few tourists know of that.

7.3.6 Facilities

Three tourists mentioned facilities as a grid construct. Facilities were viewed through levels of maintenance, cost and quality. In discussion, tourists were most concerned with bathrooms and toilets. Current overland truck tourists do expect well maintained campsites and facilities. This potentially poses a problem for the company in trying to select suitable campsites. Often the more established campsites, are owned by those of Euro-Zimbabweans, while community tourism projects may have more variable standards. Later on the trip one tourist complained vocally about a campsite at Sessriem in Namibia that he felt was below standard, although it was reasonably clean and organised although basic.

7.4 Other points of interest not covered through repertory grids

7.4.1 Language use

Despite it being inappropriate as a repertory construct, one tourist (B1) raised the use of colonial place names as a way in which the indigenous has been excluded. Here she was thinking of the use of Victoria Falls instead of Mosi oa Tunya and Rhodes Grave in the place of Malindidzimu.

7.4.2 Marketing of tourist activities

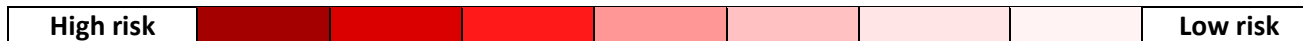
On the first day after arrival at Victoria Falls tourists are taken to the office of one of the largest companies who undertake activities such as rafting. They are shown a video, which provides a quick picture of the activities it is possible to sign up for. This video shows the sole black member of the company appearing and effectively makes him a laughing stock when he is made to eat elephant dung and when his white colleague disappears under water and he pops up (having changed colour). These forms of marketing are insensitive and may perpetuate racism. This was raised by tourist B1 who felt uncomfortable with the way the indigenous employee was being used.

7.4.3 Risk


The researcher suggested risk as a construct to all tourists interviewed. Three tourists felt that it was not a workable construct for them, as they did not perceive risk as being significant or distinct between places. Results of the grids as seen in the table below show walking to the rhino in Matopos as having the greatest perceived risk. Tourist B5 who saw rhino as the only possible risky activity, but still seemed to believe that there was no risk, *'they wouldn't take you if there was a risk, even a slight risk.'* Victoria Falls was seen as the next most risky place. Some tourists chosen to divide their assessment of risk to show risk from activities as separate to risk in general. The least perceived risk were the journeys. The base of Table 7.13 below uses a colour system to show risk levels.

Table 7.13: Risk as a construct from repertory grids

Tourists	Victoria Falls	Chobe	Journey (Victoria Falls to Hwange)	Wild dog centre	Hwange national park	Journey (Hwange N.P. to Bulawayo)	Bulawayo	Matobo General	Matobo History	Matobo Rhino
B1										
B2	1/3 *	2	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	3
B3	3	1	1	2	3	1	2	3	2	4
B4	2	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	4
B5	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
B6	3	0	1	1	3	1	1	3	4	1
B7	2/4 *	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	3	3
B8										
B9	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	3	2	4
B10	3	2	1	1	2	1	1	3	1	4
B11										
Group A	2	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	3
Total score	20/24	12	9	10	18	9	10	17	15	29



* Victoria Falls as a place/ as activities

 Trip as a whole was not perceived as risky by these tourists

7.5 Observed constructs of animals, places and film

During Trip A, the influence of popular film and of film documentaries was apparent. This was less obvious in members of Trip B. References to film were made by a few of the younger members of the trip who influenced others. (Tourist A5). The Lion King was the most commonly referenced film.



Figure 7.1: “*Oh look its Zazu*”. Hornbill, Hwange National Park, August 2018

(S. Newsome-Magadza)

Sightings of a warthog were usually accompanied by a cry of, ‘*oh, look its Pumba*’ (Tourist A5). When the researcher talked informally to tour guides from a number of companies who were camping at the Bulawayo campsite most frequently used by trucks (September, 2018), all confirmed that the reference to the ‘Lion King’ was common through many groups. The researcher was therefore expecting this to occur amongst Trip B tourists, but it did not. This led the researcher to wonder whether other films such as ‘Madagascar’ and ‘The Wild’ also had an influence on some groups.

Trip A tourists also referenced place by how it reminded them of film landscape and other structures in their existing construct influences. The Matobo National Park landscape of balancing rocks and bare rock ‘whalebacks’, reminded some tourists (A5 and 2) of landscape in the film ‘Ice Age’. This was despite the very different global and climatic settings.

The role of documentaries was also powerful in the influence of pre-constructs that in turn influenced how tourists positioned what they saw in their minds.



Figure 7.2: *“It reminds me of Ice Age”* Rocks in Matopos National Park, August 2018 (S. Newsome-Magadza)

In contrast, older tourists tended to relate what they saw to other structures. Tourist B7 was impressed by the cave structure of Pomongwe, where tourists were taken to view San cave paintings. He related the cave to a concert hall.

Thus, constructs are often influenced by tourists trying to relate landscape or species within the landscape to what they have seen before- be it on the screen, or physically.



Figure 7.3: *“It is like an amphitheatre or concert hall”* Pomongwe cave, Matopos National Park, August 2018 (S. Newsome-Magadza)

7.6 Strength of construct response to places visited

Table 7.14 below brings together broad repertory grid groupings and place elements. Through intensity shading the table shows the relationship between the construct and the response. Matopos rhino can be seen to evoke strongest response in all but the two construct groups where it is irrelevant- namely local people, and culture and facilities. Matopos in general also evokes a strong response.

Some constructs such as emotional response and characteristics of place are strong in key places and weak elsewhere, whereas group interaction and facilities apply more uniformly to a number of places.

It is interesting to note that there is low response to the journey for nearly all constructs. However, many overland truck companies market the journey as central to the package and as an attraction in its own right. Looking at this pattern it seems that ways of making the journey more meaningful should be explored. Bulawayo scores low mainly because tourists had no opportunity to see it. Some tourists were very keen to have a chance to do so and this is something I believe the company should consider.

This cannot easily be compared to stakeholder constructs, given that stakeholder are not using a repertory grid due to the static nature of their experience of place. However, by examining individual places relative to construct groups some level of comparison may be made.

Table 7.14: Strength of construct response to places visited

Construct	Victoria Falls	Chobe	Journey V.Falls to Hwange	Wild dog centre	Hwange National park	Journey Hwange N.P. to Bulawayo	Bulawayo	Matobo in general	Matobo History	Matobo Rhino
Emotional Response	Dark Blue	Light Blue	Very Light Blue	Medium Blue	Dark Blue	Very Light Blue	Light Blue	Dark Blue	Light Blue	Dark Blue
Characteristics of place	Dark Blue	Medium Blue	Light Blue	Very Light Blue	Light Blue	Medium Blue	Very Light Blue	Dark Blue	Dark Blue	Dark Blue
Local people and culture	Dark Blue	Light Blue	Very Light Blue	Dark Blue	Light Blue	Medium Blue	Very Light Blue	Dark Blue	Dark Blue	Light Blue
Wildlife and conservation	Medium Blue	Dark Blue	Very Light Blue	Dark Blue	Dark Blue	Very Light Blue	Very Light Blue	Dark Blue	Light Blue	Dark Blue
Education	Light Blue	Medium Blue	Light Blue	Dark Blue	Dark Blue	Very Light Blue	Light Blue	Dark Blue	Light Blue	Dark Blue
Group Interaction	Medium Blue	Dark Blue	Very Light Blue	Dark Blue	Dark Blue	Medium Blue	Dark Blue	Dark Blue	Light Blue	Dark Blue
Facilities	Dark Blue	Dark Blue	Dark Blue	Medium Blue	Dark Blue	Dark Blue	Dark Blue	Dark Blue	Very Light Blue	Very Light Blue

Strongest									Weakest
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

7.7 How the journey changed perceptions

Changes in tourist perceptions as noted by tourists themselves are shown in Table 7.15 below. Most tourist reported that the journey had led to greater positive value being attributed to aspects of Zimbabwe. This applied to wildlife richness and diversity, a main draw for tourists. The country was also viewed as being more 'civilised' something equated to 'westernisation'. There was little contact with locals but the people who the tourists saw in the streets, beside the roads and in the shops did not resemble the more exotic primitive expected (as exemplified by the San). Many tourists were shocked by the prices they encountered in the shops. They particularly referenced the massive US dollar price one of them paid for a bottle of sunscreen. It was difficult for tourists to see this in the context of an expensive luxury import.

7.8 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the constructs and values held by overland truck tourists prior and after the trip through Zimbabwe. Tourists were motivated to join the trip through the country by the prospect of wildlife. Some tourists had prior knowledge of history and politics. The strongest group of constructs of place were linked to emotional response to what was seen. There was very little contact with local people and this meant that those who were encountered had a strong influence on tourist constructs be they negative or positive. This appeared to result in exaggerated views where the Euro-Zimbabwean tour guide was seen very positively relative to the pestering curio seller who was seen as an irritation and a threat.

These research findings provide an insight into the values derived from exposure to place and experiences of the overland truck tourists. No such information has been available previously. The use of the repertory grid to elicit constructs related to the places along the journey is a new application of the technique that can be applied further.

Table 7.15: Changes in Perceptions, as recognised by tourists themselves.

Source: grids obtained through interviews (Group B) and group discussion (Group A), 2018

No obvious crime or danger (feeling safe)	'I haven't seen any crime', Tourist B2
Good wildlife	'I hadn't realised it was that good, I thought Zimbabwe was more agriculturally farmed rather than having parks', Tourist B4
Nicer than expected More people should visit	'Wow, this is nice, it's a much nicer country than I thought it would be', Tourist B3
Less arid than expected	
Less populated than expected	
More westernised than expected More 'civilised' than expected	'It has been way more civilised than I had been told through the media, and general perception of the West on Africa', Tourist B10 'We have seen the San people, that's more what I expected it to be like', Tourist B6
Impressed by internet presence	'I am quite surprised that it kept an equal trend with the rest of the world, because, well, I don't have 4G reception everywhere, but in the cities I have, and it is just the same as when I am in Europe in my home town', Tourist B9
Friendly	
Girls more beautiful than expected	'I was quite surprised with the beauty of the Zimbabwe girls as well, it was the best one I have seen in the whole of East and Southern Africa', Tourist B8.
Problem of prices	
Power inequality (on racial basis)	'The positions, the important positions, are not black people, the guides in Matopos were not black people', Tourist B11

Chapter 8

Stakeholder constructs of place: data collected from non-tourist stakeholders

8.0 Introduction

Chapter 7 presented tourist constructs and values obtained through interview and the use of the repertory grid technique. This chapter presents non-tourist stakeholder constructs of place. As only the overland truck tour employees undertook the entire journey, most of these stakeholders were unable to supply useful constructs of more than one or two places visited. Stakeholders took the form of brokers or locals. Constructs elicited were, with the exception of the tour leaders, derived from interview focused on the stakeholder's activities or areas of expertise.

8.1 Stakeholder categories and profiles

Prior to embarking on research, the researcher expected tourists to directly engage with a variety of stakeholders, although it was expected that in many cases contact would be brief. The research revealed far less direct contact than was initially envisaged. As a result, stakeholders in direct contact with tourists were interviewed and a further group of stakeholders with little to no direct contact were also interviewed. These were chosen due to their ability to convey local cultural narrative. It was felt that although these had no contact with tourists directly, the presence of tourists moving through their local areas meant that they were still stakeholders and could experience long term positive or negative impacts from the presence of the tourists.

Table 8.1: Non-tourist stakeholders interviewed

Stakeholder	Representative/ employment	Designation	Contact with tourists
TL1	Tour company	Tour leader (Trip A)	DIRECT
TL2	Tour company	Tour leader (Trip B)	DIRECT
C	Tour company	cook (Trip B)	DIRECT
D	Tour company	Driver (Trip B)	DIRECT
S1	Safari company	Owner and guide	DIRECT
SG	Matobo Curio sellers	Local group	DIRECT
S2	Matobo National Park	Senior Ranger	INDIRECT
S3	Wild Dog Centre	Manager	INDIRECT
CS1	Matobo culture	Cultural expert	NONE
CS2	Nambya Culture	Cultural expert	NONE
CS3	Nambya culture	Culture/ex-Parks	NONE
CS4	Nambya culture	Elder	NONE

8.2 Stakeholders in direct contact with tourists

Stakeholders with direct contact with the tourists fell into two distinct categories. The first group were employees of the tour company who travelled with the tourists on the journey, the second people who provided services to the tourists and in doing so came into direct contact with them.

8.2.1 Company employees on truck

These stakeholders did not originate from the areas visited, and interpreted the areas with the eyes of an outsider. However, they did have a prior narrative of places and journey as they had visited and undertaken it before, and had also received input from other tour leaders and employees, who had also led trips along the stretch of journey under study. On the tour under study it was usual to have three company employees on the truck, the tour

leader, who also undertook some driving, the driver who was considered a 'stand-in' tour leader if required, and a cook who decided on the menu and coordinated the cooking and activities related to it.

Table 8.2: Company employees interviewed

Stakeholder	Age	Sex	Designation/role	Origin	Contact with tourists
TL1	30s	F	Tour leader	UK	Direct mentor
TL2	30s	M	Tour leader	UK	Direct mentor
C	40s	M	Cook	Zimbabwe	Direct (focus on meal preparation and consumption)
D	30s	M	Driver	Kenya	Direct (level of interaction varied depending on tourist)

Of these company employees the tour leaders had greatest contact with, and influence on, the tourists. Both were British, university educated, articulate leaders, who had undertaken the trip on a number of previous occasions. The tour leaders for Trip A and Trip B were both interviewed and used a repertory grid as part of their interview. Tour leaders were observed to be quite different in style and focus, partly due to differences in interests and partly in response to different sizes and compositions of tourists on Trip A from Trip B.

The driver and cook interviewed both worked on trip B. Both were of African origin, the driver originating from Kenya and the cook from Zimbabwe. It should be noted that while the cook was Zimbabwean he did not originate from the area travelled through, which contained a very different people, cultural tradition, landscape and economic base. The interviews with the driver and cook were general interviews without the use of repertory grids as these were found to detract from discussion.

8.2.2 Tour leaders

Tour leader 1 (TL1) was far more responsive to the repertory grid technique and came up with a greater number of constructs than tour leader 2 (TL2). As tour leaders had

undertaken the trip many times and were undertaking it in a work capacity, constructs were less to do with personal responses to place and more of what the place offered from a tourism and leadership perspective.

Table 8.3: Categories of constructs of places visited as suggested by the tour leaders from repertory grids

Category Derived by researcher	Constructs (within category) Given by tour leaders
Risk	Level of risk
Characteristics of place	How unusual, level of commercial tourism
Conservation/responsibility	Conservation, responsible tourism
Culture	Cultural understanding
Education	How educational

Source: grids obtained through interviews with tour leaders

Table 8.4: Grid constructs suggested by tour leaders

Tour leader	Characteristics of place	Culture	Conservation/responsibility	Education	Risk
TL1	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
TL2	✓		✓		✓

Source: grids obtained through interviews with tour leaders (Trip A and B), 2018

8.2.2.1 Characteristics of place

TL2 focused on which places visited were most special and unusual. ‘How unusual’ is an obviously relative concept and as a tour leader he was in a good position to judge places against others he had visited. He placed the rhino in Matobo as the most unique experience of the section of the trip under study: *‘there are probably not many places in Africa, or the world, where you can get so close to rhino’*. He also considered Victoria Falls and the general and historical experiences at Matobo, highlights that were special. Interestingly, despite placing Victoria Falls as a highlight of the trip for most tourists and as an incomparable feature, this tour leader had never actually visited the Falls themselves.

Although I have been there three times, I have not yet left the campsite there because I have been working so hard (TL2)

Chobe, Hwange National Park and Bulawayo were considered as least special places or experiences on this stretch of journey. TL2 considered Chobe as a typical park experience and recognised that some tourists would rather drop it from the itinerary. However, he does go on to state, *'the thing with wildlife is that every day is different from the next'*. This sentiment resonates with the researcher, who first visited Chobe as a participant in Trip A. The boat safari on the Chobe River on that occasion was a special experience, as the river was full of elephants swimming to the islands and sparring in the shallows. The researcher had never experienced such a sight, despite having lived in Southern Africa for many years, and she vowed to return with family. On her second visit with Trip B, two months later, there were no signs of the elephant, and the boat game viewing experience was pleasant, but bland. Hwange National Park evoked a similar response from TL2,

I love the park itself, I think it is beautiful, but in terms of wildlife I do not see it as being particularly unique.... I have been there three times now and not seen lion, actually I have not seen anything.

In contrast, TL1 praised Hwange National park during general discussion and stated that she always saw notable game there. On trip A (led by TL1) the group saw lion and wild dogs within the park as well as a variety of other game. It is also apparent that Hwange National Park and Chobe are assessed almost solely on richness of game viewing and on the presence (or lack of) of big cats (lion and leopard). Matopos, in contrast, is a park with a broader appeal and therefore considered more special and unusual.

TL2 considered the journeys between the different places of interest along the route as fairly special: *'well, being an overland trip, I consider it quite special, it is part of what we do'*. This mirrors the attitude of the tour companies who view and market the journeys as part of the whole.

Places might also be viewed in terms of how commercial tourism is at a destination. TL1 focused on this. Rather predictably, she viewed Victoria Falls and Chobe as being the most commercially developed destinations along the six-day journey. She felt that Matobo and the rhino experience were of medium levels of commercial tourism and that the Hwange

National Park was relatively non-commercial. Certainly, comparing Chobe with its luxury lodges to Hwange, where such lodges are well outside the park and not visited by the truck, shows a clear contrast in commercial development.

8.2.2.2 Cultural understanding

The six-day section of trip under study is marketed primarily as a game viewing opportunity, therefore opportunities for cultural understanding were limited. TL1 stated that in her view '*culture is day to day life*'. In giving this as a construct TL1 mentioned '*observing without disturbing*'. It was unclear whether this observation would lead to real understanding, however the construct was of interest as it raised issues as to how the tour leader viewed cultural experience in the first place. In comparing experiences at different places TL1 placed Matopos history as highest for cultural understanding. There is an obvious question here relating to how far exposure to history assists in understanding culture and of what culture is being referred to. The history at Matopos was explained by the tour guides and was focused on the San as part of the viewing of cave paintings and on the colonial history associated with Rhodes (although some guides mentioned a little of the Ndebele significance of the Rhodes grave site). Matopos in general was placed second highest for this construct. In this case there was one of the few times of limited contact that the tourists had with local people in the form of the curio sellers in the park. All these do come from local villages. While this contact was largely transactional, in some cases there was further interaction and some tourists asked more about where the curios were made and their significance. TL1 placed the journeys and Bulawayo itself as of medium cultural understanding. These did expose the tourists to fleeting glimpses of local life outside the truck and presented some potential for rather impressionistic understanding. Chobe and Hwange as wildlife focused destinations and experiences were seen as presenting least opportunities for cultural understanding.

8.2.2.3 Education

Education was a broader construct than cultural understanding and a more conscious one. TL1 placed the Wild Dog Centre highest here. This centre's prime public function is education, although its overall function is to preserve and rehabilitate wild dog. Matopos

history, rhino and Hwange National Park scored next highest in this respect. However, she recognised that her perceptions of these as highly educational was *'because of the guide used'*. The journeys were not seen as educational at all.

8.2.2.4 Risk

Overall the rhino walk experience was seen as most risky by both tour leaders, as it dealt with close encounter with wild animals and therefore presented a level of unpredictability. TL2 placed Victoria Falls as of slightly higher risk than the rhino as he felt that some of the extreme activities such as white-water rafting engaged in by some tourists presented a definite risk although as he stated, *'they are all covered by insurance anyway'*. TL1 placed the Victoria Falls as relatively low risk probably because she was thinking of the place rather than of the activities and stated that minor crime and wandering animals formed the highest risk factor here. Both tour leaders placed the journey segments of the trip as medium risk, although both felt that these parts of the trip had the potential for the most problematic situations. TL2 said *'if you look at the whole grand scale of things probably being on the road is the most dangerous aspect of the whole trip'*. He however, placed it as medium rather than high risk because of the *'open roads'*, *'not a high rate of traffic'* and *'the trucks are very well maintained'*. Overall Zimbabwe was seen as a safe destination *'I think Zimbabwe is generally quite safe really compared to other places'* (TL2).

8.2.3 Other company employees

Both the Zimbabwean cook (C) and the Kenyan driver (D) viewed place primarily in terms of community and local life. It was apparent that these employees did not always get to experience the places that the tourists did. The driver had to service the vehicle at day stops and had therefore not experienced Matopos and the rhino. The cook had gone to Matopos on one occasion but at most stops he remained in camp preparing the food for when the tourists returned. Constructs from these two employees therefore, took the form of general observations rather than those related to individual places on route.

8.2.3.1 Local life

Comparison between other African countries was of interest to these employees. Coming from Kenya the driver was interested to see how Zimbabweans lived.

There are some things to see on the road and experiencing especially peoples, how they are selling stuff; how they are struggling to sell their stuff' (D).

The perception of a struggling local population was repeated in this employee's narrative with further references to whether people can afford to pay for things and costs and trials of day to day life, *'people they struggle, especially queuing at the bank, people they don't have money, things are going higher' (D).*

8.2.3.2 Interaction with communities

One employee felt that there should be more interaction with local communities. However, he acknowledged that this could go wrong if tourists became judgemental. *'It can be a little bit tricky because sometimes when tourists go to the community they say they want to see how people live and at the same time they want to change people's living system' (C).* He gave an example from Kenya where one tourist attempted to tell a Samburu elder that their custom and practice was wrong. The tourists were asked to leave. He felt that if done right *'the locals and the tourists can benefit from each other, it is not just a one-sided benefit, it benefits both sides' (C).*

8.2.3.3 Tourism as an elite activity

The local population was seen as *'struggling to sell' (D)* to tourists and excluded from many of the experiences available to the tourist (C), *'there will sometimes be some people in the area who are not allowed to get into the National Park'.* He felt that locals should be enabled through low fees in order that they experience the National Parks. It was clear that as Africans these company employees saw the gap between their clients and local people and were aware of the need to bridge it.

8.2.3.4 Underlying racism in the industry

There was an acknowledgement that tourists were biased towards white guides. This was manifested through tourists viewing them as more trustworthy and dependable. *'As long*

as there is a white person in front some other white people feel comfortable' (C). One employee said,

You can say the same thing, what a white guy said and what a black guy said, if the black guy said it, you (the tourist) will go and read a book to see if it is true, but if the white guy said it, they (the tourists) don't go and read a book, they say, "Yea, that's correct" (C)

8.2.4 Safari company

The overland truck company hires a local safari operator to take clients on safaris within the National Parks in Zimbabwe. This is partly because large trucks are not allowed to operate within Zimbabwe's National Parks, and partly because the experience of game viewing in a small purpose adapted safari vehicle with expert guides is far more meaningful. Two companies cover all the Matopos and rhino walking overland truck trade. The overland truck company used by the researcher used the larger of the two safari companies for both drives in Hwange, and for the day trip into Matopos that included the rhino walk. The company has been operating since 1995 and has excellent (five star) reviews on sites such as Trip Advisor and is referred to by the tour leaders as *'the best guides in Africa'*. According to its owner and principle guide the company works with *'probably about eighty percent of overland truck companies, Drifters, Dragoman, Nomad, Absolute, Acacia, G. Adventures, Intrepid East and South Africa, Indaba, Shoestrings, Tshongololo'* (S1). The company offers two alternative tours to Matopos, both including the rhino, and San paintings but with options of either Rhodes grave or a trip to a local village. The company that the researcher participated in includes the tour with Rhodes grave in its 'pre-paid activities', most other companies offer the Matopos tour as an optional extra and tourists have to decide on whether they wish to pay to visit the park with the safari company. This meant that the researcher participated in the Rhodes grave tour twice as part of Trip A and of Trip B. In addition, the researcher joined a trip that included the village option with a different group of tourists from another company in order that she got a feel of how the village tour operated. Figure 8.1 shows the tourist group driving into Matopos. Riding on the bucket seat at the front is a treat eagerly anticipated by tourists.



Figure 8.1: In safari vehicle in Matopos National Park

Source: Newsome Magadza, August 2018

8.2.4.1 Elements of place

The safari operator sees Matopos package, *'We don't sell Matopos as a game drive, we sell it as historical, scenery, rhinos'* (S1). He does acknowledge that the initial draw for many tourists is the rhino, *'I think, sadly, because rhino are becoming so rare, that's your calling card'* (S1). Matopos is a unique landscape that is difficult to convey to tourists until they have seen it, as the tour operator states, *'how do you put Matopos into words?'*

Table 8.5: Elements of Matopos mentioned in interview with Safari operator

Element	Mentioned
Scenery	The hills. The scenery
History	Rhodes grave Malindidzimu Mzilikazi The bushman paintings The MOTH shrine Boy Scouts
Biotic	Plants Poisons Medicines
Game	Rhino
Community	People's homes Village People interaction Curio sellers

Source: Interview with safari operator January 2019

8.2.4.2 Constructs

As a white Zimbabwean growing up on the farm, the Tour Operator perceives himself as part of the indigenous community adjacent to the Park, *'the villages is where I grew up, so all the guys in the community have known me all my life'* (S1). He therefore sees visits to the village with tourists as a *'natural progression'* in what was offered to tourists.

He attempts to present a narrative at Rhodes' grave that includes Mzilikazi and the traditional significance of the site and assured the researcher that all his guides do this. In fact, the researcher did not experience this to be true and was placed in the awkward situation of not wanting to 'tell-tales' on some of the other guides who had opted to stay at the Land Rovers and leave the tourists to their own experiences. Even with the inclusion of Malindidzimu and Mzilikazi the narrative imparted still justifies and glorifies Rhodes.

'Yes, it is a sacred spot to the African people, but a big chunk of the significance is that they allowed permission for the burial and gave recognition for Rhodes' (S1).

He further adds weight to his viewpoint by referring to a television programme made at a time when there was pressure to remove Rhodes grave from the site. Apparently local curio sellers were asked their view and said,

'our ancestors not only gave Rhodes permission to be buried there but saluted him at his death; we are Matabele, the people who are trying to say 'no' are Shona, and it's not their right' (S1).

The researcher has no way to ascertain the veracity of this, however, she is aware of and has observed, a common tendency amongst white Zimbabweans in the Matabeleland areas of Zimbabwe, to try to separate the views of the Ndebele from the broadly Shona group of peoples and to make out that the Ndebele worked better with the whites. This form of divide and rule tactic persists in Zimbabwe even beyond Independence.



Figure 8.1: Cecil Rhodes' Gravesite

Source: Newsome Magadza, 2018

As a safari operator, risk is obviously of some concern. He does not see the rhino as the greatest risk, *'far the biggest risk is the people rather than the animals and the bush' (S1).* He views

the clients just playing silly buggers, jumping off rocks, not looking where they are walking, jumping in and out of the vehicle instead of carefully getting in and out (S1)

as being the greatest risk. While the researcher did not witness any injuries, she did experience the climbing and jumping of youthful members of Trip B and the potential for injury. Rhino are large powerful animals, but the white rhino are relatively passive with poor eyesight and the guides are used to visiting them. However, the operator stated that he had had close calls, when clients did not listen to instructions and *'aggravated animals and we have had some charges, but then I have shouted them down and managed the situation'* (S1). Therefore, risk is perceived as linked to people's behaviour rather than to place and environment.

The researcher observed the narrative given at the caves regarding the paintings and the San. Reference was made to the spiritual beliefs of the San and to their knowledge of the star Sirius. This fascinated the researcher but was not mentioned by any of the tourists in subsequent discussions. The San were portrayed as distinct from the other African tribes who entered the area and were made out to be peaceful environmentalists in contrast with other African peoples. Nothing else was said about the later inhabitants of the area who were removed from the area by the Rhodesians.

8.2.5 Curio sellers

The curio sellers within the Matopos National Park are found at the junction between the circular drive through the Park and the road up to Rhodes' grave. They occupy a purpose-built construction that is owned by the National park. All the curio sellers who trade from this site come from the villages adjacent to the Park (Tombo, Shazhau and Silozwe, all in Ward 16 Silozwe). They sell as individuals but form a social group. Not all members of the group come to sell every day as they have other activities linked to village life and farming. The group is mainly composed of men and elderly women. This group are all Isindebele speakers and were interviewed through group discussion with the assistance of a translator.



Figure 8.2: Curio sellers

Source: Newsome Magadza, 2018

8.2.5.1 Constructs of place

People were viewed as central to place. ‘Ukuqakatheka kwethu yikuthi ukuba yiyo kwayo iMatopos ukuqala kwakhona yithi’ (Matobo is what it is because of the people). Co-existence was central to construct of place. The group referred to their coexistence with animals,

our houses are built around mountains where you can find animals like snakes and monkeys, but you find people being able to live in such areas, something most people would not be able to do’ (SG).

The ‘*use of natural things around us*’ was also given as an example of coexistence.

Another construct linked to the historical and spiritual significance of Matobo as a place. Njelele and certain balancing rocks were given as examples of these.

