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Condescension or collaboration? Local people's perspectives on the incorporation of indigenous knowledge in tourism development, Manicaland Province, Zimbabwe

Condescendance ou collaboration? Les perspectives de la population locale sur l'incorporation des connaissances autochtones dans le développement touristique, province de Manicaland, Zimbabwe

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The incorporation of indigenous knowledge in development projects has been promoted worldwide as a way of preserving the knowledge of indigenous people. Yet, there is a dearth of research on the perspectives of indigenous people on the incorporation of indigenous knowledge in tourism development. This study examines the potential of tourism incorporating indigenous knowledge systems in the rural communities of Manicaland Province, Zimbabwe. In-depth interviews were conducted with 43 local people in the four districts of the case study area as well as 22 key informants from different government departments involved with community-based tourism development in the country to enrich the data. Other qualitative research methods, including observations and informal conversations, were also used to collect data. Data was analysed through a six-phase thematic analysis. Based on the results of this study, it is concluded that tourism development does incorporate indigenous knowledge systems in rural communities of Manicaland Province, Zimbabwe. The results indicate that traditional leaders are recognised while local traditions and protocols are followed, and sacred sites are respected. Recommendations are given and areas for future research are suggested.

Keywords: community-based tourism; culture; indigenous knowledge systems; indigenous people; tourism development; Zimbabwe

L'incorporation des connaissances autochtones dans les projets de développement a été encouragée dans le monde entier comme un moyen de préserver les connaissances des peuples autochtones. Pourtant, il y a peu de recherche sur les perspectives des peuples autochtones en ce qui concerne l'intégration des connaissances autochtones dans le développement du tourisme. Cette étude examine le potentiel du tourisme intégrant les systèmes de connaissances autochtones dans les communautés rurales de la province de Manicaland, au Zimbabwe. Des entretiens approfondis ont été menés avec 43 habitants des quatre districts de la zone d'étude de cas, ainsi qu'avec 22 informateurs clés de différents départements gouvernementaux impliqués dans le développement du tourisme

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communautaire dans le pays afin d'enrichir les données. D'autres méthodes de recherche qualitative, notamment des observations et des conversations informelles, ont également été utilisées pour collecter des données. Les données ont été analysées au moyen d'une analyse thématique en six phases. Il découle des résultats de cette étude que le développement du tourisme intègre les systèmes de connaissances autochtones dans les communautés rurales de la province de Manicaland, au Zimbabwe. Les résultats indiquent que les chefs traditionnels sont reconnus tandis que les traditions et protocoles locaux sont suivis et que les sites sacrés sont respectés. Des recommandations sont données et des domaines de recherche future sont suggérés

Mots clés: tourisme fondé sur la communauté; tourisme pro-pauvreté; tourisme durable

Introduction

There has been a growing interest in the incorporation of indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) in tourism development over the years (e.g. Hillmer-Pegram 2016; Hutchinson, Movono, and Scheyvens 2021; Johnston 2000). The knowledge possessed by local people, known as indigenous knowledge (IK) has been attributed to the promotion of conservation and sustainable use of natural resources (Kasere 1995). Berkes, Colding, and Folke (2000) are of the opinion that interest in IKS is for scientific, socio-economic, and development reasons. Nonetheless, IKS is sometimes seen as archaic (Cole 2006; Kasere 1995), since many development experts tend to prefer scientific knowledge, and are condescending in their views of IKS in development projects (Prasetyo, Carr, and Filep 2020). However, Prasetyo, Carr, and Filep (2020) and Gohori and van der Merwe (2022a) argue that incorporating IKS in development initiatives empowers local people.

Condescension towards indigenous peoples worldwide is perpetuated by the development models which rely on particular socio-economic indicators such as income, education, or employment rates. When these indicators are low, indigenous culture can be portrayed and regarded as a 'culture of poverty' (Frideres 1998) and indigenous knowledge presented as 'poor people's knowledge' (Gope, Behera, and Roy 2017). Together with discourses of exoticism, this has promoted touristic fascination with indigenous communities, which can carry a danger of voyeurism. As such, the exposure of many tourists to indigenous peoples has been limited to master/servant relationships, or to fleeting, often staged, and inauthentic representations of traditional lifestyles (Butler and Hinch 1996). This has resulted in some scholars (e.g. Rajotte 1987) viewing tourism as 'a new form of sugar' meaning a new form of exploitation of indigenous populations by external forces.

Despite the historical and contemporary power relationship, there have been efforts to collaborate with indigenous peoples in tourism development by external stakeholders, prompting several collaborative models. The most popular are: (i) community-owned-and-managed ventures where community members have a direct say in tourism management, often through community associations or enterprises. This provides opportunities for empowerment, capacity-building, and increased self-esteem; (ii) joint ventures between communities and external stakeholders where community associations are tasked with representing the interests of the entire community in decision-making. Here, there is potential to establish equitable partnerships if the process is managed well. However, community elites may end up dominating; and, (iii) private sector/NGO/Government-managed in which community participation is limited. Despite efforts being made towards co-management, shared governance often does not go beyond consultations and information exchange (Scherl and Edwards 2007). These models have been used in community-based tourism (CBT) project initiatives to collaborate with local people. Data for this study was collected from CBT projects in Manicaland Province, Zimbabwe, in order to explore the incorporation of indigenous knowledge practices in CBT projects.

Tourism development in rural communities may uplift indigenous peoples and enable cultural agency (Hutchinson, Movono, and Scheyvens 2021). Butler and Menzies (2007) mention that the incorporation of IKS in tourism development is a strategy to promote its sustainability. Consequently, tourism strategies that incorporate IKS are being sought worldwide. For example, the Australian tourism industry recognises indigenous tourism as essential for tourism development and management (Trau and Bushell 2008). Butler and Menzies (2007) opine that the incorporation of IKS in tourism can positively impact that knowledge, as local communities may obtain new knowledge through their experiences and the demands of the tourism industry. Furthermore, the recognition of IKS in tourism development initiatives may reduce conflicts between local people and external agents (Sammy and Opio 2005).