Table 8.6: Curio sellers constructs of Matopos as a place

Construct	Example
Coexistence	With animals By use of things around us
Utility	Roots provide colour for crafts Grass cut for thatch Grass for feeding cattle
Scenery	Balancing rocks Mountains
History	Rocks with paintings
Traditional significance	Water springs Caves Rocks that are beaten as drums
Spiritual	Njelele

Source: discussion with curio sellers, September 2018

8.2.5.2 Attitudes to tourism

There was a feeling of frustration and marginalisation felt by the curio sellers regarding tourism within the Park.

Tourists come from all over the world and contribute to tourism, come to see the things we make and places we live at, yet Zimbabwean tourism does not appreciate us in any way (SG).

The group referred to people coming to their houses, taking pictures of what they created and then leaving and ‘we gain nothing’. They went to the extent of saying, ‘this makes us feel hatred towards them even if we will not do anything about it’, a sentiment that shows the frustration and helplessness felt, linked to exclusion. Apparently, there was a local guide who took people for tours of some of the historic sites but when Museums and Monuments (run by Government) took over the direct administration of the Rhodes grave/Malindidzimu site and the caves with paintings, there were no locals used anymore to give tours. The group felt that they had more to offer and that the prevalence of National Parks and National Monuments staff who were employees originating from areas outside the Park (often from far distant parts of Zimbabwe), had silenced local narratives of place and insights into the area that only locals could offer.

They summed this up by saying,

In as much as they may be more educated than us, we are more educated in this case because we live here and know the place more than them (SG).

8.3 Stakeholders in indirect contact with tourists (Brokers)

8.3.1 Matopos National Park Senior Ranger

Overland truck tourists enter the National Park with the safari operator and have no direct contact with parks employees. So while the Ranger is likely aware of the presence though not necessarily on the exact day of entry, the tourist is unlikely to encounter the ranger.

The Senior Ranger originated from the Hwange area and had worked in both Hwange and Matopos National Parks. The overriding construct of the area held by the Senior Ranger lies in its spiritual significance. He summed up the significance of the area with the statement, *'Matopos is the Jerusalem of Southern Africa'* (S2). In this he was referring to the significance of Njelele as principal shrine associated with rainmaking and traditional worship. While Njelele is not found within the designated National Park it is found in the wider area and is part of what makes up the significance of Matobo. He also refers to Malindidzimu as a place for traditional rituals. The Senior Ranger acknowledges that Rhodes is buried at Malindidzimu as *'he wanted to be buried where the Ndebele got powers and be buried as king'* (S2).

Table 8.7: Senior Ranger Constructs of Matopos as a place

Construct	Example
Spiritual	Njelele Malindidzimu
Historic	Colonial graves: Rhodes and priest friend of Rhodes buried within park
Landscape/topography	Distinctive rock scenery
Animals	Sable, Kudu and others. Rhino introduced into area as suitable to monitor for anti-poaching.
Local use	Allowed to collect thatching grass Employed as casual labour Work together with community to maintain roads, etc.

Source: Interview with Senior Ranger, Matobo National Park, September 2018

8.3.2 Manager Wild Dog Centre, Hwange.

The Wild Dog centre is a conservation and awareness centre that focuses on the protection of the endangered African Wild dog population. Much of their work is in educating schools and communities. Not all overland trucks visit the centre but the company that the researcher joined makes a regular stop here. The company sees this as both an opportunity to expose tourists to the significance of wild dogs and to contribute something towards the centre. A donation is made at each visit.

The Manager of the centre does not have any direct contact with the tourists although there are staff who show them around the exhibits and give a story narrative of the lives of the African Wild Dog through following the history of a pack.

As a local with expertise in wildlife the centre manager discussed not only the Wild Dog, but other species found in the Hwange area. In doing this he came up with grid constructs for wildlife as he perceived them from the point of view of tourist and local relations to species. These constructs related to conservation (rarity, protection level, hunting), conflict (human/wildlife conflict, danger to people), Tourist worth and perception (photogenic, association with film and tales) and local tradition (cultural oral tradition). Species chosen were those common in Hwange National Park and surrounding area (or in the case of the Wild Dog, locally important).

Table 8.8: Perceived species constructs

Construct	Lion	Wild dog	elephant	Buffalo	Impala	Kudu	Giraffe	Cheetah	Zebra	Warthog
Carnivores/herbivores	C	O	H	H	H	H	H	C	H	O
Rarity	3	5	1	2	1	1	2	3	1	1
Protection level	5	5	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Type of hunting (legal/illegal)	1	1	5	1	5	5	1	1	1	3
Human/wildlife conflict level	5	2	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Danger to people	5	1	5	5	1	1	1	2	1	2
Photogenic (perception)	5	5	4	3	1	2	3	5	2	1
Tourist association with film and Tales	5	1	4	2	1	1	3	5	4	5
Local cultural oral tradition	5	1	5	1	5	5	2	2	4	5

5 = strongest/greatest

1 = weakest

C = carnivore

H = Herbivore

O = Omnivore

Source: discussion with S3 September 2018.

Potential wildlife problems lie where an animal species is highly protected and is a draw for tourists but is also a danger to people and in conflict with humans. Lion and elephant are the two main species in this category.

Here place is viewed through the animals that inhabit it, rather than its other attributes.

8.4: Cultural representatives with no direct tourist contact

To understand underlying culture and traditional views of place, the researcher identified local people with cultural and traditional knowledge of place in the two main areas visited along the journey, the Hwange area and the Matopos area. The main group of people living in the Hwange area are the Nambya, these are descendants of a branch of the Rozwi who constructed walled cities over much of Zimbabwe (such as Great Zimbabwe). In the area surrounding Matopos National Park most of the people are Ndebele although the neighbouring Kalanga people are also of Rozwi ancestry. In both Matopos and Hwange areas

local people have been historically dispossessed through the founding of the National parks. Tourist demand for 'unspoilt' nature continues to impact on local communities by denying them the chance to control their own resources fully. The presence of tourists passing through these local areas serves to emphasise the marginalisation of local people whose lives are presently not gaining value from tourist presence. There is future opportunity to share their knowledge of the areas and benefit from tourism.

8.4.1: Background

To cover cultural and traditional background to the Matopos area and to Western Zimbabwe, the researcher interviewed Pathisa Nyathi a well-known cultural expert, who founded the Amagugu Centre in Kezi (Matopos area) and is a well-known researcher and author locally and internationally. Pathisa Nyathi wished to be acknowledged by name as he is keen to have his cultural ideas heard. He is a retired teacher and well-known local figure. While he is widely viewed as an expert, his interpretations seek to expose traditional meanings that have largely been forgotten and he cannot be viewed as a typical local person. He himself states that, *my understanding is somewhat different from other people, I come from an African thought perspective rather than African practice*'.

To capture Nambya traditional constructs of place and tradition, three representatives from the Nambya community were interviewed. The first was a translator and former Chair of the Nambya Cultural Association, the second a more academic member of the community and a former Parks employee, who was being able to provide a wider perspective on tourism in relation to tradition (and who was also a colleague of the Researcher and acted as a Gatekeeper into the community). The third Nambya interviewed was an elder, a retired school teacher, who at eighty years old was old enough to have more knowledge of tradition.

8.4.1.1 African cosmology

Pathisa Nyathi considers African traditional views of the world as placing emphasis on the intangible. He views the circle as key to African thought perspective which reflects the cosmos and is present in African construction, design and dance. The circle represents *'continuity, eternity, endlessness, immortality and perpetuity*'. The circle is present

throughout African culture; however, most people today are not conscious of its original significance.

8.4.2 Significance of place: Matopos

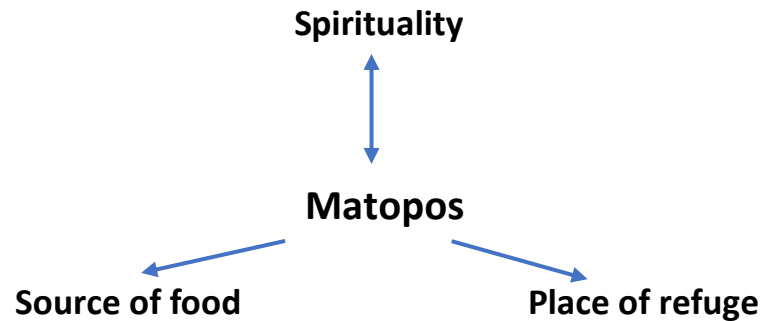


Figure 8.4: Traditional significance of Matopos

The distinct landscape formed through deep weathering which exposed the rock as massive exposed rock hills and balancing rocks created natural caves and these provided safety to the inhabitants of the area. The wildlife of the area and the plants that grew in it provided a source of food. The area was considered the 'navel of the world' (Pathisa Nyathi) because of its spirituality.

8.4.2.1 The San

Pathisa Nyathi rejects attempts to make out that the San were in some way different from other African peoples. He points out that their designs contain the chevron pattern that is common in African design by other groups. He argues that *'the spirituality is the same, moving out of this material plane into another plane which is spiritual, that's African and the San were African'*.

8.4.2.2 Views on tourism

Pathisa Nyathi views the tourist as,

Somebody from outside Matopos and who is holding a culture different from that at Matopos, and is attracted to something that is different, out of the routine, something that gives new experiences.

He sees the quest for new experience as innate in us.

To gain from new experience and contact with place *'two minds must meet'* (Pathisa Nyathi). He is sceptical about change in tourists resulting from their visit as he feels that,

Tourists are not sufficiently exposed to those minds, they are just there to enjoy the environment, the physical environment rather than the human environment. So you confine yourself to the natural environment, the landscape, then there is nothing to change your mind, your ideas, your perceptions, because you didn't interact with a mind, you interacted with rock.

8.4.2.3 Authenticity

The researcher spent some time discussing the village tour offered by the safari company with Pathisa. From observation, the village tour appeared somewhat contrived to the researcher and she was particularly concerned at the portrayal of a local elder as a 'Chief' when she had never heard of such a Chief and at the non-adherence to traditional elements of such a visit that might have formed an opportunity to learn more of local cultural practice. Things such as where to sit when entering a traditional kitchen (men should be on the benches around the edge, women on the mats on the floor) were ignored. This evolved into a discussion on authenticity and to what degree it was important or even desirable in a tourism situation. Pathisa felt that reality ought to be on *'this level, a reflection, a mirror of reality'*. It was acknowledged that *'tourists want to have fun...and out of it into a new experience and end there'*. This is a somewhat cynical view of the tourist experience, but in many cases appears an accurate one.

A further discussion on how to offer the tourist a meaningful but exciting experience recognised that in a short visit or experience, an experience that duplicates reality might be impossible,

if you offer the usual daily experiences they may not be exciting, so you become selective, something that takes one hour, condense it into five minutes.

The example of food preparation was given where in real life situations grinding, pounding, making fire and food preparation, may take place over the course of days, but the tourist may experience and participate in all of them in condensed form over a very short time scale, however, the actions are in themselves authentic.

8.4.2.4 Art and artefact

The Western perspective of art for art's sake was viewed as being contrary to African culture. Pathisa states '*our art comes carried by utility*- San paintings may be explained as a strategy to access the animals. Through the drawings, the animals might be manipulated through a form of 'spiritual manipulation'. He justified this interpretation of the meaning behind the paintings by referring to the overlaying of paintings on top of another, which seemed nonsensical if the aim of the painting is to beautify.

Patterns or pictures depict symbolic messages or stories and are placed on surfaces that have a utility purpose such as walls of traditional dwellings, baskets or pottery.

Curios may therefore have little meaning as the '*curio is minus its intangible cultural heritage*'. This can be compared to the looting that took place during colonisation where artefacts were taken out of context. The example of a Mask can be used to illustrate this,

a mask has costume that goes with it, a mask has some performance, some music, some dance, some masquerade that goes with it...without these the mask has no life (Pathisa Nyathi)

8.4.3 Significance of place: Hwange

The Nambya are found in Hwange and to a lesser extent in surrounding districts. The three stakeholders interviewed were all clear that their ancestors were part of the Rozwi Empire, and migrated to their present location from the area surrounding Great Zimbabwe.

Members of the community describe themselves as:

Peaceful (CS3, CS4)

Avoiding conflict (CS3)

Proud of their culture (CS2)

Table 8.9: Constructs of place

Construct
Spiritual landscapes
History
Traditional management
Animal presence

History is important to the Nambya. During interview all three Nambya representatives mentioned something of their migratory history. That they were once settled within the area of today's Hwange national park is still clearly in their minds; the colonial authorities drove them off this land. The presence of Bumbusi ruins within the park near Sinamatella is testament to this. This narrative is not that different to that of the original inhabitants of Matobo Park area who were also removed to make way for European settler interests.

Certain hills and natural sites have spiritual significance. These may be subject to restricted access and traditional ceremonies may be associated with them such as rainmaking. Special people had the power to '*plant rain*', '*they can do the rituals and where they do it water comes out of the ground*' (CS3)

Plants are also subject to indigenous management. They are used for rituals when made into drums, fruit and nuts. Productive fruit trees like Baobab and Marula cannot be cut. And if it is necessary to cut a branch, the household must consult with neighbours.

Animals had utility and spiritual significance and uses. Some of these are mentioned below:

Table 8.10: Significance of animals in Nambya cultural tradition

Animal	Significance	Use
Lion	'respected symbol of authority' (SC2) Sacred animal (SC2)	Fat used to ordain chief. (SC4) Fat used as medicine to treat wounds
Pangolin	Sacred (SC2)	
Leopard	Skin used ceremonially	For skin (SC2)
Hyena		Parts used in traditional medicine
Rhino		Skin used to make whips
Python	Sacred	Can be eaten (but only ones not considered sacred) (SC2). Fat used by elders or traditional healers to treat sick (SC4)
Snakes		Killed to milk poison which was kept to help cure bites (SC4)
Kudu and antelope		For meat SC4

Source: Discussions with Nambya community stakeholders 2019.

These illustrate the role animals played in traditional life. The continued existence of some game in the Nambya area is significant for both ecology and culture.

8.5 Contrasting narratives and values of places and history from different non-tourist stakeholders

Narratives and constructs of place derived from this diverse range of non-tourists stakeholders vary significantly. These variances are summed up in the tables below.

Table 8.11: Rhodes Grave narratives

Group	Narrative	Quotes
Curio sellers from local villages	Other things are equally important	<i>'we are not regarded as important, but he is. Even Mzilikazi's grave is not as popular as Rhodes. There are a lot of things that are equally important but are disregarded because they are not marked'. (SG)</i>
Pathisa Nyathi, cultural and historical expert	Ndebele had no choice	<i>'when you have defeated a man, do not say a defeated man has given approval, he is a defeated man, full stop'.(CS1)</i>
Safari operator	Rhodes was recognised and given the royal salute	<i>'they allowed permission for the burial and gave recognition to Rhodes'. (S1)</i>
National Museums and Monuments	Rhodes was buried at 'world's View' according to his wishes	<i>'even the Matabele elders still resident in the Matobo hills paid him tribute' (NMM)</i>

Source: Interviews and information boards at museum and Monuments Rhodes grave information centre 2018/19



Figure 8.5: Photo display at Rhodes' gravesite carpark

Source: Newsome Magadza, 2018

Exposure of diverse narratives could enrich tourism experience, as they reflect alternate value systems that need to be recognised if effective community-based tourism is to take place. Conversely, they could threaten the sustainability of the tourism product in some areas if local importance and values of place are ignored.

There are clear differences in narratives that cover the legacy of Rhodes in Zimbabwe. The more indigenous local people appear to not subscribe to the western narrative of local acceptance and even reverence towards Rhodes, while those of white settler ancestry preserve the admiration and idea of the colonial hero. Strangely, Zimbabwe National Museums and Monuments do nothing to counter a single respectful narrative at the grave site.

Table 8.12: Matopos constructs of place

Group	Narrative	Things of importance
tour leader	Unique.	History with San people. Geology of the place.
Safari company	‘How do you put Matobo into words?’	Historical. Scenery. Rhinos
Curio sellers	Important. Co-existence.	People. Rocks with paintings. Njelele. Caves. Water springs. Drum rocks.
Pathisa Nyathi	Spirituality. Food. Refuge.	Cosmic significance. Intangible cultural heritage.
Senior Ranger Matopos N.P.	The Jerusalem of Africa	Njelele Scenery Animals People

All stakeholders appear to value Matopos as a special place. Variation comes with the emphasis and interpretation each stakeholder puts on the various aspects of the park. And how centrally they position the local people as significant within the park.

Table 8.13: Views of the San

Group	Narrative	Quotes/underlying message
tour leaders	African people Anthropology	Self-sufficient, survival skilled African
Safari operator	Admire	The unspoilt primitive
Pathisa Nyathi	Common cosmology	We are all African

Pathisa Nyathi observed the preoccupation of the Europeans with the San and interpreted it as part of the presentation of a landscape minus people,

If it has to be people it would rather be people who don't speak, who left a record, but you don't have to bother with them... those are the San.

Table 8.15: Contrasting values of Animals

Group	Narrative	Significant animals
tour leaders	Photo opportunity Unique rhino experience	Rhino Big Cats Big Five
Safari company	Conservation/preservation Photo opportunities	Rhino Others
Wild Dog Centre manager	Tourist photography Film association Rarity Conservation Local opportunity and conflict	Wild Dog Lion Elephant
Pathisa Nyathi	Part of whole Cultural meaning Spiritual meaning	Lion Python Leopard
Nambya	Intangible Cultural heritage Spiritual meaning Utilitarian	Lion Pangolin Python Leopard

Animals viewed as significant may be similar with different stakeholders. However, reasons for significance vary considerably. Those connected with the tourism business are keen to check off the big five and particularly the ‘big cat’ experience, local cultural stakeholders see species from the point of view of their utility and spiritual significance.

8.6 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that there are a variety of stakeholders in contact with place and environments along the six-day journey. However, only a small proportion of these have direct contact with the tourists. The stakeholders with the most indigenous narrative towards place and its characteristics are those with little to no tourist contact. This means that the tourist is presented with narrative that tends to reinforce their prior perceptions and their ‘National Geographic’ view of the places and natural world they encounter. There is little exposure to fresh, alternate narrative and little chance for the formation of alternate constructs. Values placed on socio-cultural and bio-physical environments vary significantly.

Varying values put on place and tradition may eventually cause resentment and clashes over natural resources between the tourism industry and the local people. The development of tourism which omits local voices has the potential to widen gaps between locals and tourists and cause antisocial behaviour and resentment.

Chapter 9

Tourist and other stakeholder responsibility

9.0 Introduction

Having looked at constructs of places along the route and the values ascribed to them held by tourist (chapter 7) and other stakeholders (chapter 8) this chapter goes on to look at constructs that particularly focus on responsible tourism. Overland truck tourism has been seen to be a small but consistent sector, bringing groups of tourists through areas of Zimbabwe on a regular basis. Because little has been documented or researched about this form of tourism there is a potential danger that it might either lose its appeal or become insensitive to local conditions and fail to fulfil its potential to add value to the tourism sector in the country.

The starting point for this research revolved around the belief that a sustainable, responsible form of tourism, links to an ability to construct a narrative of place that evolves with the journey and is open and empathetic to the areas and peoples encountered. There is widespread discussion on responsible tourism within the tourism industry, and tourists might be expected to have encountered the idea and have some knowledge of its facets. Some stakeholders involved in tourism in Zimbabwe also have ideas about responsible tourism. Other secondary community stakeholders have implied ideas about what they expect in order for tourism to be empathetic to the areas they know. This chapter attempts to capture differing foci on tourism responsibility held by tourists and other stakeholders, and to examine how far these link to the broad pillars of sustainable and responsible tourism. It also looks at how tourists and stakeholders assess responsibility as applied to this overland truck experience. Tourists were asked directly about responsible tourism during interview, some also raised this within the repertory grid exercise.

9.1 Sources of ideas and information

Most of the tourists interviewed were asked directly about their definitions and views of responsible tourism, some raised it as a construct of places along the journey in itself, and in others it was implied. In Group B, the idea of 'sustainability' of destinations was raised as a construct and different tourists in the group gave their input and different perspectives on this. Level one and level two stakeholders were also asked about how they perceived responsible tourism and in some cases their ideas were also inferred from more general discussion.

9.2 Overall constructs

Few tourists came up with full off-pat definitions of responsible tourism containing all the three sustainable pillars of environment, economic and socio-cultural elements. However, it was clear that most tourists did have some perceptions of responsibility in tourism. Tourists tended to dwell on areas that interested them most and apply responsibility primarily to those, so those with greatest concern for animals such as B5 tended to have most focus on that, while B11 placed most emphasis on community and recycling.

General definitions ranged from the relatively non-specific, '*well nothing that is going to destroy what is already there, or at least limit the destruction*' B5 and '*Do no evil, if you come here and you know you are going to do something that is going to have a negative impact, that's not being a responsible tourist*' B9, to the more specific,

So that we are responsible as far as the animals go, as far as the environment goes, and also as far as the people go, because of what we take away from it...(B1)

Not destroying things or damaging them, was extended from the natural environment to include communities and cultures,

Not damaging the environment that you are going to, like in general being a little bit thoughtful and respectful to people, its different cultures (B7)

There was also inclusion of the idea of positive impact, *'Responsible tourism for me starts with conservation, not intruding too much in where you are going and at least trying to have a positive footprint in a place'* (B10)

The idea of *'just being aware'* (B7) is an important one. One wonders where awareness comes from and this raises the need for guidance on what to be aware about and how to interpret situations and places encountered.

In further discussion tourists expanded on definitions to discuss examples, or in a few cases to use responsibility or sustainability as a construct of place, and to compare places visited on the basis of that construct. Tourists B2 and B3 did not directly discuss responsible tourism and therefore were not included in analysis of aspects mentioned by other tourists.

Tourists on Trip A engaged in interesting discussion regarding the responsible aspects of different places on the journey. In comparing their boat safari at Chobe with their jeep one at Hwange, there were varying opinions on impact:

A2: *'I felt we did less damage than on the boat [when in the jeep] because we were less intrusive in what we were doing'*

A1; *'I would go on the negative side because of the noise of the boat, the amount of people, I know if you are on jeeps it's the same as well I suppose'*

A4: *'I think it pays for protection from poachers as well'*

A1: *'the fauna there is keeping them [the guides], for them to be employed they need the animals, so it has a knock on effect'*.

Thus, in this discussion they covered environmental impacts of human intrusion into nature, noise pollution, and tourist numbers; economic support of conservation, in the recognition that tourism helps support the anti-poaching initiatives; and economic aspects through providing employment.

9.2.1 Notions of responsibility in tourism

Respondents were asked to explain their notions of responsible tourism. Initial definitions given contained the following elements:

Table 9.1: Elements contained in responsible tourism definitions

Element	B											A				Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	1	2	3	4	People mention. Sub-element mentions
Animals	1			1	1			1				1	1		1	7
Avoiding poaching								1				1	1		1	4
Preventing disease	1															1
No exploitation	1			1	1											3
																8
Environment				1	1		1		1	1		1	1	1		8
Effects				1								1				2
Conservation										1			1	1		3
Limiting destruction					1		1		1							3
																8
Community	1								1	1	1	1		1		6
Money to community									1	1	1	1		1		5
Equality	1															1
Buying locally										1	1					2
																8
Recycling					1		1	1	1	1	1					6
Fuel usage								1		1	1					3
Recycling					1		1	1								4
Reduce plastics								1	1							3
																10
Culture	1						1		1							3
Empathy/sensitivity	1						1									2
Identity	1								1							2
Avoiding prejudice	1															1
																5
Security (of tourists)	1					1										2
Safety	1					1										2
Fulfilling expectations						1										1
																3
Total																
Elements mentioned	4	-	-	2	3	1	3	2	4	3	2	3	2	2	1	
Sub-elements mentioned	7	-	-	2	3	2	3	4	4	4	5	3	2	2	1	

Source: Interviews (Group B) and group discussion (Group A), 2018

Tourists B2 and B3 did not supply this information in discussion

Translating this to reflect the three pillars of responsible tourism as reflected in UNEP and WTO views of responsible and sustainable tourism and discussed by Mihalic (2016) (see Chapter 3) the greatest focus of most tourists was on the environmental.

Table 9.2: Tourist views of responsible tourism

Pillar	Tourists Trip B											Tourists Trip A				Total Tourists	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	1	2	3	4		
Environmental Animals, environment, recycling	█			█	█		█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	█	15
Economic Money, equality, buying local	█								█	█	█	█	█	█		█	7
Socio-cultural Empathy, identity, no prejudice	█						█		█								3
Tour safety and security	█					█											2

Source: Interviews (Group B) and group discussion (Group A), 2018

9.2.2 Environmental

Under environmental aspects of responsibility, there were three distinct areas mentioned by tourists. Tourists focused on wildlife, avoiding activities that might support poaching and exploitation. This was unsurprising given the wildlife focus of this leg of the journey. General considerations of awareness of tourism on the environment were mentioned linked to broad reference to conservation and tourists support for it. Recycling was also the focus of what many tourists felt was environmentally responsible.

9.2.2.1 Animals

The area of responsible and ethical animal-based tourism has been topical internationally in recent years, this was acknowledged by some tourists,

what you are doing and how it affects the environment, the animals, for example, I wouldn't do the lion walking that was at Victoria Falls (TB4)

Il am not a rhino expert so I don't know if it affects them having people come close to them like that, I think it is a good thing in the big picture for knowledge of people visiting, which is going to lead to more conservation (TB10)

The company discouraged activities such as lion walking and no tourist on either Trip A or Trip B participated in this or in elephant riding, although both were on offer at Victoria Falls.

9.2.2.2 Recycling

As the majority of tourists came from Europe they were already focused on recycling as part of their handling of household rubbish. This made some quite critical of what they perceived as a lack of recycling in Zimbabwe and the presence of litter. Recycling was seen as responsible practice and was part of the trucks responsible policy. However, interestingly there was some conflict over recycling (or lack of it) on the truck itself and there seemed to be some contradiction here. This is discussed further later in the chapter. One tourist summed this up, *'a point would be to reduce plastics, but actually we don't do recycling, that could be improved'* (B7)

A further tourist felt that our choices might influence local behaviour,

if I were to have gone to a park where they threw litter and find plastic in the middle of the park and things like this, I would feel that I had helped the worst kind of people, or keep the pollution intact or in place and would reward the wrong behaviour, and I think that is where you as a tourist really make a difference (B9)

Interestingly, further along the journey this was the tourist who was observed complaining because a campsite was not comfortable enough, but he did not assess whether this made it more ecologically friendly or otherwise.

9.2.2.3 Transport and fuel use

This was mentioned by three tourists as a reason why overland trucks were environmentally responsible. The journey legs of the trip were mentioned as being efficient in terms of impacts as, *'transporting twenty people is much better than transporting two people in cars'* (B8). In a similar vein tourist B10 stated,

it's a big truck but it is one truck for a lot of people, if everyone here had to travel by themselves or in the groups they came in...that would be way worse for the environment.

Only one tourist mentioned the environmental impact of the flight to join the tour at its start and to fly home at the end. This was the oldest and most travelled member of the group, and the one most concerned with environmental impacts of waste generation. He stated that he was always having to defend accusations by friends who said, *'How can you go on an aeroplane and fly around and once a year, so far?'*, and he said he excused himself with the statement that the *'plane flies anyway even without me'*, but wryly acknowledged that *'that is not true of course, and they use the petrol according to the number of passengers'* (B11). These long haul flights are no doubt the most significant environmental impact of the whole trip, but tourists seemed rather oblivious to this aspect of their trip, although it may also have been omitted in their discussion as the researcher's main focus of questions was on the Zimbabwe leg of the trip.

9.2.2.4 Economic

One of the common *economic* arguments for tourism is that it employs local people, this was not really acknowledged by the tourists, perhaps because engaging in overland truck tourism is fairly insular and there is only limited interaction with people employed elsewhere in the industry. However, one tourist said, *'I would want to be a responsible tourist anyway, I hold equal opportunities to my core'* (B1), this tourist was concerned by the lack of indigenous black Zimbabweans encountered during the trip and saw responsible tourism partly in terms of opportunities it created for local people.

Spending locally should assist in the local economies. Tourist B11 acknowledged that one aspect of responsible tourism was *'to bring some money into the country and to spend and distribute your money by buying at these local curio shops'*. Tourist B10 voiced similar sentiments.

Most overland truck tours divide payments into two, the first that is paid direct to the company and the second part that is held as kitty for local purchases (as explained earlier in chapter 2). This is justified by the company partly as a way of ensuring money is spent locally. None of the tourists really discussed this aspect although there were some

comments from tourist B11 regarding the focus on shopping at large supermarkets. He felt that,

they should go to the local market where people sell their vegetables and their fruit.....but when you buy the apples and they are all from South Africa and not from the country here, and so the money is going in the wrong direction.

The researcher made the same observation, noting that for most of the trip supplies were being sourced at supermarkets belonging to big regional chains and occurring in affluent malls of cities.

Only tourist B11 wondered where money paid for the trip ended up,

most of the money, I don't know where it ends up finally, if it stays in the UK with people there working in the office and how much flows here to Africa.