Nonetheless, more needs to be done for tourism development to incorporate IKS (Gohori and van der Merwe 2020; Manwa 2003). Johnston (2006) suggests that this is due to the negative impacts of tourism on indigenous peoples' sacred sites, languages, and traditional knowledge, as well as the commodification of their cultures (Trau and Bushell 2008). The preference for tourism sector jobs at the expense of established livelihood activities has been attributed to the dwindling use of IKS by indigenous peoples in rural communities (Hutchinson, Movono, and Scheyvens 2021; Mbaiwa 2011).

Despite a growing interest in the incorporation of IKS in tourism development (e.g. Butler and Menzies 2007; Hillmer-Pegram 2016; Johnston 2000; 2006; Prasetyo, Carr, and Filep 2020; Whitney-Squire 2016), there are still limited studies that have given indigenous peoples an opportunity to put forward their views and perspectives. Johnston (2006, 16) observed that 99% of studies on IKS lack familiarity, sensitivity, and intimacy with indigenous peoples. Therefore, this article aims to examine the perspectives of local people in Manicaland Province, Zimbabwe, on the incorporation of their IKS in tourism development.

Indigenous knowledge systems

Indigenous knowledge refers to 'knowledge that is commonly owned and shared among the inhabitants of a particular community' (Nyota and Mapara 2008, 190). It is also known as local knowledge of indigenous people in a particular geographical area that is passed (orally or through shared practical experiences) from generation to generation over a very long time (Berkes, Colding, and Folke 2000). The societies in which IKS is used (although not necessarily indigenous or tribal) are nonindustrial and less technologically advanced (Berkes, Colding, and Folke 2000; Ohmagari and Berkes 1997). This has led some scholars (Muyambo 2018; Semali and Kincheloe 1999) to perceive some of the terms used to describe IKS as derogatory. Such terms include 'primitive', 'poor people's knowledge', 'wild' and 'natural', prompting IKS to be labelled 'the native way of knowing' (Gope, Behera, and Roy 2017; Muyambo 2018). Nevertheless, Boven and Morohashi (2002) believe that the definition of IKS is not universal and depends in most cases on the specific aspect that the author wants to emphasise. This study uses the definition of Berkes, Colding, and Folke (2000, 1252), which states that 'IKS is a cumulative body of knowledge, practice, and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment'.

IKS can be utilised in agriculture, medical and pharmaceutical fields, zoology, botany, architecture, music, food technology, sculpture, healthcare, animal husbandry, fishery, education, child-rearing practices, natural resource management, and tourism, among other areas (Gohori 2020; Gope, Behera, and Roy 2017). It is also known by other names such as traditional ecological knowledge (Berkes, Colding, and Folke 2000; Butler and Menzies 2007), indigenous ways of knowing (Nyota and Mapara 2008), native people knowledge,

verbal spiritual knowledge, common knowledge, practical knowledge, cultural knowledge, community-centred knowledge, situational knowledge, local knowledge, survival knowledge (Gope, Behera, and Roy 2017), indigenous technical knowledge, rural knowledge, and ethno-science (Altieri 2018). IKS is usually perceived as being qualitative, practical, intuitive, cynical, and oral (Butler and Menzies 2007), and is tested by trial and error (Berkes, Colding, and Folke 2000). In contrast, Western science is deemed quantitative, reductionist, textual, analytical, theoretical, and linear (Butler and Menzies 2007). Although IKS is a term often used to refer to knowledge of the past, it is long-term, progressive, and contemporary, as new experiences are always added to the community's tradition, since new information and technology are co-opted (Menzies 2006; Pierotti 2011). IKS can therefore adapt to the latest economic, environmental, and political circumstances (Menzies 2006). Consequently, IK 'is not just a knowledge of the past, but also a knowledge of the present' (Menzies and Butler 2006, 8). Accordingly, IKS is 'enduring, dynamic and has survived the test of time and history' (Muyambo 2018, 43). Gope, Behera, and Roy (2017, 888) posit that 'Indigenous information systems are dynamic and are continually influenced by internal creativity and experimentation as well as by contact with external systems'. Nevertheless, there is a need to find ways to protect and preserve IKS in the modern world in which things are changing very fast, or else it will end up being found only in literature instead of in practice (Barasa 2007). The tendency of schools and tertiary institutions in developing countries to teach about major innovations from the West and not IK interventions within their countries and communities contributes to the extinction of IKS (Barasa 2007).

Despite IKS having a communal nature, it is heterogeneous. Even in small indigenous communities, factors such as gender, age, social position, and livelihood priorities may determine the specific knowledge held by an individual (Butler and Menzies 2007; Hara et al. 2009). According to Boven and Morohashi (2002), IK has seven main characteristics: (i) it is locally bound and indigenous to a specific area; (ii) it is non-formal; (iii) it is cultural and context-specific; (iv) it is not documented and is orally transmitted; (v) it is holistic in nature; (vi) it is dynamic and adaptive; and (vii) it is closely related to the survival and subsistence of many indigenous people worldwide. IKS can also be spiritually connected to indigenous people's land, culture, traditions, and environment (Hutchinson, Movono, and Scheyvens 2021). Mosha (1999) mentions that IK is passed on from one generation to the other as a treasured custom containing holistic, relational, and spiritual aspects. Indigenous peoples believe that spirits permeate and animate matter. In Zimbabwe, according to Gohori (2020), spirits are believed to affect nature in response to human actions. As IK is held commonly by communities, it provides problem-solving strategies for communities (Gope, Behera, and Roy 2017). The relevance of IKS in tourism development is discussed next.