This is the tendency with many forms of tourism where the travel company and agents in the source countries retain the majority of the money paid for the holiday. The researcher believes that in this respect Overland Truck Tour operating companies probably retain less than many other travel companies partly due to the kitty system, however, the fact that most companies are based outside Africa (with the exception of a few South African owned companies) will mean that more funds are retained outside the countries visited. It is interesting that no other tourist raised this aspect of responsible tourism.

9.2.2.5 Socio-cultural

This section of overland truck tour was primarily focused on environmental and particularly game viewing aspects. Socio-cultural aspects of tourism were not a direct focus. Many tourists reflected this by not including it in their view of responsible tourism. Three tourists mentioned socio-cultural aspects of responsible tourism, of these, only tourist B1 really explored this area in any depth. This tourist was concerned at lack of local indigenous narrative in the tour experience. She felt that this aspect of responsible tourism was lacking on the tour and that people were allowed to confirm prejudices and acquire single narratives due to lack of opportunity for responsible socio-cultural experience. She acknowledged that *'interaction with local people has got to be very carefully done'*, but felt that the lack of it allowed tourists to go away with distorted constructs.

9.2.2.6 Tourist safety and security

I guess safety would be a priority, first and foremost, I think there is also responsibility to fulfil people's expectations as well, so it is not a cheap trip, it costs a lot of money, people want to feel fulfilled for spending that money (B6).

This was the only tourist to see responsible tourism solely from this standpoint, however, other tourists also mentioned or implied this aspect. Tourist B1 stated that

everything is integral to the safety and the wellbeing of the group...there are responsibilities within that about educating the group about what is acceptable and not acceptable (B1)

Other tourists referred to safety as being key to their choice of this type of trip (see chapter...) and while they did not mention it in terms of responsibility, the responsibility of the tour company to provide this is implied.

9.3 Realms of responsibility for overland truck tourists

It is possible to identify three realms of responsibility perceived by the tourists on an overland truck tour. Firstly, there is the responsibility they feel for the immediate environment, in this case the truck itself. On occasions this may be extended to the immediate area around the truck in which the tourist camps, or when preparing food. Within this environment tourist safety is paramount and smooth running of day-to-day activities depend upon the group operating cohesively. For this reason, some tourists mentioned it directly as an area for responsible tourism. An example of this is if a tourist is irresponsible and does not follow the drill for hand sanitising each time they enter the truck, there is the potential for all the tourists and crew to get ill. The focus of the responsibility for the immediate environment was seen to rely on the organisation and coordination originating from the tour leader and to be passed down to group and individual responsibilities often enforced through peer monitoring and pressure.

Separating waste within the truck would also fall into this realm, although its effects might be seen in both local and wider environmental realms.

In Mihalic's (2016) diagram constructed to understand responsible tourism (see Chapter 3) this realm would seem to fall under 'sustainable tourism requirements in that it has to do with tourist satisfaction, but it is not the same, as this goes beyond satisfaction into the area of survival, and this can be seen as part of the responsible tourism experience peculiar to the overland truck tour mode of tourism. Indeed overland truck tourism is not sustainable without responsible practice within the experience itself, much of which happens inside the truck.

Beyond the truck and its immediate environs lies the realm of the local environment. This is the environment in which direct tourism experience takes place and where much of responsible tourism focus is applied. In relation to overland truck tours, this local environment changes every one to two days and when travelling on the road, changes constantly. This makes responsible travel constructs difficult to navigate as it is often hard to identify responsible practice in the context of the place encountered. This local environment realm could be divided into environment, economic, and socio-cultural sectors.

Realms of responsibility

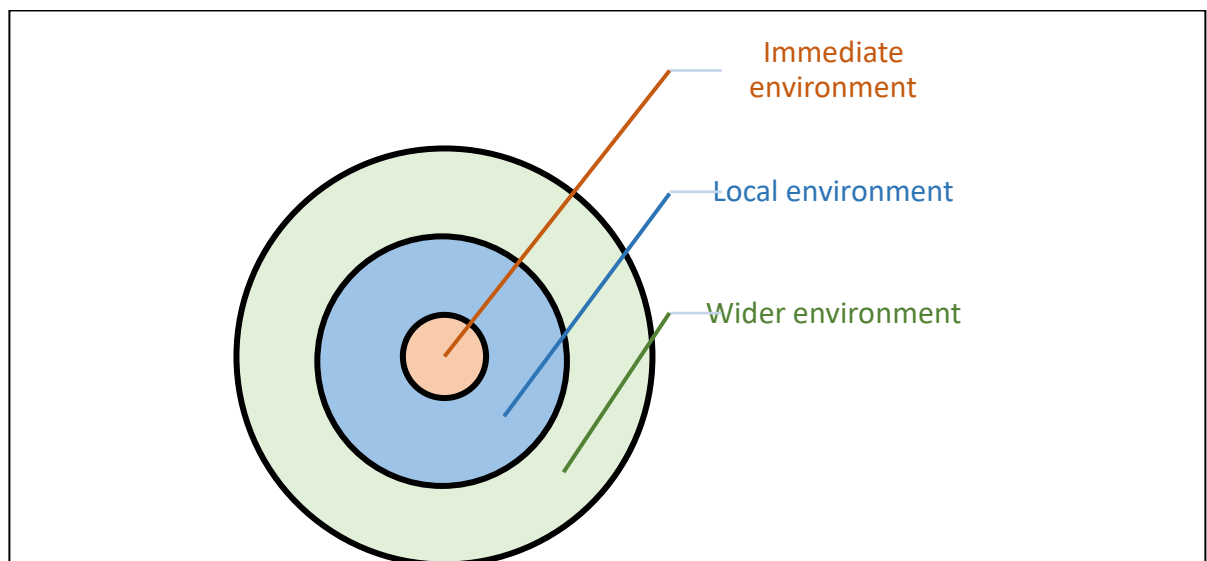


Figure 9.1: Realms of responsibility in overland truck tourism

Source: Newsome Magadza 2020

The realm of the wider environment represents the broader impacts of tourism and the more far reaching potential impacts. These are things such as the impact of long-haul flights, use of worlds resources and need for recycling, and carbon emissions.

9.3.1 Significance

From discussion with tourists during participation on the two trips it is clear that many tourists focus on one or two aspects of responsible tourism and at one or two levels. Most tourists were able to identify some facets of responsibility but did not discuss them in depth in relation to the trip they were on. The rather unique form taken by overland truck tourism adds a further dimensional realm of the truck itself, to the responsible experience and to what is needed to ensure the sustainability of the tour and future tours.

9.3.2 Assessment of responsibility of place from inside truck looking out

In responsible tourism the onus is on the tourist and stakeholders to apply responsible principles to tourism in places visited. The researcher observed a tendency for tourists to be judgemental about what they saw as negative aspects of place, without having the knowledge to understand the underlying factors that contributed to place differences. This was particularly true in relation to litter and recycling. Tourist B9 said

I was really disappointed at Zimbabwe to be honest, because they have what is basically a really beautiful country, but they don't seem to care, they just throw their shit out everywhere, you see piles and piles of trash alongside the road, whereas in Namibia we have been driving around for five or six days now and we haven't seen a single piece of plastic alongside the road.

While it is true that Zimbabwe has a litter problem, the tourist seemed oblivious to the many variables that might explain the contrast between Zimbabwe and Namibia, and that the only areas of Namibia they were exposed to were parks, affluent parts of town and almost completely unpopulated desert and semi-desert areas. This tendency to pass judgement when viewing the world superficially through the windows of the truck was observed to permeate this form of tourism and could also distort perceptions of what is responsible practice in a place.

9.3.3 Influence of responsible policy on choice of company

The tour company has a fairly comprehensive responsible tourism policy written in its brochure and in more detail online. While tourists seemed all for responsible tourism (in whichever form they viewed it) the majority had not consulted the policy. Nine tourists were directly asked whether they read the responsible tourism policy that was available on the company website and of these, six stated 'No'. One of the others had travelled with the company on a number of other occasions so was familiar with it from past experiences. It did not seem to have influenced tourist choice of company to travel with either, with the assumption being that the policy would be there, and would be good.

'I trusted my Mum' (B4) This tourist was on a work project in another part of Africa prior to undertaking the trip and his mother therefore chose the company and made the booking for the overland trip. He was sure that she would have looked at the company's responsible travel policy and had no time to look at it himself before embarking on the tour.

'I just assumed that everything would be done' (B1). This tourist lived a busy life and put her faith into the tour company. She had also done a previous trip with them and was confident that they had good policies.

Tourist B5 did look at the responsible policy before choosing the company. She saw it both as good and as a time and energy saver,

they have done the research for me. I don't have to go around thinking, is this thing ethical, is it going to endanger animals?" They have done it all. It is a big plus, a big choosing point.

This assumes a choice of ethical activities but does not really consider the ethical practice of the truck itself and its impact. This transfer of ethical responsibility from the individual to the company was observed to be a common practice.

Responsible tourism policy not only guides the company but should also provide guidelines for tourist practice. This is obviously not happening as tourists 'trust' the company to have an ethically sound policy but do not appear to perceive that they have a place in applying it.

The company also encouraged the purchase of Water-To-Go purification bottles, with a special deal on purchase, but the researcher did not observe any tourists who had purchased and used these.

9.3.4 Company practice

There are some posters stuck in the trip that show elements of the company responsible tourism policy, but these are limited. It is up to the individual tour leader to brief tourists in this regard and given the time restraints and the general ethos of freedom on the truck, this is unlikely to take place to any depth. In fact, the area where responsible practice is most clearly felt is within the immediate realm of responsibility within the truck where this becomes an instructional necessity. Even in this regard, the researcher experienced significant differences between tour leader styles and the influence of group dynamics on the imparting of internal codes of responsible practice.

9.4 Views of other stakeholders on responsible tourism

Constructs of responsible tourism varied greatly between non-tourist stakeholders. Those directly in the tourism business had come across the idea of responsible tourism and had complete definitions of it. However, these were really only the tour leaders and the Safari guide. Other stakeholders had ideas of what they felt tourism should be, or how they felt they should be involved, and from these it was possible to infer elements of responsible tourism practice that were a focus for them.

9.4.1 Tour leaders

The tour leaders both had comprehensive definitions and attitudes to responsible tourism. TL2 defined it as,

tourism that tries to reduce the negative impact it has on the local economy, the local culture, the local environment, it is trying to minimise negative impacts as far as possible, if anything create positive things towards those aspects as well.

This tour leader saw the role of responsible tourism as minimising the negative and building the positive. He went on to discuss recycling, water tanks for drinking on trucks and other practical measures.

Tour leader TL1 expressed her ideas of responsible tourism through catchy and effective phrases. Generally, she saw responsible tourism as *'observing without disturbing'*. She said, *'culture is day to day life'* and that we should buy from local curio sellers and in so doing *'share the love'*.

The tour leaders said that the company's responsible tourism policy was continually evolving with feedback to the main office and documents being updated and circulated. Thus, the company was responsive not only to broad practice but also to changing situations on the ground at particular destinations. The trucks have stopped going to places when tourist presence is seen to be having a negative effect (the Omo valley of Ethiopia was given as an example). But of course by then the damage has presumably already been done!

9.4.2 Cook and driver

The truck cook saw responsible tourism as a practical matter with focus on the immediate environment. He saw responsibility as starting with the crew and from there moving to the tourist. Safety was perceived as being central, *'if you make sure whatever you do is safe, you travel, what you do to other people is safe, then it stretches'*. He did also consider that tourism had a role to play in benefiting local communities and considered such a role a two way process, *'it is not just a one sided benefit, it benefits both sides'*.

'Drugs, weapons! The policy of the company doesn't like that'. However, the Driver said that he had never had trouble with tourists trying to bring these on board. He had, however, had problems with tourists not wearing seatbelts and felt that this was an element of responsibility. During the course of the trip the researcher only observed one tourist regularly wearing a seatbelt and did not wear one herself. While there was a sign suggesting people wore them, it was never enforced and she never heard anyone reminding tourists to do it.

The driver also mentioned projects that the company had sponsored as part of responsibility. Like the cook, he felt that it was good to visit local communities. These sort of community visits did not take place along the journey under research.

Both the cook and the driver saw responsibility as starting with the truck. Outside the truck their main focus as African members of staff, was on local communities and interaction. In this sense they reflected some of the perspectives held by the local community representatives discussed later.

9.4.3 Safari company owner and guide

The safari guide felt that all tourism should be responsible and believed that it should therefore, be unnecessary to specify it. He defined responsible tourism as,

not littering, creating a revenue base not just for one individual but across the board, listening to the wildlife respectfully, the clientele, but to me that's how all tourism should be.

He had a clear grasp of international approach to responsible tourism and as a relatively small owner-run business tried to put responsible ideas into practice.

9.4.4 Local communities

Views of responsible tourism held by local communities had to be deduced from the narratives they gave revolving around how they saw tourism and its potential to interact with themselves and their environments. Here, Nambya community members and Matopos Curio Sellers represented two local communities who had similar views. Both groups felt that they would benefit from greater interaction with tourists as they felt their knowledge of their local physical and human environments would be of interest and that they would also benefit from exchange. Matopos villagers represented through the Curio Sellers felt that they were undervalued in the Park and that tourists would benefit from interaction with '*someone who is familiar with the park*', SG. They felt that tourists came to their villages with tour guides and then leave again but they '*gain nothing*' from the experience. This implies a lack of genuine interaction. Their implication was that tourism should be inclusive and that at present they felt marginalised. Their constructs and value of place through tradition must be made visible if tourism is to remain sustainable.

Nambya representatives wondered why they were being ignored by the tourists who drove past along the main road, *'I am interested in why those tourists do not come to our areas, maybe they are forbidden by government or something'*, CS4. As a very elderly man this was his constructed explanation to explain why the tourists passed by without visiting. From a traditional point of view, one does not pass by in this manner without stopping to greet people! Another representative said,

there are some people who want to see how we live, it will change a mind-set, because most of these overlanders are white people, people just don't have close contact with these white people (CS2).

In other words there was a perceived desire to interact and exchange experiences as equals. On being asked whether there was a fear that tourist contact might destroy culture, CS2 pointed out that technology already represented contact, via phones and computers and that visits to villages should be arranged so that contact is not too frequent,

it should not be every day, sometimes once after a month, once after two months, the villages are wide, the country is big, you select the villages. (CS2)

There was also a feeling that local people were side-lined, and locked out of any benefits from tourism,

the problem of tourism is that we are not in touch we are not involved in their activities, they come here, they do their things, then they go; but as locals besides getting employed, all the profits are taken by the people running those companies, they are not ploughing back. (CS2)

Local views of responsible tourism are therefore deduced to be vested in exchange and reciprocation. They would see responsible tourism as providing a platform for genuine interaction. It also is expected to acknowledge respect for place and custodianship held by the local people. Linked to this local communities expect to share in benefits from tourism.

9.5 Problems that pose obstacles to responsible tourism practice within the truck

Twenty tourists on a truck over twenty-four days, all with their own constructs of the places they pass through linked to diverse world views, will inevitably lead to tensions. In relation to notions of responsibility, this may lead to clashes over practice or over attitude. While on paper, people's notions may not differ greatly, when it comes to translating those beliefs into practice, problems emerge. The researcher observed two such cases on the trip in which she participated. Both had implications for responsible practice.

The first of these had to do with recycling and disposal of waste. Although company responsible policy was to separate recyclable and non-recyclable waste between two bins on board the truck, this was dependent on two things, first the commitment of the individual tourist assigned to bin duty for the duration of the trip, and second to the discipline of the tourists to remember to place their waste in the correct bin. If the member responsible for the bins was keen on the recycling, they could remind tourists to sort their rubbish, but without this it became unclear which bin was which and the recycling system broke down. In the case of this trip the tourist assigned to bin duty was not committed to recycling. Another member of the group was a strong advocate and there was a clash of opinion between them. As stated by the strong proponent for recycling,

[the person on bin duty] is not interested [in recycling] and says "you cannot save the world with recycling or separating waste, condom...there are just too many children around". (B11)

To make matters worse, tourist B11 had attempted to set up a composting scheme with compostable waste on the earlier leg of the journey. He had suggested this and volunteered to take this on as an extra duty himself. This had been done successfully on a trip he had taken on a previous year. In this instance the tour leader was all for it, but another member of the group wouldn't hear of it, citing potential legalities and other excuses (as told to the researcher by B11 in informal conversation). In conversation many of the tourists were pro-recycling and were actually quite disparaging about the lack of its visible presence in some of the countries that were travelled through, but without leadership, separation of waste

did not occur. Not only did this lead to irresponsible practice, it also led to considerable friction between certain individuals.

The second instance had to do with attitudes expressed that reflected a lack of respect for local people and countries travelled through. Some members of the group expressed the view that African countries and people were incapable of governing themselves and negative racist views were expressed. Some other tourists were willing to back this view and when those who objected strongly to it tried to voice their disgust, there was an escalation of conflict between group members. This instance was not witnessed by the researcher, but she was told about it immediately after by some tourists horrified by viewpoints expressed, and she heard further reports from others later in the trip. This does have a bearing on responsible tourism as it reflects a lack of respect for cultures in the areas through which the truck travelled.

In both these cases there appeared to be no method to resolve dispute and there was no limit imposed on what ideas could be expressed. The latter case was most disturbing as while freedom of speech and self-regulation is all very well, it was strongly felt by some tourists that allowing people a safe space to express highly racist ideas was not acceptable.

9.5.1 Role of the tour leader in responsible practice

Some tourists felt that the tour leader should take a stronger lead in guiding practice and in setting clear lines as to what was not acceptable. Differences of opinion were not seen as a problem in themselves, but where a dispute linked to company responsible practice as was the case of recycling, or where opinions expressed went beyond certain acceptable boundaries then there was a need for an arbitrator. As expressed by tourist B1,

I think a strong leadership is extremely important, there are parameters within which we manage what is acceptable and isn't acceptable, if things are not going right people need to be told about that.

This is controversial, as generally the nature of tourism is to satisfy the client. However, the nature of overland tours is somewhat unique in that a group of tourists have to not only co-exist but also participate actively in making the experience happen. This means that some

form of guidance and restraint is sometimes needed. Slocum and Backman (2011) describe just such a case on the tour they participated on.

It is generally accepted that education is one of the foundations to ensure responsible tourism. People cannot be responsible without knowledge of what practice is appropriate in a particular context. This seems at least partially to fall onto the shoulders of the tour leader. Some broad definitions of responsible practice may be applied anywhere, but the particulars need to be framed within local practice and value systems. Overland truck tourism might benefit from exposure to these and in turn benefit local systems too.

9.6 Conclusion

Notions of responsibility amongst the tourists seem to be dominated by environmental concerns. This contrasts with responsible notions reflected by community stakeholders, which appear to reflect primarily on the need for socio-cultural understanding accompanied by beneficial economic effects. In addition, tourists and the tour cook and driver also focus on the immediate realm when looking at responsibility. This realm is exclusive to the participants of the tour and has little direct relevance to those outside the truck.

Section E:

**Reflecting on the narratives and experiences of the
journey**

Chapter 10

Discussion and analysis

10.0 Introduction

The previous three chapters presented the data collected from tourists and tourism agents focusing on their constructs of places along, or within, the six day Zimbabwe section of the overland truck journey. Tourists were interviewed and repertory grids were used to elicit constructs of places visited. Brokers and locals were interviewed to find out how they viewed the environments with which they interacted, and how they saw themselves and tourism within them.

Tourists were generally found to be focusing on the natural world and the emotions it evoked, they also saw places in terms of their characteristics. Brokers took a more informed view of place, however they still primarily looked at places as distinct and within a Euro-perspective. In contrast, locals saw place as part of a whole, and related landscape, and flora and fauna species, to people through traditional use and spiritual function.

In this chapter these findings are discussed in relation to literature and to theory. It is found that while overland truck tourism fits well within frameworks like Urry's tourist gaze; theories of group evolution and dynamics, and power and the post-colonial, are central to understanding constructs acquired by tourists, passed on by agents, and the sometimes contrasting constructs held by the local people.

10.1 Background and motivation

Although there was a variation in composition of Trip A tourists from Trip B tourists, there were areas in common. All tourists fell into the more educated sector, and although many of Trip B tourists were yet to embark on their university education, they were all intending to do so. All tourists appeared to be in positions where they were relatively financially

secure. The older tourists because they had retired and had pensions linked to their former professional status, the younger working tourists were all doing jobs that they had trained for, and those yet to embark on higher education appeared to have backing from parents and from their own part-time work. There were no tourists who seemed to fit in the social grade C2 and below designations (NRS, 2020). In the past, tourism has been the preserve of the 'upper class' (Urry, 1992), who had the time and means, to be mobile. Today, where many Europeans and Americans perceive tourism as a right, social grade A and B grade tourists have tended to concentrate more on long haul destinations.

When embarking on the research the researcher expected a wider contact with agents of tourism and thought that there would be some overlap between brokers and locals, with locals having at least some contact with tourists and taking on a minor broker role. In fact, it was found that brokers were in many cases the sole contacts and the only agents that enabled tourist interpretation.

10.2 Tourist constructs and narratives

Tourist constructs of specific places visited within the Victoria Falls to Bulawayo section of the trip were obtained through repertory grids, as well as general discussions and observations by the researcher on the truck. However, there were further broad constructs that emerged during the course of the journey. These pertained to broader attitudes, sometimes triggered by place or a particular experience, and exhibited by individuals, sub-groups and the group as a whole. While these may have emerged after the Zimbabwe leg of the journey, this was often due to the evolving nature of group dynamics, which were central within this form of tourism. Group development and dynamics are discussed in more detail in the theory section of this chapter (10.9.2).

10.2.1 Natural world

Most tourists constructed what they saw and encountered, through the emotional response that it elicited. Many of these constructs were relatively broad, linking to immediate almost hedonistic reactions. These fit with tourism in general, where the tourist

is not only in a quest for the 'other' (Urry and Larsen, 2011), but through it, for enjoyment, interest and often for excitement. These emotions create tourism memories which may be constructed on visual image and preserved in photographs, or on recall of experiences. The other common group of constructs deal with broad characteristics of place, such as beauty, perceived authenticity and diversity. Such constructs are value laden, and are positioned against tourists' cultural perceptions of what is beautiful or authentic.

Within the stretch of journey under study, the Victoria Falls and Matopos were obvious natural sights that tourists reacted to emotionally, with tourists referring to them variously in terms of 'enjoyment', evoking 'interest', 'happiness' and 'memory'. Both of these are UN World Heritage sites, but Victoria Falls is best known, being listed as a '*wonder of the world*'. Interestingly, tourist emotional response to Matopos was as strong as that of response to the Victoria Falls. There were many variables that might account for this, but from general discussion and observation, this likely had a lot to do with the more focused interaction they had with it, and to the presence of the safari guides who acted as brokers and helped tourists interact and give meaning to the environment. At Victoria Falls, tourists were left to view the falls individually, or in groups of their own making, and interpretive assistance was confined to the information boards produced by National Parks and placed near the entrance. Some tourists were observed to make good use of these, but this was down to individuals, and was information obtained solely at the terminal point of the viewing. The Falls were also far more of a busy, mass tourism environment.

In most other places along the six-day Victoria Falls to Bulawayo stretch of the journey, landscape was mostly seen as a backdrop to game viewing or journeying. As such it was not the main focus of the tourist gaze and did not evoke strong emotional response.

Tourists had embarked upon the tour with prior constructs based upon guide-books, trip notes and media coverage. Tourists for Trip A did not appear to study guide-books while on the journey, however, they did read on-truck notes circulated by the tour leader prior to arrival at a place. These notes were summaries of what was to be seen or encountered from the point of view of the truck company and tour leader perspective. These notes were available in a file on Trip B, but the researcher did not see them consulted, and the Tour

Leader did not direct people to them. On Trip B there was greater evidence of consultation of guide books during the journey. The main guide book was Lonely Planet and this guide, written from the perspective of European, American and Australian tourists, had a significant influence on tourist pre-constructs of what they expected to see.

With the exception of the landscape of Matopos, where the safari guides took a central position, the only real brokers available to interpret the landscape during the journey were the Tour Leaders. Tour Leaders on overland trucks do not take the role of tour guides (Slocum and Backman, 2011), having a more logistical, administrative role than an interpretive one. This meant that tourists fell back on personal interpretations based on pre-constructs, or in some cases, ignorance. This was sometimes observable when tourists were talking about places they had visited earlier in the journey. An example was one tourist on Trip B who was reminiscing about a brief stop at the road intersection leading to Hwange Town. He referred to the nuclear power station that he saw in the area. This observation showed not only that the tourist believed that Zimbabwe relied on nuclear power (a form of power not present anywhere in Africa, with the exception of a single power station in South Africa), but also that he was completely oblivious to the fact that Hwange is a colliery town, and that coal seams had been clearly visible through the truck window. Although it is not particularly important for the tourist to know what sort of power is used in the area, this is indicative of the lack of information available to the tourists to form constructs of what they see through the window along the course of the journey. Tourists are forced to fall back on constructs based upon images from home.

Overland truck tourists appear to be in a position that makes it difficult to interpret the environments that they travel through, as they lack the information given by a formal tour guide on the sort of conducted bus tours that sightsee around Europe, or the information that might be garnered directly when backpacking or on solo drive tours. The impression of profiting educationally from the journey is, therefore, erroneous, with whatever gained liable to be highly impressionistic.

10.2.2 Game

Prior construction of game and its worth, appears to be based firmly on western narratives of the wild. Tourists from both trips referenced documentaries such as National Geographic as motivators for taking the trip, and as presenting images that they hoped to match during the course of the journey. Such documentaries are mostly made by Western wildlife film makers, who serve to perpetuate constructs of animals linked to a colonial and scientific conservation narrative. In addition, such documentaries seem to create unrealistic expectations. Although images shown may be more realistic than they were in early wildlife films (Bouse, 2000) they are still unrealistic when views of 'difficult to see' species and events such as lion kills, that are not daily occurrences, are presented. The many days and weeks of lying in wait for a sighting, and the reams of footage taken, are condensed into an action-packed visual experience. Tourists faced with hours driving around and only seeing small game such as impala, zebra and warthog were observed to grow disillusioned. Places were judged on levels of exciting game viewing and photographic opportunity, particularly linked to certain species such as lion or leopard, or wild dog at Hwange National Park.

Documentaries are also often focused on the Big Five of elephant, rhinoceros, buffalo, lion and leopard, and big cats in general (lion, leopard, and cheetah). Tourist preoccupation with siting of these, permeated all game drives on the trips. The 'Big Five' are a colonial construct linked to the five large animals most difficult to shoot during the time of big game hunters. Preoccupation with these as distinct species in isolation from the rest of their ecosystems remains. Lion siting was foremost in most tourist's minds, and there was frustration amongst trip B tourists when none were sighted, until this was finally achieved when the truck reached Etosha in Namibia. In contrast Trip A tourists, who saw lion with a kill in Hwange National Park, were content and satisfied.

Linked to the above, tourists were observed to have a checklist mentality, mentally ticking off species that they wished to see. This meant that even excellent siting of species like elephant, did not impress some tourists if they had viewed many of that species before. Perceptions of National Parks that focused on game, such as Hwange, were assessed not only on number of species seen, but on which species remained to be ticked off on the

tourist's physical or mental checklist. Thus, Trip B tourists largely rated Hwange National Park low for game, because they mostly saw elephants and they had had previous sighting of these in other Parks. This rating of National Parks relative to each other, may, therefore, be dependent on where the tourist began their tour. This was evident within the groups, with tourists who had joined the tour from Zanzibar, and who had visited Tanzanian and Zambian National Parks, being less impressed than tourists who had started at Victoria Falls. Checklists of species were available on Trip A and given out by the Tour Leader, this did not happen on Trip B. The checklist mentality closely corresponds with that linked to tourist 'bucket lists', and just as with bucket lists, for the *'experience to be desirable, they must preserve a sense of authenticity and uniqueness.....and approved of according to shared cultural norms'* (Thurnell-Read, 2017). Ticking species off on checklists, and acquiring photographic or video footage of species provides the tourist with social capital when they return home and can narrate their experiences (Bourdieu).

A more anthropomorphic construct was visible amongst some of the constructs exhibited in tourists on Trip A. In particular, tourists related to some animals through the characterisations of the Disney animation the Lion King. Animals common names were substituted with the name of the animal character associated with the species in the film. This serves to characterise the animal in human terms, far removed from the wild image. This is what Horak (2006) refers to as Disneyfication, and is a growing trend in the personification of wildlife on television and in film. Because the Lion King is set in Africa, it is particularly referenced by tourists, and Tour leaders who had come through Kenya and Tanzania with the trucks confirmed that this form of anthropomorphism was common within tourist groups. The researcher did not see any evidence of this being encouraged within the Zimbabwean safari industry.

Wildlife is constructed in multiple ways within Zimbabwe (Suzuki, 2017). These are clearly reflected in the research, with tourists, brokers and locals all expressing different constructs to give meaning to wildlife encounter. Suzuki emphasises the tensions that result, *'between the capital and the periphery, white and black Zimbabweans, and tourists and non-tourist enterprises'* (Suzuki, 2017:126). Values and attitudes towards game link to both ways of viewing the environment, and to contested spaces.