Relevance of indigenous knowledge systems to tourism development in indigenous communities

Tourism involves visiting places and people; therefore, it cannot exist outside communities (Beeton 2006; Gohori 2020). Likewise, indigenous people are part of communities, and therefore the need to incorporate their IKS in tourism development. When done well, tourism may contribute positively to the revival of IKS and culture (Jennings 2017). IK is community-centric by nature, which reflects community practices and usually possesses a deep connection with land, locale, and community (Gope, Behera, and Roy 2017). The deep affinity that indigenous peoples have with their lands and natural environments has prompted them to be regarded as 'inferior' and underdeveloped by mainstream society prompting them to be marginalised geographically, politically, socially, and economically (Jennings 2017).

In Africa, the availability of abundant natural resources (mostly wildlife) has resulted in the development of tourism in rural communities in which most indigenous people reside, usually through the proliferation of CBT projects. In Zimbabwe, the case study of this research, the CBT sector grew between 1990 and 2000, with the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) supporting most of the projects. CAMPFIRE advocates for the inclusion of local people in the sustainable use and management of natural resources (Gohori 2020). CBT projects in Zimbabwe specialise in either consumptive or non-consumptive tourism or both.

Since the success of tourism in indigenous communities depends greatly on the available natural resources (both flora and fauna), there is a need to conserve these natural resources for tourism to be sustainable. It, therefore, calls for the incorporation of IKS since it is argued that sustainability and conservation are inherent in traditional practices (Butler and Menzies 2007). Sifuna (2012) states that most communities, especially those in Africa, live among animals that are extinct in many places of the world. This is attributed to the IKS of the indigenous African people, which has managed to 'maintain a sustainable utilization and protection of commonly shared natural resources' (Lalonde 1991, 4). Pierotti (2011) also opines that indigenous peoples have used, conserved, and enhanced natural resources.

As highlighted, tourism development in indigenous African communities depends mainly on the available natural resources. Therefore, it is essential to discuss the traditional ways of conserving natural resources that have been used by African indigenous peoples long before colonialism. This will justify the need to incorporate these traditional ways and knowledge in tourism development. One of the ways that have been used by Africans to conserve natural resources is through local or traditional institutions such as traditional leaders (Jones and Erdmann 2013). African societies were characterised by strong traditional institutions that oversaw and regulated the management and use of natural resources (Kaba Tah 2012). Traditional leaders such as chiefs, headmen, and traditional healers enforced the rules and regulations, as well as punished perpetrators, as they were the sovereign and overall custodians of natural resources (Kaba Tah 2012; Kasere 1995). However, African traditional institutions' authority has been undermined by the proliferation of modern state institutions that tend to favour Western-influenced modern governance structures and knowledge (Kaba Tah 2012).

Taboos helped traditional institutions to enforce the conservation of natural resources (Mapira and Mazambara 2013). A taboo is any ritual prohibition on certain activities (Jary and Jary 1995) and may entail avoiding certain people, places, objects, or actions to protect them from over-exploitation (Chagonda 2018; Mapira and Mazambara 2013). Some taboos included the random cutting of trees and hunting as well as the private use of resources since they were regarded as communal property (Kaba Tah 2012; Kasere 1995). Chagonda (2018) states that the cutting of most fruit trees, for example Muzhanje (*Uapaca kirkiana*), Mutohwe (*Azanza garckeana*), Munhengeni (*Ximenia caffra*), Mutamba (*Strychnos cocculoides*), and Muhacha (*Parinari curatellifolia*), was strictly prohibited in Zimbabwe. Traditional conservation systems made sure that the control of natural resources was on everyone's conscience and people feared repercussions when going against any taboo that was put in place. Taboos, therefore, forced local people, knowingly and unknowingly, to conserve natural resources (Kaba Tah 2012). Local people were advised that going against taboos would result in punishment by the ancestors, for example by bad luck or suffering from deadly diseases. Therefore, IKS embraces spiritual relationships with the natural environment (Chibememe et al. 2014), as the natural world is understood to be infused with spirits (Menzies and Butler 2006). Spiritual values are at the centre of intergenerational cultural systems and play a pivotal role in the conservation, management, and protection of nature (Verschuuren 2007).

The imposition of sacred sites has been another way used by indigenous people to conserve natural resources, which has proved to be effective (Chagonda 2018; Sifuna 2012). In many

indigenous cultures, sacredness is central to people's perception of nature (Verschuuren 2007). Sacred sites were revered by all community members and were not to be abused by people when visited, specific rules had to be strictly adhered to (Mapira and Mazambara 2013). Several sacred sites still exist in most African countries. In Zimbabwe, examples include Mount Nyangani, Chinhoyi Caves, and Chirinda Forest. It is believed that those who broke the rules of sacred places risked disappearing; these sacred sites therefore became sanctuaries for various wildlife species since they were totally protected and feared by all people. People were not allowed to hunt or cut trees in sacred places (Kaba Tah 2012).

Totemism, which refers to 'symbolically identifying humans with non-human objects (usually animals and plants)' (Mapira and Mazambara 2013, 99), is one of the common traditions that was used by indigenous people in Africa to conserve and manage natural resources (Chagonda 2018). This totemic system portrays a strong ethical connection between indigenous people and nature, and it is regarded as taboo to eat one's totem (Chagonda 2018). They believe that by eating a totem, people risk losing their teeth. Mapira and Mazambara (2013, 99) postulate that 'from an ecological point of view, totemism can be valued for its role in the preservation of biodiversity in a given area'. It also played a crucial role in reducing competition for some edible animals, birds, reptiles, and plants in hunting and gathering communities (Mapira and Mazambara 2013). Since totemism promotes selective rather than indiscriminate hunting, it preserves endangered species (Chagonda 2018).

This study argues that these traditional ways used to manage and conserve natural resources were effective. Africa still has some sizeable populations of endangered species, such as the African elephant (*Loxodonta Africana*). Therefore, these African traditions and IKS need to be respected and strengthened. Any tourism development initiative in indigenous communities should respect and incorporate IKS. Incorporating IKS in tourism development may be an effective way to promote community participation and the protection of both the natural environment and cultural traditions (Gohori and van der Merwe 2022b; Prasetyo, Carr, and Filep 2020); however, ignoring IKS in tourism development may promote the interest of external partners. Therefore, the incorporation of IKS is environmentally, culturally, and politically sustainable in tourism development initiatives (Butler and Menzies 2007; Whitney-Squire 2016).