The Zimbabwe section of the tour that formed the main focus for the research, was marketed primarily as an area for game spotting opportunity. Game was the main draw for the tourists on the trips and featured largely in their assessment of place. In coming to Africa to view game, tourists bought into the

nineteenth and early twentieth century image of African countries as a wilderness Eden (which) still persists and is the main factor attracting western conservationists and tourists (to Kenya) (Akama 2004:146).

Tourists embark on visits to Africa seeking what they believe is wild, unspoilt nature. Akama (2004) references the ideas of Krippendorf noting,

to most western middle class people, pristine wilderness areas present alternatives for escape from what is perceived as harsh reality and stresses associated with urban life and industrial capitalism

Western tourists embark on tourism seeking these types of environments, and base constructs against the untouched nature. This was apparent with both groups of tourists. In some cases this was just a quest for the Africa of the wildlife documentaries, (A1 and A3), in others it was a conscious need to remove themselves from serious stresses back home and take solace in nature (B1).

Animals are presented by most brokers as divorced from people, separated from people (with people outside 'looking in', as with game viewing and photo opportunity), except when reference is made to poaching and the need for conservation. Thus, the local people are often viewed by tourists as a threat to game, rather than custodians of it. This was observed during tours with safari operators. Tourists had no direct contact with National Parks officials and were left with the impression that all conservation centred around the safari guides. When the researcher talked to the tourists formally in interview, and informally during the trip, there were a number of instances where tourists made remarks that showed that they perceived the guides in an elevated position of power relative to the Parks. In some cases (and in particular with tourist B1) guides were thought to actually own the Park. Local indigenous Parks employees were invisible to the tourists and this led to a very incomplete impression and resultant narrative. Given that most Parks employees are black Zimbabweans and the safari guides were Euro-Zimbabweans, this also fed into a perception of racial division in the preservation of game.

Tourist constructs of wildlife elicited through repertory grid had most to do with 'richness' and intensity of the viewing experience. No constructs emerged that recognised the place of wildlife within traditional African society, or to alternate narratives regarding its preservation.

10.2.3 Place

Tourists saw place in terms of natural environment rather than positioning the 'human' within it. Sightseeing tended to focus on certain features, or the presence of certain wildlife, rather than of environments as a whole. Matopos was the nearest tourists got to viewing an environment holistically, and even then there was a focus on physical and natural features, with the San paintings and Rhodes grave presented as distinct attractions positioned within the landscape, rather than parts of an interlinked and intertwined whole. This is a European construct of place that contrasts with a traditional African one (Pathisa Nyathi, January, 2019; Nambya elder, January, 2019).

The only historical context presented on the six day Zimbabwe stretch of tour came from within Matopos. Here history was presented through the noble primitive, in the form of the San, and the heroic colonial in the form of Cecil John Rhodes. The narrative associated with the local communities that existed in the area prior to its designation as a national Park, and whom still live in the surrounding areas, was entirely absent. This mirrors what was observed by Ranger (1999) when he discusses the appropriation of the Matopos by the colonisers in the 1897-1946 period,

the geological image of the hills was one of a very ancient environment, appropriately either lived in by an ancient people (like the San hunter-gatherers) or preserved by a modern one (like the whites) but not appropriately farmed by African agriculturalists (Ranger, 1999:56)

Interestingly tourist B1 picked up on this and was uncomfortable about the absence of local, more recent indigenous narrative regarding the area. However, the majority of the tourists were entirely unaware.

Makuvaza (2016:3) echoes Ranger's narrative, when he states,

Even though Europeans had recognised that many African cultural landscapes had been previously inhabited by the hunter-gatherer communities, they did not

recognise the presence and legitimacy of the modern African local indigenous communities

10.2.3.1 Rhodes grave

Not all overland truck tour companies opt for the safari company package that includes a visit to Rhodes grave. The company studied by the researcher includes this package as a pre-paid element in the truck tour, and therefore all tourists visit it. Rhodes is a controversial figure in Zimbabwe history and has recently been a focus of protest against the colonisation and appropriation that he represents, both in Southern Africa and in the UK (Chantiluke, Kwoba, and Nkopo, 2018). However, Rhodes is presented in an unchallenged and glorified manner, by the safari company and by the Government Museum and Monuments display at the foot of the hill on which he is buried. According to the Director of the safari company all meanings of the grave site are told to the tourists, but the researcher did not witness this occurring.

Few tourists questioned the portrayal of Rhodes and the lack of information about the sacred nature of the site to the local Ndebele people. There were three exceptions to this amongst trip B, one of whom was horrified at the veneration exhibited. There was no outlet for his dissatisfaction, or availability of counter narrative to present an alternate view of the role of Rhodes. On trip A, one tourist expressed the view that a visit to Rhodes grave allowed tourists to see some tangible history, as no historical structures were to be found in the country. She and the majority of the tourists had never heard of Great Zimbabwe and had at no time been given any background to the indigenous history of the country, or to how it got its name. Although this is partly explained by the wildlife focus of the tour, it could be seen as a serious omission as tourists are left with no background to the country and cannot place it in the context of its history. This was also observed to be a gap in the information available to tourists for Botswana and Namibia. Travelling through countries while having no background to their social or political history leaves the tourist unable to interpret much of what they see, or to understand the nuances they encounter.

10.2.4 Authenticity

Construction of authenticity assumes that there is only one true authentic, but tourists may each create their own view of the world and deem it authentic. Staged authenticity is prevalent in tourism and has a place (Nyathi, interview 2018; Bruner, 2001), but it is likely to become dangerous if it reinforces stereotypes to a point of reinforcing racial or colonial constructs. If a tourist retains a construct that all 'real' and valid Africans, dress in tribal dress and that anyone local dressed in Western dress of jeans and a t shirt is somehow invalid, as was the construct of one tourist interviewed, then this may exclude the voices of the majority of African local people and their culture. Identifying what to deem 'authentic' is hard for tourists who may fall back on the constructs already held and based upon documentaries, and portrayals in the medial. How to position 'westernized natives' is difficult as they do not fit within preconceived constructs and may be seen as '*mere inventors of themselves, as false representatives of their cultures*' (Friedman, 1998, quoted by d'Hautesserre, 2004:241). It seems particularly difficult for overland truck tourists to construct a valid authentic narrative as these tourists do not spend long enough to acquire a feeling of what is ordinary life.

10.3 Safari brokers constructs

10.3.1 Game

Zimbabwe's safari operators are largely, but certainly not wholly, dominated by white Zimbabweans often of pioneer ancestry (Euro-Zimbabweans). The two companies used in Bulawayo by overland truck tour companies fall into this category. These operators are extremely knowledgeable but operate within a European conservation construct. While they do have local knowledge of things like traditional uses of plants by indigenous communities, their narrative is naturally articulated from a position of modern '*scientific authority*' (Suzuki, 2017). These operators perpetuate a Euro-American conservation narrative that tends to separate the natural world from the human.

The strong presence of the safari operators elevates their importance and that of the constructs they impart to the tourists. At the same time, Parks employees are invisible their constructs and narratives remain invisible to the tourists.

10.3.2 Broker constructs of place and history

The safari guides were observed to promote a largely colonial construct of place and of history which has been detailed earlier. The San were constructed as the peaceful, primitive living in harmony with the landscape. Rhodes was presented as a great man who was respected by the local tribal people. The narratives associated with local people and their ancestors were confined to their relationship to the Europeans, primarily to Rhodes.

10.4 Local constructs

Local people have constructs that are more holistic than those of tourists and brokers. In local tradition, animals, landscape and people are part of a cosmic whole (Pathisa Nyathi, Nambya members interviewed). Wildlife is viewed through its spiritual and societal, as well as functional roles, and these intertwine (Pathisa Nyathi, 2018). In order to stress the different constructs of animals held by local people from those of Western tourism narrative perpetuated by the tour guides, Pathisa Nyathi produced a book detailing the significance of the 'big five' animals in African tradition. However, there are other species equally or more important such as the python. The identification of animals with people is seen through the traditional significance of totems in African society. *'Animal, plant and insect totems in Kenya and Southern Africa have spiritual meanings attached to them'* (Mandillah and Ekosse, 2018), there is no clear division between the human and non-human world (Taringa, nd). As such constructs of places and species are interwoven, placed within a cosmological whole and valued within spiritual tradition. At the same time the value of species and places are also constructed in terms of their practical utility. Although some local people have adopted Western constructs of place and species, traditional constructs have not been entirely abandoned and powers and utility attributed to species and place still exist.

10.5 Exchange of constructs between tourists, brokers, and locals

Overland truck tourists have little contact with locals. It was observed that due to the rapid nature of the journey and the infrequent stops of more than one night, tourists had little opportunity for this. Where stops of two nights take place there is still rarely opportunity for contact. Along the six day stretch of journey under study, contact was possible at Victoria Falls, where tourists were largely left to their own devices. However, this was the starting point of the trip for many and they were still acclimatising to the new environment. On the only other two-night stop at Bulawayo, a full day was spent in Matopos with the safari guides acting as brokers. At Hwange national Park the same safari guides took tourists game viewing and although the tourists camped at a national parks camp site, no tourist reported any contact with Parks staff. Local people were almost invisible within the tourist's gaze, with the exception of the curio sellers in Matopos where brief transactional contact took place.

There is a reversal in the situations of tourism and place, with the tourist taking a central position in tourism, while the broker occupies buffer position separating the tourist from contact with the locals. This means that the locals and tourists are prevented from accessing each other's constructs and no understanding is developed, this is illustrated in figure 10.1 below.

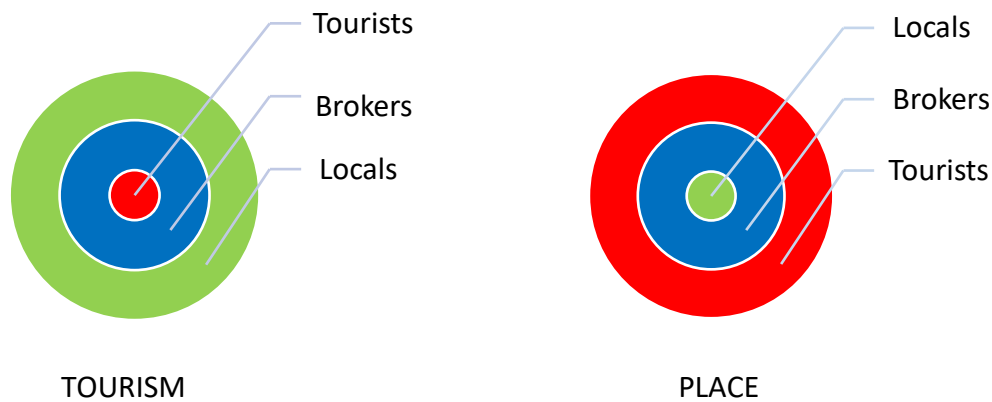


Figure 10.1: Tourism and place relations

Where place is the central focus, local inhabitants are placed at the core, but again the broker acts as a buffer between locals and the tourists who are now on the outside. The broker is the buffer or intermediary in both cases and may be seen as blocking contact or interpreting the local to the tourist, effectively presenting the local through their own constructions.

Therefore, at no time is there easy contact between tourists and locals. Lack of interchange means no opportunities for acknowledgement, sharing or understanding of each other's constructs.

10.6 Comparison of constructs between tourists, brokers, and locals

The tourists had relatively simple constructs of the environments they visited, influenced by prior information (written, spoken and visual). Initial constructs changed in the case of a few, but the main new constructs linked to emotional responses and place characteristics of the limited places visited. Superficial contact resulted in simple construct. For the majority of the tourists their main source of information and narrative to allow them to interpret the new 'other' came from the safari guides. Constructs to do with history or culture and their interaction with the environment, were shallow or non-existent. Sources of information with which to build or adjust existing construct came almost exclusively from the safari guides. Tourist constructs were based on narratives and interpretation of the environment framed from a European cultural (or Euro-related) picture and these were built upon and legitimised by the safari guides. While tourists ranked place, against responses to it, place was seen in terms of key elements such as the animals that inhabited it. Constructs of the local, inhabited environment were generally absent.

Safari guide constructs were more detailed, but they still saw the world from a Western conservation, or white settler perspective. In this, their knowledge of the bush and ecosystems was extensive and because of common cultural frameworks was relatively easily understood by the tourist. As members of a white privilege group within Zimbabwe, they strongly preserved the narratives of the primitive San who was at one with nature, and

the heroic and admired Rhodes. There appeared to be a strong belief that Rhodes was respected and loved by the local people.

Local constructs were at variance with the tourist and safari guides view of the landscape. All the locals talked of place holistically and in relation to utility and spiritual relationship. There appeared to be little transfer of constructs from the locals outward. Tourists lacked contact that might have allowed for sharing of how they viewed the world. Tourists never stopped or interacted with communities so there was no situation where constructs of the world as seen through each person's eyes, could be shared and understood.

10.7 Ethics and responsibility

Most tourists could arrive at a fairly comprehensive Western definition of responsibility and all exhibited positive responses to the concept. However, very few had read the tour company's responsible tourism policy and yet fewer said that they had used the policy as a factor when choosing a company to holiday with.

Those that appeared most aware of responsibility still tended to construct practice through a European way of thinking. In this regard practical focus tended to be on consumption of commodities, mainly food and on recycling of packaging and waste. A responsibility to the environment in general was more often referred to than socio-cultural aspects of responsibility (Gao, Hwang and Zhang, 2016). Responsibility to tradition or local practice was not in evidence as tourists had no knowledge of these and unlike the reference to this in Cheong and Miller (2000) brokers did not expose them to this. This was partly because brokers were not traditional locals, coming from a western background.

Tourists were seen to express positive rhetoric with regard to responsible practice, but not to 'practice what they preached'. This meant that many tourists preached recycling to the extent of criticising the countries they travelled through for what they perceived as lack of recycling facilities, but then when given opportunity to recycle did not bother. This suspension of ethically sound practice by normally environmentally-conscious tourists has been documented in other studies (Chiappa, Grappi and Romani, 2016) and attempts made

to record this 'cognitive dissonance' (Juvan and Dolnicar, 2014). The tendency to be morally judgemental without actually examining personal practice was observed in a few tourists. This appeared to link to an element of judgemental superiority, as they noted that there were better recycling facilities in their home countries, but at times it was accompanied by a lack of recognition of the recycling facilities that were present, and failure to use them, because they did not look like what they had at home.

Selection criteria when choosing a holiday did not seem to have included the company's responsible tourism policy and there was an assumption held by most travellers who were interviewed that the company would have a strong policy and stick to it. Tourists did not seem worried about transferring responsibility to the company and made the assumption that company practice would operate responsibly. In some respects, this relates to the mismatch between belief and practice mentioned earlier. Tourists who are responsible back home seemed comfortable to assume that responsible practice is happening and to transfer responsibility elsewhere.

Brokers were able to come out with clear, comprehensive responsible tourism definitions. Responsible tourism is now widely spoken about in international tourism circles. The safari operator felt that it was what all tourism should be and therefore should not be seen as distinct. Tour leaders were good at responsible rhetoric, but it was observed that practice did not always match the rhetoric. This mismatch was particularly apparent in food purchase, where company responsible rhetoric stated that they would buy locally and implied that this could help spread wealth, the only time direct purchases were made from producers were when a supermarket was unexpectedly closed and where two bags of carrots were purchased from roadside vendors.

Locals were less able to structure a definition of responsibility. This is hardly surprising given that it is a Western academic concept and that English was not their first language. However, it was clear from their discussions that they saw responsibility in terms of their holistic, environmental world view, and that they felt a sense of responsibility to certain species and places as custodians of their environment. Locals at present had no involvement with tourism and therefore little experience in it. However, the Nambya cultural expert

mentioned strategies for possible community tourism where negative impact on villagers would be limited.

10.8 Theory resulting from data

10.8.1 Introduction

Individual tourist constructs obtained through repertory grids have to be examined alongside group constructs and dynamics within the truck. Overland truck tourism exists as a group form of tourism and this has to be considered when viewing the experience as a whole.

The study of constructs and narrative linked to overland truck tourism exposed two underlying themes. The first was that of power distribution, and examined Urry's gaze through a Foucauldian lens. The second, was a postcolonial frame that clearly shone through tourism in general in the Southern African region, and was particularly apparent in overland truck tourism. These themes can be viewed as interlinked.

10.8.2 Stages of group development and dynamics reflected within the truck

The trip under study was a twenty-four day trip through four countries. Particular focus was on the first six days, which was the Zimbabwe leg of the tour. However, focusing only on the six days would have meant that certain attitudes and group constructs and dynamics that emerged as the journey progressed and as the group evolved, would have been omitted. During the course of the trip, the researcher was able to observe a sequence of internal group development within the truck. This had a bearing on emergence of group constructs and on internal clashes based upon divergent constructs of members.

Elements of Tuckman's group development model were noted as the group evolved over time. Tuckman's revised model of 1977 (Wilson, 2010; Bonebright, 2010) showed the evolution of team development and has mainly been applied to business teams.

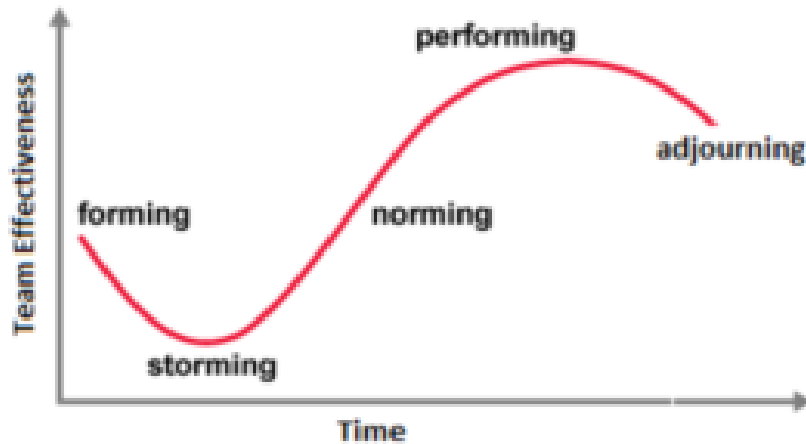


Figure 10.2: Tuckman's model of small group development

Because this was not a business group, but rather a group of individuals, or couples, all seeking to maximise their personal experience and enjoyment, the stages of his model did not always progress sequentially. There was also a lack of the type of leadership that Tuckman appeared to be imagining when he arrived at the model. However, there have been attempts to use the model in the study of adventure and expedition groups (Sutherland, 2010) and stresses and coping response of expedition leaders (Swantek and Peden, 2016). It is useful to try to apply the model to overland truck tourism as it helps expose some of the peculiarities of this type of group experience and the group dynamics that result.

In Tuckman's model the 'forming' stage is when the group comes together, usually under a leadership, and a time when roles are assigned and relationships tested. This happened in the truck context, however the situation was complicated by a number of factors. Firstly, while there was a tour leader who gave an initial brief to incoming tourists regarding the general organisation of the truck and of the journey to come, this leader tended to be more of a facilitator than authority within the group. Secondly, the group was initially composed of two distinct groupings, one of which had already been on the prior three week trip from Zanzibar, and had their own dynamics (somewhat destabilised by the departure of some of their members at the termination of the previous journey at Victoria Falls). Thus, a group that had gone through the stages of the model previously had to return to the initial stage.

The new group of tourists starting the trip at Victoria Falls had to merge with the more 'seasoned' group and position themselves within the existing group dynamics. Thus, the group embarking on the trip at 'forming' stage started with a particularly uneven dynamic and individuals entered the 'storming' stage from this.

The 'storming' stage took place during the first few days of the tour, which were the under greatest research focus. This is when, according to Tuckman's model, members of the group are trying to make an impression, may become hostile to one another and may respond emotionally to tasks on hand (Bonebright, 2010). Groups in the overland truck situation occurred at different levels. Firstly, there was the overall group within the truck, which in the case of trip B was composed of twenty tourists, half of whom had been part of the previous trip; then, there were sub-groups who worked together throughout the trip in order to assist with cooking. There were four sub-groups each of five members. The sub-groups rotated every day, with each group undertaking tasks every four days. The group was divided into sub-groups by the tour leader at the commencement of the trip. Sub-groups had their own dynamics, with certain individuals taking leadership and in some cases giving orders, which sometimes caused resentment from certain members. Further divisions into sub-groups by age were also visible. This was apparent on trip B as there were two distinct groups, one of very young to late twenties, and one of retirement (or early retirement) age.

According to Tuckman the 'norming' stage is when the team becomes effective and starts being a cohesive group. This was seen to happen towards the end of the six day stretch under study, after members had got to know each other further while on safari vehicles in Hwange and Matopos, and routines and tasks centred on the truck were becoming clear and familiar. An equilibrium appeared to have been reached, members of the whole group and sub-groups had assumed roles and came to co-exist reasonably well. Participants had come to know each other, to identify people with affinities and to tolerate each other's strengths and weaknesses. At this time tasks were performed effectively.

The 'performing' stage, which, in Tuckman's model is the stage of optimum performance was not observed to effectively occur in the truck group scenario, instead a point was

reached where conflicts began to emerge based upon different constructs of life and interpretations of socio-political conditions in areas through which the truck travelled. These emerged more clearly later in the trip, as by then tourists felt relaxed enough to express their opinions more freely, where earlier they were more guarded over exposing true feelings. Thus, the effective functioning of group chore type activities persisted, but underlying broader tensions began to be felt. These became spatially visible where one couple started pitching their tent at a greater distance from others, as its occupants began to divorce themselves more from the general group.

By the end of the trip, cracks were emerging within the group. The 'adjourning' phase appeared to come with a sense of loss for some members and a sense of relief for others. One night was spent at a hostel in Cape Town before trip members dispersed to a variety of pre-booked accommodation. Some members arranged to meet in the days after the trip and joined together to embark on day trips to places like Cape Point; others went their separate ways and appeared tense and embarrassed when encountered by chance in areas of the central city. Interestingly, during this time, some ex-trip members who had joined together for Cape Town activities, expressed more fully their unhappiness at attitudes expressed by other members during the last days on the truck. Their feelings had been held in check while on the tour as they were conscious of the need to co-exist until the trip ended. Instead of the group coalescing into a high performing team in the later parts of the tour, the reverse took place.

Tuckman's model is, therefore, of limited use to explain the evolution of the group within overland truck tourism. Clearly, a tourism group has some different characteristics to a formally working group, with tourists having paid for a positive experience, group internal dynamics being only part of a means to an end, allowing for the smooth travel and day to day needs of the trip. Some tourists did see the group experience as an attraction in itself, but this was more focused on the social interaction than functional elements of group activity. His model looks at the development of a group along a sequence of stages, but does not focus on group evolution from a constructivist perspective. This form of tourism has a complex dynamic of day to day tasks and functions, running alongside the existence

of individual values and constructed narratives that feed into the groups view of the 'outside'.

Frances (2008) attempts to place Tuckman's group development model within a constructivist framework. This model also had partial relevance to this research.

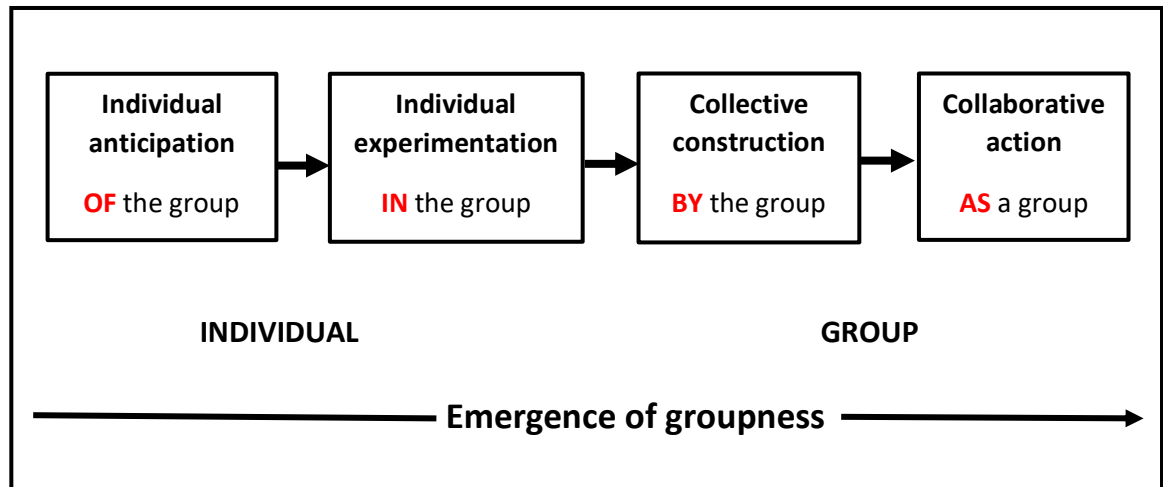


Figure 10.3: Stages of group development through a Personal Construct Psychology (PCP) approach

Based upon Frances, 2008

Rather than emphasis on production and efficiency, Frances's model focuses on emergence of the group into a group, from a more psychological perspective. Initially members come into the group with anticipations based upon 'personal' questions. Frances gives examples including, 'what is it like to be here? Who are these people?' and 'what do they make of me?' These forms of anticipation are typical of those faced by tourists joining a tour group. The group anticipations run alongside the anticipations that are associated with prior constructs of what is to be seen, and gained from, on the journey. Frances also links this stage to 'Kellyan anxiety' due to a dearth of adequate existing constructs to manage the group experience. Members of the overland truck group who have been on the previous leg of the tour, or those with prior overland truck experience (especially with the same company) are at an advantage here, as they may have better developed constructs of what Francis refers to as 'self-in-group'.

The stage of 'individual experimentation' is when '*differences and contrasts between group members are highlighted and need to be managed*' (Frances, 2008). According to Frances, problems faced at this stage '*arise from differences in individuals construct systems*' and she sees conflicts that occur within the group as emanating from group members engaging in experiments to try to test ideas held and 'validate' themselves. Here they are trying to see where they fit and what role they may play within the framework of the group.

In the 'collective construction' phase, Frances envisages a move towards 'commonality', constructs about each other have been formed and contestation is no longer as evident. Group values are assumed by individuals. From this, a 'collaborative action' phase is entered where individual and joint constructs are recognised and accepted and the group can act efficiently as a unit. These group phases were recognisable in the overland truck tourist group, however, as with Tuckman's model the collaborative action was only visible within the activities needed for the smooth running of the truck's daily life.

Tourist groups on trucks effectively construct their positions in the group from the point of view of group activities that ensure the ability of the tour to operate smoothly. Given that overland truck tours rely on active participation of tourists to ensure basic needs of the group are catered for, these constructions of individual place within the group functions that efficiently accomplish everyday tasks, are vital. There were individual tasks that each member had to undertake to ensure that the whole group was able to move forward, these were things such as demolishing and packing tents and being ready to depart by a given hour (often very early). Here each tourist had to have assumed a common role of truck tourist, in order to feed into a common goal of efficient departure, and had by stage three, reached a stage of doing this automatically. Other group goals were achieved more by group interaction and assignment of different tasks often based on the role constructed and assumed by the individual within the whole.

Limitations of Frances's model for interpretation of group evolution within duration of the overland truck trip link mostly to its focus on a clinical psychology scenario. Swantek and Peden (2016) do make reference to this model but their study revolves around effects of group development on expedition trip leaders, rather than on group development of

adventure groups themselves. They are also dealing with a younger demographic. Group development on a tour of this nature involves not only the accomplishment of common or group tasks, but also the sharing of constructs of environments outside the windows of the truck and in some cases the arriving at group constructs about them. This is very different from achieving an efficient output to a task or basket of tasks and means drawing on individual's prior constructs and attitudes from a more global perspective.

Kelly (1963) sees groups as validators of personal constructs, where a person tests a new construct against the reactions of friends. Where validating evidence is only by way of what other people believe, he or she may assess possible constructs against them (Kelly, 1963:176). In cases of travel, rather than use friends, it might seem reasonable to assume that tour leaders and guides might be used as persons forming an outside group which can validate pre-held or new constructs. In the absence of tour guides, constructs may be validated against opinions of the rest of the tourist group.

Roles within the group may be consolidated by group constructions of an individual's role (Kelly, 1963:177). Thus, some members of the group were expected to act in a particular way within the social scenario, being constructed as a 'leader', a 'buffoon', or someone who always had 'their head in the clouds'. There were occasions when the 'buffoon' became frustrated with not being taken seriously, as they stepped out of their constructed role. This at times led to further tensions. In a tourism group situation, where individuals first come into contact at the start of the trip, roles adopted and validated are not always the ones the individual might adopt in their day-to-day lives and may sit uncomfortably. At the end of the trip the tour leader asked tourists to nominate individuals for particular titles such as who is 'most likely to miss their flight', 'best socialiser' and so on. These again reflected members' perceptions of each other, and also exemplified splits within the group, with the person voted most popular being the least popular to a smaller grouping.