Several strengths of IK have been noted in the existing literature. Since IK is community-centred, it is useful for managing society's basic needs without damaging resources and preserving the earth from various challenges (Gope, Behera, and Roy 2017). This makes it relevant to tourism development in indigenous communities as they rely on natural resources for their survival and to attract tourists. IKS has been proven to have value not only to the culture in which it develops, but also to scientists and planners seeking solutions to community problems (Gope, Behera, and Roy 2017). Accordingly, incorporating IKS in tourism development may bring about community development (Gohori and van der Merwe 2020).

IKS also has notable limitations that may affect its incorporation into tourism development. IK is tacit and it is highly personal and hard to formalise due to it being deeply rooted in incantation, procedures, routines, commitments, ideas, values and emotions (Gope, Behera, and Roy 2017). Likewise, it is not universal, but rather subjective, since it is linked to culture, which does not transcend cultural/personal idiosyncrasies and peculiarities to be able to take the objective view (Prakash 1999).

Study area

Manicaland Province is in the Eastern part of Zimbabwe. Its capital is Mutare and the province covers an area of 36,459 km² (Chingarande et al. 2020). The name is believed to have been

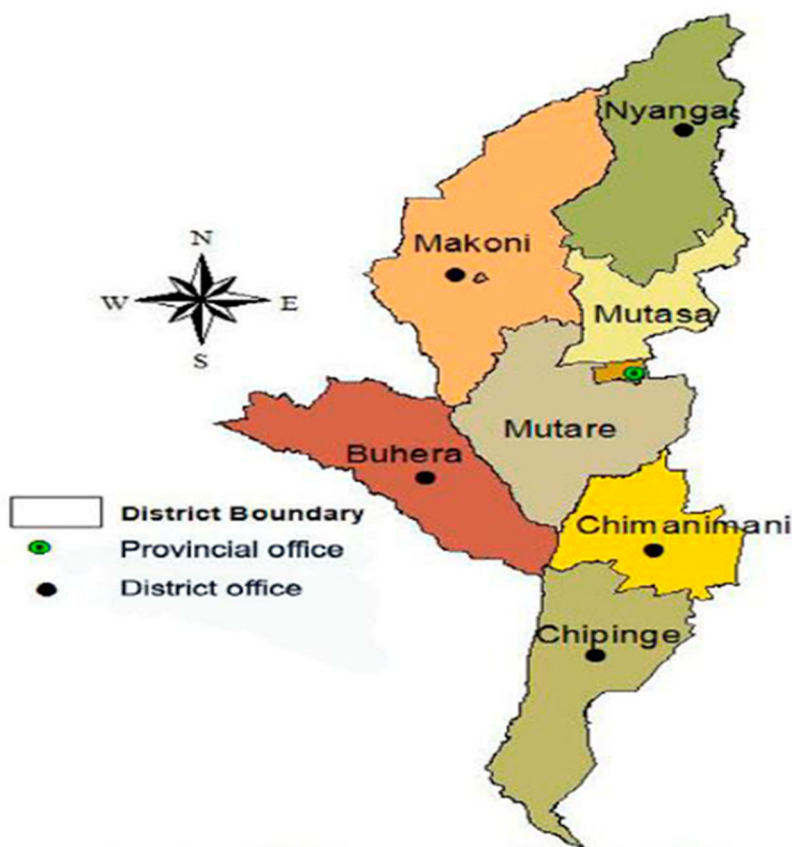


Figure 1. Map showing Manicaland Province's districts (Source: Environmental Management Agency [EMA], 2011).

derived from the largest ethnic group (the Manyika) residing in the province (Revolv 2018). The province has seven administrative districts, which are Mutare, Chipinge, Mutasa, Buhera, Chimanimani, Makoni and Nyanga (Figure 1).

Most people in Manicaland speak Shona, but different districts have their own dialects. In Mutasa, they use the Manyika dialect, in Makoni, the Maungwe dialect, in Chipinge, the Ndau dialect, and in Mutare, the Bocha and Jindwi dialects (Food and Agriculture Organization [FAO] 2001). The Chimanimani and Chipinge Districts are inhabited by the Ndau-speaking people (Muyambo 2018), whereas the other part of Chipinge in the Southeastern Lowveld, is inhabited by the Shangaan-speaking people (Institute for Security Studies 2021). The province has a wide range of resources and is endowed with tourism, timber, mineral and agricultural capital (Chingarande et al. 2020).

Manicaland has numerous natural and man-made attractions that appeal to tourists. Some non-consumptive tourism activities are sky-walking and zip-lining at Mutarazi Falls, rafting and kayaking on the Pungwe River, fly-fishing on the Gairezi River, and guided birdwatching (Ministry of Tourism & Hospitality Industry [MoTHI] 2016). In the Chipinge District, consumptive tourism (trophy hunting) is the main activity in the Mahenye area. Nevertheless, it is difficult for tourists to visit the province due to the absence of scheduled airlines, luxury coaches, and passenger trains (Gohori and van der Merwe 2020). Several registered accommodation

establishments (e.g. the Holiday Inn Mutare, Troutbeck Inn, Montclair Hotel and Casino; Golden Peacock Villa Hotel, and Chilo Gorge Safari Lodge) are found in the province to cater to tourists (Zimbabwe Tourism Authority [ZTA] 2017). Nonetheless, several establishments (such as the Inn on Rupurara in Nyanga) closed due to the prevailing economic situation in the country since 2000 (Zimbabwe Expeditions 2017).

Unfortunately, there has not been a consistent recording by the ZTA regarding tourist arrivals. Therefore, it is difficult to ascertain the total number of tourists who have visited the province over the years (Gohori and van der Merwe 2020). It is argued that only 8% of the international tourists to Zimbabwe visit Manicaland, with Germany being the biggest generator. Other countries such as Britain, France, the USA, South Africa and Namibia are also notable generating countries. Despite receiving just 8% of the international tourists to Zimbabwe, the service industry remains, after agriculture, the second biggest employer in Manicaland (Gohori and van der Merwe 2020).