From this research it is apparent that if the tourist group holds sub-groups with different prior constructs, there may be a clash over the validity of individual constructs. The individual may have already adopted the concept from prior validation, or may adopt a new construct with the validation of part of the group. This appeared to trigger inner tension

within the group as individuals polarised into groups validating or invalidating the construct. In the truck context, these divisions linked strongly to tourists' existing world views, and preconceptions related to the post-colonial landscape and its inhabitants. Because individuals had to reach a point where they felt comfortable within the group before they expressed certain opinions based upon their personal constructs, divergent constructs and subsequent stress and clashes within the group occurred in the latter stages of the journey. In this research this happened in the final third section of the journey, when some members felt comfortable enough within the group to voice constructs of local people and governments as being incapable and inferior to those of countries in Europe. Some members in the group agreed, while others were horrified holding constructs that were in opposition with the ones being expressed. This meant new tensions emerged, which, had the trip not ended, might have led to a breakdown of group cohesiveness.

10.9 Power relations in overland truck tourism

Power relations are observed at a variety of levels. When examining overland truck tours using the gaze approach taken by Urry and Larsen (2011) and the power relations situated within the gazes of various stakeholders through a Foucauldian lens (Cheong and Miller, 2000, Mowforth and Munt, 2016), tourist constructs can be viewed within a multi-directional framework of control. However, tourism in less economically developed and previously colonised countries, is also subject to a further power dynamic that has been inherited, and continues to exist, within a postcolonial environment.

10.9.1 The vulnerable controlled tourist

It is true that the tourists do not have the power of belonging in the areas they travel through, and therefore, they could be perceived as vulnerable (Cheong and Millar, 2000). Without tools to easily construct meaning out of what they see, they rely on shallow constructs based on simple more hedonistic interpretations of place and what is in it. They also base newly framed constructs on input from the brokers, who serve as interpretive lenses to allow the tourists to see the extraordinary. This places power and responsibility in

the broker, and reliance on single or few brokers can perpetuate certain narrative at the expense of opening up the potential for wider and more varied interpretation. In the context of Zimbabwe, where the majority of brokers are of Western heritage, this leads to a narrative that omits local indigenous construct. The brokers act as a buffer, and prevent the tourist from feeling vulnerable. Victoria Falls presented the only opportunity within Zimbabwe for overland truck tourists to develop contacts with place or people without the presence of brokers. As a tourism-focused settlement, this was arguably less threatening to some tourists than other places might have been. When overland truck tourists were left to wander on rare free days later in the trip, they reacted in different ways, with some tourists using this time as an opportunity to meet the local, without the formalised broker, and others exhibiting exaggerated awareness of their vulnerability. This was apparent when the truck reached Swakopmund and one sub-group of tourists made meaningful contacts with locals, returning with new narratives of place and those inhabiting it (after spending hours discussing life with the curio sellers, who, after time, let down barriers and narrated details of their lives beyond the market place) while another group came back with impressions of hostility and threat (stealing bread rolls) and hostile 'natives'. Here vulnerability became a state of mind and revolved around the ability of the tourist to transcend the barriers imposed by the unknown. Existing constructs came into play in how the tourists allowed themselves to interact and in their resultant perceived vulnerability. The tourists came away with opposing constructs, one group seeing place and people as threat, the other as, welcome.

Although the tourist may feel vulnerable, it was observed that in some cases this does not remove a feeling of superiority that embeds their vulnerability into the idea of the threatening 'other', as being more primitive and unpredictable. This was implied by the racially elitist remarks made by some tourists in Namibia. It is interesting that the same tourists who felt most threatened (B3 and B12) were the ones who made most derogatory remarks about the capacities of the local people.

Tourists were not observed to be vulnerable due to 'linguistic disadvantage' as suggested by Cheong and Miller (2000) because they had little direct contact with local people and most local people in Southern Africa can converse in English. However, if more contact had

been made, they might have felt disadvantaged in the non-verbal aspects of cultural communication.

The gaze described by Urry (1992) is based on the 'visually extraordinary', a visually different sight, that contrasts with the norm of the tourist's everyday life. However, it can be argued that the tourist has to position the extraordinary against the known, and if the tourist has little to reference the sight against, then it may be overlooked or devalued. This seemed to be the case with tourists on the trucks, who related best to the extraordinary that they had already referenced through trip notes, film, reading and documentary. Game was centrally positioned and highly valued, and in most cases these animals formed the original attraction that motivated tourists to take the trip. The human social and cultural landscapes were largely ignored, as tourists had not developed prior interest in them, and had no means to interpret them as 'extraordinary'. There were a few exceptions to this amongst the tourists, as two members of Trip B were frustrated at not being able to visit a historic site that related to the local people and the Rozwi history (Khami) and wished for more chance to explore the day to day dynamic of towns like Bulawayo.

10.9.2 The truck as an entity in space

The researcher observed that the truck itself reflects a bastion of power. The truck is a physical construct of strength as it is large, solid, not in any way discreet (Sarmiento and Henriques, 2009) and not easily accessed except by the tourist. It, therefore, acts as a zone of exclusion. Its height allows the occupants to look down on the world outside and those that inhabit that world. This elevated nature, positions the tourist in a place of power and superiority (Mowforth and Munt, 2016). The drills that keep the occupants and belongings in the truck safe also serve to emphasise its contained nature. Those in the truck appear different from those outside, the way they dress, the possessions that have, such as cameras, money belts, their obvious differences, place them in a position removed from local people. Newman (2004) clearly describes this and its effects on his journey by truck through West Africa. This is not necessarily a deliberate creation of physical and social power, but in creating a suitable vehicle for the rough road and a safe haven for tourists, there is an inevitable creation of a manifestation of removal and power. Trucks are

personified with their names written on them and this itself gives a common identity to the truck and its inhabitants.

The tourists had their own constructions of the truck which included the idea of safety and security of themselves and their belongings, this corresponds to what was experienced by Bell (2005) and which she refers to as a *'mobile safe house'*. The truck allowed for "peace of mind" as one tourist put it (B3), and the presence of luggage and belongings on the truck avoided a separation from those possessions that help tourists feel secure.

Being on the truck with *'like-minded people'* (Trip A group discussion) also served to breed a sense of security. The intra-tourist gaze (Holloway, Green and Holloway, 2011) did at times discipline and regulate constructs and actions within the tourist group with regard to such things as photographing locals or what was perceived as internally ethical practice, however, as the trip progressed the intra-tourist gaze increasingly exposed fundamental conflicts in ways of viewing the world outside the truck.

The truck serves to provide a safe haven, a means to transcend the *'nervous gaze'* described by Bell (2005) and belonging within it meant that tourists could position themselves apart, and retain a power that they might not have held if travelling alone in forms of travel such as backpacking.

To those viewing the truck from the outside looking in, the tourists within may appear uniform (Mowforth and Munt, 2016) as they exhibit common characteristics visually (through dress, possessions and frequently, though not entirely, through skin tone). The truck and the tourists become the *'exotic other'* to the locals.

10.9.3 The powerful controlling tourist

As mentioned earlier, using a Foucauldian approach, a clear case is made by Cheong (1996 quoted in Cheong and Miller, 2000) for the tourist to be viewed as an object of control, where the brokers and locals (and even researcher) become the agents of this control. This view might be justified in some contexts, but appears to ignore the influence of postcolonial variables that also give the tourist an inherited position of power. This is truer in some parts of the world than others. In Southern Africa and Zimbabwe in particular, the influence of

settler colonisation permeates both places and people. Here the argument by McClintock, in 1992 (referenced in Sidaway, 2002) that the postcolonial is not a single condition, also seems worth noting. She points out that countries like Zimbabwe, as comparatively recently independent colonies, exhibit different characteristics from countries that became independent much earlier. This makes the effects of postcolonial influence far more apparent.

Most overland truck tourists originate from highly economically developed countries. Frequently, as were the case with the tours the researcher joined, the truck company and a high proportion of the tourists within it, originate from the country that was previously the coloniser, half of Trip B tourists and slightly over half of Trip A tourists came from the UK. This appears to substantiate research showing tourist movement mirroring colonial connection (McKercher and Decosta, 2007). These tourists carry with them colonial imagery and expectation. They have no reason to question the stories, images and narrative they have acquired in their home countries and therefore build upon it.

The researcher observed the tourists to be the powerful 'other' in the regard of local people, as tourists travel in relative comfort through areas and are removed from day to day struggles of everyday life experienced by the locals they see through the window.

Tourists have the economic power and are therefore in a strong position in any transaction. They can determine what they want to see, and the services they require, and service providers will respond to this in order to capture part of their economic wealth.

The colonial gaze of the tourist is reflected back to them through a landscape and social structure that have been moulded and adapted through colonisation. Thus, although the tourist may believe that they are in a quest for the wild, unspoilt Africa, in fact they experience the security of elements of the familiar that are found within the areas they travel through.

It can be argued here that while on one level the tourist might be the observed and the weakest in the power struggle in a Foucauldian view, on another level the nature of tourism as a service industry relying on providing the client with what they want to see, allows the constructs tourists already hold to direct the tourism product.

In a situation of constructed authenticity the agents of the guide and the local may present a staged reality to control the tourist and so provide the source of constructs also based upon the inauthentic.

10.9.4 Power relations brokers: Safari operators

The colonial legacy is still reflected in much of East and Southern Africa particularly through wildlife and safari tourism. This manifests itself though the form that wildlife conservation takes, with its focus on National Parks and designated safari areas that in the main operate on western scientific conservation principles. Hwange and Matobo national parks fall into these categories.

All safari guides used by the overland truck tour companies along the route under study in Zimbabwe were of European ancestry. The dominance of Euro-Zimbabwean safari guides reflects an acknowledgment of whites as 'environmental experts' (Suzuki, 2017). The "enlightened white conservationist" card holds obvious social and political utility (Suzuki, 2017). Euro-Zimbabwean guides have been able to present themselves favourably in this way.

As a result, in a country which suffered from oppression of the black majority by the white minority prior to independence in 1980, and where racism and colour prejudice is still prevalent in some sectors, *'conservation operates as a safe haven in which representations can circulate stripped of unfavourable social, historical and political contexts'* (Suzuki, 2017:102). The Euro-Zimbabwean presents themselves as the champion of wildlife knowledge and conservation, and thus obtains credibility with the rest of the world. One tourist observed this (B1) and was disturbed by the credibility given to the white Zimbabwean safari guides, versus the black Zimbabwean guide at the Wild Dog Centre.

Guides have the power of selection; they need to satisfy the tourist's expectations but are also in a position to select what the visitors see and how they see it (Suvantola, 2002). They represent the setting in a particular way and shield the tourist from aspects of it.

10.9.5 Power relations brokers: Tour leaders

Many Tour Leaders on overland trucks began as tourists (discussions with Tour Leaders) and have now become brokers. This transition places them in a more powerful situation, as they are viewed as intermediaries by the tourists, and are used to facilitate the smooth journey and provide at least partial interpretation of the places visited. Their ability to do this effectively varies depending upon how well they know the route and on their characters and organisational skills. Tour leaders on the two trips taken by the researcher were British, and constructs exhibited were similar to those of the tourists. They were observed to pass on these constructs to the tourist. The Tour leader on Trip B tended to raise expectations of what was to be seen, through emphasis on his own constructs and interests. He had trained in survival skills to a high level, and as a result idolised the San, as he saw these people as expert survivalists in a primitive context. The younger members of Trip B bought into these constructs (which applied to the journey after Zimbabwe, but began to emerge in Zimbabwe during the viewing of the cave paintings in Matopos) as survival involved physical activity (such as fire making) that they could get involved in and relate to.

10.9.6 The researcher as a broker within the journeys

In their discussion of Foucauldian power relations, Cheong and Miller (2000) see academics as agents where the tourist is the object of study. This was true for this research, although due to its participatory nature, the researcher could, at times, be viewed as the same as the tourists in power designation. It seems true to say that the researcher was in a position of power, relative to the other tourists along the Zimbabwe segment of the journey, as there she had quite a high level of prior exposure to place, and even knew some of the safari guides from previous encounters over many years. She therefore had more complex constructions of the places visited, based upon multiple exposure and numerous narratives.

On Trip A, tourists, on discovering that the researcher came from Zimbabwe, consulted her frequently when they wished for greater clarity in understanding the things they saw. The researcher could not avoid this, as she could not effectively hide her ability to provide interpretations of aspects of the world outside, which were unknown to tourists. Tourists also wanted more information on a variety of general things linked to Zimbabwean life. As

such, the tourist was consulted as much, if not more, than the tour leader in some situations. This was reflected by one tourist who said she felt she had learnt most about the country from the researcher (A1). The researcher found herself also having to fill gaps left by the guides, where tourists realised for themselves that there were further possible narratives, and asked the researcher to clarify them. This was particularly true in historical contexts and Rhodes grave stands out in this respect. This positioning of the researcher as an expert, despite the fact that she was not an indigenous Zimbabwean, and could not truly speak for locals, placed the researcher in a rather difficult position. She was able to make tourists aware that there were alternate narratives, but could not present those narratives effectively without some appropriation and likely distortion. However, consulting and interacting with the researcher probably allowed tourists to question the single narrative on which some of their constructs were based.

10.9.7 Power relations local

In the Zimbabwe context, locals appeared to have little power in their gaze when viewing the truck and the tourists. The lack of visibility of the local people served to rob them of potential power. Most tourism along the route under study operates within appropriated landscapes, within which local constructs and narratives have been effectively silenced and relegated to positions inaccessible to the tourist. With the removal of local communities from parts of Matopos in the late 1800s (establishment of the park in 1926) and the removal of the Nambya from the area now occupied by Hwange National Park (first to make way for white settler farms and game hunting areas, then to establish the National Park in 1930), the local people were deposed. Even when Matopos was awarded UNESCO World Heritage status in 2003, its history associated with the indigenous people of the area was underplayed. This conforms with a presentation made by Chambers in 2019 in Derby, where she showed that most UNESCO world heritage sites glorified colonial narratives and were frequently awarded to historic sites associated with colonisation.

10.9.8 Mobility itself as a power construct

Mobility itself can be viewed as evidence of power. Tourists have the money and time but even more the ability to cross borders easily. This is in contrast to many local people in the

villages who lack the means to cross-border mobility. If, *'Spatial mobility is a marker of success in navigating the global world'* (Faist, 2013), the disparity in ability to travel and cross borders easily illustrates inequity.

As Beck states,

'the most important factor determining hierarchies of inequality of the global age ...is opportunities for cross-border interaction and mobility' (Ulrich Beck, 2008, translated and quoted by Faist, 2013).

Faist was mainly focused on labour movement, however, his words ring true for all voluntary forms of movement including tourism.

Overland truck tourists epitomise this, as the whole type of tourism links to movement and border crossing. The tourists on the truck hold passports from countries that allow them easy mobility and where necessary to purchase visas at the border. The ability to cross borders is not an issue or in question in the tourist mind. In early 2020, the United Kingdom was ranked 28th on the global passport rankings, with easy access to 168 countries (121 visa free and 47 visa on arrival) in contrast Zimbabwe ranked 138th and had access to only 70 countries (39 visa free and 31 visa on arrival) (Passport Index, 2020). Other European and North American countries were of similar rankings. None of the countries Zimbabweans had easy access to, were countries from which tourists on the two trips under research came from. Thus, the right to travel freely is discriminatory.

The cost of travel is beyond the reach of most ordinary Zimbabweans, with only thirty percent in waged employment and many of those on low basic wage (Average Salary Survey, 2020). The movement of the truck through areas inhabited by local Zimbabweans is a physical manifestation of differences between the majority of locals and the tourists. As Sheller (2016) states *'frictions in travel become a mechanism for sorting out racialized bodies'*. She goes on to point out that 'bordering' may result in 'racial boundary drawing' and that certain groups may be discouraged from crossing borders. The 'island spaces' that according to Sheller (2016) form dis-embedded spaces centred on tourism and leisure, could also be applied to the truck, as it forms a mobile enclave that moves through areas and crosses borders.

Ability to travel may affect our constructs of life and place. The crossing of multiple borders for pure pleasure and adventure is a feature of overland truck tourism that is far removed from the experiences of most of the people living in the areas through which the truck travels. The very ability to enter a place and compare it to a range of others has implications on the constructs we evolve.

10.10 The post-colonial

As the tour progressed it became apparent that power inequity was based within a post-colonial framework. The influence of colonisation is very apparent in tourism in Africa and particularly in Southern and East African countries such as Kenya and Zimbabwe which experienced a settler population. Post-colonial influence was strong in the 'what', 'where' and 'how' of the tourist experience. What tourists visited, saw and did was determined by pre-held constructs that created demand for images and experiences that in turn influenced the itinerary of the company. The company itself assisted in selling experiences that built on tourist wish lists. Constructs and wish lists were in the main created from images presented within the societies the tourists lived in, and were erected upon colonial foundations and constructs that had evolved from settler and empire. Tourists wished to visit places that they had heard of from prior sources, sights such as Victoria Falls, or to go to places that contained elements that they wished to see, in this case primarily game. The 'big five' narrative drove demand for viewings, and the tour company selected places that could be marketed to fit that demand. Hwange was visited for this reason, few tourists appeared to know much about it prior to the trip, however, it was included as it afforded possible chances to view 'big five' species. The means to view the country involved the use of the truck to cover distance and to afford a base to move, not only the tourists, but also camping and other equipment, and the outsourcing of safari type game viewing to a Euro-Zimbabwean company.

10.10.1 Truck experiences in a post-colonial setting

Overland trucks tours mirror the early pioneers in wagons passing through the African bush. Today's trucks are faster and more robust, but there are distinct parallels. In both there was adventure. Both planned for security and self-sufficiency and saw safety in numbers. There is a distinct separation of the wagon and the truck from the unknown world outside. This reflects Mowforth and Munt's (2016) view that, *'it is the ease of penetration and the truck's panoptic qualities that become pre-eminent selling points'*, thus the truck is placed in the context of Foucault's gaze of surveillance. They go on to place it in the context of the post-colonial, stating that *'it must provide for optimum surveillance so the prey of this post-colonial gaze is captured and greeted'*. Clearly, Mowforth and Munt are not great fans of this form of tourism, but there is no evidence of their having experienced it as tourists. Slocum and Backman, however, did study this from the inside, and discussing the journey they participated in, which took in parts of the same route, and describe a journey very similar to that experienced by this researcher, they say,

Our day consisted of early mornings, long drives, and isolated campgrounds that catered specifically to tourists. Other than grocery shopping, there were rarely opportunities to mingle or approach any locals outside of the guides we encountered at tourism spots (2011:39)

The researcher's experiences mirrored this and led in her case to a mix of emotions. The lack of time to interact with people and places and the fleeting glances of potentially interesting sights was frustrating (allowing no time for establishing new interpretive constructs), however, there was a certain freedom linked to 'travel as travel', that made this kind of experience quite compulsive.

The division between tourists and locals is clearly a feature of these type of tours, but the clear physical demarcation between tourist and local serves to emphasise the differences. It was apparent from observation that many tourists were just not interested in any real interaction with locals, and in some cases were scared of it. Their choice of the overland truck tour allowed them to travel and maintain that space more effectively than if they had tried to do it alone. Bell's (2005) experience on a truck tour through the same parts of Botswana, presents a similar picture. She sees the tourist as engaging in the 'nervous gaze'

and states that her research has revealed that, '*behind the gaze is the insecurity of the outsider*'. Newman (nd) experienced similar situations in his participatory research on a truck through West Africa. This insecurity was observed in some of the members of this researcher's truck. Along with insecurity goes a vulnerability which tourists try to keep in check by remaining in the safe space of the truck, camp site or lodge. Fear of the 'other' was accompanied by a level of paranoia. On the last night of the trip before finally reaching Cape Town, the truck stopped and camped at a rather luxurious campsite on a wine farm. The next morning a tourist said to the researcher that they had been quite scared and understood why the owner had big dogs, as in the late evening there was loud noise of local workers walking up the road from the local 'bottle store' and they had found this threatening. Bell (2005) explains this by referencing the tourist awareness of their position of relative affluence and privilege, relative to the mass of the population who are poor and lack privilege. This reflects the visual distinction where being white stands out as opposed to what is viewed as a black multitude. There is no hiding and as such, the tourist is held to account.

Tourism in Zimbabwe is bound closely to colonisation. Tourists formulate narrative from constructs that they have obtained of the natural and human environments they travel through. Many of the landscapes they pass through and places they visit, have been shaped during colonisation and still reflect its imprint. Within Zimbabwe most facets of the landscape reflect this, from the road networks to the settlement distribution.

English is the subliminal and spoken language of tourism in Zimbabwe, within it a language has evolved in Southern Africa and East Africa to cater for wildlife tourism with terms like 'safari' (from the Swahili Arabic root *safar*, meaning journey) having entered the English language over a hundred years ago (Merriam-Webster, 2019) and become entrenched with tourism marketing language and imagery. Its current English meaning, 'a journey to see or hunt animals especially in Africa' (Merriam-Webster, 2019) very much revolves around a recreational view of game and excludes the multiple associations that might exist in local and animal interaction. As was described in chapter 7, some tourists used the term 'safari' reverently, and it appeared to conjure up an almost exotic bush experience. Language and its meaning as used in tourism, therefore, effectively excludes locals, who may speak English

for practical purposes but have different subliminal meanings and interpretations of place and species (Cloete, 2011). Although there were tourists from a variety of European countries on the truck, English was the main means of communication and was the language used with safari guides and in the limited contact tourists had with the world outside the truck. English is the language of the coloniser and its use places tourism within the colonially produced world.

The National parks visited by the tourist were established during colonisation of the country, ironically in some cases as a result of decimation of local wildlife due to indiscriminate hunting by early big game hunters. The presence of Rhodes grave as a major tourist attraction reflects colonial history, and the focus on the cave paintings of the San also does so as it effectively simplifies and romanticises the primitive. Today's landscape is a spatial reflection of the coloniser. Places seen as main attractions and stopping points for the tour are all areas set aside and modified through colonisation. Past appropriation of landscape from the late 1800s took place in Matopos and much of the area was appropriated by Cecil John Rhodes and later left to the Rhodesian Nation in his will. It was designated a National Park effectively further excluding the local people who had lived in the area prior to colonisation. Now a World Heritage site, locals who had hoped to return to their ancestral lands after independence, are effectively excluded. Appropriation of landscape in Hwange excluded the local Nambya people to create white farms and then the National Park in 1928. Nambya still talk of it as the area they lived in. This feeds into the anthropocentric nature of European culture where people are seen as distinct from nature which forms the 'other' (Plumwood, 2003), within a colonial frame the 'other' may be extended to include members of different races, often the indigenous populations of an area. Plumwood, discusses a situation of '*hyper-separation*' which '*defines a dominant identity against a subordinate identity through exclusion of their qualities*', through which this inferior treatment of the 'other' is justified. While, in post-colonial times, such as those when the research took place, justification for inferior treatment of the other is not vocalised or acknowledged, the system inherited continues to allow for silences where the 'other' should speak. With a few exceptions (three tourists amongst the eleven interviewed

on trip B), tourists appeared unaware of the inherited separations still visible and felt within the landscapes through which they travelled.

Narrative presented to the tourists through guide books and film and reinforced by the brokers, is that of the 'big five', a construct of species based entirely upon big game hunting. Rhodes grave and the monument to the Shangani patrol are presenting a colonial history as a still valid narrative, where often the local counter narrative is absent. The San are still being viewed as the noble savage, which is an attitude that has developed over the years prior to Independence. The conservation of species through a western scientific model is presented as the most valid approach to wildlife management. There is silence over the forced removal of local people to free land to found the National Parks. As Hughes (2010:132) states, *'Euro-American tourists intent on viewing wildlife still wish to see ONLY wildlife'*. Hence, the removal of indigenous people from their lands during colonisation, continues to be validated by tourist demand. There is still a perpetuation of the narrative put forward by 'colonial commentators that 'the main reason for extinction was hunting by Africans' (Adams, 2003), when in fact it was the European hunter who brought many species to the edge of extinction.

Therefore, the narrative brought and formulated during colonisation is still presented as valid today. Systems established are now entrenched and often uncontested. Counter narratives are often buried deep in oral history and memories of the elders. There is little recognition of the indigenous game management that was in place prior to the arrival of European settlers (Daneel, 2008) and of colonially driven factors that may in some cases have led to its demise. Because management was not framed in a way conceived in Europe, but rather as part of a wider religious and cosmological approach to the natural world (Nyathi, 2018; Humbe, 2018; Daneel, 2008) it is absent from the prior narrative held by the tourists and is not made visible during the tourism experience. A widely accepted international narrative that presents what is a European construct as normalised and acceptable, allows the tourist to easily absorb what they are presented with. Colonised people, and even societies, transmit colonised narratives and thus ensuring a continuation of the colonial narrative. This ensures that the product presented to the tourist is non-confrontational. In the text 'How Europe underdeveloped Africa' (Walter Rodney, 1981),

shows how colonisation permeates all sectors of society and effectively destroys indigenous systems and the resultant loss of indigenous culture.

These narratives are reinforced and validated by brokers who come into contact with the tourist. In the main these are from similar backgrounds, the Euro-Zimbabwe safari guide, the Euro-Zimbabwean owned campsite owner, the European tour Leader, all serve up an easily understood and accepted set of constructs with which to view the world. As d’Hauteserre, (2004:236) states, *‘the coloniser has control over representations of both the coloniser and the colonised’* and this is an *‘ideological vehicle of power’* that is closely guarded. These versions of reality are non-threatening for, and do not challenge, the tourist to step out of their zones of familiarity and comfort. When brokers select ‘what is shown and how they show it’ (Suvantola, 2002), they will pass on their constructs and values. The closer the guide’s background is to that of the tourist; the easier it is likely to be for the tourists to identify with him or her. There is still a strong construction amongst tourists of ‘the European self and African other’ (Knapp and Wiegand, 2014), and this was seen reflected in many of the tourists on the trucks. Mudimbe (1988) sums up the lack of credibility afforded to the local voices and their resulting invisibility by referring to what he refers to as *‘epistemological ethnocentrism’* which relates to a,

‘belief that scientifically there is nothing to be learned from “them” unless it is already “ours” or comes from “us”’ (1988:15)

This is a common narrative within the post-colonial landscape and seems particularly prevalent with reference to wildlife conservation within Africa.

Even if a tourist ‘breaks through’ to access a local person, it is still likely to be hard to access local cultural knowledge as local people themselves may feed into Western cultural norms, especially when discussing with someone perceived to be situated within those norms. As Chambers and Buzinde express it, *‘Tourism is still a privileging of Western epistemologies’* (2014:3). Even when tourists meet local people, locals frame dialogue within a narrative that they perceive to be understood by the outsider. Europeans are not expected to understand or be interested in the traditional local way of seeing the world and it therefore remains hidden or edited-out of the narrative imparted (researcher experience and observation).

Table 10.1 Colonial influence on overland truck tourism

Colonial	
Landscape	Narrative
National Parks	Western conservation
Rhodes grave	Rhodes as pioneer history
San	Primitive indigenous
Animals	Big Five
Brokers	
Tour Leader UK	
Safari guide- settler ancestry	
Camp site owner- settler ancestry	
Truck tourists	

10.1.2 Finding a place in post-colonial Zimbabwe through appropriation of the environment

Safari guides encountered on the Zimbabwean part of the trip were all of European ancestry (Euro-Zimbabweans). This appears from the researcher's general observation to be a common situation. The dominance of this group in the safari business has historical origins that date to pre-independence.

Images of Africa were constructed in contrast to European 'civilisation' (Wels, 2004). European colonisers found themselves amongst strange lands and peoples. In Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia) they never formed 'more than five percent' of the population (Hughes, 2010), but needed to create a sense of belonging. In order to find a place for themselves within the alien environment, they focused on appropriation of the landscape and wildlife 'emotionally and artistically' (Hughes, 2010). The co-production of whiteness and nature was initially advanced through writing and painting, and this continued more recently through film and other media (Adams, 2003; Hughes 2010). Images of Africa with origins

from colonial times are perpetrated through a variety of sources that form tourists' pre-constructs, and that are subsequently built upon and reinforced during the tourism experience.

Wels (2004) describes stereotyped Africans and Europeans both placed against '*a background of certain landscapes*'. In the case of the European the stereotype is often of the explorer or hunter against the backdrop of the wild, in the form of bush and animals. Today some of the stereotyped images of the Euro-Zimbabwean appear to have been expanded to include those of the hardy bush person and bold conservationist, who is fighting to preserve the game and national parks against threats of indigenous encroachment and poachers. Some of these are now the safari guides, of which those encountered in this research are typical; bronzed by the sun in khaki bush shorts, driving open topped Land Rovers converted into game viewing vehicles, these are accepted by the tourists as the custodians of the bush.

Focus on, and through, the Euro-Zimbabwean safari guides, leaves the black indigenous local population as what Hughes (2010) refers to as the 'discounted other'. This was observed from the research, where the local narrative was hardly visible in the discourse imparted by the safari guides. It was also evident by the lack of contact tourists had with the actual National Parks staff who are almost entirely made up of indigenous black Zimbabweans. By making 'natives' invisible they are excluded from 'power, wealth and territory' and in contrast the 'European of former pioneer ancestry, become more visible and 'included' (Hughes, 2010). This began during the colonial times, but appears to be perpetuated within the tourist experience and the constructs and narratives formed from it.

In appropriating the natural world for themselves the Euro-Zimbabwean ensures that their place in the landscape of the country is justified and substantiated. As Hughes states, '*nature conveys a moral force of greater universality than evanescent politics*' (2010:6), and so the Euro-Zimbabwean justifies their continued presence in the Zimbabwean environment. Through tourism their role and narrative is exposed to a wider audience, who will carry it further. Conversely, alternate narratives of the majority of the Zimbabwean

population are inaccessible. This has been a particular problem in countries like Zimbabwe where political developments post-independence have often been difficult for Europeans to understand.

The message imparted to the tourist is that of an assumed white superiority of knowledge and practice in relation to landscape, wildlife and conservation. It was apparent that tourists identified with Euro-Zimbabweans they encountered and in the case of the safari guides, were impressed by their position of wildlife experts and conservation champions. While three tourists on trip B expressed a level of cynicism regarding the single narrative they received, the majority did not question the impressions they received. Tourists were far more critical of the only black indigenous Zimbabwean they came across in a conservation context, the woman who showed them around the Wild Dog Centre and explained the plight of the wild dog. Because Zimbabwe still exhibits a racially divided society based upon an illusion of white mastery, tourists who are predominantly white European easily assume a position of relative power, as they unconsciously fit themselves into the racially divisive power dynamic. Information given by the Euro-Zimbabwean guide positions the tourist as someone who can carry forward the conservation message. This was apparent when one of the guides gave an impassioned short lecture on the plight of the critically endangered rhino and asked the tourists all to carry the message home. In the case of the rhino, there is no debate over the need to call on every strategy for its preservation. However, the absence of acknowledgement of Government initiative left the tourist with a further illusion of power. Tourists, therefore, easily position themselves within an existing Zimbabwean power and authority dynamic, and the limited contact overland truck travel allows, strengthens rather than weakens this.

10.11 Conceptual critique of the research

This research was conceptualised within an interpretivist, constructionist frame. Kelly's theory of Constructive Alternativism (1963) was used as an approach to examining the ways in which tourists constructed images of place and interpreted the things they saw. Although this theory originated in the field of Psychology it has been applied to research in other

disciplines. However, it is not commonly applied within tourism. This research has led the researcher to believe that any further research should be placed within a post-colonial frame combining this with an element of social constructionist theory.

The research process involved a multi-sited ethnographical approach (Marcus, 1995, Mannic and McGarry, 2017) where the researcher 'became a tourist' and immersed herself into an overland truck trip. This involved more participation than observation (a position which is an oxymoron anyway, O'Reilly, 2009, a strength (Brotherton, 2008) and a weakness, as one of the difficulties the researcher encountered with this approach was the problem of finding time to 'stepping back' and look at the truck experience objectively. At times the researcher found she had forgotten to record happenings and she had to try to create a regular time space for this. Tourism in an overland truck situation is ideal for participatory approaches to research. Because groups can be very diverse in terms of ages and because the truck tour experience is highly participatory in itself it is impossible not to become a tourist. There is little time to 'sit and stare' something that some tourists find difficult and there are usually physical activities associated with the logistical operations of the trip that preclude opting out. Participation on a tour means that whole tourist experience can be looked at rather than capturing a short picture from an interview or questionnaire (Bowen, 2002, Fletcher, 2010). More detail could be obtained and it was possible to watch events unfold. This made it ideal when looking at group dynamics and underlying patterns of value, the consequences of socio-political differences in values when observing unfamiliar places only became apparent because the researcher was part of the group. It is difficult to envisage an alternative method of acquiring an insight into the overland truck tour. It is worth observing that choice of when to tell fellow tourists of the researcher's dual role can be problematic. There are ethical issues linked to this, and this researcher decided to be advised by the company. She had also noted the problems recorded by Curtin (2008) in her PhD research on nature tours where a disclosure of her research from before the start of the trip led to hostility from participants who viewed her as some sort of spy. By the time the researcher explained her wish to research on day six, she was already part of the group and most of the other tourists were interested and wished to participate. Positive cooperation from most of the group meant that there were times

when fellow tourists went out of their way to provide further observations as the trip went on.

Within the trip the researcher also found time for interviews with some of the tourists and within these she used Kelly's repertory grid technique. Repertory grids are a 'way of formalisation and quantification of perceptual mapping' (Veal, 2011:138). The researcher used the grid embedded within an interview. It's positioning in the interview process allowed her to ask background questions and for the research subject to relax into the discussion before she introduced the grid. The grid provided a tangible way of obtaining data that could be compared and analysed as descriptive statistics. The grid technique proved of variable use. Some respondents got enthusiastic about it and came up with multiple constructs, others came up with a few and wished to talk at length. The grid was used as a way of gathering patterns of constructs, this was different from the more common varieties of use in clinical psychology where it has its home (Bannister and Fransella, 1986), in depth study of one person was not needed and time to probe and follow up was not required.

Initially it was planned to use the repertory grid technique with all those interviewed, tourist and stakeholder, however this proved impractical. On trip A there was no time for individual interviews before the researcher left the trip. Reluctant to come away with one interview the researcher decided to talk to four of the group together and use the grid as a group construct exercise. This worked well as filling in the single grid together prompted useful discussion and debate. Group repertory grid techniques are more often where multiple people each fill in a grid (used for marketing by Pike, 2017, and Pike and Kotsi, 2016)) and other more involved techniques where grids are filled in individually and then swapped or shared with a group (used in group psychology, Jankowicz, 2004). The use of a repertory grid with a group provides a focus for a focus group discussion and seems suitable for adaption into group situations in the field and the researcher believes that she will experiment with this for future use. There could be a use for a group approach to grid use in a participatory rural appraisal where it could be even drawn on the ground and values represented through numbers of leaves or pebbles (to provide an interaction experience without an emphasis on literacy).

The grid was not found to work with stakeholders outside the tourist group except in one notable exception where the researcher interviewed a manager at the Wild Dog centre, he rejected the grid approach to eliciting elements of his local area, however, he immediately saw its application in the comparison of animal species and came up with interesting constructs linked to traditional and personal views of animals present in the local environment. This proved to the researcher that the repertory grid can have a variety of uses in the local setting and that it is worth experimenting with it in further research. Constructs elicited for the grid did paint a post-colonial picture due to their main foci of emotion relating to animals and nature and the absence of constructs showing local worth. Here absence of constructs might be used as a useful indicator in addition to the focus on constructs that are present.

There is scope for combining a participatory approach with other techniques of gathering information apart from interview or grid technique. The use of netnography (), participant diary entry, and word associations are possible novel techniques in this setting.

Future research into aspects of the overland truck experience will start with a postcolonial frame, a multi-sited ethnography would still be considered central to capturing the truck experience.

10.12 Conclusion

This chapter analysed the main place, biophysical and socio-economic constructs held by tourists, brokers and locals, relating to the area of Zimbabwe under study. It described the evolution of the group on the truck and how far Tuckman's (1977) and Francis's (2008) theories relate to the evolution of the group within the overland truck scenario. It is seen that while the group does coalesce in practical terms, fundamental differences in some individual's constructs and narratives, used to interpret the world outside the truck, caused internal conflict that became more apparent in later stages of the trip. This resulted in friction that had the potential to cause a serious fragmentation of the group.

Power relations are central in the understanding of the place of overland truck tourism and the influences of different stakeholders on the tourist constructions that emerge. A

Foucauldian lens may be applied, however, where authors such as Cheong and Miller (2000) see the tourist as the least powerful with the tourism environment. This research shows that this may not be true in parts of Africa that still reflect colonial inequity within the bio-physical and socio-economic landscape. The gaze of the tourist uses constructs built upon colonial imagery, which is reinforced through a colonially constructed landscape. This is further imparted and solidified by brokers who as Euro-Zimbabweans are part of the colonial legacy. While European and colonial constructs tend to be anthropocentric, traditional local constructs are far more integrated with people and animals contained within one cosmological and spiritual world.

Section F:

Lessons from the journey

Chapter 11

Summary, conclusion, and recommendations

11.0 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the analysis of findings and the theory that was applied in order to interpret the research. This research looked at overland truck tourism, a type of tourism that has been little researched. The researcher used interview and a repertory grid method to collect data and extract meaning. It was found that the overland truck tourism experience in Zimbabwe could be best interpreted through a power dynamic that was situated within the post-colonial. In addition, the group nature of this form of tourism presented its own dynamic which did not fit into previous models of group development (Wilson, 2010; Frances, 2008), as group development and cohesiveness was found to decline in the later stages of the trip due to unresolved tensions linked to different socio-political value systems that emerged within the group.

This chapter returns to the objectives set at the start of the research and through them draws conclusions regarding constructs, narratives and values held by different stakeholders in overland truck tourism. Opportunities for value addition are discussed and recommendations made.

11.1 Summary of aim and objectives and ensuing research

The motivation for this research happened when the researcher, while based in Zimbabwe, observed the frequent arrivals and departures of overland trucks into and out of a local shopping centre. She found that very little research had been undertaken into this distinct form of tourism (Slockum and Backman, 2011; Bell, 2005; Sarmiento and Henriques, 2009). Having identified a knowledge gap, the researcher began to look at ways to contribute

towards filling it, as she believed that this form of tourism product must have some impacts on and make a contribution to, the tourism sector in Zimbabwe.

The aspect of this form of tourism which appeared most distinctive was its fleeting contact with place, and this was the initial focus for the research. As a result, the research centred on place constructs formed by tourists as they travelled within Zimbabwe and the values given to those places visited along the route of the trip. Constructs and values held by other stakeholders and locals who operated or lived in the area under study were also identified. In so doing it was possible to compare the constructs and narratives held by the tourists with those of local people. By undertaking this study, the researcher sought to identify areas of value associated with the trip, and contributions to tourist experience, local stakeholders, local economy and nation, resulting from overland truck tourism in the study area.

Therefore, the aim of the research was to *'investigate and analyse the range and nature of ethical constructs, values, and dominant narratives of biophysical and sociocultural environments held by tourists and host community stakeholders, as a basis to develop mutual understanding and potential to assist in achieving responsible practice, for more sustainable overland truck tourism operations in North West Zimbabwe and elsewhere'*.

The nature of the research focus leant strongly towards an interpretivist approach and in seeking to examine the nature of understanding of places, a social constructivist paradigm presented the best framework for the study. As Lincoln et al. (2011: 107) state, in constructivism *'knowledge is cognitively constructed from experience and interaction of the individual with others and the environment'*. In seeking to find a way of interpreting how people construct images of place, the researcher found that the work of Kelly (1963) and his Constructive Alternativism theory provided a useful way of identifying and explaining how people obtain interpretations of place.

Overland truck tourism presented a challenge to the gathering of research data from the tourists, as it is by its nature always 'on the move'. This meant that to effectively gather face-to-face data it was necessary to access the tourists by joining them on truck. To do this the researcher chose to use a form of multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995) where the researcher *'followed the people'*. In pursuing this form of research the researcher became

a tourist and in fact participated on the truck exactly like every other tourist. However, the company was aware of the researcher's dual role and tourists were informed of it after the first six days (the days she wished to study). The researcher had to study herself as an overland truck tourist as well as the others in the group and positioned herself within the research. In order to extract constructs of place from the tourists a repertory grid was used embedded within an interview. Just over half the tourists on the trip were interviewed and they were chosen based on willingness to participate. Observations of the group dynamic on the truck exposed tensions as differences in the value systems held by tourists became apparent. After the end of the overland trip the researcher returned to Zimbabwe and interviewed identified stakeholders in order to extract their place constructs and associated values.

Tourists were interviewed and a repertory grid was used in order to extract constructs of places visited along the journey. Constructs were subsequently analysed and themes extracted.

11.2 Conclusion on findings

11.2.1 Objective 1: Understanding overland truck tourism and its value to stakeholders

11.2.1.1 Overland truck tourism system

Overland truck tourism has evolved over the last sixty years from an unstructured group product where itinerary and logistics of the journey were comparatively fluid and tourists framed themselves as travelling explorers (Encounter Overland website, 2019; Davis, 2013), into a form of adventure tourism with fixed itinerary and standards (Oasis Overland, 2019; Dragoman, 2019; Intrepid, 2019, Acacia Africa, 2019). Participation on a six day section of trip from Victoria Falls to Bulawayo with one company and examination of other company websites Oasis Overland, 2019; Dragoman, 2019; Intrepid, 2019), show places visited, and campsites and facilities used, to be the same or similar for many companies. Companies nearly all start trips from a rest-camp in the centre of Victoria Falls town and continue along the route to Bulawayo, some spending a night at Hwange National Park on the way. They

spend two nights on the outskirts of Bulawayo and most spend the day in Matopos, which is an optional or included tour depending upon the company. Most truck tours involve camping using equipment carried on the truck and food is bought along the way and cooked by the group. Fewer truck companies venture into other areas of Zimbabwe (the researcher was aware of two in 2018).

The researcher was surprised at the limited contact tourists from the truck had with the environments they passed through. Significant direct contact after leaving the Victoria Falls (apart from Chobe in Botswana) appeared to be limited to Hwange National park, a brief stop in Bulawayo, and Matopos national Park. Contact with people outside the truck was also limited the greatest contact being with the safari guides from a company engaged by the tour company. This safari company is one of two based in Bulawayo who cater for overland truck tours. Apart from the safari guides, contact was limited to guides at the Wild Dog Information Centre, possible interaction with campsite owners and transactional contact with curio sellers and tellers in the supermarkets. It is necessary to consider this background when looking at the value that can be attributed to this type of tourism and when suggesting ways to add value to its future operations.

11.2.1.2 Value of overland truck tourism for tourists

Tourists joined the overland truck tour as it afforded them the opportunity to visit perceived key attractions in more than one country, with arrangements being made for them by the company. Most tourists also mentioned the security of the truck as a form of 'safe haven' within which to travel (this was also observed by Bell on her trip to adjoining Botswana, 2005 and Newman in his study of an overland truck journey through West Africa, nd). The group element of this tourism product was seen as an attraction by most as it allowed both couples and single tourists to travel easily with potentially 'like-minded' fellow tourists. Bell discusses the 'nervous gaze' of the tourists and their reluctance to venture outside the safety of the truck (2005) and this was seen to apply to some of this group. While the trip was not cheap, it was seen as good value compared to trying to do the trip independently and it optimised the use of time (solo or small group backpacking being a far more time-consuming venture). Undertaking a journey of this scale, much of it on dirt roads through

remote areas, gave tourists a sense of adventure while remaining within security of the 'familiar'. It is doubtful if many members of the trip would have attempted to travel to these areas of Africa outside the organised group framework (only one spoke of previous backpacking experience within Africa), and luxury tours or safaris would have been a very different and far more expensive experience. Therefore, the overland truck tour brought tourists into areas they would not otherwise have visited.

11.2.1.3 Value to Brokers

The overland truck tour industry provided a core livelihood for a few stakeholders. Of note here are the campsites at Victoria Falls and Bulawayo, the former run by a private company who rented the facilities from the local Council and the latter privately owned and located in the affluent suburbs of Bulawayo and catered largely for overland trucks. In each case the facility was run or owned by Euro-Zimbabweans. This situation mirrors the experiences encountered by Slocum and Backman (2011) when they observe that most facilities where they camped were not owned by indigenous Africans. The same safari company was used both at Hwange National Park and for a day's trip to Matopos that included walking to see rhino. This company which caters for the majority of the overland truck tour trade, and along with one other company covers all Matopos trips taken by overland truck tourists, is Euro-Zimbabwean owned. Thus, major economic revenue is directed to the Euro-Zimbabweans who have effectively captured the overland truck market. However, some of these do provide jobs to indigenous local Zimbabweans, although typically, as with much of the tourist trade, these jobs tend to be low paid, such as campsite cleaners. Incoming money is fed into the local economy thus, providing secondary benefit.

Tour leaders for the truck company joined by the researcher all appeared to originate from outside Africa, although the researcher did encounter leaders who were from Kenya, Zimbabwe and South Africa working for other tour companies. The cook and driver on the trip taken were from Zimbabwe and Kenya respectively. A distinct difference in attitude was seen between African and non-African crew, where the non-African tour leaders appeared to have adopted the job as a 'lifestyle', and were unmarried, and the African members of crew had wives and children in their home countries and explained to the researcher that

the small but steady wage they earned was sent back to support family and put children through school. The Zimbabwean cook on Trip A proudly told the researcher of how he was putting his eldest son through university using money from his job.

The Wild Dog Centre just outside Hwange National Park and visited by some truck companies obtained a donation each time the truck visited and this went directly to their conservation and education efforts.

11.2.1.4 Value to locals

The overland trucks were not observed to intersect with local communities along the route except when shopping at urban shopping centres. The exception to this was the interaction with curio sellers from local villages, which took place within the Matopos National Park. The contact was promoted by the safari company, who stop at the curio centre and encourage tourists to buy there. It can be seen that all local value is therefore based upon financial transaction of goods. Curio sellers expressed frustration at this when interviewed by the researcher, as they felt they had local knowledge of place that could be shared, but they were denied opportunity to do so. Representatives of the local Nambya community near Hwange, who had no community contact with tourists, expressed similar sentiments.

11.2.1.5 Value to Zimbabwean government and economy

No Zimbabwean owned overland truck tour companies could be identified. The researcher was told of one (Tshongololo) purported to be based in Harare and owned by a European expatriate, but failed to find them online or see evidence of them at any of the campsites frequented by the trucks. According to drivers encountered at Victoria Falls, some vehicles hired by truck companies are owned by Zimbabweans living in South Africa.

The overland truck tourism sector does contribute to Zimbabwe's economy through bringing in tourists who might otherwise not have visited and who might return to see more of the country in the future. The trucks operate even in times when tourist arrivals are low, and this can expose tourists to a Zimbabwe different to the one in the media.

The secondary impacts of these tours on the country and its economy are likely to be small but significant. Even at times of low tourist arrivals, overland trucks continue, and this keeps

businesses such as the Victoria Falls rest-camp in operation, and allows them to employ a variety of staff. Thus, tourism derived money circulates in the economy and may trigger a multiplier effect (Lange, 2011; Fletcher, Fyall, et al, 2017). Overland truck tourists are not 'big spenders' (Bell, 2005; Slocum and Backman, 2011) however, what they do spend is less likely to trigger internal leakage (Lange, 2011) than would be the case with tourists from the more luxurious end of the tourism market, as they are not staying in upmarket safari lodges that have to be equipped with high end décor that may be imported, nor do they consume expensive imported foods, alcoholic beverages and other luxury goods. Because of the kitty system explained in Chapter 2, there is also less external leakage, although the ownership of the truck companies outside Zimbabwe means that more than half the trip fee is paid outside the country. According to the UNCTAD (2012) import related leakage from tourism activities may be significant in developing countries, the average being between 40% and 50% of gross tourism earnings and between 10% and 20% for more diversified economies. Buying food at local supermarkets and undertaking equipment repair using local services stimulate the economy. Paying entrance and camping fees at National parks assist in Parks operations and pay salaries. For these reasons overland truck tourism should be encouraged to operate within Zimbabwe.

11.2.2 Objective 2: To identify overland truck tourists' perceptions and values of the biophysical and sociocultural environments through which they travel, and their relationships with host community stakeholders encountered on the journey through North Western Zimbabwe.

Tourists were found to arrive on the trip with images and strong ideas of what they wished to see and where they wish to visit. These ideas come from images acquired over time usually in their country of origin. Images originate from documentaries such as National Geographic (Horak, 2006; Bouse, 2000) and narratives that are contained within the histories of their countries, and often focus on the 'wild' aspects of Africa (Knapp and Wiegand, 2014). 'Wild' in most tourists' minds equates to wildlife in National Park settings and to local people as the 'primitive' (San). The tour companies reinforce these images as they compete to cater for tourist demand. This means that tourists' preconceptions drive demand and perpetuate the value tourists place on aspects of the bio-physical

environment. In the case of some of the tourists on the truck, there was little prior knowledge of Zimbabwe itself, and this led to little expectation except to see wildlife.

Tourists were found to value sighting of the 'big five' and of lion and leopard, as these were on their bucket lists of what to see (Thurnall-Read (2017)). These, along with much of the imagery held relating to Africa in general come from within the societies they grew up in (Mudimbe, 1988). Some tourists expressed surprise at the nature and quality of Zimbabwe's Parks and these had gained value in their eyes by the end of the visit.

Short exposure to new places and environments gave tourists little time to gain impressions and revise prior constructs to fit them. It is not surprising that tourists' constructs mainly focused on their emotional responses to what they saw. They looked at places in terms of the extent to which they elicited enjoyment, happiness, interest or distress, these were positioned alongside whether a place was seen as beautiful, diverse, original or authentic. There was little time to develop more complex responses. Constructs were seen to be inherited from the history of the societies that influenced them. The constructs carried with the tourist may be subliminal and await reinforcement or change in response to new images and information. New places and events needed interpretation, and the tourists relied on the safari guides to provide this. Because the guides were from a Euro-Zimbabwean conservation tradition, the narratives transferred to tourists were those that positioned the white conservationist central in the landscape (Hughes, 2010; Adams and Mulligan, 2003; Suzuki, 2017). The preoccupation with game, can itself be seen as a post-colonial response to place.

The most significant finding of this research was the recognition of the role of post-colonial narrative in the production and consumption of tourism along the route. This appeared true for all tourism activity but was exaggerated in the truck tour form of tourism. The colonial imagery was strong, not only in motivating the tourist to take the trip, but in what they sought to see, in what they did see and in the narratives carried and reinforced.

Associated with the post-colonial is a strong power inequity. This is particularly observable in the context of Zimbabwe and Southern Africa as a whole, where the colonial experience is relatively recent and is still strongly visible in both the landscape and in the socio-cultural

and economic aspects of life (Hughes, 2010). In some tourism contexts Foucauldian power might be seen in the local observing the tourist, but in Zimbabwe the tourist holds the power. This is linked to the historical legacy which clearly places the tourist alongside the coloniser.

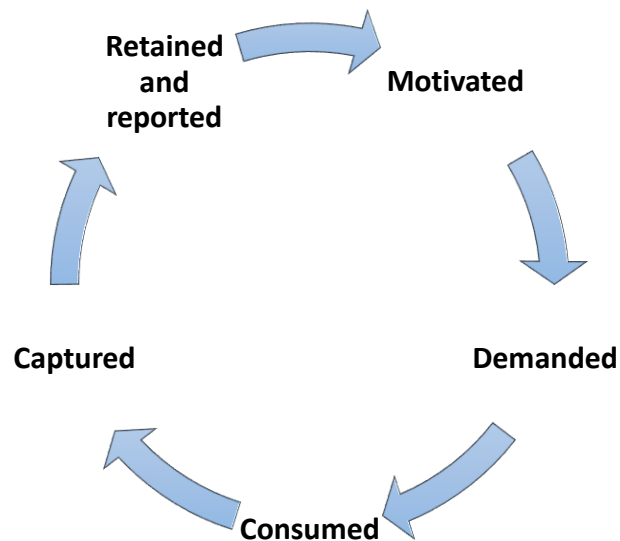


Figure 11.1 Perpetuation of a colonial lens in tourism

Source: Newsome-Magadza, 2020

The nature of tourism as a service industry means that it is client driven. This creates a vicious cycle of tourists (see Figure 11.1) wishing to see what has been previously presented to them in documentaries, stories, and through past colonial discourse. Thus, constructs are acquired and fuel a demand for the Africa of prevalent narrative and imagery. In order to retain the tourists and encourage their arrival, service providers operating as brokers, give the tourists what they expect to see. If they are Euro-Zimbabwean this has the further effect of reinforcing their position in the landscape (Hughes, 2010). Breaking out of this cycle is problematic. There is a danger in challenging the norm, and African countries and operators within them, are understandably reluctant to break into new territory and risk losing their clients elsewhere. In addition, they are often a product of the colonial construct and therefore continue to enforce it. This also encourages staged authenticity, which is not in

itself necessarily a bad thing (it might keep the tourist from intruding too much into tradition), but can lead to a devaluing of real traditions. Because prior constructs drive demand and this in turn drives what is consumed, there is a cycle of post-colonial constructs and resultant narrative being perpetuated. Tourists on holiday continue to perpetuate what they have seen, through the construct lens they started with, and photographic and verbal narrative they acquire is passed on via social media and direct contact to friends and relatives, who are potentially future tourists.

The other significant finding of the research lay in the role of individual tourist values in the evolution of the group dynamic. The value systems that tourists embarked on the tour with remained hidden for much of the trip, with individual tourists being careful to express their broad interpretations of place and the bio-physical and socio-economic environments within a relatively neutral socially acceptable frame. In these earlier sections of the trip the group developed closely following Tuckman's forming, and storming phases (Wilson, 2010) and also showing the applicability of Frances group construction model (2008). However, entering the norming stage resulted in members of the group beginning to relax and let down guards on their true interpretations and underlying values relating to the places they visited. This led to some members of the group expressing values that were abhorrent to other members. The resulting conflict prevented the group from reaching the performing state in the Tuckman's model or the collective construction in Frances model, and caused a stress and a beginning of a break up of group coherence. This illustrates the importance of value constructions in the making or breaking of group development and a potential problem in the group nature of overland truck tourism. Tourist groups may assume common constructs, but the researcher observed that this is not always possible and that instead of developing common constructs that unite the group, construct may become increasingly divergent threatening group cohesion and function.

11.2.2.1 Relationship with stakeholders

Overland truck tourists were found to have very limited contact with stakeholders outside the tourists and crew on the truck. The main brokers on this stretch of journey were the safari guides. Because these were of Euro-Zimbabwean extraction they were not found as

culturally strange as local indigenous community members would be, and tourists were observed to feel that they could trust them and relax in their company. The nervous gaze described by Bell (2005) could be suspended in their presence.

In contrast, the black local guide at the Wild Dog centre was less trusted, the information she imparted was viewed as being staged, probably because she was talking in English which was not her native language and because tourists felt less able to relate to her.

Local stakeholders in the form of the Matopos curio sellers and the Nambya representatives expressed regret that they had little or no meaningful contact with tourists. They were therefore unable to impart the values they placed on their environments to the tourists.

11.2.3 Objective 3: To analyse the ethical constructs and dominant narratives held by tourists and host community stakeholders.

Ethical constructs were seen both through value construct and through attitudes to responsibility within tourism exhibited by different stakeholders. Most tourists saw ethical constructs in terms of conservation and saving endangered species. There was little evidence of any consideration of local people and the impacts of game species on their lives. Wildlife was less of 'the other' than local communities. However, in direct discussion on the nature of responsible tourism the tourists did consider impacts on the socio-economic environments.

Constructs of place elicited through repertory grids did not produce those that were directly ethical and the lack of these says something about the interaction of tourists with place. Constructs were more to do with immediate emotional response than ethical responses. In some cases countries were compared on superficial visual evidence, for instance one tourist dismissed Zimbabwe in general on the basis that he felt it was dirty with litter everywhere, and praised Namibia as it seemed clean and tidy. There was no acknowledgement of underlying environmental, economic and social conditions that might have led to his impressions.

Tourists exhibited an ethical concern towards the wider environment with some being preoccupied with the recycling of waste (or lack of recycling). There was a tendency to be

judgmental and to construct 'good practice' as what was done in their home countries. Recycling was seen to equate to the collection and separation of waste and there was no acknowledgement of other forms of direct recycling taking place within the local setting.

Interestingly, all stakeholders saw an ethical responsibility to their immediate community. Tourists and crew positioned at least part of responsibility within the group and the truck, as each individual was seen as being responsible for the smooth running of the trip and the safety of the group as a whole. Local people saw responsibility as being part of a duty of care through custodianship of the local environment often via spiritual or survival constructs.

11.2.4 Objective 4: To identify common and contrasting value constructs between tourists and stakeholders.

There were two distinct groups here, the first being the tour leader and the safari guides who had closest contact with the tourists, and the second being the curio sellers and local cultural representatives.

Tourist and safari guide brokers held constructs that focused on a western wildlife tradition (Suzuki, 2017), this placed the tourist and the Euro-Zimbabwean in an ethically elevated position, as separate from nature but somehow responsible for it. They perceive themselves as responsible *for* nature. In contrast traditional community constructs placed people within the natural and spiritual worlds and saw those worlds as a whole. Thus, places had value as an intrinsic whole rather than a sum of their parts. Here responsibility is *to* the natural world, which includes the human.

11.2.4.1 Responsible and sustainable aspects of the overland truck tour product

All overland truck companies studied had written responsible tourism policies available on their websites. These covered all aspects of responsibility, namely environmental, social, cultural and economic. Most tourists could come up with a definition of responsible tourism, though there tended to be greatest focus on environmental aspects of conservation and recycling. Euro-Zimbabwean brokers and tour leaders were well versed with aspects of responsible tourism. Interestingly the African cook and drivers and the local

community representatives saw responsibility rather differently. The African crew focused on truck responsibilities that allowed for the safe and smooth running of the trip. These were also covered by some of the tourists adding a further dimension to responsible tourism, that of the responsibility to the group. Local community representatives did not have formal definitions for responsible tourism, but from what they felt was important in tourism it can be deduced that economic and community benefits were seen as central to a sustainable tourism product, They also mentioned elements of responsibility to the environment as a whole, discussing the need to preserve places and species of traditional spiritual significance. This is a form of custodianship.