Research methodology

This study used a case study approach that incorporated three main qualitative data collection methods: semi-structured in-depth interviews, direct observations, and informal conversations. Snowball and emergent sampling methods were used in this study because the target population was difficult to access (Tracy 2013). Data were collected from a total of 65 respondents, who consisted of 43 community members (local people) in Manicaland Province, of which 37 were interviewed using semi-structured interviews, and six were informal conversations. 14 of the semi-structured interviews were with key informants in Harare, and eight more semi-structured interviews were with key informants from the Chipinge Rural District Council, Nyanga Rural District Council, Environmental Management Authority (EMA), and ZTA Mutare Office in Manicaland. Interviews with key informants (both in Harare and Manicaland) were done to enrich the data.

Since snowball and emergent or opportunistic sampling methods were used in this study, in-depth interviews were conducted with key informants (staff from MoTHI, ZTA, and the National Parks and Wildlife Management Authority [NPWMA]) first. The heads of departments then suggested more potential respondents. These interviewed key informants in Harare also provided the researchers with the names and contact details of potential respondents in Manicaland. They were stakeholders in CBT development in Zimbabwe and were therefore deemed to have knowledge of the incorporation of IKS in CBT projects, as they had valuable experience with tourism projects all over the country. The researchers, however, faced some challenges as most of the targeted respondents claimed to be busy and advised that they had no time to be interviewed. Nonetheless, although the researchers did not have much time, they were patient enough with some of the interviewees who gave them the time they wanted to be interviewed when they were free. The interviews in Harare were conducted in English, even though the interviewees were at liberty to respond in the local language (Shona).

While still in Harare, the researchers took the opportunity to have discussions with other researchers from the University of Zimbabwe's Department of Tourism, Leisure and Hospitality Studies, and the Centre for Applied Social Sciences. These researchers provided them with tips and some advice on the best way to approach traditional leaders and community members, as well as what general behaviours could be expected when visiting indigenous people in their communities. They also provided more names and contact details of potential respondents. Although the researchers intended to have discussions with at least six members of staff from the University of Zimbabwe (UZ), they ended up meeting only three as the rest were conducting lectures during the time the researchers visited the university. Nevertheless, the

information provided by these three UZ researchers was deemed sufficient to help the researchers in Manicaland.

From Harare, the researchers proceeded to Manicaland Province, where data was collected from four districts (Chipinga, Chimanimani, Mutare, and Nyanga) where there were functional CBT projects (ZTA 2018), as most had become defunct due to the economic hardships prevailing in the country since 2000. In the Chipinga District, interviews were conducted with local people in Mahenye village, whereas in the Mutare District, interviews were done in the Nyagundi resettlement area. Inhabitants of the Nyamutsapa and Dazi communities were interviewed in the Nyanga District. Finally, residents of Chibasani village and Matsetso village in Chimanimani were interviewed. Besides having functional CBT projects, the researchers preferred the selected districts because they could be easily accessed. Due to time and financial constraints, the researchers could not visit all seven districts. These local interviewees in the communities were divided into three sub-groups (community members, CBT projects' elected committee members, and traditional leaders). The reason for interviewing different community groups and age groups was because (as stated earlier) various factors (e.g. gender, age, social position, and livelihood priorities) determine the specific IK held by individuals.

As stated, eight key informants were also interviewed in Manicaland. Besides enriching the data, the other reason for interviewing staff from these organisations was that they were involved with some CBT projects in the province (e.g. Nyanga RDC was involved with Gairezi Ecotourism, Chipinga RDC was involved with Mahenye/Chilo Gorge, and EMA Mutare financed Mapembe Wilderness).

In Manicaland, the researchers had to follow different protocols in each district. In Chipinga (Mahenye village), they were advised to seek permission from the chief before conducting their interviews. In Chimanimani, they had been given permission by the village head telephonically, but still had to visit him upon arrival to seek his permission formally to conduct interviews in the community. When passing through Chimanimani town, the researchers utilised the opportunistic/emergent sampling technique after discovering that there was a CBT project (the Chimanimani Tourist Association [CTA]) that they were not aware of. They first interviewed the vice-chairperson of the project and then sought permission to interview some of the youth from Matsetso village who worked and were being trained as tour guides at the CTA. In the Mutare District, after contacting the chief of the Nyagundi resettlement area, the researchers were advised to contact EMA first to seek permission for data collection, as they were the sponsors of the project. In the Nyanga District, the chairperson of the Gairezi Ecotourism CBT Project instructed them to seek permission from Nyanga RDC first before visiting the communities. However, in the communities, traditional leaders were visited first to seek permission to conduct the interviews.

Adhering to the different protocols in each district was a way of following ethical considerations as this is crucial when doing research (Hesse-Biber 2010). Before proceeding with data collection, the researchers had to obtain an ethics number (EMS2016/11/04-0203) from the institution's ethics committee after following the established procedures. In the field, besides following different procedures and protocols in the visited communities, the researchers made sure that the respondents agreed to be interviewed and recorded (i.e. informed consent). As the researchers used the observation method, permission was also sought to take pictures. In this study, pseudonyms are used in the results section (Table 1), since ethics also entails protecting the respondents' identities.

As indigenous communities are usually unwilling to engage with people, they are not familiar with, it is prudent to clarify the researchers' position in this research. The researchers' position may impact the research in three ways: (a) it can affect the researchers' access to the participants

Table 1. Interview respondents' profiles of local people in Manicaland province.

Name pseudonym	Gender	Age	Marital status	District	Name pseudonym	Gender	Age	Marital status	District
Shoko	Male	30	Married	Chipinge	Mombe	Male	33	Married	Chimanimani
Danda	Male	43	Married	Chipinge	Gonzo	Male	22	Single	Chimanimani
Gore	Male	31	Married	Chipinge	Nyundo	Male	22	Single	Nyanga
Madhuve	Female	27	Single	Chipinge	Bveni	Male	45	Married	Mutare
Inzwi	Male	46	Married	Chipinge	Gejo	Male	41	Married	Nyanga
Tino	Male	46	Married	Chipinge	Chiwepu	Male	31	Married	Nyanga
Taku	Male	49	Married	Chipinge	Zumbu	Male	53	Married	Nyanga
Piki	Male	83	Married	Chipinge	Nzungu	Male	30	Married	Nyanga
Feso	Male	38	Married	Chipinge	Zviso	Female	50	Widow	Nyanga
Hombarume	Male	39	Married	Chipinge	Chenai	Female	33	Widow	Nyanga
Gweta	Male	53	Married	Chipinge	Tsoro	Male	52	Married	Nyanga
Muwuyu	Male	45	Married	Chimanimani	Tombi	Female	76	Married	Nyanga
Tsubvu	Male	48	Married	Mutare	Mufudzi	Male	31	Single	Chimanimani
Zino	Male	55	Married	Chimanimani	Shanje	Female	43	Married	Nyanga
Saka	Male	43	Married	Chimanimani	Mbudzi	Male	52	Married	Mutare
Chipikiri	Male	18	Single	Chimanimani	Huku	Male	46	Married	Chipinge
Muti	Male	33	Married	Mutare	Hwai	Female	37	Married	Chipinge
Gonhi	Female	38	Married	Mutare	Katsi	Male	43	Married	Mutare
Tsvimbo	Male	55	Married	Mutare	Juru	Male	32	Married	Nyanga
Svodai	Female	32	Single	Chimanimani	Svosve	Male	28	Married	Mutare
Rukova	Female	38	Married	Chimanimani					
Sango	Male	37	Married	Chimanimani					
Vende	Male	50	Married	Chimanimani					

as they may be more willing to share their experiences with people they regard as sympathisers to their situation; (b) it may shape the researcher-researched relationship, in turn, affecting the information that the participants are willing to share; and (c) the worldview and background of researchers affect the way they use the language and poses questions, and this may shape the findings and conclusions of the study (Berger 2015). Nevertheless, a researcher's position changes during the research process depending on the situation and the people being interacted with (Mercer 2007).

Also, the fact that one of the researchers (first author) once stayed in Manicaland Province (Chipinge district) for several years and could converse using the local language made the researchers 'insiders'. However, as the other researcher (second author) could not speak the local language and was not familiar with the local culture and traditions, in some communities the researchers were regarded as tourists, and therefore 'outsiders'. Nonetheless, the 'outsider' and 'insider' distinctions are not obvious (Mercer 2007); therefore, insider and outsider perspectives are 'two mutually exclusive frames of reference' (Olson 1977, 131).

The analysis of data for this research followed the six-phase thematic analysis (TA) (Braun and Clarke 2012) since the research aims to examine the perspectives of indigenous communities on the potential of tourism development to incorporate IKS in their communities. This involved listening to the recorded interviews and reading written notes, generating initial codes from the data (i.e. organising data into meaningful groups), searching for themes by sorting the different codes into potential themes, reviewing and refining the potential themes identified, defining and naming the themes, and the final analysis and write up, which follow in the next section, where extracts from the interviews and informal conversations are provided.

Fitzpatrick and Boulton (1996, 125) state that 'Observational methods require that the researcher keeps careful field notes, not only of what is observed but of his or her reactions and interpretations'. Therefore, the notes taken during the fieldwork were read, transcribed, and then generated into codes together with data from the interviews during TA. As for the pictures, one of them (see Figure 2) was used as evidence to support data from the interviews. The results of the study are discussed next.



Figure 2. Mapembe Mountain (*Photo courtesy: Owen Gohori*).

Results

Interviewees' profiles

As shown in Table 1, 34 respondents were male (79.1%), and nine were female (20.9%). The average age of the interviewees was 41 years when the interviews were conducted. The average age of females was 42 and males 41.

With respect to marital status, 35 were married, while six were single, and two were widowed. In Chipinge district 13 local people were interviewed, in Chimanimani district 11, in Nyanga district 11, and in Mutare eight.

As stated, key informants were also interviewed (in Harare and Manicaland) to enrich the results. Of the key informants interviewed, eight were male (36.4%), and 14 were female (63.6%). The average age was 37 years at the time the interviews were conducted (females 33 and males 46). All the interviews (for both local people and key informants) ranged from 30 min to over an hour.

Local people's perspectives on the incorporation of IKS in tourism development

During thematic analysis, three themes were established: (i) tourism development incorporated IKS; (ii) tourism development did not incorporate IKS; and (iii) tourism development incorporated IKS to a certain extent. These themes are explained in detail below using extracts from the interviews.

Most of the interviewees believed that tourism development incorporated IKS. In Mahenye village, Tino, a traditional leader, stated that female tourists who intended to take part in village tours were advised against wearing miniskirts or trousers as that was against the local culture. All female tourists who took part in these village tours were thus informed by tour guides in advance about the expected dress code. Similarly, Gore, a traditional leader from the same village, asserted that trophy hunters first visited the chief to pay money, culturally known as *chirovo*, in line with the local tradition. Gore added that after the payment of *chirovo*, spirit mediums were invited, and a traditional ceremony is held before the hunters could commence hunting.

However, Taku, also from Mahenye village, criticised the ZPWMA for being condescending towards local people by suggesting the hunting quota for trophy hunting without consulting them:

I feel the national parks look down upon our indigenous knowledge systems. We still have many elephants in our area, which were conserved by our sustainable traditional hunting and quota-setting methods, but the government keeps limiting the hunting quota to a maximum of three each year. The National Parks should, in fact, collaborate with us when it comes to the issue of quota setting.

This concurs with Manwa (2003), who posited that traditional methods of hunting were neglected in favour of Western-influenced national parks' hunting guidelines; and therefore, more must be done to incorporate IKS in consumptive tourism. Before colonialism, hunting was the basic way of the Shangaan livelihood strategy, and they had a well-defined regulatory practice to make hunting off-take sustainable (Murphree 2000).