A number of studies have shown that tourists assume different persona and engage in different practices to what they would at home (Hibbert et al, 2013), Juvan and Dolnicar, 2014)

There is a responsibility implicit in *'living ethically in a post-colonial world'* (Noxolo et al, 2012:418). This applies beyond tourism, but is exaggerated within it.

The researcher also wished to consider the sustainability of the tourism product itself. From this research it appears that at present overland truck tours are likely to continue operating in the area as a sustainable tourism product. However, it is worth observing that their continued operations in their present form are linked to the post-colonial framework of most tourism in Zimbabwe. In order to be truly responsible and to ensure a sustainable future it is suggested that truck tours evolve to contribute greater value to the local communities and to enrich the tourist experience.

11.3 Conclusion on method used

1.3.1 Constructive Alternativism and repertory grid use

The research was conducted within Kelly's theory of Constructive Alternativism. More commonly used in clinical psychology, this was a novel approach to framing the tourist experience for research purposes. The theory was particularly appropriate for the study of overland truck tourism, as the fleeting exposure to places visited by the tour meant that

tourists were dependent on their existing constructions of place to provide a means to interpret new environments. Positioning the research within this theory gave the researcher a means to examine tourists' responses. Bannister and Fransella give a main construction corollary as '*a person anticipates events by construing their replications*' (1986:8). This seemed a close fit to the process a tourist on a tour would go through, and constructs based on prior experience are likely to remain significant as there is little time to immerse in the new environment and modify those constructs.

Linked to the theory is the practical use of repertory grids to extract constructs from individual research subjects. This researcher had intended to use these as a means to extract all stakeholders' constructs of places, and to discover what meaningful prior experiences influenced particular individuals and groups constructions. The research was designed so that the use of the grid formed the central part of an in-depth interview and acted as a focus for the discussion and comparison of places. A number of problems were faced in doing this. Firstly, the grid worked more effectively with some people, and in some situations, than others. The researcher found that some tourists came up with few constructs but discussed those constructs they came up with in great depth. In this case the repertory approach acted as a catalyst for discussion but did not reveal many constructs that the tourist used to reference places. Other tourists came up with a larger number of constructs but did not discuss them, and the exercise became sterile, with the tourist exposing a construct and then ranking elements against it but failing to disclose how they arrived at the construct or rankings. Secondly, the grid technique proved difficult to use with non-tourist stakeholders. The safari guide dismissed it and chose to be interviewed in a more traditional but open-ended manner. The local cultural experts found the concept abstract and alien and the researcher discarded it as it threatened the interview process. Thirdly, the time frame available to gather data from local cultural experts did not lend itself to the use of the grid. This is a time-consuming method and one that involves developing a relationship with the research subject that was not possible in the time available. Finally, using a grid technique when also using an interpreter added an extra obstacle into the equation, and when tried with the curio sellers, proved confusing.

In psychological application the grid would most usually be used to focus on one client or a small number of clients this is referred to as repertory grid analysis, in previous tourism research it has been used to obtain common constructs and usually applied to group marketing, this is referred to as the repertory test (Pike, 2017). This research compared construct of places along the route which formed common elements for all those interviewed. The repertory test was analysed by this researcher through grouping of common or similar constructs into themes. It was presented through descriptive statistics and used alongside quotes from related discussion.

Embarking on the use of the repertory grid technique or repertory test proved rather confusing for the researcher as different authors presented it differently and some users analyse it statistically while others qualitatively (Bannister and Fransella, 1986; Pike, 2017; Jankowicz, 2004; Fransella and Bell, 2004).

With group A, the researcher had intended to conduct individual interviews using the grid with a number of tourists. However, this proved logistically impossible due to the late return from a day in Matopos. Instead a group interview was held with four of the eight tourists on the trip. Group use of the grid has been described by Bannister and Fransella (1986) in a scenario where each member of the group fills a grid and these are then discussed or swapped as part of a group exercise. In the case of this research on overland truck tourism, one grid was used with the group, as the focus of a group discussion. This proved an excellent method to initiate discussion, and although not a common way of using grids, is an approach the researcher would use again. It is particularly suited to studying overland truck tourism as it is a group product. It would also be interesting to experiment with using this approach within a participatory rural appraisal (PRA) situation if looking at aspects of community tourism with small groups of local people.

11.3.2 Participatory observation

A major part of the field research involved participatory observation while travelling on the overland truck. This was effectively a multi-sited ethnography. Active participation is the only way for a researcher to get a 'feel' for the operations of the overland truck and the life and group dynamics involved. By engaging in participation as a means to research, the

researcher effectively becomes a tourist and this enabled her to also gain cooperation to carry out interviews. Given the frequency of movement of the overland truck, participation appears the most effective way to access the tourists and it seems that this has been recognised by the little prior research (Slocum and Backman, 2011; Bell, 2005; Newman, nd)

11.4 Theoretical contribution

During this research it was observed that there was a dearth of investigation into how tourists arrive at constructs of what they see during their tourism experience. Kelly's approach to formation of individual and group constructs has the potential to act as a way to approach further research in order to build a wider bank of research in this area.

Part of the uniqueness of overland truck tourism lies in the way that it combines elements of other tourism products to create a distinct package of its own. Because of this, findings from this research can be applied to some aspects of a range of other tourism products. The research is of relevance where there is a strong mobility element to the tourism experience that results in short, often fleeting, contact with environments that are novel to the tourist. While the overland truck tour is billed as an adventure product, more luxury and less adventurous coach trips also have a short contact with stopping points along trips through areas such as Central Europe. Staying in tourist hotels for one or two nights and often remaining in the tour group for much of the time 'exploring' new cities and places, contact with local people is, as with the overland truck, often brief and transactional.

While the cruise industry combines contact with place with retreat to a luxury floating enclave, again the journey element removes tourists from direct contact with places which are passed through. Points where tourists disembark act as tourism hubs. Numbers of tourists on cruise ships can be large and impacts may be greater due to sheer numbers. Also many cruise passengers disembark only to be loaded onto coaches and taken on rapid tours of main sites and sights. Thus, fleeting contact with place is often doubled by the cruise experience.

Like overland truck tours both luxury bus tours and cruises present a tourism experience 'seen through a window' from a safe haven tourist bubble. The tourist lacks time and opportunity to engage in more meaningful contact with the environments visited and is reliant on preconceived constructs and on brokers. The broker element, central to the experience presented by all of these group mobility products, assists the tourist interpret what they see. However, the interpretation is likely, as with the truck tour, to be presented through an outside eye, either because the tour guide acting as broker is not local to the area visited, or because the tour guide provides what the tourist believes they wish to see based upon prior constructs derived from imagery and exposure in their home country (Suvantola, 2002). This perpetuates a view of place and people that often originates from the 'home country' of the tourist.

Fleeting contact with place also encourages staged authenticity, provided to both reinforce conceptual demand and to condense experience into a time frame acceptable to place within the tourism product. This has been discussed by Bruner (2005) and was observed by Pathisa Nyathi and discussed during an interview as part of research. As Nyathi states, it is not possible for a tourist on a short visit to participate in all stages of a local process and this inevitably leads to the adaption and condensing of the experience to make it possible for the tourist to access some elements of it. Lack of ability to distinguish authentic from inauthentic staged production was observed during this research and can be seen elsewhere in tourism, where the tourist lacks a means to contact the ordinary. This is exacerbated in organised mobility products, which may be compared to a backpacker experience where the tourist may be forced into closer contact with the local environment while travelling on the same transport as the indigenous population.

The perpetuation of a colonial narrative observed during this research is likely to be also observable within much of Africa and applied to more luxury safari experience as well as overland truck tours. Constructs held by luxury safari tourists are likely to be equally influenced by prior construct and expectation derived from the same narratives and images presented in the home country as those held by the overland truck tourist. Historic power relationships are replicated through mainstream tourism in the region.

Because of tightening of international tourism legislation aimed at ensuring standards and safety of the tourism product, even tourism portrayed as 'adventure' is subject to levels of restriction that did not exist in the later part of the twentieth century and earlier (Richardson, 2016). This combined with tourist demand for a more 'fixed' product that ensures adherence to certain time frames and provision of amenities means that it is less and less easy to make clear distinctions between products. The luxury safari through a section of North Western Zimbabwe is not that different to the overland truck trip in terms of the constructs that may be brought to the experience and taken away at the end. One is a budget, less comfortable experience, but both may encounter similar game and environments presented by the same or similar brokers. This means that many of the observations made through this research may be at least partially transferable from the basic to the luxury package.

The research exposed the ways in which overland truck tourism is evolving from a relatively unstructured product to a largely prescribed one. With pressure for fixed itineraries and standards the distinction between the overland truck tourism product and more luxury safaris that travel through areas is becoming less distinct. There was little evidence of this type of tourism becoming unsustainable in the area under study, in the sense of its complete collapse. However, the evolution of the product in response to changes in tourism demand means that it could be argued that 'old ways' are no longer sustainable. This means that overland truck tours are likely to become closer and closer to the mainstream tourist product in the region, with growing demands for Wi-Fi, a cook to prepare meals and all organisation to be handled by the company.

11.5 Recommendations

11.5.1 Conceptual framework

11.5.1.1 Use of post-colonial or decolonial frameworks

In this research the post-colonial frame was found to be the most effective way of interpreting findings relating to constructs and values of tourism in Zimbabwe and to

overland trucks as a distinct form of tourism. Further research in this area would be most effective by applying this interpretive lens from the start of the study. Recommendations linked to quests for meaning in interpreting construct patterns for this form of tourism in an intra Africa situation might effectively strive towards a decolonial approach (Smith, 2012). This would fit well into the quest to maximize the value of tourism in a Zimbabwean context, and position itself within the Zimbabwe government's affirmative action and community development approaches to economic development and to the tourism sector.

11.5.1.2 Repertory grid use

As a result of insights derived from this research it is recommended that:

The use of repertory tests as a focus for group discussion be investigated as it provides distinct possibilities for effective further research of this form of tourism. Given the group dynamic of overland truck tourism this approach would assist in the interrogation of group constructs of place and assist in capturing the group experience more effectively than single interviews with grids. Jankowicz (2004:223) suggests a situation where elements are either elicited for each individual, given to the group, or elicited as a group. In this research the researcher supplied the elements having agreed them with the tour leader from group A. It is argued that this remains necessary in order to capture constructs of place. He envisages that individuals fill grids and then exchange them or discuss them as a group. While this is a good approach for social or clinical psychology purposes, it is not ideal for tourism. The researcher would rather a situation where the group arrives at constructs together and the process of reaching them is recorded and later analysed, the assigning of values to elements then becomes a process of group negotiation. The strengths of this hinge on the use of the grid as a focus for group discussion, encouraging debate and pooling memory. The potential problems revolve around the danger of some voices drowning out others and for this reason a group of around four persons might be ideal. The raising of some voices above others mirrors the group dynamic on the truck tour anyway, and that dynamic itself becomes interesting. Use of the grid in groups in this way is not a very pure way form of repertory grid analysis, it as it becomes a tool within discussion rather than the discussion itself.

With a longer time frame and greater immersion into local communities, repertory grids could be used with community groups as previously described, within a process of rural appraisal. Advantages would be that in community settings a grid could be filled as a product of co-creation eliminating literacy or strict language concerns. This would be a useful tool for looking at community constructs of spaces where locals and tourists overlap.

Further study on overland truck tours may be undertaken using a construct approach. It would be interesting to apply this to journeys in areas with less developed infrastructure such as parts of West Africa as in these areas camping sometimes takes place on the edge of a village and tourists have to interact more than in Southern Africa.

Further application of a repertory test version of the grid should be used as an effective tool for identifying place constructs. It is important to look at place construct beyond the application to marketing, and extend it into the area of understanding.

11.5.2 Enrichment and benefits of overland truck tours

11.5.2.1 Making this form of tourism visible and adding value

There is a fine line between increasing visibility of the overland truck product and encroaching on its operations and thus threatening its existence. The researcher argues that there is a need to recognise the contribution of this form of tourism and to encourage its operations along main routes. However, the product needs to continue to develop without bureaucratic red tape, as too many restrictive or financial controls might drive it across border at the expense of the benefits it accrues to Zimbabwe. Presently, some tours with some companies avoid Zimbabwe, and instead, access Victoria Falls via Kanyemba border post which allows movement to and from Botswana.

Increased visibility of overland truck tours could result in partnerships between villages or local businesses and connect trips with local community initiatives. Community campsites could be established in areas which would increase economic value to communities and enrich the value of the tourist experience. This would situate this form of tourism well within the aims of the Zimbabwe National Tourism Master Plan (2016).

11.5.3 Partnerships

Initiatives that involved Zimbabwean communities in tourism include Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE, 2020) which has, in the past, entered into joint ventures with hotels and community and run their own small tourism projects. There is scope for local community run campsites that could be used by overland trucks. Another initiative is the village hotel (VOTEL) where members of a group of homesteads each build an extra room to accommodate guests (Dube, 2013). If overland truck tours could liaise with some of these initiatives they might add value to their tour product for both the community and the tourist. Rather than just sponsoring projects such as orphanages and wildlife centres (in East Africa), companies might consider assisting communities in setting up facilities that can be used by the trucks. These could take the form of assistance or partnership and investment into basic facilities and training need not be a large financial outlay.

11.5.4 Internal dynamics and conflict within the truck

By the end of trip B there were conflicts and splits developing within the tourist group. This was based on opposing values held by sub-groups of tourists. Some tourists found values expressed by others as offensive due to their racist basis. It was felt by these tourists that there ought to be limits to what fellow tourists were allowed to express freely. There is a need to balance the freedoms and group decision making of the truck. It is suggested that responsible policies that have direct bearing on tourist behaviour be given to tourists at the start of the trip, and that they sign that they have seen and agreed to these.

Policing tourist attitudes to the 'other' is difficult and might be seen as undesirable, however, open expression of certain attitudes should be viewed as unacceptable (as they would be in most countries) and a mechanism is needed to control these. Physical or verbal discrimination within, or regarding what is outside, the truck, will inevitably lead to tensions and argument. Lack of tolerance to this needs to be expressed in company policy, and the feelings of some tourists were that on the few occasions needed, the tour leader should be empowered to step in and deem expression of some constructs unacceptable as they were racist, or discriminatory. This is a controversial area, but it does need examining

11.6 Further research

Existing research on overland truck tourism is limited, and little in-depth analysis of impacts of this form of tourism have been undertaken. It is hoped that this research will fill a part of the gap, but there is need for further research into this form of tourism and into its value within the Zimbabwean setting. There is opportunity and need for a variety of other research, notably to cover environmental and economic impacts on areas along the journey and on the countries that are passed through. In Zimbabwe in particular, an analysis of the volume and contribution of this form of tourism to the economy and within the tourism sector, would be of mutual benefit to both the truck companies and the Zimbabwe Tourism Authority.

There is a need for more focused research evaluating the responsible tourism policies of overland truck companies. From this research it became clear that many tourists had not read these and did not consult them, but rather mentally transferred responsibility to the company assuming that it would engage in responsible practice. While on the truck it was clear that many specifics within the policy were not strictly adhered to, for instance the avoidance of plastic bottle use and separation of waste. The nature of truck experience is such that the patrolling of policies becomes intrusive and is unlikely to be done. This is effectively a similar situation to that mentioned in 11.4.2 above.

The group dynamic in overland truck tourism is a distinctive feature and one that merits greater study. Newman (nd) sought to examine this through the eyes of a social anthropologist, but there is potential for a range of further research in this area.

One of the reasons for the lack of research into this type of tourism is likely to lie in the difficulties faced in gathering data. Statistics are scarce and information on volumes, companies, and revenue would need gathering from scratch. Any research on the tourists would necessitate either participatory linked data gathering, or the gathering of information through on-line questionnaire or interview post (or prior to a) trip. The overland truck experience is intense in the sense that it is linked to almost constant movement, and this leaves little time for interview (individual or group). Because

companies operating are based outside Zimbabwe, opportunities for prolonged interaction through companies are limited.

Revisiting the data collected and the narratives discovered using Bourdieu's focus on cultural capital, would add to the analysis and might shed further light on constructs held by tourists and other stakeholders. It is therefore recommended that further studies also take place through this lens to provide an alternative analysis building on findings of this research. Ideally both a Social Constructivist approach, perhaps followed by one focused on cultural capital would enrich future research.

No research into overland truck tourism was found to have been undertaken by local African researchers. There is a need to decolonise tourism research within Africa. Limited indigenous research is undertaken, and this also applies within Zimbabwe (with some notable exceptions). It would be useful to examine overland truck travel through participation of an indigenous African researcher on the truck, and this would be particularly interesting in any further research into tourist constructs. By initiating research taken through a decolonised lens, ways of seeing that do not privilege particular knowledge, may be reached.

Further, more in depth research into constructs of place held by local communities would also merit study and would serve to chart the extent changing attitudes impact upon approaches to local environmental management.

It is hoped that this piece of research will assist in exposing the gap in research in this area and so act as an encouragement to further research. A wider cross-section of local people with a better gender and age balance would give a greater and richer picture of constructs held in the local areas that the truck passed through. Because this form of tourism is particularly resilient, it merits acknowledgement and research to make it more visible and to allow its potential for contributing to the country's tourism growth to be fully realised.

Application of the approaches to identifying constructs of place could be made in other forms of mobility tourism such as luxury coach trips and cruise tours.

11.7 Position of the researcher

The position of the researcher in the research meant that at times she assumed different or multiple roles. Despite attempting to capture the words of those who she researched her presence influenced both the words and the interpretation. Ultimately, she can only speak her view of what others think and not actually what they do think (Alcoff, 1992). Tourism involves a series of performances by different performers, of whom the researcher is one. Noxolo et al. reference Spivak when criticising the academic for '*failure to face up to and accept their "contaminated" position*' (2012:422). Sadly, this is hard to do, but it must be acknowledged that the position of this researcher within tourism in Zimbabwe automatically places her as the power in the postcolonial frame. Even within the truck the researcher as someone resident in Africa is therefore more confident of her place in navigation within life there. As a European within postcolonial Zimbabwe the researcher will never be treated as a local community member and will always relate with the locale as part of the colonial, both in the eyes of the local person and in the way she interacts with the space around her. In a southern African, context the researcher will always appear as part of the colonial.

11.8 Conclusion

This research set out to discover constructs and values of place associated with stakeholders in overland truck tourism. This form of tourism presents an opportunity for tourist participants to gain a broad overview of places in the region through a model of frequent movement. The journey element of the product is both marketed as, and forms, an intrinsic part of the tourism experience. Tourists were found to be motivated primarily through images presented of 'Africa' and game in their home countries. A bucket list mentality juxtaposed with fleeting contact with place and its inhabitants, led to a superficial experience of places that were visited. Encounter with the 'other' was mediated by tour leaders and safari guides, the first being from outside Africa and the second being Euro-Zimbabwean and therefore placed in a particular postcolonial space. Constructs held by tourists related to emotional response to place and what it contains. Local communities in comparison see place in a holistic manner, from both its spiritual and utilitarian functions.

There is value in overland truck tourism as it brings tourists into areas and has a particular place in the tourism economy of countries. There is potential to add value through this form of tourism at different levels.

The research and its findings have relevance to other forms of tourism, particularly those mobility based products that involve moving tourists over distances with fleeting contacts with place.

The prescriptive nature of overland truck tourism may create a single narrative, and leaves little room for tourists to break out of the prescribed experience. This is contrary to the image presented in marketing the tourism product.

Whatever the form of tourism indulged in, people always travel with a set of expectations derived from various sources. Much of this prior information removes uncertainty and reduces risk on the one hand, yet on the other can also be seen as a form of control that channels tourist experiences into pre-determined forms (Salazar, 2011:876, in Pires, 2015).

11.9 Post-script

As this research is in its final preparations for submission a UNWTO press release states that '100% of global destinations now have Covid-19 travel restrictions' (UNWTO press release 28 April 2020). This research started with the observation that overland truck tourism exhibited a resilience that meant that it had a presence when other forms of tourism were less visible. In April 2020, when the Covid-19 virus is affecting tourism globally at all levels, even the overland truck companies are unable to continue. In fact, during such a time, overland truck tourism is particularly threatened, as it involves movement and crossing borders and a variety of strict border controls are now in place throughout the world. This is a circumstance when even the overland truck is forced to halt activities and illustrates the vulnerability of not only the tourism product, but also of countries like Zimbabwe when relying on tourism to boost its economy. Overland truck companies have suspended operations but are making an effort to assure stakeholders that they will return as soon as possible.

For the communities we visit, the responsible travel projects we support, our suppliers, passengers and crew, it is our dearest wish to be able to start running our tours again as soon as we possibly can, (Dragoman, Covid-19 Corona virus policy, updated 26, March 2020, dragoman.com).

Some trips had to be suspended part of the way through the journey (intrepidtravel.com) and although the researcher has little detail on this, it is likely to have presented greater logistical problems than would have been the case with a more fixed location holiday.

When it is safe and practical to do so, we aim to have all our trips back on the road at the earliest opportunity so that we may support our local suppliers, projects and of course our overseas crew (Oasis Overland, Coronavirus update, accessed 07/04/2020)

Given the nature of overland truck tourism it is likely that it will be one of the last forms of tourism that will be able to operate. This is in direct contrast to its usual role of preceding other forms and of remaining where other tourism has retreated.

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Overland truck websites:

Acacia Africa (accessed November 2019) <https://www.acacia-africa.com>

Dragoman (accessed November 2019) www.dragoman.com

Intrepid (accessed November 2019) <https://www.intrepidtravel.com>

Oasis Overland (accessed November 2019) www.oasisoverland.co.uk

Appendices

Appendix A: Repertory grid blank form

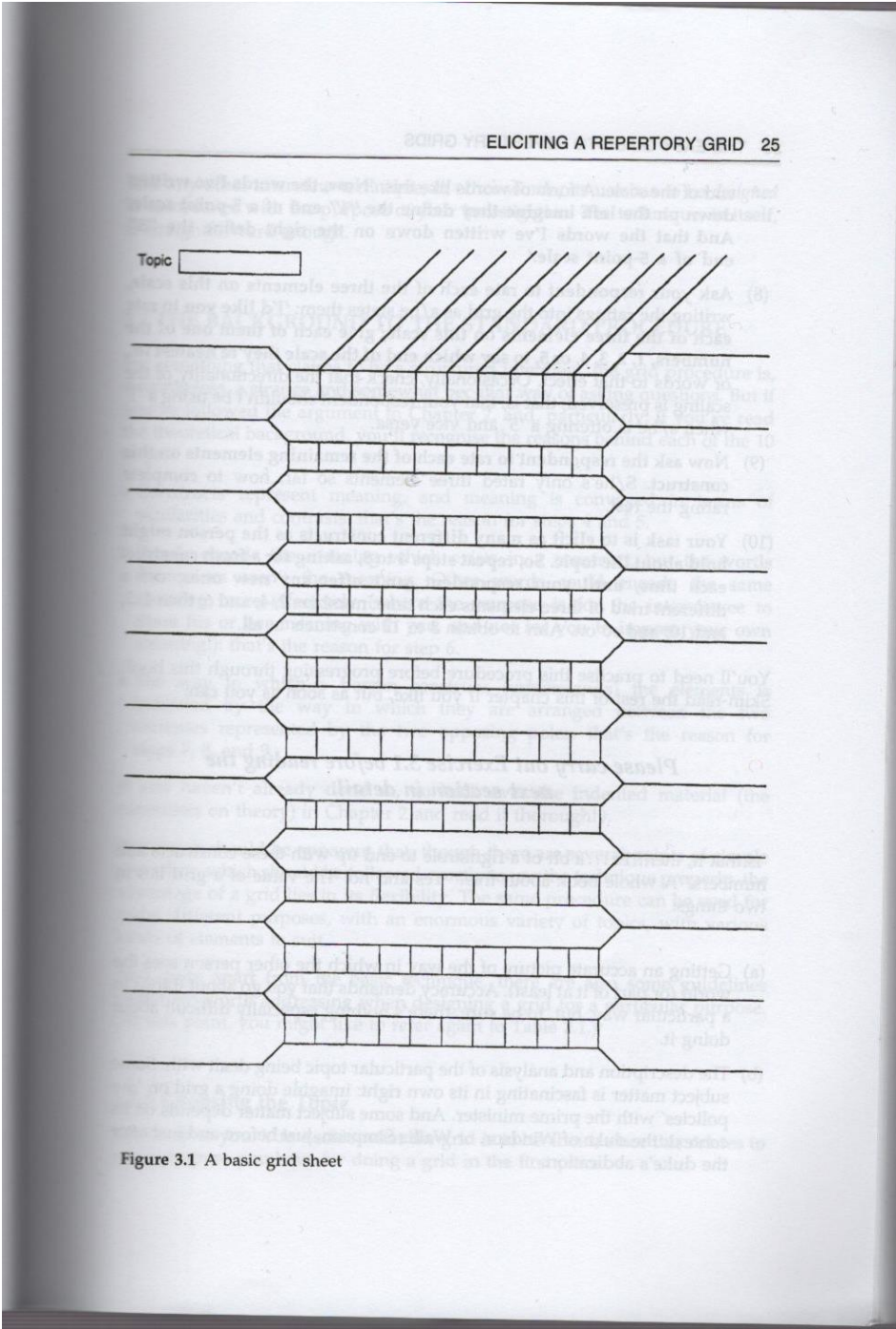


Figure 3.1 A basic grid sheet

Appendix B: Repertory Grid- Collation of a theme

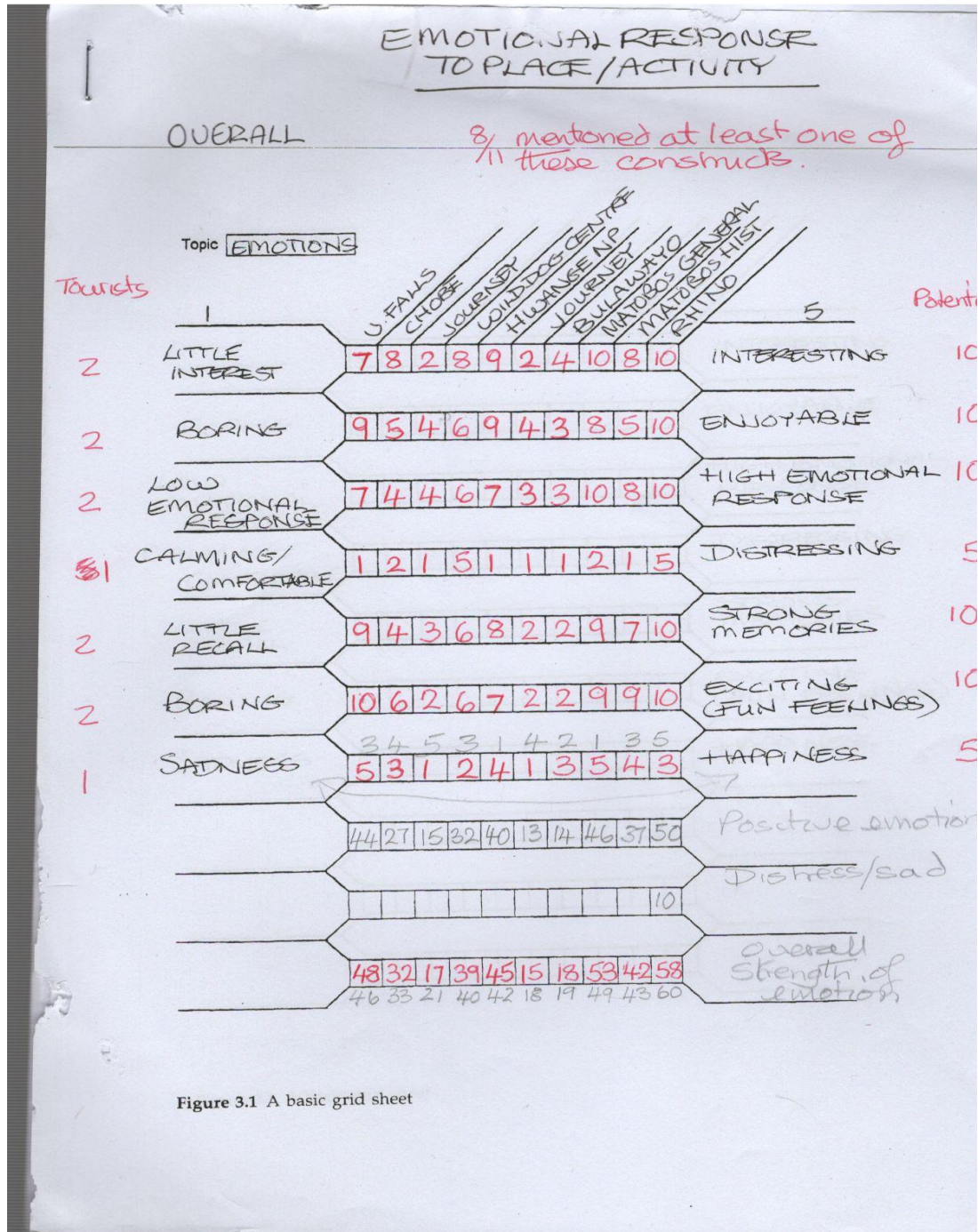


Figure 3.1 A basic grid sheet

Appendix C: Repertory Grid- Collation of all themes from tourists

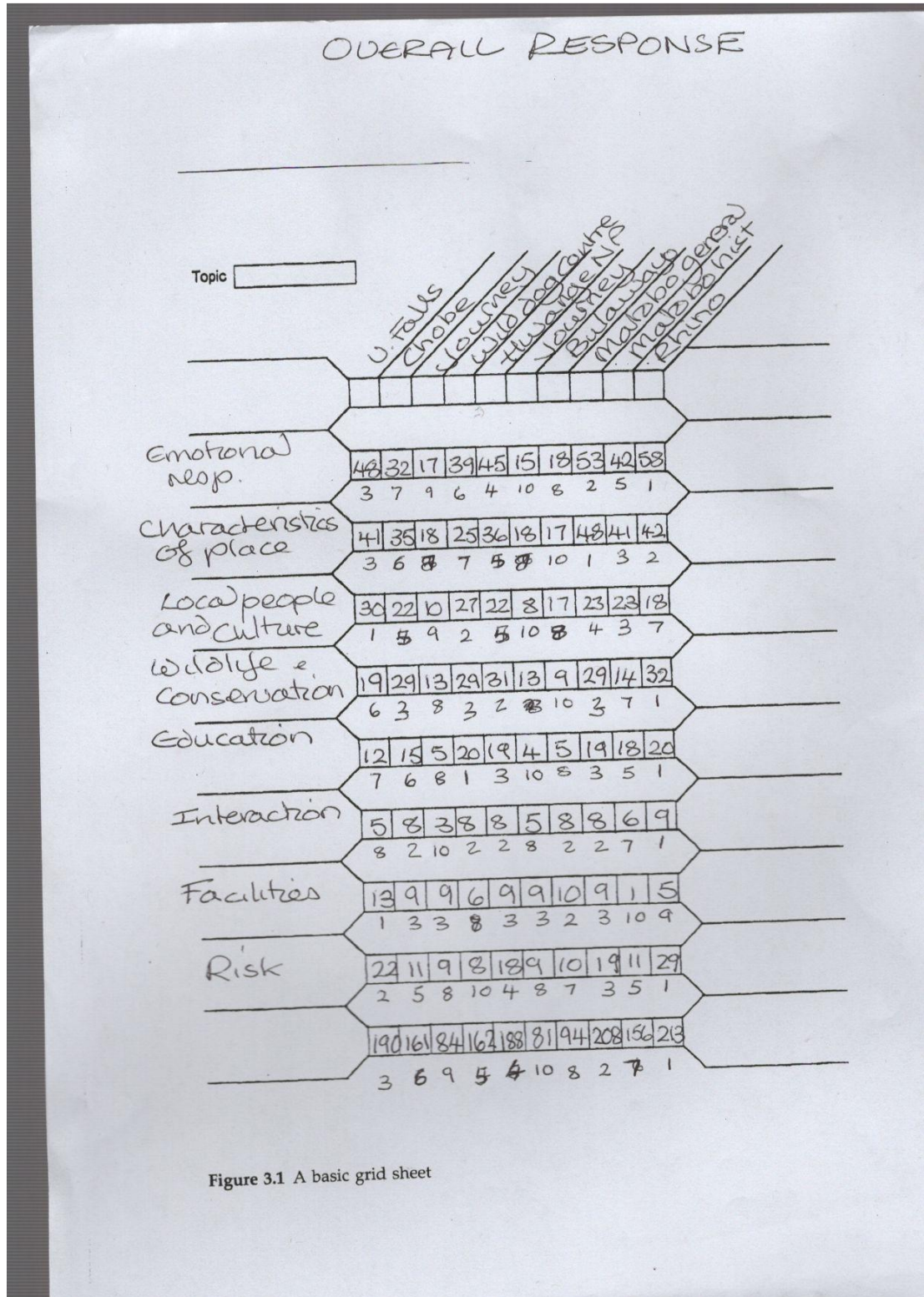


Figure 3.1 A basic grid sheet

Appendix D: Trip Advisor- List of Overland Truck Companies 2017

Africa Travel Co. (ATC).