The researchers found that trophy hunters only took the trophy and left the meat to be shared among the community members. The researchers then asked whether there were any traditional ceremonies or procedures that took place when the meat was distributed to community members. Gweta and Feso narrated that '*traditional methods are followed whenever the meat is distributed. The chief is the one who leads, and some parts of the animal are given to the chief as per our tradition*'. This resonates with the views of Peterson (1991) and Murphree (2000), who stated that traditional customs were observed in Mahenye when meat from trophy hunting was distributed. According to Peterson (1991), the observation of traditional customs signifies that wildlife belongs to the community and not to individuals.

Another sign of the incorporation of IK in tourism development that was constantly referred to by the respondents was the annual cultural gala that is held in Mahenye village. An informal conversation with one of the youths in Mahenye revealed that the gala gave the community an opportunity to exhibit traditional food and handicrafts and to perform traditional dances. During the gala, IK is passed on to the youths, as they are practically taught how to cook traditional food, make crafts, and perform traditional dances. Nonetheless, Muvhimi of the NPWLMA asserted that the traditional dances performed for tourists were no longer done in consultation with traditional leaders, who should give directives on how and when they should be performed, since the dances have been commercialised. This is in accordance with Besculides, Lee, and McCormick (2002) who argued that the performing of traditional dances to tourists often results in non-authentic forms of cultural traditions.

Village heads interviewed in Chibasani village and the Nyagundi resettlement area purported that before a tour of the sacred sites was done, the traditional leaders had to appease their ancestors. Consequently, some interviewees cited the preservation and recognition of sacred sites as another example of the incorporation of IKS in tourism development. Marujata, a staff member from the ZTA, stated the following:

Most CBT projects we are associated with have sacred sites which are preserved and respected. Community members, especially chiefs and headmen, advise tourists to avoid visiting these places and we have not heard of anyone who disobeyed.

The researchers observed that the Mapembe Mountain (Figure 2), which has caves where the Marange chiefs are buried, was preserved, and had become one of the main attractions at the Mapembe Wilderness CBT Project. Visitors were given instructions on what was prohibited during the tour of the sacred mountain.

Likewise, in Chibasani, several ancient caves were preserved and became part of the community's tourist products. Informal conversations with traditional leaders from both communities in the Nyagundi resettlement area and Chibasani village revealed that the preservation of these cultural sites was done in consultation with the traditional leadership, who provided their IK on how it should be done. Nevertheless, Para, a staff member of the NPWLMA, opined that '*wildlife conservation has been much emphasised in CBT development and not the incorporation of IKS*'. Thus, he recommended that stakeholders involved with CBT development in Zimbabwe needed to find strategies to fully incorporate IKS in tourism development.

The researchers also observed the patriarchal nature of communities in Manicaland; few women participated in tourism development, as all elected committees of the visited CBT projects had fewer women than men. Most respondents who were asked through informal conversations about the marginalisation of women cited cultural reasons:

In our culture, married women are required to be at home where they take care of the family, while community issues are taken care of by men (Hombarume, Mahenye village, Tsoro, Dazi community).

This marginalisation of women may be seen as a way of incorporating IKS and culture since Gohori and van der Merwe (2022b) stated that most African traditions restrict women from taking part in community issues, as they are required to perform the functions of care and maintenance. Nevertheless, Narayan (2002) asserted that the inclusion of women in decision-making ensures that limited public resources build on local knowledge and priorities while bringing about a commitment to change.

Another observation by the researchers was the selling of crafts and curios to visitors, which was prevalent in the visited CBT projects; this symbolises the recognition and value given to the

unique culture and IK of indigenous people (Yang et al. 2018). Presenting one's culture to outsiders through crafts and curios promotes identity, pride, and community cohesion, and protects arts from possible extinction, as the demand for and production of local arts increase (Besculides, Lee, and McCormick 2002). Crafts and curios production also promotes inclusive and sustainable industrialisation and fosters innovation while achieving gender equality and empowerment as both sexes are involved (Gope, Behera, and Roy 2017). However, Johnston (2006) observed a generation-wide loss of customary practices in North America, where the youth preferred to sell European candies and cigarettes to tourists rather than locally made crafts and curios. Such acts threaten cultural identity or 'peoplehood' (Johnston 2006). Comparably, Deitch (1989) found that outsiders influenced the production of pottery, weaving, and jewellery in India, as new ideas were infused, affecting the authenticity and originality of the indigenous culture and IKS.

The researchers found that stakeholders involved with CBT development in Zimbabwe provided training programmes to local people in different disciplines such as book-keeping, house-keeping, and natural resource monitoring. Nzungu, from the Nyamutsapa community, revealed that there was no input from local people in these training programmes, as non-governmental organisations (NGOs) or the government determined the content, structure, methods of delivery, and those who were to be trained. Therefore, the training programmes were criticised for being top-down (Gohori and van der Merwe 2022a). Local people felt that their traditional knowledge could have been included in some of these training programmes, such as natural resource conservation and monitoring. They argued that the abundance of natural resources in their communities was due to their sustainable traditional and cultural conservation methods.

A few of the interviewees cited governance structures at their CBT projects as having observed and incorporated IKS. At the Mapembe Wilderness CBT project, one of the interviewed elected committee members stated:

Our traditional leaders are the custodians of our culture and indigenous knowledge. Therefore, as a community, we decided to reserve some positions on the committee for our traditional leaders so that they guide and advise us on what needs to be done culturally at our sacred Mapembe Mountain (Katsi, Nyagundi resettlement area).

The above statement resonates with the views of Tsindi and Chiseko from EMA, the funders of the project, who highlighted the fact that the idea of the Mapembe Wilderness CBT project arose from the need to preserve cultural and sacred places and was not focused on scenic attractions. Therefore, they highlighted that the position of the chairperson of the elected CBT committee is reserved for the traditional leaders.

Although most of the respondents were of the view that tourism development incorporated IKS in rural communities, five interviewees believed it was only true to a certain extent. For example, Sora from the NPWLMA expressed the following:

There have been attempts to incorporate IKS in tourism development, but with minimal achievements. For example, attractions such as Mount Nyangani and Chinhoyi Caves have been promoted and marketed more based on their physical attractions, but not on the myths and cultural importance they have.

Similarly, Zumbu, from the Nyamutsapa community, argued that, although tourists were told not to fish at some points in the Gairezi River, as they were sacred, some Western tourists still fished from those points and never experienced any repercussions from the ancestors.

Two of the key informants who were interviewed asserted that there was no incorporation of IKS in tourism development. Zhangazha from the NPWLMA questioned the current existence of anything called 'IKS' or 'culture'. He argued that there had been rampant deforestation and

poaching, yet it is said that there are IKS and culture that value wildlife. To him, those are now just opinions, as culture and IKS became extinct the moment indigenous people were colonised and began to live a modern life.

Discussion and conclusion

From the data obtained and literature analysed, this research has the following findings: Firstly, the results of this study indicate that most of the interviewed people (respondents) believed tourism development in rural communities incorporated IKS and culture. Secondly, the marginalisation of women in CBT projects is a sign of IKS and culture being incorporated into tourism development. Therefore, this research found that there is a need to address the marginalisation of women in tourism development in Zimbabwe. This study contends that marginalising women disempowers them and therefore recommends that stakeholders involved with CBT development should educate rural men through workshops on the importance of empowering women. Furthermore, the government may ensure that certain positions are reserved for women in the CBT elected committees (Gohori 2020). To promote the empowerment of women through tourism development by incorporating IKS, this study advocates the advancement of the production of crafts and curios in CBT projects. Culturally, women have always been involved in arts and curios production (mostly basket weaving and pottery). This may promote their participation in tourism while avoiding clashes with the set cultural and traditional norms.

Thirdly, although the results of this study show that trophy hunters observed cultural procedures when visiting the rural communities in Manicaland, respondents have suggested that more needs to be done. Therefore, this study recommends that the NPWLMA should consult local people when setting hunting quotas as well as incorporate their traditional hunting methods. Sibanda (2004) remarked that, in Mashonaland West Province, the Tonga hunting methods and seasons were respected and observed in the Nyaminyami District. As shown by the results of this study, sacred and cultural heritage sites such as Great Zimbabwe Ruins, Chinhoyi Caves and Mount Nyangani should also have their mystical, historical, and cultural importance emphasised in tourism development and when marketing them as tourist attractions.

Fourthly, a good strategy for incorporating IKS in tourism development is the diversification of products by CBT projects. One of the products that can incorporate IKS, namely storytelling, has been overlooked by CBT projects in Zimbabwe. It has become a major tourist attraction for most indigenous communities (e.g. the Māori in New Zealand) (Amoamo 2007). Indigenous people in Zimbabwe have always been known for telling folktales, popularly known as *ngano*, in Shona. Folktales can preserve IK (Chiparausha and Mavhunduse 2014), besides being good for entertaining, they educate and validate cultural and social practices (Turner 1992). Storytelling (folklore) is recommended in this study since there is no need for indigenous people to be trained in new skills, as they depend on the utilisation of their IKS. It may also mitigate the marginalisation of women in tourism development because both men and women can take part in the storytelling.

As highlighted in this study, the Mahenye Annual Cultural Gala plays a crucial role in passing on IK to the younger generation. Therefore, this study recommends that such galas and other related festivals countrywide (e.g. the Mbende Jerusarema Dance Festival) be major tourism events as IK is passed on to the next generation practically as opposed to the usual and most popular oral ways. Bello et al. (2019) argued that traditional socialisation processes such as festivals and cultural galas are essential as IK is passed from generation to generation. The study further recommends the use of technology (i.e. video recording, satellite television, and live streaming through the internet) during these festivals and galas as the traditional means of transmitting IK have contributed to its loss (Bates 2009).

The study made the following important contributions: The first and most important contribution is that it has given indigenous people a voice in tourism research by capturing their views and perspectives on the incorporation of IKS in tourism development in their communities. Therefore, this research contributes theoretically to the scarce but growing literature on the incorporation of IKS in tourism development, thereby generating new knowledge on the subject.

Secondly, methodologically, this study has used multiple qualitative data collection methods (interviews, observations and informal conversations) to find answers on the incorporation of IKS and culture in tourism development. This has enhanced the validity and reliability of the study. Thirdly, practically, this study will be of use to academics, practitioners, and indigenous people in Zimbabwe and other developing countries, as it highlights the importance of incorporating IKS in tourism development. For tourism stakeholders, this study is potentially helpful, not only in assisting with the formulation of policies that promote the incorporation of IKS in tourism development but also in highlighting the aspects of IK which might need to be incorporated in tourism development when implementing CBT projects.

There were some challenges faced by the researchers, both in the field and during data analysis. Although the selected districts were regarded as being accessible, there were still accessibility challenges due to bad roads and dispersed households in the visited communities. Since the researchers were time constrained, this affected the number of respondents who could be interviewed. The interviews were conducted in Shona and had to be translated into English during data analysis. This posed some challenges, as some of the words could not easily be translated. Most key informants preferred to mix both English and Shona when responding, which also posed a challenge during data analysis, as Shona responses had to be translated into English. This was overcome by using notes taken during the interviews as words that needed elaboration were later revisited to establish their meaning. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the findings of this study cannot be generalised and made applicable to all CBT projects in Zimbabwe, because they are based on the views of the interviewed people in Manicaland and some key informants. Therefore, this provides an avenue for future research. The researchers suggest that research of a similar nature be done in other provinces to find out how indigenous people perceive the incorporation of IKS in tourism development in their own provinces/communities. Future research may also be done on tour operators to get their views and perspectives instead of CBT projects, as tour operators offer various activities/tours to tourists.

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