S.A Based. By-passes Zimbabwe except for V. Falls.

Acacia Africa

Ages 18-39. Some tours cover the stretch under study ('Beach and Bush', 'Ocean to ocean', 'Mozambique and Zimbabwe Explorer'.

Tucan Travel

Two categories of trip with different age ranges ('worldwide tours' covers all ages). NO tours stop in Hwange. Stay at Travellers Guest House, Byo.

Nomad tours

By-passes Zimbabwe except for V. Falls.

Intrepid

REFUSED ACCESS

Gecko Adventures

Part of Intrepid group. NO ACCESS

On the Go Tours

By-passes Zimbabwe except for V. Falls.

Overlanding West Africa

Only covers east Africa

African Overland Tours

Different age restrictions depending on tour. Tours covering stretch under study: 'Cape Town to Jo'burg (25 days) via Falls' (stays at Big Cave in Matobos); Botswana, V. Falls and Kruger' (stays at Travellers Guest house, Byo.). There are also others.

Africa4us.com

Approximately six tours take in stretch under study. Quite luxurious trucks!

Topdeck

Does not include Hwange

Encounters Travel

A slightly more luxurious version of the tour. 'Zimbabwe and Kruger explorer' (stays at Travellers guest house, Byo).

Oasis Overland

All ages. At present, it does this leg of the journey by train. New tour (starting October?) will cover much of Zimbabwe including the stretch under study.

African Insight (???)

Educational conservation programme

Wild Junket Adventure Travel (???)

Not overland truck company

Absolute Africa

Ages vary depending on tour. Longer safari cover Matobos and Hwange (shorter one only Hwange)

African Trails

Does not cover stretch under study

Drifters Adventures

REFUSED ACCESS

G Adventures (GAP Adventures)

Ages 18-39. Does not stop in Hwange

Kiboko Adventures

Does not cover this stretch of journey.

Sunway Safaris

S.A. based. Covers the luxury end of the market. Maybe mini-bus, safari vehicle. Does cover the stretch under study on their: 'Botswana and Zimbabwe Ivory' (luxury lodge accommodation); 'Zimbabwe and Botswana game trackers' (lodge accommodation); and 'Zimbabwe and Botswana game trail' (camping).

Detour Africa

Based in Cape Town. 'V. Falls to Kruger' (9 days) takes in stretch under study.

Bamba Experience

Not a true truck.

Dragoman

All ages. Covers section as part of a longer tour.

Appendix E: Company Trip Instructions 2018

Jul 17 (7 days ago)

Trip Code: YVC
Route: Victoria Falls to Bulawayo
Dates: 24th August 2018 to the 30th August 2018
Booking Reference: 2179950

Hi Sian,

Thank you for booking the above trip with XXXX

This email is your booking confirmation containing important information, please make sure that you read it thoroughly and confirm that ALL of the details are correct including your name (as per passport) and tour details. Just let me know if there are any inaccuracies.

This trip is a guaranteed departure, which means we can go ahead and get flights booked for you! Would you like us to send through a quote for this?

Please find attached your invoice. Your payment is confirmation that you have read and accepted our booking terms and conditions which can be viewed through the following link

Dragoman trips run on a kitty system which will need to be paid either direct to your tour leader on arrival or by bank transfer before the start of the trip (received no later than 3 weeks before departure). **The kitty for your trip is USD1150 per person.** Please note that this kitty can change so please check the website for the most up to date kitty amount. Please see more details about how to pre pay the kitty under the kitty section of this email.

Essential Trip Information

We have put together all of the essential information in the trip notes found on the link below. Take some time out to look through these, all you need to know about your trip can be found here including joining instructions, visa information and anything specific for your tour.

[YVC Trip Notes](#)

Extra Information We Require

Please note that we will require some information for each passenger travelling with us in order to complete the booking: A request for this will come through on another email. Please can this be completed as soon as possible to make sure everything can be confirmed for your trip.

Visas & Supporting Documents

Many countries we visit on our travels will require visas - some are best obtained before you leave home, and others can be obtained en-route. It is **your responsibility** to ensure you have all the visas you require for your trip. For visa information, please read the 'Visa' section of your trip notes.

We can provide supporting documents for your trip such as letters of invitation, we need the full details which will be requested in following emails and passport scans before we can provide these.

For non-guaranteed trips, you may find yourself in the position whereby you will need to start the visa application process prior to your trip being guaranteed and in this situation we still advise you not to purchase flights until your trip is guaranteed. However, please start your visa application process but ensure that when applying for your letters of invitation to allow several days before and after entry into the country to allow for delays, availability of flights etc.

Medical Conditions & Dietary Requirements

You will be obliged to disclose any medical condition or medication that you are taking to your tour leader at the start of your trip for health and safety purposes.

If you have any concern at all about a medical condition that may prevent you from participating fully in the trip, please let your travel agent or Dragoman know as soon as possible.

If you have any dietary requirements please let us know as soon as you can and also remind your crew at your welcome meeting.

Flights

Book your flights with us!

We offer competitively priced flights which we can connect with your trip. Please let me know if you would like me to send you a quote and I will email prices and flight times (I can only do this once the tour is guaranteed).

By booking your flights with us the cost of your flight will also be protected under our ATOL licence.

Extra Nights, Transfers & Optional Activities

We recommend arriving early to acclimatise before your tour starts or extending your trip at the end to make the most of your time away. I can arrange pre or post tour accommodation at your joining and finishing point hotels. I can also book airport transfers to take the hassle out of arrival/departure.

You can view prices for the accommodation and transfers on the below link. If you would like to add any of these nights then please let me know

[Extra nights and transfer prices](#)

We can also arrange various optional activities such as balloon safaris in Africa - please let me know if you would be interested and I can provide a quote for you.

Travel Insurance

We would strongly recommend taking out travel insurance at this stage as you will need to be covered for trip cancellation. XXXtravel insurance covers all our trips and included activities and is specially tailored to overlanding adventure holidays. We can offer single-trip, annual and family options if you are a resident of the EU.

Please click [here](#) to get an insurance quote

Valid insurance is compulsory on all trips and you will be required to show evidence of your policy on your first day.

If you are aged over 70, you may have difficulty obtaining medical insurance. We can provide a policy that provides insurance up to 75. Please contact us to discuss this

Travel Health Line - Vaccinations

We've been working with one of the UK's leading providers of travel health, Nomad Travel, for years. Their website has comprehensive, up to date vaccination and health information www.nomadtravel.co.uk. For any travel health queries you may have, Nomad travel provide the XXX Travel Health Line service. This is a free service for our UK customers as we know that getting accurate advice can be difficult. Please call ** where you will be able to speak to specialist nurses and have any travel health queries answered.

Packing List

If you are wondering about what to take, we have teamed up with one of the UK's leading providers of specialist outdoor clothing and equipment – Cotswold Outdoor. They are experts in fully preparing travellers for adventure trips and are well aware of the needs of our customers. XXX clients are eligible for 15% off kit and equipment purchased at Cotswold Outdoor instore or online (cotswoldoutdoor.com). The discount code you will need for this is ***.

We also have packing list on our website which you may find useful. Click this link for more info: .

At XXXwe are committed to the reduction of plastic waste and for this reason we actively encourage our customers to use refillable water bottles and the drinking water supplied on our trucks. However there are times on our trips when our customers will not have access to drinking water from the truck and for this reason we have teamed up with Water to Go who sell refillable filter water bottles and we are able to offer XXX customers a 25% discount on Water to Go bottles and filters using the code XXX and the following link <https://www.watertogo.eu>

Kitty

This kitty has to be paid in USD there are two ways it can be paid:

Option 1: In cash, directly to the tour leader. the break down of when this is due is below

Combo Ref	Single Ref	Start At	End At	Section Kitty	Currency	Start On
YVC180824A	YVC180824A	Victoria Falls	Cape Town	1150	USD	24-Aug-18

Option 2: Via bank transfer as a pre-payment with an additional 10 USD admin fee. We must receive this up to 4 weeks before departure. (please note that this option is not available for our trips to West Africa, Iran or any trips North of Nairobi)

For more information please read our Kitty document [here](#)

Final Joining Instructions

Final joining instructions, accommodation/transfer vouchers and e-ticket details (if applicable) are normally sent by email 1 week before departure. If you require these any earlier, please let me know.

Meet Your Fellow Travellers

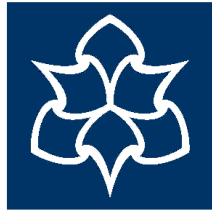
Travelling with Dragoman is more than just a holiday. Meeting people and making friends is the element that our repeat customers say is the most important part of their trip. We have set up our XXX forum on the below link so you can get chatting, get posting, tell stories and share photos!

<https://www.facebook.com/groups/>

There are lots of others ways to stay connected to us and become part of our online communities. Why not check us out on Instagram, Twitter, You Tube, Pinterest and Google Plus!

Please do check out our [Frequently Asked Questions](#) for further information and advice on preparing for your trip!

Appendix F: Participant Consent Form



**Manchester
Metropolitan
University**

Sian Newsome-Magadza
PhD
Faculty of Business and Law
All Saints Campus
Manchester Metropolitan University
M15 6BH
Tel: 0771 7363075

Consent Form Focus Group Discussion

To be available in local language (Ndebele, Shona, Nambiya or Kalanga)

Title of Project: Responsible tourism practice: investigating overland truck tourist and host social constructions in Zimbabwe.

Name of Researcher: Sian Newsome-Magadza

Participant Identification Code for this project:

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet dated For the above project and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the group discussion procedure.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason to the named researcher.
3. I understand that discussions will be sound recorded and used for analysis for this research project.
4. I give/do not give permission for recorded discussion to be archived as part of this research project, making it available to future researchers.
5. I understand that my discussion contributions will remain anonymous.
6. I agree to take part in the above research project.
7. I understand that at my request a transcript of the discussion can be made available to me.

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Researcher

Date

Signature

To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

Once this has been signed, you will be given a copy of your signed and dated consent form and information sheet.

Appendix G: Nambya Participant Information Sheet

Iwhalo Inendebo Yeshakisiso

Kulinga kuti banotini pezhulu pabashanyi banokwenda belikabangu belimumota.

Ndimukukoka kuti ubeyimo mushakisiso yeyi. Usanu waleba kuti unoda kana kuti awudi, unokwelela kuziba kuti ini ishakisiso yeyi itiwa akale ku iwi ulolingililwa kutani. Ndimukumbila ubale iwhalo yeyi zubuyanana. Bhuza kana pana zusimu whisisa mukubala, kana kuti unoda kubujisiswa. Tolazo unshoji uwo usano waleba kuti unoda na.

Ushingo weshakiso yeyi

Yeyi shakiso ilolingilila kupa umbono kuti kube nokuzubhata kunotila kuti businesi yabashanyi banokwenda belimumota belikabunga indilembeli mu Zimbabwe. Yozuzuchambancha bashanyi nabanhu bomubugalo yobo bamomumishingo inazokushanya beswike pokuwhisisana kulyijana kwemishobo namagalilo abashanyi nabanabugalo bokushanyila. Kumulingililwa kudeluja ingozi munazobuchilo nobupenyu akale zuchasimisa ululamo nozunokwelela kutiwa kwabashanyi. Yozu zuchata kuti bashanyi bawane lushanto mukushanya kwabo akale namagalilo abanizi kuti kulondota inhaka ye Zimbabwe.

Ini ndakokwa?

Ulokokwa kuti ubeyimo mushaki siso yeyi, nokuti inzila yeyi yokushanya unosoyita kana kuti inazokuta nawi muneyimwenzila. Ulokokwa sowumwe wabanotobela:

- Ushanyi umukwenda nemota mulika bunga nokuti ungaleba zuwabona nozuwashangana nazo tiwhe kunawi sonshayi.
- Unamishingo inokushanganisa naba shanyi banokwenda belikabunga mumota.
- Ungali, kana kuti umwe wabo bomubugalo banota mishingo inolyijana nabshanyi.

Ndingwine na mushakisiso yeyi?

Zuko kunawi kuti ushale. Ticha bhaunula zunji neshakijo yeyi mugwepele iyozulebo. Iyatichakupa. Tokukumbila kuti usayine igwepele lino sumikija kuti umufuma kubaimo mushakisiso yeyi. Ulosupuka kuti ubhucle mukubhuzwa nokukwejisa peshakikisho yeyi pesina chizato chawunopa. Ukabhuda, zulebo zuzo zose zunojimwa akale azutoshingiswa

peshakisiso yeyi. Akale ungakumbila kuti zulebo zuzo mushakisiso yeyi zujimwe kukapinda nwiki mbili wapa indebo mushakisiso.

Inizuchatikana pezhulu pezwabhuda mushakisiso yeyi?

Zwabhuda mumabonelo okutanga zwichashingiswa kupe injeyo pezhulu pezwingatiwa munelyemangwana pezhulu ponacha pezwokushayilana kwanbashanyi banokwenda belikabunga mumota mu Zimbabwe.

Zwabhuda akale zwichashinga soluzibo lubunganiswa peshakisiso yangu ye PhD.

Ndiyani umukulonganya nobhancha mushakisiso yeyi?

Ishakisiso yeyi ilolonganwa nokulipwa nonshakisiso omene sechizhajikjo chechimwe chikamu che PhD pe yunivesiti ye Manchester Metropolitan Kunyika ye Bhuliteni. Akale sechikamu chobumhizha bubwe bwobulayiji pe Zimbabwe Open University (ZOU). Unshakisiso yoyu atolyijana kana kukamujana negapo lyezwa matongelo enyika kana limwe gapo zwalo linota mishingo mubugalo (NGO).

Further information and details:

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Appendix H: Isindebele Participant Information Sheet

IPHEPHA LOLWAZI LWABAZAPHATHEKA KULOLU UHLELO

Ukuhlolisisa izindaba zabasebenzelana lezethekeli ezidabula amazwe ngamaloli

Ngiyathanda ukukunxusa ukuthi uphatheke kulesi isichwayisiso. Ungakenzi isinqumo ngalokho, kudingakala ukuthi uzwisise ukuba yinindaba isichwayisiso lesi sisenziwa lokuthi kuzakutshoni kuwe. Ngicela ubale [kumbe ucele umngane loba isihlobo sakho sibale lawe] incwadi le ngokunanzelela. Buza imibuzo nxa kukhona ozakubala okungacacanga, loba nxa uswela olunye ulwazi. Thatha isikhathi sakho ucabangisise iloba ufuna ukuphatheka yiloba hatshi.

Inhloso yesichwayisiso

Isichwayisiso lesi sikhangelele ukwenza izinqumo ngokusebenza okuqotho okuzalonda izethekeli ezidabula amazwe ngamaloli eZimbabwe. Lokhu kuzanceda izethekeli labaninindawo abaphatheke ngezethekeli bazwisisane ngezemvelo lokuhlalisana kanye lamasiko alezondawo abazethekelelayo. Sikhangelele ukuvikela impilakahle lezingozi njalo ukufithizela amalungelo ezethekeli labakwenzayo. Lokhu kuzakwenza inkambiso yezethekeli ibe lomutsho kuzo izethekeli njalo izenze zinanzelele imvelo lamasiko, ukuze bancedise ukulondoloza lokuhlonipha ilifa leZimbabwe.

Kungani nginxusiwe?

Unxusiwe ukuba uphatheke kulesi isichwayisiso ngoba uyingxenye, loba uthintana laloluhlobo lokwethekelela. Unxusiwe ngoba ungowokunye kwalokhu:

- Isethekeli esiphatheka ekudabuleni amazwe ngamaloli, ongethula inkambiso lemibono ngalokhu ohlangana lakho njengesethekeli.
- Osebenzelana lezethekeli ngomsebenzi langempilo yansuku zonke okwenza uthintana laloluhlobo lwezethekeli.
- Isakhamuzi kumbe ingxenye yeqembu elihlala loba elisebenza endaweni lapha kulokuhlangana mangqamu lezethekeli.

Ngingaphatheka na?

Kukuwe ukwenza lesi sinqumo. Sizachaza lesi sichwayisiso sixoxisane ngenchwadi esizakupha yona. Sizakucela ukuthi usayine incwadi yokwenza isinqumo ukutshengisa ukuthi uyavuma ukuphatheka. Uyavunyelwa ukutshiya yiloba yisiphi isikhathi phakathi kwengxoxo lokukhulumisana ungaphanga izizatho. Nxa ungatshiya ulwazi oluphileyo luza kwesulwa njalo lungaze lwasetshenziswa kulesi isichwayisiso. Ukhululekile njalo ukucela

ukuthi imibono yakho yesulwe ingaze yasetshenziswa kulesi isichwayisiso kusukela kumaviki amabili ngemva kwengxoxo lokukhulumisana.

Kuzakwenzakalani kimi ngingaphatheka?

Lesi isichwayisiso sizakwenzakala emangweni ophakathi kwe Victoria Falls le Bulawayo/ Matobo kusukela kuNtulikazi 2018 kusiya ku Zibandlela 2019. Njengo munye wabaphathekayo kungenzakala ukuthi uphatheke kanye ekukhulumisaneni lobakanye engxoxweni kumbe ucelwe ukuthi uphatheke njalo kumininingwana ezalandela. Lokhu kungaba yingqubela phambili yokukhulumisana lengxoxo. Ukukhulumisana kungathatha phose ihola elilodwa kukanti ingxoxo zingathatha phose amahola amabili. Imibono le ingathathwa emoyeni kumbe kulotshwe amanothi.

Kuzamele ngenzeni?

Uzachelwa ukuba wabe ulwazi lemibono ukuphakamisa izinto eziqakathekileyo ngommango wakho kanye lenzuzo lenhlupho ohlangane lazo ngaloluhlobo lokwethekelela/lwezethekeli. Lokhu kutsho ukuzinikela ukuphatheka ekukhulumisaneni okuqoqiweyo ngesikhathi esivumayo kuwe kanye lathi kumbe uzinikele ukuba yingxenywe yengxoxo ngesikhathi lendawo evunyelwane ngayo njengeqembu. Ekukhulumisaneni lekuxoxeni, sikhangelele ukuthi ukhulululeke ukupha imibono yakho, okunanzelelayo utsho okucabangayo. Ngalokho ungala ukuphendula lokuxoxa ngezinto ongathokozi ukukhuluma ngazo.

Nzuzo bani ongayithola ngokuphatheka?

Sikhangelele ukuthi impumela yesichwayisiso iza phathisa ukuphakamisa ukuzwisisa okugcono phakathi kwezethekeli labantu abahlangana labo kanye lendawo abahamba kuzo. Ngakho ngokuzwisisa okugcono kungaba lenzuzo yesikhathi eside esilandelayo. Loba kunjalo akulasiqiniselelwe senzuzo yakhonapho.

Ngenzani nxa kungaba lohlupho?

Nxa ulokukhathazeka ngezinye izici zalesi isichwayisiso , kumele ucele ukukhuluma labachwayisisi abazakwenza ubungcono babo ukuphendula imibuzo yakho. Sebenzisa iziqondiso ngabo ezisekucineni kwaleli phepha.

Nxa ungasala ungasuthisekanga njalo ufisa ukuphakamisa okukukhathazayo, ungayaphambili uthintane lo Dkt Chris Stone [umqondisi], iziqondiso ngaye zisekucineni kwaleliphepha.

Ukuphatheka kwami kuzaba yimfihlo na?

Ulwazi oluqoqiweyo luzagcinwa emsakazweni, kukompiyutha loba lulotshwe phansi. Lokhu kuza valelwa kungavezwa emphakathini. Uluhlu lwabaphathekileyo lamarekhodi aphantelane lalesi isichwayisiso azagcinwa kukhompuyutha evulwa ngumchwayisisi kuphela esebenzisa ikhiye eyaziwa nguye yedwa.

Kuzakwenzakalani ngempumela yesichwayisiso?

Impumela yolwazi lwakuqala oluqoqiweyo luzasetshenziswa ukuphakamisa izimiso zokwethekelela okulembeko kwalabo abadabula amazwe ngamaloli.

Impumela izasetshenziswa njalo ukuqoqa ulwazi lwezifundo zami zesicoco se PhD. Lokhu kutsho kuthi imibono le izakuba yisiqokoqela salesi sichwayisiso se PhD. Umthapho wemibono yonke uzakuba yimfihlo.

Ngubani oqoqa loba oxhasa lesi sichwayisiso?

Isichwayisiso siqoqwe njalo sibhadalelwa ngumchwayisisi njengengxenywe yezifundo zakhe zePhD eManchester Metropolitan University kwele Britain, njalo njengengxenywe yobuciko bakhe emsebenzini wakhe njengomqeqetshi eZimbabwe Open University [ZOU]. Umchwayisisi kayisilo lunga lwamaqembu ezombangazwe loba iNGO.

Iziqondiso ngokuthintana:

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Appendix I: Patriot news item on Tourism Master Plan

The Patriot

Tourism Masterplan to aid growth

By

[Margaret Kamba](#)

-

July 27, 2017

THE recently launched National Tourism Masterplan is envisaged to jolt the growth of the tourism sector which has been described as a 'low hanging fruit' and critical to the resuscitation of the economy.

With the masterplan in place, the sector is expected, going forward, to record double digit growth levels anchored by tourism activities at the grassroots.

The masterplan is expected to guide the tourism sector up to 2035.

Zimbabwe has been operating without a tourism masterplan since independence while being only guided by the Tourism Act of 1996 and the National Tourism Policy of 2012.

Tourism was previously housed as a department in different ministries until 2009 when it became a stand-alone ministry.

In the past, the sector was a preserve of the 'elite' and male dominated.

But since the launch of the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Programme, the participation of the previously marginalised majority is on the increase.

Programmes and funds have been availed to ensure that women and youths are actively involved in the sector not only as employees or beneficiaries, but owners of tourism businesses.

The sector suffered more than a decade of battering when the country embarked on the Land Reform Programme which led to Western visitors shunning the destination at the behest of the UK and US.

However, failure to effect regime change in the country has forced the West to re-engage the country in many areas, including tourism.

The country has since rebranded itself to a 'A World of Wonders' from 'Africa's Paradise' and has in recent times recorded growth on the back of massive awareness campaigns on what the nation has to offer.

Zimbabwe has some of the finest natural tourism products in the world.

Even when travel bans were effected, many people from Western countries visited the country through South Africa.

And as the country works towards rebuilding the economy, tourism is one of the key factors in the development matrix.

Tourism represents about seven percent of all international trade and is a huge part of services provision, accounting for 30 percent of the world's trade in services.

In developing economies, tourism has been used to propel growth.

In the so-called Least Developed Countries (LDCs), it represents seven percent of total exports of goods and services.

The United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) states that the country's tourism sector contributes 10,9 percent to Gross Domestic Product (GDP), 7,3 percent to total employment and 18,8 percent to export earnings.

According to the organisation, the sector harbours massive potential for further growth and development.

The National Tourism Masterplan intends to place the country in the top five destinations in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) by 2035.

Peter Nizette of Keois Consultants said the masterplan had identified 11 development zones and two national projects to bolster growth in the sector.

"Some of the tourism development zones identified include Bulawayo, Midlands, Victoria falls, Mavhuradonha and Kariba," Nizette said.

"These will focus on structural issues, water-based leisure, wildlife and nature activities.

"We have identified two national projects which include National Heritage Trails and National Tourism Signage project that will enhance the visibility and uniqueness of Zimbabwe as a destination.

"Eighty percent of what tourism is, is in the downstream industry."

The development of new products identified in the masterplan is expected to assist in product diversification and help spread out the benefits of tourism to communities.

Events such as the Gwanda Gospel Festival and the Harare International Carnival early September and the Sangana/Hlanganani World Tourism Expo in Bulawayo from September 27 to October 1 2017 are some of the activities meant to increase the visibility of Zimbabwe as a prime destination.

The Deputy Minister of Tourism and Hospitality Management Anastancia Ndhlovu is on record saying stakeholders are working towards improving domestic and international tourism.

Said Ndhlovu: "We work very closely with players in the industry through the Zimbabwe Tourism Authority (ZTA) and the Zimbabwe Council for Tourism.

"We are undertaking an ease of doing business programme which focuses on tourism.

"We are relatively an expensive destination, not out of choice.

"As you are aware, we are using the multi-currency regime, so as the dollar continues to firm against the smaller currencies such as the rand, the pula and the kwacha, we become a little more expensive.

"Nonetheless there are a number of initiatives that are aimed at increasing domestic tourism," said Ndhlovu.

"We work very closely with the Ministry of Environment. National Parks has in excess of 1 000 rooms which our people can really take advantage of and enjoy the beauty of our country. There are many facilities such as camping facilities.

"Tourism is about adventure and activities.

"An adventure does not necessarily mean you have to sleep in a hotel.

"You can go for the experience of the tourism products close to where you live.

"We urge all our people to really visit the tourism places close to their areas of stay.